THE RIVERS AND FISHERIES OF THE SHOSHONE-BANNOCK PEOPLES

BY

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American West Center
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with the assistance of

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Winston Erickson

PREPARED FOR
THE SHOSHONE-BANNOCK TRIBES
Fort Hall, Idaho

June 7, 1998

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Appendix
3

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INTRODUCTION

Once in that time long ago, Ejupa, the coyote, decided to go fishing in the country of the Yellowstone. Before he started, he made a huge round fish basket of willows, for the fish were big and plentiful in Yellowstone country. When he finished weaving his willow basket, he lined it carefully with pitch so that it would hold water to keep his fish fresh on the journey home. Off he went carrying the basket on his back. Fishing was good, better than he had dreamed it would be. After just one day the coyote had his basket nearly full. Water to keep the fish fresh made his load almost too heavy for Ejupa to carry, but he staggered down the trail, resting whenever he became tired. The coyote had gone just a little way when he stumbled over a rock and fell. Swoosh! All the water and all his beautiful fish spilled out onto the ground. The water rushed off downhill with the fish splashing along in it. Ejupa ran after the water shouting, "Stop, stop! I worked hard to catch those fish. Now, water, you are taking them away." But the water only ran faster. On and on ran the coyote, but the stream ran faster. It seemed to grow as it bounced and splashed along. Faster and faster it raced, and Ejupa strained to match its speed. Finally, he caught up with the rushing stream, but still could do nothing for he had forgotten his basket.

Then the coyote cut across a little hill and got ahead of the water. He quickly built a rock dam across its path to stop it from running on, but the water kept flowing right over the dam, making a roaring waterfall. Ejupa watched the water carrying all his beautiful fish and cried out in anger, "I'll stop you yet. Just wait and see!" Then he ran on fast as the wind ahead of the rushing water. He came to another rocky place and built another dam, higher than the last one. "Try to go over this!" he shouted as the water surged toward him. The stream flowed on, a river now, filling the place behind the dam until it made a great lake. Ejupa watched with a pleased smile on his face. Then he cried out in horror, "Stop, stop! Please stop!" Once again the water poured over his rock dam, a thundering waterfall, churning itself white against the boulders. Poor Ejupa covered his eyes and groaned, "I'll have to try again." Then Ejupa ran fast as the eagle's flight to catch the rushing river. The water carried mud and boulders from the dam and cut into the earth as it swept along. Finally the coyote managed to get ahead of the river again. He built another dam. But the water came as it had before and divided into two channels. One made a great waterfall on the north side, and the other a fall on the south side. Ejupa watched, unable to believe that the river with

all his beautiful fish just couldn't be stopped. "I'll try another time," he gasped. "No old river is going to get the better of the great coyote." And he ran on, making a great dust cloud as he tried to catch the wildly flowing water. Finally he got ahead again and built the biggest dam of all. He piled great heaps of rocks and soil all the way across the channel. And the river roared into the space behind the dam and made a big lake. But, once again, when the lake filled, the water flowed over the top, making a vast leaping waterfall from which the foam and mist rose high into the sky. As the rushing water carried boulders and soil with it, it carved a deep canyon below the dam and raced on toward the west. Ejupa almost gave up that time, but decided to run along with the river to watch for some easier place where he might stop it. He trotted far to the west, as the water rolled along beside him, picking up more rocks and sticks. Finally it came to a ridge of high sandy hills. "Now," said Ejupa. "At last something will stop the water." But he was wrong again, for the river turned, and with its churning water and sharp rocks, it gouged a great canyon far to the north, then turned again west and joined the big river flowing to the sea. Ejupa trotted home, defeated.

Today the great roaring river and the waterfalls are still there. The river that Ejupa started is the Snake, and the first dam that he built made Idaho Falls. The second dam is American Falls. The third, divided into two parts, is Twin Falls. The last and biggest dam made the highest falls of all, Shoshone Falls. The canyon that the river made when it cut north through the hills of the Seven Devils is called Hell's Canyon. And all of this happened because Ejupa spilled the water from his fish basket. The story has ended. The rat's tail fell off.[1]

This famous Coyote story of the creation of the falls along the Snake River and the retreat of the salmon below these falls comes from a time before history, an epoch of myth and creation. It is also a story which reveals the importance of the Snake River, its waters and fish, to the Shoshone-Bannock peoples who reside in Idaho.

In historic times, Idaho's Shoshone and Bannock speaking peoples lived at the headwaters of four major river systems in the western United States. They most intensively utilized and traveled the rivers and

[1] Eleanor B. Heady, *Sage Smoke: Tales of the Shoshoni-Bannock Indians* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Co, 1973), pp. 20-23.

tributaries of the Salmon and Snake, which in turn feed the Columbia River drainage system, but they also spent time on watercourses leading to the Great Basin as well as the Missouri and Colorado Rivers. The vast majority of their descendants now live on the Fort Hall Reservation in southern Idaho as enrolled members of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes. Present tribal members continue to hold entitlements to these river systems due to their ancestors' historic patterns of use and because of the treaties and other legally binding agreements these predecessors made with the United States to preserve continued access to these resources.

The enrolled members of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes are descendants of speakers of Shoshone and Northern Paiute (of which Bannock is a dialect) who lived and traveled in southern Idaho and adjoining regions of Oregon, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, and Montana in historic times.[2] Wilson Jack, a Shoshone speaker born at Grouse Creek, related how Fort Hall became a gathering place for Shoshone-Bannock peoples from many different locations in Idaho and neighboring states. He said:

> This same Indian, some Indian here, and that time they have a fight, then they have a making treaty--

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[2] Sven Liljeblad, "Indian Peoples of Idaho" (Unpublished mimeograph, 1957), p. 23; Robert Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, "Northern Shoshone and Bannock," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 11: Great Basin*, Warren D'Azevedo, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), p. 305.

> that's where all Indian they come here [Fort Hall]. Then the government they give them something. Something food and clothes. Then a lot of these people live in Nevada country, clear way back in Grouse Creek. I mean Oakley. They all come here then. That's when they get reservation right here. They got them a fort at what they now call Fort Hall. Soldiers were right there. They given people to here then; them Boise Indians, Lemhi Indians, Bruneau Indians. They bring all Indians here.[3]

In early historic times, Shoshone and Bannock speaking peoples were known to many American Indian tribes and later to European-Americans as Snakes or *Gens du Serpents.* Early observers used the name "Snake" interchangeably for people who spoke the Shoshone and the Northern Paiute languages, and they applied it widely across the vast stretches of territory occupied by Shoshone-Bannock people of diverse location and different circumstance.[4] Early nineteenth century observers called Shoshone and Northern Paiute speakers by the same name because of the similarities in their languages and lifestyles and because of the close relations between them. Whenever the speakers of these two languages encountered each other, they generally lived together in peace. They

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3 Wilson Jack, Oral history interview with Lorin R. Gaarder at Fort Hall, Idaho, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Marriott Library's Special Collections, The American Indian History Project, Doris Duke Number 177, January 27, 1967), p. 5. Mr. Jack was born at Grouse Creek, Utah, in 1893. His parents lived on the border areas between Idaho, Nevada, and Utah.

4 Robert Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society," *Anthropological Records* (1960) Vol. 16(6), p. 298; Murphy & Murphy (1986), op. cit., 305-06.

traded, intermarried, and collaborated in subsistence and ceremony. In many of the areas where these speech communities bordered each other, their speakers traveled the same territories, shared common resources, and even camped together.[5] In some places, the people who spoke these two languages were so intermingled that it was generally impossible to separate them.[6] Robert Newell recognized this fact in 1849 when he wrote of the Bannock, or the Pon-Ash-Ta as he called them: "They, however, have mixed with the Sho-sho-nees and intermarried so much it is hard to discriminate."[7] A year later, Gov. Joseph Lane of Oregon echoed this when he wrote the "Ponashta Indians were so intermarried with the Shoshonees that it is almost impossible to discriminate between them."[8] In at least one location, Fort Hall, these long-standing associations led to the formation of mixed communities which were bilingual and bicultural

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[5] Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970 [Reprint of 1938 edition]), pp. 152, 161, 169, 170, 172, 198-99; Liljeblad, op. cit., 56-60, 62-63, 81-82, 84-90, 93, 104, 107; Murphy & Murphy (1960), ibid., 317-19, 323, 326-27, 331.

[6] Group Oral History Interview, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 22, 1975, Tape A-16, pp. 3-5; Liljeblad, op. cit., 62-63, 84-88, 107; Steward, ibid., 201-03; Murphy & Murphy (1960), ibid., 317-19.

[7] *Robert Newell's Memoranda: Travles in the Teritory of Missourie; Travle to the Kayuse War; together with A Report on the Indians south of the Columbia River*, Dorothy O. Johnson, ed. (Portland: Champoeg Press-Reed College [1959]), p. 145.

[8] Joseph Lane, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* {Hereafter RCIA}, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1850) pp., 127-28.

in character.[9]

In addition to the more generic label, "Snake," early European-American observers also used a variety of more specific names to identify Shoshone and Bannock speaking populations. These labels were used so loosely and affixed in such confusing and contradictory ways that it is almost impossible to make sense of what was meant by a name and who was being included in it.[10] One thing is clear, however, the names "Shoshone" and "Bannock," along with their various equivalents, had little to do with language differences per se. When found in the historic record of Idaho, these names were often used as expressions to separate horse-riding peoples, often identified as "Bannock," from those who traveled afoot. The latter were usually designated as "Shoshone."[11] No matter how these two names were used, they usually did not match the divisions which existed among the Shoshone-Bannock as defined in their own linguistic, cultural, or environmental terms.

When ethnographers began to study the Shoshone and Bannock peoples in the early twentieth century, they too learned and used a variety of names, but these came from the Shoshone-Bannock themselves.

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[9] Liljeblad, op. cit., 56-60; Steward, op. cit., 201-03; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 326-27.

[10] Liljeblad, ibid., 16-17; Murphy & Murphy (1960), ibid., 296-99; Murphy & Murphy (1986), op. cit., 305-06.

[11] Liljeblad, ibid.; Murphy & Murphy (1986), ibid.

Historically, Shoshone and Bannock speakers commonly identified themselves and the people who lived around them by names which designated a prominent geographic feature or an important food taken at the locales through which they traveled. The people whose wintering grounds were located along the upper Snake River near the present day site of Fort Hall were called *Pohogoy* after a central landmark in this area, Sagebrush Butte (also known as Cedar or Ferry Butte),[12] while those who wintered along Bannock Creek were sometimes known as *Hukandeka,* "Eaters of Wild Wheat" after an important food procured in that area.[13] Doris Ponzo put it this way:

> It is like the people of Bannock Creek are called some kind of Wheat Eaters and the people from the Willow Country near Boise are called the people after the willows, the people from the Gibson District are called after that Sagebrush Butte, Ferry Butte.[14]

None of these names were associated, however, with populations maintaining distinct and fixed territories or sociopolitical boundaries.

[12] Haddie Ariwite, Oral history interview with Lorin R. Gaarder at Fort Hall, Idaho, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Marriott Library's Special Collections, The American Indian History Project, Doris Duke Number 350, February 29, 1969), p. 1. Steward (1938), op. cit., 198; Murphy & Murphy, ibid., 306.

[13] Steward, op. cit., 216; Liljeblad, op. cit., 113; Murphy & Murphy, ibid.

[14] Doris Ponzo, Oral history interview with Lorin R. Gaarder at Fort Hall, Idaho, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Marriott Library's Special Collections, The American Indian History Project, Doris Duke Number 178, February, 1967), p. 6. At the time of the interview, Ms. Ponzo was eighty years old. She was born at Salmon City, Idaho. Her mother was Northern Paiute, and her father's heritage was Flathead, Shoshone, and European-American.

They were references loosely applied to people of diverse locations and lifestyles.[15]

Often, the same names were attached to peoples residing in different places. *Agaideka*, "Eaters of Salmon," was used simultaneously to identify people on the Salmon and Lemhi Rivers as well as those near the middle reaches of the Snake River below Shoshone Falls, while *Pengwedeka*, "Eaters of Fish," applied to Shoshone-Bannock who wintered near Camas Creek[16] and those who had wintering spots near the mouth of the Bear River.[17] *Kutsundeka* "Eaters of Buffalo," was applied not only to the Shoshone of Wyoming but also to Shoshone-Bannock who wintered on the Lemhi and upper Snake River.[18] The people who were given the same names, however, did not share a common descent line different from those referred to by other names.

Also, the identity of the same people, those who were closely related to each other by intermarriage and descent, could be represented by a series of different names as they moved from one geographic location to another. The Shoshone-Bannock who traveled and lived along the

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15 Liljeblad, op. cit., 54-56; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 287.

16 Liljeblad, ibid., 93.

17 Liljeblad, ibid., 55; Steward, op. cit., 218.

18 Demitri Shimkin "Eastern Shoshone," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 11: Great Basin*, Warren D'Azevedo, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), p. 335; Liljeblad, ibid., 55, 93; Murphy & Murphy (1986), op. cit., 306.

Salmon and its tributaries, might be called *Agaideka* when they descended into the valleys of the Salmon and Lemhi to fish, but when they ascended to the high mountain basins of the Sawtooths to hunt they became known as *Túkudeka* "Eaters of Meat (Sheep)," and when they traveled to the Missouri River to hunt bison they were called *Kutsundeka.*[19] Doris Ponzo, who was born at Salmon, Idaho, talked about this as follows:

> They called the Salmon Indians different things although they were one tribe. Some of them fished for salmon and were called Salmon Eaters and some hunted mountain sheep and were called Mountain Sheep Eaters.[20]

Similarly, the Shoshone-Bannock of the Boise River were often named *Yahandeka* "Eaters of Ground Hogs," but when they went south to pick pine nuts they were called *Tebadeka* "Eaters of Pine Nuts."[21] Again, these names were strictly referential and geographic in orientation.[22]

In the English language the expressions "to live" and "to travel" are separated semantically, but in Numic languages they are merged.[23] That

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19 Arthur and Kate Tendoy, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History Interview, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, January 30, 1980) p. 4; Liljeblad, op. cit., 93.

20 Ponzo, op. cit., 6.

21 Steward, op. cit., 172.

22 Murphy & Murphy (1986), op. cit., 287.

23 Beverly Crum and Jon Dayley, "Western Shoshoni Grammar," *Occasional Papers and Monographs in Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics, Vol. 1* (Boise: Boise State University, 1993), pp. 275, 295.

there is no semantic separation between the two reveals that the Shoshone-Bannock understood these actions to be part of the same process. Conceptually, where people stayed and where they moved were one and the same thing. A person's place in the world and that of their kindred was not marked by a single location but by the range of territories in which they moved to secure their livelihood. As Sven Liljeblad put it, a territory was called *tebíwa*, "native land," it was "anywhere...he could find something to eat. He also considered open to his exploitation the areas beyond, as far as he could go and could safely pitch his tipi."[24] Even the early treaty-maker, James Duane Doty, recognized the lack of permanency in Shoshone-Bannock settlement and their widespread territorial sharing when he wrote:

> As none of the Indians of this country have permanent places of abode in their hunting excursions they wander over an immense region....The Shoshonees and Bannacks are the only nations which, to my knowledge, hunt together over the same ground.[25]

In historic times, before the era of treaty-making, Shoshone-Bannock subsistence rested on a variety of different kinds of procurement which included fishing, hunting, and plant gathering. How these activities were carried out and where they took place, however, varied across time

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[24] Liljeblad, op. cit., 51-52.

[25] RCIA 1864, 174-76.

and from one place to another. No matter what their particular character, these activities involved mobility.[26] They required people to move from place to place, to disband and regroup according to the natural cycles of the resources they depended upon. Above all, they demanded and the ability of people to shift their geographic locations and social attachments as circumstances dictated. The historic social formations of the Shoshone-Bannock were well suited to these needs. [27]

In their subsistence and trade, the ancestors of today's Shoshone-Bannock Tribes ranged over a wide area which extended from the Sweetwater River of Wyoming in the east, to the Deschutes River of Oregon in the west, and from the Missouri River in the north to the Humboldt River in the south. Their trade took them even further, west to the headwaters of the Klamath River and even as far south as Taos in the Spanish southwest.[28] The heart of their subsistence range was the Snake River, its tributaries and its sister rivers, the Salmon to the north and the

[26] Liljeblad, ibid., 34; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 332-34.

[27] Judith Shapiro, "Kinship," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 11: Great Basin,* Warren D'Azevedo, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), pp. 620-22; Liljeblad, ibid., 34-36; Murphy & Murphy (1986), op. cit., 287-92.

[28] Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: 1804-1806,* Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1959) Vol. 2, p. 347 {Hereafter Lewis & Clark T}. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: July 28-November 1, 1805,* Gary E. Moulton, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), Vol. 5, p. 91 {Hereafter Lewis & Clark M}; E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, eds., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824-1825 and 1825-1826* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1950), Vol. 13, pp. 43-44, 147, 173-74, 177-78.

Bear to the south. But it also included other rivers which fed the Great Basin and the Columbia, Missouri, and Colorado river drainages.[29]

Riparian corridors were the principal routes by which the Shoshone-Bannock traveled to procure subsistence and engage in trade with neighboring peoples. They were also the prime locations for their encampments. The corridors were rich in the fish, game, and plant resources the Shoshone-Bannock depended upon for their livelihood. Productive salmon fisheries were located along the Snake River below Shoshone Falls and along the Salmon River to its headwaters. These two rivers and the others the Shoshone-Bannock traveled contained a variety of non-anadromous species which were regularly harvested as well. The banks of the rivers and their affluents held abundant plant grounds where many nutritious roots were dug, an assortment of berries were picked, and a wide range of seeds, grasses, and leaves were gathered for food, medicine, and other purposes. The valleys supported large and varied animal populations, which included the bison and antelope plains of the upper Snake River, the elk and moose grounds in the Bear River drainage, and the beaver and bighorn trails in the Salmon River basin. The biodiversity of this heartland, which covered much of central and southern

[29] Nathaniel Wyeth, "Indian Tribes of the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains; The Salt Lake Basin, The Valley of the Great Saaptin or Lewis River, and the Pacific Coasts of Oregon," in Henry R. Schoolcraft, ed., *Information Respecting the Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Part I* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1851), pp. 201-03.

Idaho, supported a large Shoshone and Bannock speaking population who pursued a varied range of subsistence strategies in different but overlapping resource areas which followed the region's various watercourses.[30]

With the advent of permanent European-American settlement in the 1860s, the Shoshone-Bannock of Idaho came under increasing pressure to settle on reservations and cede the vast majority of their aboriginal territory to the United States. Ultimately, the Fort Hall Reservation became the home of most of the Shoshone and Bannock speaking peoples who lived in Idaho. The reservation was initially established by executive order in June 1867, as a place to consolidate the widely dispersed, populations of Shoshone and Bannock ancestry in southern Idaho and adjacent areas in Utah, Nevada, Oregon, and Montana. One year later, the bands which wintered on the upper Snake River Plain (in the vicinity of Fort Hall) were parties to the Fort Bridger treaty of July 3. The treaty promised them a reservation which would encompass areas of the Portneuf River and Camas Prairie and guaranteed their continued access to critical off-reservation resources. The effective founding of the reservation came in the Spring of 1869, when the government relocated the people known in the historic record as the Boise and Bruneau

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[30] Scott F. Clark, "Nineteenth Century Shoshone-Bannock Riparian Adaptation." Unpublished Masters thesis (Pocatello: Idaho State University, 1986).

Shoshones, who originally resided across a wide area along the middle and lower course of the Snake River to Fort Hall. That summer, the Shoshone-Bannock signatories of the Fort Bridger treaty were officially incorporated into the reservation. In the following decades, additional Shoshone and Bannock speaking peoples whose traditional territorial ranges encompassed the Idaho-Utah border regions, interior Oregon, Wyoming, and Montana also became affiliated with Fort Hall. Included in those who were eventually incorporated into the reservation were bands of eastern Oregon, the Weiser River, and McCall areas. And finally, when the Lemhi Reservation was closed in 1907, hundreds of additional Shoshone-Bannock, who historically lived and traveled in the Salmon River country and adjacent portions of Montana, were placed under the administrative umbrella of Fort Hall.[31]

While the majority of the Shoshone-Bannock who settled at Fort Hall were not represented at the Fort Bridger council, all were beneficiaries of the broad right to hunt and fish on the "unoccupied lands

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31 General histories of the Shoshone-Bannock and their relations with the federal government can be found in the work of Brigham D. Madsen. c.f. Brigham D. Madsen, *The Bannok of Idaho* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1958; reprinted, Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1997); Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1980); Madsen, *The Shshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985); Madsen, *The Lemhi: Sacajawea's People* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1990).

of the United States," guaranteed in Article IV of the treaty.[32] The question of treaty rights arose quickly in the summer of 1869, with the consolidation of many Shoshone and Bannock speaking bands at Fort Hall. A Presidential executive order on July 30, designated the 1867 executive order reservation as the "Bannock" reservation called for in the Fort Bridger treaty. This action, however, did nothing to clear up important questions concerning the rights of Shoshone-Bannock who had not been at Fort Bridger, yet had settled at Fort Hall. Idaho's superintendent of Indian affairs assumed that all Shoshone and Bannock peoples at Fort Hall would, "enjoy all the privileges and benefits that are given by the [Fort Bridger treaty], to their friends the Bannacks [sic]." The commissioner of Indian affairs concurred with this opinion and wired Boise, "President's order designates Fort Hall as reserve under treaty of eighteen hundred and sixty eight (1868) for Bannocks. . . .Other Indians on the reserve will enjoy equal rights with the Bannocks."[33] Thus, the provisions of Article IV of the Fort

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[32] See *State of Idaho v. Gerald Cleo Tinno*, District Court of the Seventh Judicial District of the State of Idaho in and for the County of Custer, April 1, 1970, 04-759, Court transcript {Hereafter, *State of Idaho v. Tinno* }. As explained later in this report, the same verb glosses the expressions to "hunt" and to "fish" in the Shoshone and Bannock languages.

[33] Col. DeLancey Floyd-Jones to *Commissioner of Indian Affairs* {hereafter CIA}, 2 September 1869, U.S. National Archives {hereafter, USNA}, *Records of the Superintendencies and Agencies of the Office of Indian Affairs, Idaho,* Microcopy 234 {hereafter, M234: *Idaho*}; CIA to Floyd-Jones, 10 September 1869; Acting CIA to Floyd-Jones, 13 September 1869, USNA, Microcopy 832. For a fuller discussion of these events see, Gregory E. Smoak, "The Shoshone-Bannock Tribes and the Fort Bridger Treaty," Unpublished report for the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, 1997), pp. 98-102.

Bridger treaty were officially extended to all the Shoshone and Bannock who settled at Fort Hall.

Even after the Fort Hall Reservation was established, the Shoshone-Bannock peoples of Idaho maintained lifestyles which were closely and continuously adapted to the pulse of the riverine environments where they lived and traveled. In every season of the year, they moved along and encamped on the banks of rivers, streams, and creeks throughout their vast territorial range. They fished these waters year-round, although the most intensive procurement took place from April to September. They also collected a wide range of plant products along the beds, banks, and valleys of local waterways. These were used for food, medicine, fuel, shelter, containers, weapons, and tools. And they procured many other animal species which lived along these water trails. Shoshone-Bannock situated their encampments along the waters' edges, and cached their dried foods in the embankments, terraces, rock crevices, and hillsides carved out by the actions and meanderings of the waterways that crisscrossed their lands.

A wide range of historical documents, ethnographic writings, and oral histories attest to the centrality of the rivers in the lives of the Shoshone-Bannock peoples who lived in Idaho during historic times, but in this report attention is focused primarily on the fisheries these rivers nourished. These sources clearly indicate that the Shoshone-Bannock

peoples were fishers who relied, in one degree or another, on the anadromous fish species of the Columbia River drainage and who also depended on a wide variety of other species found in the waterways of their vast territorial range. The documents further reveal that all Shoshone-Bannock peoples organized their annual subsistence cycle to include times for intensive fishing. They establish the existence of Shoshone-Bannock fishing areas throughout Idaho, eastern Oregon, southwestern Montana, western Wyoming, northern Utah, and northeastern Nevada. Even though Shoshone-Bannock peoples fished at different times and places, and even though they varied in their relative reliance on specific fisheries, it can be said with total confidence that all of those who lived in Idaho during historic times procured fish as a basic part of their diet.

In this report, the prominence of the Shoshone-Bannock's historic fisheries, fish catches, and fishing practices is revealed in several different ways: 1) it is demonstrated in recurring reports of the importance of fish in local subsistence during historic times; 2) it is evident in the scores of historic writings which document an early and continuing trade in fish between the Shoshone-Bannock and other peoples; 3) it is illustrated in their varied methods of fishing and the rich technologies associated with these; 4) it is documented in their various language dialects which include many different names for fish, their

variations, products, and seasonal runs; 5) it is represented in the context of their expressive culture in which fish occupied a place in their myths and religion; 6) and finally, it is chronicled in an extensive body of documentation which marks the specific locations where fish were reported to have been caught over the Shoshone-Bannock's extensive waterways.

This report provides details Shoshone-Bannock fishing places, practices, and history across two centuries and an enormous geographic area, but like all documentary reports it is constrained by the extent and type of evidence presented within. The report represents an extensive survey of historical sources as well as oral historical interviews, yet it can never be exhaustive. Additional historical sources as well as archaeological and linguistic research could greatly enrich our understanding of Shoshone-Bannock fishing. Thus, the reader should be aware that this report does not represent the absolute geographic or temporal limits of Shoshone-Bannock fishing, but rather, an extensive survey of the historical record which clearly establishes the importance of fish and fishing in Shoshone-Bannock culture.

PART ONE

FISH IN SHOSHONE-BANNOCK SUBSISTENCE AND TRADE: AN HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY

The importance and abundance of fish in Shoshone-Bannock subsistence is well established in Deward Walker's article "Lemhi Shoshone-Bannock Reliance on Anadromous and Other Fish Resources."[1] What is offered here supports Walker's paper with additional historic documentation. The presentation and interpretation of the documentary evidence are separated into two sections. The documents are ordered chronologically first to demonstrate the Shoshone-Bannocks' long and continuing history of subsistence fishing, and secondly to present evidence on their historical fish trade.

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[1] Deward E. Walker, Jr., "Lemhi Shoshone-Bannock Reliance on Anadromous and Other Fish Resources," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* (1993) Vol. 27(2), pp. 215-50.

1.A: HISTORIC REPORTS OF FISHING IN SUBSISTENCE

In the late nineteenth century, James A. Teit, a trader with the Okanagan began to record the stories of the people with whom he lived and intermarried. During the first years of the twentieth century, he was asked by Franz Boas[2] to gather information from other Salishian peoples who occupied the eastern plateau area of the Northwest. One of the peoples he worked with was the Flatheads, some of whose eldest tribal historians shared a history which went back to the middle of the eighteenth century and which included the Flatheads' closest allies, the Shoshone. From the Flatheads' perspective, there were two groups of Shoshone before the arrival of horses (circa 1700-1750). Those who lived at locations in and west of the Rockies and those who occupied the plains on the eastern side. According to Teit, "*these western or mountain Shoshoni subsisted to a considerable extent on the Salmon, like the Nez Perce, Spokan, and western Salish tribes* [emphasis added]."[3] These Shoshone were reported to live in the mountains and along the rivers in areas directly south of the Flathead and Nez Perce, and they were known to have crossed the Rockies periodically to trade salmon, hunt buffalo, and

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2 James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," Franz Boas, ed., *Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1927-1928* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1930), p. 25.

3 Ibid., 304.

visit with their relatives among the Flathead, Tuna'xe, Semte'use,[4] and the Shoshone who lived on the Montana plains. Of the Nez Perce and Coeur d'Alene, it was said that in this period they "never crossed the Rockies, and seldom the Bitterroot Range."[5]

The importance of fishing to the proto-historic Shoshone-Bannock is also corroborated in archeological sources,[6] but it was not until 1805 that the first European-American observations of Shoshone-Bannock fisheries and fishing practices appeared in the historic record. From this date until 1879, there is a continuous record of eyewitness accounts which describe the prominence of fishing in Shoshone-Bannock subsistence. These accounts are contained in the journals and diaries of explorers, traders, trappers, and emigrants, and they are also included in the official reports and correspondence of government personnel in the military and the civil service.

Historic and ethnographic sources reveal that the Shoshone-Bannock

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4 These Interior Salish speaking populations no longer exist as distinct populations separate from the Flathead.

5 Ibid., 305.

6 Richard N. Holmer, ed., *Shoshone-Bannock Culture History,* Reports on Investigations, 85-16 (Pocatello, ID: Swanson/Crabtree Anthropological Research Laboratory, Idaho State University, 1986); Walker, op. cit., 215; Mark G. Plew, "Implications of Nutritional Potential of Anadromous Fish Resources of the Western Snake River Plain," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* (1983), Vol. 5 (1&2), pp. 58-65; Earl H. Swanson, Jr., Melvin Aikens, David G. Rice, Donald Mitchell, Richard D. Daugherty, "Cultural Relations Between the Plateau and Great Basin," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* (1970) Vol. 4 (1), pp. 65-125.

of southern Idaho were heavily dependent on fish for their subsistence. The sources further indicate that the most intense fishing took place from April to September, when salmon and other anadromous species ascended the Salmon River to its headwaters and the Snake River to Shoshone Falls. The record also reports that the Shoshone-Bannock shared the most productive fisheries during the seasonal runs, that many of them traveled to these sites from locations in eastern Idaho and along Idaho's southern border with Utah and Nevada, and that they dried and stored large amounts of salmon from these waters for winter use and trade. And finally, the evidence shows that the Shoshone-Bannock also relied on the many varieties of non-anadromous fish species which frequented their waterways. Non-anadromous varieties were usually caught opportunistically as need required and supply permitted.

1.A.1: 1805 to 1835 - The earliest historic accounts by European-Americans on Shoshone-Bannock subsistence in Idaho appear in the journals of explorers, traders, and trappers who traveled the lands and waterways of southern Idaho between 1805 and 1835. By and large, their travels took them along the main course of the Salmon and Snake Rivers. As a result, our picture of Shoshone-Bannock fisheries is restricted by the routes these early observers covered, and it does not include many of the more remote locations where the Shoshone-Bannock were reported to fish

in later historic periods.

The first recorded encounters between Shoshone-Bannock and European-Americans came from the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The Shoshone-Bannock who Meriwether Lewis and William Clark met on the Salmon River in August of 1805 followed a procurement pattern which combined fishing and plant gathering in the spring and summer months with the hunting of buffalo and other game in the fall and winter.[7] During their stay on Horse Prairie Creek north of the Lemhi River, Lewis and Clark reported that salmon fishing was the Shoshone-Bannock's primary subsistence activity. On the nineteenth of August, while encamped in the vicinity of the Beaverhead River, Lewis noted "the salmon is the principal object of their pursuit,"[8] and the next day, he reiterated this observation when he wrote "that the natives subsisted on fish and roots principally."[9] Another member of the expedition, Patrick Gass, also confirmed the Shoshone-Bannock's heavy reliance on fish. While located along the North Fork of the Salmon River, he wrote on the twenty-second of August:

> we came to a large creek, where there is a small bottom and 3 lodges of Indians...and gave us

[7] Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D, ed. (New York: Arno Press, 1969), Vol. 2: 371, 379; Vol. 3: 15, 36 {hereafter Lewis & Clark T}; Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, Gary E. Moulton, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), Vol. 5: 120-21, 128, 144, 167 {hereafter Lewis & Clark M}.

[8] Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 2: 373-74; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5: 122.

[9] Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 2: 383; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5: 91.

> berries and fish to eat....On this bread and the fish they take out of the river, these people, who appear to be the most wretched of the human species, chiefly subsist. They gave us some dried salmon, and we proceeded down the river.[10]

Five days later, while traveling the Lemhi River, Clark wrote more about the local Shoshone-Bannock's dependence on fish. He noted:

> One man killed a Small Sammon, and the Indians gave me another which afforded us a Sleight brackfast. Those Pore people are here depending on what fish they can catch, without anything else to depend on; and appere contented, my party hourly Complaining of their retched Situation and...doubts of Starveing in a Countrey where no game of any kind except a fiew fish can be found.[11]

In addition to statements regarding the importance of fish in local diets, members of the expedition also described the richness of the fisheries and some of the Shoshone-Bannock's methods of fish procurement and preservation.[12] The combined records of the Lewis and Clark Expedition leave no doubt that at least on the North Fork and at the confluence of the Salmon and Lemhi Rivers fish were a mainstay in the summer diet of the Shoshone-Bannock.

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[10] Patrick Gass, *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery,* (Pittsburgh: David M'Keehan Publisher), p. 107.

[11] Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3: 45; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5: 175.

[12] Lewis and Clark T, Vol. 3: 6-9, 10, 15, 39, 44; Lewis and Clark M, Vol. 5: 134-41, 146-48.

A month later, on September 22, 1805, while exploring the Clearwater River, a Nez Perce told Clark that Shoshone-Bannock fished on the Snake River "South 2 sleeps away,"[13] no doubt a reference to the other productive fisheries that European-Americans would describe in later years. One of these observers was Wilson Price Hunt, a fur trapper with the Astoria party, who crossed the Snake River valley from east to west in the fall of 1811. Upon his arrival at Bannock Creek on October 23, he observed a camp of Shoshone-Bannock catching small fish not more than an inch long.[14] Three days later he encountered an encampment at the mouth of the Raft River where the inhabitants had trout.[15] But it was not until he reached locations below Shoshone Falls (the upstream limit for the migration of anadromous species) that he observed the Shoshone-Bannock's large supplies of salmon. On the twelth of November, Hunt and his party arrived in the vicinity of present-day Hagerman and found a village which had a "large quantity of salmon,"[16] and then on the fourteenth near King Hill, he described the salmon stored for winter use.[17]

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[13] Lewis and Clark T, Vol. 3: 85; Lewis and Clark M, Vol. 5: 230-31.

[14] Wilson Price Hunt, "Diary of His Overland Trip Westward to Astoria 1811-12," *Narratives. The Discovery of the Oregon Trail.* Philip Aston Rollins, ed. (New York: Edward Eberstadt & Sons, 1935), p. 291.

[15] Ibid., 292.

[16] Ibid., 294.

[17] Ibid., 295.

Although Hunt provided solid evidence of villages well-stocked with salmon, he offered no direct observations of fishing. This was because he arrived on this stretch of the Snake River after the salmon migration season.

A year later in 1812, Robert Stuart, another member of the Astoria party, had much more to write about fishing because he reached this region of the Snake during the peak of its salmon runs. As he traveled upstream, he stopped at the Salmon Falls on Monday, August 25th, to trade, and there he remarked:

> we found about 100 lodges [of] Shoshonies busily occupied in Killing & drying Fish....The fish begin to jump soon after sunrise when the Indians in great numbers with their spears swim in, to near the centre of the Falls, where some placing themselves on Rocks & others to their middle in Water, darts on all sides assail the Salmon, who struggling to ascend, and perhaps exhausted with repeated efforts, become an easy prey.[18]

He went on to write:

> Mr. Miller says that he stopped here on his way down -- it was in the afternoon, by far the best spearing time, when to his utter astonishment, the Indians in a few hours killed some thousands of fish.[19]

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[18] Robert Stuart, "Robert Stuart's Narratives of His Overland Trip Eastward From Astoria in 1812-13," *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail*, Phillip Ashton Rollins, ed. (New York: Eberstadt & Sons, 1935), p. 109

[19] Ibid., 110.

During the next decade, while traveling near these same fisheries, the Northwest Fur Company trader, Alexander Ross, compared them to the Dalles of the Columbia River.[20]

Another important fishing area for the Shoshone-Bannock was the lower reaches of the Snake and its many tributaries. When Robert Stuart arrived on the Boise River in mid-August of 1812, he observed a major Shoshone-Bannock fishery there. According to him, the Boise was "the most renowned Fishing place in this Country. It is consequently the resort of the majority of the Snakes where immense numbers of Salmon are taken."[21] Seven years later, Alexander Ross described the character of Shoshone-Bannock fishing and fisheries at this location in even greater detail. He gave evidence of the Shoshone-Bannock's reliance on fish, their intense use of local fisheries, their skills and success in harvesting them, and their immense yields.[22] Of the "Snake" branch he named the "War-are-ree-kas,"[23] Ross commented: "they live chiefly by fishing and are to be found along all the rivers, lakes, and water pools throughout the

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[20] Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West: A Narrative of Adventures in the Oregon & Rocky Mountains*, Kenneth A. Spaulding, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. 274.

[21] Stuart, op. cit., 83.

[22] Ross, op. cit., 140-42, 166-67, 178-79, 266-69.

[23] Ross divided what he called the "great Snake nation" into three populations, which he named the Sherry-dikas, "real Shoshones," the "Ban-at-tees or Mountain Snakes," and the "War-are-ree-kas," the fish eaters. Ibid., 166-67.

country,"[24] He also wrote:

> They are expert and successful fishermen and use many ingenious contrivances in catching the salmon but the principal one is that of spearing....From fifty to one hundred persons may be seen within a short distance of each other, all being employed in their own particular way. At the same time, the youngsters are not idle but employed in carrying home the fish to the camp, while the women, old and young, are each at their post, cleaning and preparing them for future use and particularly to meet the urgent demands of a long winter....*the immense quantities of this delicious and serviceable fish caught at even one of these great fish camps might furnish all London with a breakfast!* and although many hundred miles from the ocean, our people affirmed that it still retains its richness and flavour (emphasis added).[25]

The Shoshone-Bannock's impressive salmon yields and their sophisticated methods for taking these fish at locations along the Salmon River and along the lower and middle reaches of the Snake were well established in the writings of the earliest European-Americans who traveled these waterways. Later observers confirmed that the Snake River below Shoshone Falls contained some of the most productive anadromous fisheries in Shoshone-Bannock territory. The yields from these fisheries were immense. They supported large concentrations of

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[24] Ibid., 166.

[25] Ibid., 178-79.

Shoshone-Bannock who remained here throughout much of the year. And they provided for the needs of other Shoshone-Bannock who came to fish these waters annually from the bottom lands of the upper Snake and from the mountains along the Utah-Nevada border.

In the years between 1825 and 1835, the Snake River drainage was a cosmopolitan crossroads. This was a time when populations of diverse ethnicity cooperated and competed for access to southern Idaho's rich riparian resources. Rival brigades under the ownership of American and British fur companies traveled the Snake River and its many tributaries. They trapped beaver and other fur-bearing animals. The trappers, their families, and other employees associated with the fur trade brigades also depended heavily on local resources as their primary source of food. The fur parties relied on bison and other mammals, waterfowl, berries, seeds, roots, and above all fish for their subsistence.[26] Their increased extractive activity depleted many important resources. Beaver were

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[26] cf., as examples, K. G. Davies and A. M. Johnson, eds., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1826-1827, Vol. XXIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1961); Francis D. Haines, Jr., ed., *The Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831: John Work's Field Journal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971); William S. Lewis & Paul C. Phillips, eds., *The Journal of John Work* (Cleveland: The Arthur Clark Company, 1923); E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, eds., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1824 -1825 and 1825-1826, Vol. XIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society,1950); John Kirk Townsend, *A Narrative of a Journey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978); Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1827-1828 and 1828-1829 , Vol. XXVIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971); Frederick G. Young, ed., *The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth 1831-1836* (New York: Arno Press, 1973); Ross, op. cit., 179-80.

brought to the edge of extinction on the Snake and its tributaries,[27] while bison were declining. By the early 1840s, bison had virtually disappeared from the upper Snake River plains.[28]

This was also time when the Shoshone-Bannock's allies, the Flathead, Kootenai, Pend d'Oreille, Nez Perce, and Cayuse increased their travels through the Snake River country to trade at Camas Prairie and on the Green and Bear Rivers.[29] These people provisioned themselves en route through hunting, fishing, and gathering. Members from some of these tribes even remained and wintered for extended periods in the company of Shoshone-Bannock[30] or the local fur trade brigades.[31] Conversely,

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27 Louis S. Grant, "Fort Hall Under the Hudson's Bay Company, 1837-1856," *Oregon Historical Quartery* (1940) Vol. 61 (1), p. 36.

28 cf., Frémont's fascinating discussion of some of the forces behind the disappearance of the buffalo and other game in this area in Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, eds., *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont. Vol. 1, Travels from 1838 to 1844.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. 490-94.

29 cf., also Deward E. Walker, Jr., "The Shoshone-Bannock: An Anthropological Reassessment," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* (1993b) Vol. 27 (2), pp. 139-60, for a general interpretation of the Shoshone-Bannock's cultural connections to other tribes in the greater Northwest.

30 cf., for example, Warren Angus Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, Leroy R. Hafen, ed. (Denver: Fred A. Rosenstock The Old West Publishing Company, 1983), pp. 168-69; Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, Edgeley W. Todd, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 351-53; Osborne Russell, *Journal of a Trapper*, Aubrey L. Haines, ed. (Portland: Champoeg Press, Reed College for Oregon Historical Society, 1955), pp. 41, 68-69, 114-15; Rich and Johnson, op. cit., 61, 168; Ross, op. cit., 169-71; Williams, op. cit., 17-28, 58, 68.

31 cf., for example, Ferris, op. cit., 418-19; Irving, op. cit., 81-3; Haines, op. cit., 42, 166; Lewis and Phillips, op. cit., 113-17, 138-39, 147-48; Rich and Johnson, op. cit., 155-57; Ross, op. cit., 169-71; Townsend, op. cit., 86, 102-05; Williams, op. cit., 28-29, 43.

Shoshone-Bannock traveled periodically into their neighbors' countries to visit and trade, subsisting on the land and water resources of their various hosts.[32]

The decade before 1836 was also a period when the Shoshone-Bannock's long-standing enemies, the Blood, Piegan, Blackfoot, and Atsina escalated their attacks and extended these into the valleys of the upper Snake as well as the Salmon and Bear Rivers. While engaged in their hostile activity, they too supported themselves by exploiting local food resources.[33] Between 1824 and 1837, the infiltration of war parties from the Blackfeet confederacy was so intense and wide-ranging that the Shoshone-Bannock had to adapt their procurement and land-use strategies to their enemy's presence. When using some of the richer and more vulnerable resource sites along the Salmon and upper Snake Rivers, they banded together among themselves and/or with their allies in large encampments. Or else, they disbanded into small parties which ranged through the most remote recesses of the country in search of food and

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[32] Annie Heloise Abel, ed., *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*, (University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), pp. 154-55, 238-39; Winfred Blevins, ed., *The River West: The Adventures of Joe Meek, Volume One: The Mountain Years* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1983), p. 233; Gass, op. cit., 160; Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 2: 373-74; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5: 122-23; Teit, op. cit., 304-05, 317; 322-25, 357-58.

[33] Zuni Navo, Oral history interview with Lorin R. Gaardner at Salmon, Idaho (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, American Indian History Project, Doris Duke Number 351, February 29, 1968), pp. 1-7, 10-19. Ms. Navo was Bannock and at the time of the interview she was eighty years old. See also, Ferris, op. cit., 255; Rich and Johnson, op. cit., 58-59, 149-50, 153; Ross, op. cit., 150, 254-55, 258-60; Townsend, op. cit., 146; Williams, op. cit., 28-29, 79-82, 126; Young, op. cit., 228.

shelter. Even these readjustments did not always offer adequate protection, and during this period, some of the most productive resources sites along the Lemhi River appear to have been abandoned temporarily because they were too dangerous for people to encamp and carry out any prolonged subsistence activity.

Although the Lemhi Valley may have been safer in the early nineteenth century, when Lewis and Clark entered the area, it was not immune from the depredations of the Blackfeet and Atsina. In 1805, the local Shoshone-Bannock were in mourning after an enemy attack in which many of their people were killed and much of their property stolen.[34] In later years, this valley became a dangerous ground, and by 1824, it was known among traders as a "war road."[35] Even though several, British and American trading parties traversed the Lemhi Valley in the 1820s and 1830s, only Warren Angus Ferris observed the remains of a Shoshone-Bannock encampment along a stretch of the river reported to be rich in salmon.[36] Ferris, a member of the American Fur Company, was also the only one to provide an eyewitness account of a Shoshone-Bannock presence in one of the more remote locations of the Salmon River drainage. On July 13, 1831, he encountered a small party of Shoshone-Bannock at the

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34 Lewis & Clark T, op. cit., Vol. 2: 243; Lewis & Clark M, op. cit., Vol. 5: 83.

35 Ross, op. cit., 242-43.

36 Ferris, op. cit., 228.

headwaters of the Salmon in the Stanley Basin and described their subsistence as follows:

> They subsist upon the flesh of elk, deer, and bighorns, and upon salmon which ascend to the fountain sources of this river, and are here taken in great numbers....We found them extremely anxious to exchanges salmon for buffalo meat, of which they are very fond, and which they never procure in this country unless by purchase of their friends who occasionally come from the plains to trade with them.[37]

Unlike the people Lewis and Clark encountered along the Lemhi River, the ones Ferris met were a mountain-adapted people who lived throughout the year at the higher elevations of the Salmon and its tributaries. Because they traveled in small groups and usually encamped in isolated mountain valleys, outsiders rarely sighted them or reported their presence in the area.

As in the past, most accounts of Shoshone-Bannock settlement and subsistence followed the fur traders along the more well-traveled Snake River route. Beginning in 1825, the Hudson's Bay Company sent several expeditions to explore and trap the Snake River and its tributaries. The entries in the journals of Peter Skene Ogden and his successor, John Work, document Shoshone-Bannock settlements, subsistence, and the rich food resources their lands and waterways provided. From 1831 to 1835, several independent American companies traveled and trapped the Snake

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[37] Ibid., 171.

area as well, and their accounts also left behind a rich documentary trail on patterns of Shoshone-Bannock water and land use.

In his journals, Ogden made numerous observations about the subsistence practices of Shoshone-Bannock who lived year-round along the Snake River.[38] Although his journals contain more information about game animals, especially the locations and yields of beaver, they also include reports on fish. One of Ogden's first observations about anadromous fish appeared in an entry dated October 23, 1825 where he described Shoshone-Bannock collecting dead salmon on the Boise River after the fall run,[39] a practice Robert Stuart also mentioned two decades earlier near the mouth of the Wood River.[40] In the following spring on March 2, Ogden noted the importance of the Snake River and its fish to the Shoshone-Bannock who lived in the vicinity of King Hill when he wrote:

> it is however a valuable River to the poor natives as it supplies them with salmon. Sturgeon also ascend this stream in the Spring but the natives kill but few of them, they also take a few salmon Trout but I know not at what season our success 2 bea.[41]

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38 Davies & Johnson, op. cit., 131-33; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 117, 132-36, 139-41, 144-46, 175-76, 181-82; Williams, op. cit., 13, 15-16, 34-36, 41, 52, 57-58, 69, 136-37, 140, 156.

39 Rich & Johnson, ibid., 91.

40 Stuart, op. cit., 108.

41 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 136.

On the 26th of May he again noted Shoshone-Bannock fishing for sturgeon along the middle reaches of the Snake.[42]

Ogden also made notes about the abundance of non-anadromous species and their place in Shoshone-Bannock diets. While traveling the lower Snake and its tributaries in July of 1827, he wrote of an encampment "with a good stock of small dried carp all were traded and will supply us food for three days so much in our favor."[43] Four months later, he reported a settlement on the Boise River whose inhabitants arrived at his camp:

> loaded with small carp of a most indifferent kind but with which this river, spring and fall, swarms with, and when the salmon season is over afford food for the miserable Snakes.[44]

In the early 1830s, the lower reaches of the Snake and its adjoining tributaries, the Boise, Payette, and Weiser to the east and the Owyhee, Malheur, and Burnt to the west, continued to be described as highly productive fisheries for the Shoshone-Bannock. John Work, who followed Ogden as the Hudson's Bay Company's principal trader in the Snake River region between 1830 and 1832, also left additional evidence of the Shoshone-Bannock's reliance on salmon along the Boise, Payette, and

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42 Ibid., 170.

43 Davies & Johnson, op. cit., 133.

44 Williams, op. cit., 15.

Weiser Rivers.[45] Nathaniel Wyeth, an American fur trader, arrived on the lower Snake in 1832 and observed how the banks of local streams were densely populated during the spring and fall salmon runs. On September 12, 1832, while approaching the junctions of the Boise and Owyhee Rivers, he wrote: "The river is full of salmon and a plenty of them are to be had of the Indians whom we meet every few mils [sic] fishing on the banks of the stream."[46] Two years later, the naturalist and ornithologist, John Townsend, who traveled with Wyeth's second expedition, also reported salmon in great abundance along the lower reaches of the Snake.[47] A few days afterward, he observed: "In a short time the Indians came to us in great numbers, with bundles of dried salmon in their arms, and a few recent [fresh] ones."[48]

Reminiscent of an earlier account by Alexander Ross, which described in some detail the storage and preservation of fish,[49] Townsend offered some words on another fish encampment on the Boise. He wrote:

> Fish, recent and half dried, were scattered all over the ground...others which had been split, were hanging on rude platforms erected within the

45 Haines, op. cit., 13, 17; Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 166-67.

46 Young, op. cit., 169.

47 Townsend, op. cit., 139.

48 Ibid., 145.

49 Ross, op. cit., 269.

> 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.[50]

In the same area, another American fur trader, Captain Benjamin Bonneville described how his expedition came upon parties of Shoshones exploiting the fall spawning run and preparing fish for winter storage. On October 20th of 1834, he stated:

> The Shoshokoes, whom they had met with in such scanty numbers on their journey down the river, [the previous summer], now absolutely thronged its banks to profit by the abundance of salmon, and lay up a stock for winter privisions. Scaffolds were everywhere erected, and immense quantities of fish drying upon them. At this season of year, however, the salmon are extremely poor.[51]

From the journals of the earliest trapping parties[52] to the records of Bonneville and Wyeth's expeditions,[53] there were numerous accounts of Shoshone-Bannock settlements along the lower Snake and its tributaries with dried and fresh fish. The descriptions indicate substantial yields, sophisticated techniques for harvesting fish, and large scale efforts to

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50 Townsend, op. cit.,148-49.

51 Irving, op. cit., 349.

52 Davies & Johnson, op. cit., 131, 133; Haines, op. cit., 13, 17; Hunt, op. cit., 296, 299; Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 166-67; Ross, op. cit., 178-79, 266, 269; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 91-92; Stuart, op. cit., 83; Williams, op. cit., 15.

53 Irving, op. cit., 349; Townsend, op. cit., 139, 141-43, 145, 147-49, 151, 152-53, 155-58; Young, op. cit., 168-71, 230.

preserve and store the catches for trade and for subsistence in off seasons.

In the 1830s, the middle reaches of the Snake River between Shoshone Falls and the mouth of the Bruneau were described as another location for significant Shoshone-Bannock fisheries. When he approached the Salmon Falls in December of 1833, Bonneville noted:

> Just above, the whole stream pitched in one cascade above forty feet in height, with a thundering sound, casting up a volume of spray that hung in the air like a silver mist. These are called by some the Fishing Falls as the salmon are taken here in immense quantities. They cannot get by these falls.[54]

Seven months later in July of 1834, when crossing the same area again, he witnessed Shoshone-Bannock fishing and described it as follows:

> These fish are taken in great numbers at the numerous falls of about four feet pitch. The Indians flank the shallow water just below, and spear them as they attempt to pass. In wide parts of the river, also, they place a sort of withes, and forming an angle in the middle of the current where a small opening is left for the salmon to pass. Around this opening the Indians station themselves on small rafts, and ply their spears with great success.[55]

The middle Snake was a major fishery, as observed here by Bonneville and earlier by Stuart, but it was not until after 1835

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[54] Irving, op. cit., 221.

[55] Ibid., 332-33.

that more extensive records were left by the scores of emigrants who stopped at this location to trade with the local Shoshone-Bannock.

Further down river at the mouth of the Bruneau, fur traders described yet another productive fishery. On September 9, 1832 Wyeth remarked:

> In the morning went to see the Indians catch Salmon which is done by entangling them in their passage up the creek among dams which they erect and spearing them they catch an immense quantity the operation commences in the morning at a signal given by their chief.[56]

John Ball, an amateur geologist who accompanied Wyeth's first party in 1832, also described Shoshone-Bannock fisheries on the Bruneau as follows:

> In some ten or twelve days after leaving the trappers, we reached the mouth of the creek where it joins the Lewis (Snake) river. And here we found a large encampment of Indians, being a favorable site for fishing. The first thing on arriving the chief, in their usual hospitable manner, sent us a fine salmon for our dinner, and would have deemed it an insult to be offered pay for it. We were strangers and his guests.[57]

Two years later, Bonneville reported further on the Bruneau people's

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[56] Young, op. cit., 167-68.

[57] John Ball, *The Autobiography of John Ball, 1794-1894* (Glendale, Ca: The Arthur Clark Co., 1925), p. 84.

dependence on fish as well, and the "great quantities" of salmon they dried and traded to whites.[58]

The Shoshone-Bannock populations who wintered and remained much of the year along the middle and lower stretches of the Snake and its tributaries did not move far afield in search of a livelihood. Although the hunting of large game required them to make periodic excursions to the highland areas north and south of the Snake River, most other subsistence activities took place in the rich riparian environments along the river and its tributaries. Crops of wild bulbs, roots, seeds, and grasses were especially abundant as were the supplies of anadromous and non-anadromous fish species.[59]

Although fishing could and did occur throughout the year, the most intense season along the middle and lower reaches of the Snake River took place from early spring through late summer. During this time, the Shoshone-Bannock who remained along this stretch of the river were joined by populations who wintered elsewhere especially on the upper reaches of the river. Like the Shoshone-Bannock Lewis and Clark met in 1805, those who wintered along the upper Snake above Shoshone Falls divided their subsistence year between fishing and gathering in the spring

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58 Irving, op. cit., 224.

59 Ibid., 122-23; Hunt, op. cit., 296; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 133-34, 141, 181-82; Stuart, op. cit., 83; Williams, op. cit., 16; Young, op. cit., 167.

and summer and hunting in the fall and winter. In a report to his superiors for the year 1825-1826, the Hudson's Bay Company trader, Peter Skene Ogden, summarized the subsistence cycle of the upriver Shoshone-Bannock as follows: "The first in the Fall resort to Buffaloe, and in the Spring descend the South Branch and support themselves on Roots and Salmon."[60] On the 15th of October in 1827, while crossing Camas Prairie near Fairfield, Idaho, he gave additional evidence of the upstream Shoshone-Bannock's seasonal dependence on the Snake River salmon fisheries.

> It is from this place the lower Snakes form into a body every fall prior to their starting for buffalo, and collect camas to enable them to reach it without starving. It appears it is not long since they have started and their camp may be about three hundred tents. In the spring of the year they return again to this place, and scatter on the different streams in quest of salmon,...[61]

And finally on the 15th of December in 1827, while encamped along the Snake River bottom lands, Ogden wrote of the local Shoshone-Bannock:

> When they take their departure in the spring, their supplies of salmon and carp, with roots, will supply them with sufficiency again to reach buffalo."[62]

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60 Rich & Johnson, ibid., 263.

61 Williams, op. cit., 16.

62 Ibid., 36.

The annual migrations of this upriver population were well recorded in the early historic record. On February 13, 1826 Ogden came upon a fishing encampment at the mouth of the Malheur where the vast majority of the population had traveled upstream to hunt buffalo.[63] Ten days later on February 23, he commented on another settlement on the Boise River where:

> there are no want of Indian Roads and from the number of old Huts no doubt in the Salmon season no scarcity of Indians but at present only a few starving wretches to be seen.[64]

The following month on the 3rd of March, while traveling near King Hill, he remarked: "From appearances they are most numerous here in at what season I cannot say the Snake Indians say in April and May but remain no longer when they travel again Eastward."[65] Three weeks later (March 23-26), while encamped at the Raft River, Ogden actually observed the passing of large parties of Shoshone-Bannock descending the Snake to fish down river.[66]

This annual migratory pattern would be corroborated by even more

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63 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 126-27. The following year on July 14, 1827, Ogden noted the local population was ready to assemble at the same location for their movement to the buffalo grounds. cf., Davies and Johnson, op. cit., 133.

64 Rich & Johnson, ibid., 132.

65 Ibid., 137-38.

66 Ibid., 144-45.

observers during the 1830s. Captain Bonneville reported a large population with:

> 400 warriors mostly afoot, live about the falls of Lewis River, then during the summer months, catching & drying Salmon, and in the fall move up that river to the Great Plain, and hunt the Buffaloe which they dry and return to their falls.[67]

He also described the trails these groups covered along the Snake River and its tributaries, when he wrote:

> As soon as the spring opens, they move down the right bank of Snake River, and encamp at the heads of the Boisee and Payette....Hence they strike upon the tributary streams on the left bank of Snake River, and encamp at the rise of the Portneuf and Blackfoot streams, in the buffalo range.[68]

The same kind of seasonal movement was also noted by John Townsend. While encamped on the Big Lost River on August 12, 1834, he noted "we came to a large, recent Indian encampment, probably of Bannecks, who are traveling down to the fisheries on Snake river,"[69] and then a month later on the 14th of September, while traveling along the Wood River, he reported: "Snakes...were returning from the fisheries, and traveling

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67 Irving, op. cit., 384.

68 Ibid., 123.

69 Townsend, op. cit., 132.

towards the buffalo on the 'big river.'"[70] Another independent fur trapper, Osborne Russell observed, while in the vicinity of Birch Creek in September of 1835, a large Bannock village with 332 lodges who had just returned from salmon fishing to hunt buffalo.[71] In a letter to Dr. Brinsmade dated January 1, 1833, John Ball also described the dual dependence of the Shoshone-Bannock on the buffalo and the salmon when he wrote:

> The Snake Indians hunt the buffalo. That animal, however, does not range below the American Falls. They also live on salmon, which they dry. In this quarter, and on the Columbia, they live on fish principally.[72]

The upriver populations used fisheries closer to their winter encampments as well, where they caught fish on an opportunistic basis when need arose. In May of 1833, while camped near *Pohogoy*, Captain Bonneville

> 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.[73]

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[70] Ibid., 135.

[71] Russell, op. cit., 36-37.

[72] Ball to Brinsmade, January 1, 1833 [From the N.Y. Commercial Advertiser]. Mr. Ball's Third Letter From Beyuond the Rocky Mountains --Part 1. Reprinted in Archer Butler Hulbert, *The Call of the Columbia: Iron Men and Saints Take the Oregon Trail,* (Denver: The Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1934), p. 175.

[73] Irving, op. cit., 274

The catching of trout and other non-anadromous species of fish was reported in this area as early as 1811 by Wilson Price Hunt,[74] and in later decades it would be recorded by other observers as well.

In the highland areas south of the Snake River, the annual subsistence round of people who wintered there also included trips to catch salmon at the "big river." In 1826, Peter Skene Ogden observed a family from the upper reaches of the Bruneau traveling down river to fish at its confluence with the Snake.[75] And six years later, the American fur trader, Nathaniel Wyeth observed Shoshone on the Bruneau carrying spears "on their way to fish downstream."[76]

Fishing also took place in the desert highlands at the headwaters of the Bruneau, Jarbidge, and Owyhee Rivers. Zenas Leonard, an independent trapper, wrote about the subsistence of those who lived and traveled the upper reaches of the Owyhee. On September 2, 1831 he noted the following:

> These Indians subsist principally upon salmon, and such other fish as they can catch, with the assistance of roots, buds, berries, and some small

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74 Hunt, op. cit., 291-92.

75 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 192

76 Young, op. cit., 167.

game, which they kill with bow and arrow.[77]

A year later Wyeth reported a camp of 120 people gathering "salmon spawn" and catching a "dozen spotted fish resembling tom-cod" (probably bull trout) along the Jarbidge River,[78] and one of his trappers, John Ball, noted that the local Shoshone had dried salmon.[79]

Farther east on waterways which emptied into the Great Basin drainage, there were similar reports of fishing in the interior desert highlands. At Deep Creek, Ogden remarked on March 29, 1829 that his party:

> ...need not apprehend any danger from the Black-feet this season and little from the Snake Indians as the latter are now scattered in the small rivers in quest of fish and roots.[80]

And on August 24, 1832, Leonard described the subsistence patterns of Shoshone speakers at nearby Dove Creek as follows:

> These Indians appear to live very poor and in the most forlorn condition. They generally make but one visit to the buffalo country during the year, where they remain until they jirk as much meat as their females can lug home on their backs. They then quit the mountains and return to the plains,

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77 John C. Ewers, ed., *Adventures of Zenas Leonard Fur Trader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p. 48.

78 Young, op. cit., 165.

79 Ball, op. cit., p. 83.

80 Williams, op. cit., 136.

> where they subsist on fish and small game the remainder of the year. They keep no horses are always an easy prey for other Indians provided with guns and horses.[81]

At upstream locations in Oregon, there was a parallel pattern of local Northern Paiute speakers fishing the higher elevation watercourses. In the summer of 1829, Ogden described fishing on the Donner & Blitzen,[82] the Crooked, and the John Day rivers,[83] during his 1831[84] and 1832[85] expeditions, Work also reported extensive fishing among Northern Paiute in Oregon's interiors.

From 1811 to 1835, European-American observers noted many settlements along the Snake River and its tributaries where the Shoshone-Bannock were either fishing, drying fish, and/or trading preserved or fresh fish. They also reported the seasonal movements of populations to harvest the abundant supplies of fish that ran the Snake and its tributaries. During these years, eyewitness accounts of the Shoshone-Bannock's reliance on fish resources were extensive. Most of these confirm the intensity of fishing during the spring and late summer months and the large size of anadromous fish harvests. But they also offer

81 Ewers, op. cit., 65-66.

82 Williams, op. cit., 156.

83 Ibid., 164

84 Haines, F., op. cit., 135, 139

85 Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 170, 173.

considerable evidence for the Shoshone-Bannock's reliance on other species of fish.

When all documents from the years between 1811 and 1835 are combined, tabulated, and compared, the results are revealing. Of 264 discrete journal entries which touch upon the procurement of faunal and floral resources, ninety-two (or 34%) of them refer to fish. By contrast, eighty-four (31%) discuss buffalo and other big game, while forty-six (18%) mention small game. Plants are noted in thirty-six references (14%) and insects in seven (3%). Considering that fur traders would be predisposed toward recording information about game, especially beaver, the fact that fish are included in more than a third of the references is significant. The indisputable conclusion is that fish occupied a prominent place in the annual subsistence cycles of Idaho's historic Shoshone-Bannock.

1.A.2: 1836 to 1862 - By the time the first emigrant wagons began their trek across the Oregon Trail in 1836, many of the once abundant food resources in the Snake River country were starting to disappear. The bison were nearly extinct, and many other large game, commonly sighted in earlier times, were now reported as scarce. Before his departure from the region in 1834, Nathaniel Wyeth claimed that many Shoshone-Bannock

food resources had already started to show signs of a downward spiral.[86] With growing numbers of settlers and their stock crossing Shoshone-Bannock lands and river ways, additional pressures were placed on local food resources and pasturage for horses.[87] In 1839 Thomas Farnham reported that the area had become "more destitute of game" with the passage of increasing numbers of emigrants.[88] Charles Preuss, a member of Frémont's expedition noted that:

> The white people have ruined the country of the Snake Indians and should therefore treat them well. Almost all the natives are now obliged to live on roots; game can scarcely be seen any more.[89]

And by 1859 Frederick W. Lander, a government surveyor, wrote: "the Snakes or Shoshonees have probably suffered more than any tribe from the

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86 Nathaniel Wyeth, "Indian Tribes of the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains; The Salt Lake Basin, The Valley of the Great Saaptin or Lewis River, and the Pacific Coasts of Oregon," in Henry R. Schoolcraft, ed., *Information Respecting the Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Part I* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1851), p. 207.

87 Brigham D. Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni* (Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Publishers, 1980), pp. 27-28; Floyd O'Neil, Allison Freedman, and Gregory E. Smoak, "The Land Use Practices and Patterns of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, 1804-1870." Unpublished report for the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, September 21, 1995) pp. 37-38.

88 Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, Anahuac and Rocky Mountains and in the Oregon Territory* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1843), p. 114.

89 Charles Preuss, *Exploring with Frémont: The Private Diaries of Charles Preuss, Cartographer for John C. Frémont on His First, Second, and Fourth Expeditions to the Far West.* Edwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde, eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 86.

passage of emigration along the narrow valleys of their rivers."[90] Like their relatives who lived along the overland trail that followed the course of the Humboldt River, the Shoshone-Bannock of the Salmon, Snake, and Bear River country probably concentrated more of their resource procurement in areas out of the direct sight and reach of the emigrants in order to avoid contact and the conflict that now often followed.[91]

Except for some of the more visible and productive resource sites, such as the fisheries below Shoshone Falls and in the Boise River region, there is less overall information on Shoshone-Bannock subsistence in southern Idaho than existed in earlier decades.[92] In contrast to the earlier fur trappers, who depended heavily on the Shoshone-Bannock for their own subsistence, the emigrants relied less on native peoples for their foods. Although the emigrants certainly supplemented their diets with fish and meat acquired from various tribes along the Oregon Trail, they appear to have carried more of their own food with them.[93] As a

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90 U. S. Congress, House, *Report upon the Pacific Wagon Roads,* Ex. Doc. 108, 35th Cong., 2d sess., serial 1008, 1859, p. 69.

91 Martha C. Knack and Omer C. Stewart, *As Long as the River Shall Run: An Ethnohistory of Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 30-39 for a discussion of the impact of the fur trade and emigrant travel on riparian resources areas along the Humboldt.

92 While there is still substantial documentation for subsistence practices near major stops along the Overland Trail, such as Fort Hall, the Salmon Falls, and the Boise River, other important food procurement sites beyond the Snake River Valley are hardly reported at all.

93 O'Neil, Freedman, and Smoak, op. cit., 42-51.

result, they may have been less inclined to write about native subsistence practices. The early emigrants, however, were like the fur traders in that they did not remain in Idaho. By and large, they passed through the region en route to the rich valleys of Oregon and Washington.

When emigrants first began to cross the Snake River valley en route to Oregon in the 1830s, they often noted the local Shoshone-Bannock's dependence on fish and wild plants in their diaries especially along the middle reaches of the Snake River. One of the first, Jason Lee, who followed the Overland Trail in 1834, wrote on August 11:

> they have few horses and no guns and live chiefly on fish and roots, hence the 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.[94]

Two years later on August 12, 1836 Narcissa P. Whitman, a missionary, observed them fishing at the Salmon Falls:

> Raised camp this morn at Sunrise. Came two hours ride to the Salmon fishery. Found a few lodges of Diggers of the Snake tribe (so called because they live on roots during winter) who have just commenced fishing.[95]

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[94] Jason Lee, "Diary of Reverend Jason Lee-II," Dorothy Hull, ed., *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 1916, Vol. 17 (3), p. 247.

[95] Narcisa P. Whitman, "Mrs. Whitman's Diary, July to December 1836," in *First Women over the Rockies,* Clifford M. Drury, ed. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963), Vol. 1, p. 82.

Two other female emigrants, Sarah W. Smith[96] and Myra F. Eells[97] reported Shoshone-Bannock fishing there as well. And in the summer of 1839, Asahel Munger,[98] Sidney Smith,[99] and Frederick A. Wislizenus[100] mentioned the fisheries at this location too.

In the 1840s, emigrant diaries continued to confirm the importance of Shoshone-Bannock fisheries from Shoshone Falls to the Bruneau River. On August 21, 1841 Joseph Williams described the native peoples of the Salmon Falls area as follows:

> A large company of the root diggers live here in little lodges made of will bushes and grass. Here they catch thousands of salmon. These, with the roots they dig, constitute their food. Their little lodges were lined with fish, of which we bought plenty to do us.[101]

Other descriptions from this era, including an 1844 diary entry by James

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96 Sarah White Smith, "Diary of Sarah White Smith," in *First Women over the Rockies,* Clifford M. Drury, ed. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963), Vol. 3, p. 104.

97 Myra F. Eells, *1838 Diaries of Myra F. Eells.* Original manuscript (Portland: Oregon State Historical Society), pp. 55-56.

98 Asahel Munger and Wife, "Diary of Asahel Munger and his Wife," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (December, 1907), Vol. 8, p. 401.

99 Leroy Hafen and Ann Hafen, eds., *To The Rockies and Oregon, 1839-1842: with Diaries and Accounts by Sidney Smith, Amos Cook, Joseph Holman, E. Willard Smith, Francis Fletcher, Joseph Williams, Obadiah Oakley, Robert Shortess, T. J. Farnham* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1855), pp. 84-86.

100 Frederick Adolph Wislizenus, *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1989) p. 108.

101 Hafen & Hafen, op. cit., 238.

Clyman,[102] a former American fur trapper and an 1845 description by Joel Palmer,[103] confirm the sizable quantities of fish caught and stored along this section of the Snake. Even an 1846 Oregon Trail guide described the richness of the fisheries at Salmon Falls:

> The Indians take immense quantities of Salmon here, which they cut into thin slices, dry in the Sun, and afterwards pack them up in grass cases. The natives along the Snake River live principally upon fish and roots.[104]

Finally, George Goodheart, a fur trapper, who came to the area in the late 1840s related how his party met up with Shoshone-Bannock at Rock Creek.

> Here we found Indians, both Shoshone and Bannock. They were preparing for salmon fishing. They were putting traps in the creek and building racks for drying.[105]

During the decade of the 1850s, the cavalcade of emigrants continued to mention Shoshone-Bannock fishing along the middle Snake in their personal journals and diaries. Clarence Bagley recalled in his

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[102] Charles L. Camp, ed., *James Clyman Frontiersman: As Told in his Own Reminiscences and Diaries* (Portland: Champoeg Press, 1960), p. 104.

[103] Joel Palmer, "Journal of Travels Over the Oregon Trail in 1845-1846," in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels. Volume XXX* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), pp. 93-94.

[104] Overton Johnson & Wm. H. Winter, *Route Across the Rocky Mountains: Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier*, Carl L. Cannon, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), p. 29.

[105] C. S. Walgamott, *Reminiscences of Early Days: A Series of Historical Sketches and Happenings in the Early Days of Snake River Valley* (Twin Falls, ID: C. S. Walgamott, 1926), p. 29.

memoirs in late July 1852:

> At the latter place [Kanaka Rapids] we got our first salmon. This was a notable point for the catching of these fish by the Indians who came there from many miles in every direction to catch and dry the salmon for their winter's food. All sorts of trades were made for the fish. The Indians had no use for money but were glad to exchange for clothing and particularly for ammunition.[106]

Two other emigrants, P. V. Crawford[107] and John S. Zeiber,[108] reported Shoshone-Bannock fishing and trade at the same location.

In addition to the well-known fisheries along the middle Snake, those on the Boise River were also noted by the emigrants who traveled the Oregon Trail. Most of the emigrants[109] simply recalled how they purchased salmon from the native inhabitants of the Boise area, although Thomas Farnham described the fishing and the preservation of salmon for winter use.[110] When Julius Brenchley reached the same area on the 22nd of September in 1850, he described a non-Indian's dependence on the

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106 Clarence P. Bagley, "Crossing the Plains," *Washington Historical Quarterly* (July 1922) Vol. 13, p. 176.

107 P. V. Crawford, "Journal of a Trip across the Plains, 1851," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (June 1924) Vol. 25, p. 156.

108 Author Unknown, "Thousand Springs and Salmon Falls," *Idaho Yesterdays* (1974) Vol. 18, p. 22.

109 Eells, op. cit., August 14-15, 1836; Hafen and Hafen, op. cit., 86, 238.

110 Farnham, op. cit., 139.

salmon as follows:

> The only White living there was a Scotchman, who was trading in peltries with the Indians. This man's food was almost entirely salmon, fresh and dried, and dried salmon-skins, which have a little of the flesh still remaining on the inside as they come from the Indian fisheries and which are boiled in milk.[111]

And then further downstream toward the Burnt River, he observed the Shoshone-Bannock

> engaged in spearing salmon. They are very expert at this work, and it is not very unusual for an Indian to spear three or four salmon, from twenty to thirty pounds in weight each, in the course of ten minutes.[112]

Although not as visually impressive nor as readily observed as the fisheries on the middle Snake, those along its lower reaches continued to contribute substantially to the well being of the local Shoshone-Bannock as documents from later decades show.

The importance of Shoshone-Bannock fishing below Shoshone Falls was also recounted in the scientific and military expeditions of this period. In 1840, Charles Wilkes, a member of one government expedition, gave a generalized account of the Shoshone-Bannock and their reliance on fishing. He wrote:

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111 Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City,* Vol. 2 (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), p. 505.

112 Ibid., 506.

> The Snakes, or Shoshones, are widely scattered tribes....The hunters report, that the proper country of the Snakes is to the east of the Youta Lake, and north of the Snake or Lewis River; but they are found in many detached places. The largest band is located near Fort Boise, on the Snake river, to the north of the Bonnacks. The snakes have horses and fire-arms and derive their subsistence both from the chase and from fishing. There are other bands of them, to the north of the Bonnacks, who have no horses, and live on acorns and roots.[113]

More detailed government documents of fishing along the middle Snake, however, come from the records of the Frémont Expedition which traveled the river in 1843. On October 1 the explorer, John Charles Frémont described fishing at Kanaka Rapids:

> Our encampment was about one mile below the Fishing Falls, a series of cateracts with very inclined planes, which are probably so named because they form a barrier to the ascent of the salmon; and the great fisheries, from which the inhabitants of this barren region almost entirely derive a subsistence, commence at this place.[114]

The next day, Charles Preuss, a cartographer who accompanied Frémont, recalled the abundance of fish at Kanaka Rapids when he wrote:

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113 Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), Vol. 4, pp. 471-72.

114 John Charles Frémont, *Narratives of Exploration and Adventure,* Allan Nevins, ed. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1969), p. 269.

> Yesterday we pased the Fishing Falls....Below the falls the fish rise in such multitudes that the Indians can pierce them with their spears without looking.[115]

Theodore Talbot, another member of the Frémont party, also remarked on the density of Shoshone-Bannock occupation along the Snake River's banks during the fishing season when he observed on the 3rd of October that "the river [Snake] on this side and all the islands are lined with shanties and black with indians all occupied in catching or drying the salmon."[116] The next day Frémont found the remains of fishing equipment along a small creek just before Mountain Home.[117] And when he arrived at the Boise River on the 7th of October, he reported:

> During the summer, the only subsistence of these people is derived from the salmon....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.[118]

Finally, in 1849, another military expedition left records of Shoshone-Bannock fisheries on the Snake. In his journal Osborne Cross wrote: "It was at these falls [Big Salmon] that we met a few Indians, for the first

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115 Preuss, op. cit., 91.

116 Theodore Talbot, *The Journals of Theodore Talbot 1843 and 1849-52,* Charles H. Carey, ed. (Portland: Metropolitan Press, 1931), p. 54.

117 Frémont, op. cit., 272; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 533-34.

118 Frémont, op. cit., 276-77; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 538.

time since leaving Fort Hall, who had assembled here to lay in their supply of salmon for the winter, as well as to subsist on them during the fall."[119]

In this era, salmon fishing below Shoshone Falls was still carried on by the Shoshone-Bannock who traveled to the region from other locales. On August 24, 1849 J. Goldsborough Bruff, a former employee of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers, noted that some of the Shoshone-Bannock had "dried salmon to barter," and that their "bundles of dried fish were deposited on the well platform" at Fort Hall.[120] This reveals, of course, the long-standing practice of upriver Shoshone-Bannock acquiring anadromous species downstream. Six years earlier on October 6, Talbot had made an interesting observation about the contrasting uses of the middle Snake by different groups of Shoshone-Bannock. After encountering a small party traveling to the Snake River from the foothills of the Sawtooths, Talbot wrote:

> These poor creatures [Diggers-Shoshone] had been wandering over the barren hills and sandy plains during the summer, in quest of a scanty support, and were now on their way to the 'Great river," as they call the Saptin, to endeavor to obtain a few fish for their winter subsistence....The Banak Indians who are the most powerful hold them in the spring when the salmon and other fishes are in

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119 Author Unknown, "Thousand Springs and Salmon Falls," *Idaho Yesterdays* Vol. 18 (Fall 1974), p. 21.

120 J. Goldsborough Bruff, *Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff,* Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944) p. 107.

best condition--later on different tribes of the Shoshonees hord the monopoly.[121]

It is highly doubtful, however, that there was any kind of formalized "pecking order" among Shoshone-Bannock in the use of these fisheries, as Talbot statement appears to imply. In fact, most of the historic and ethnographic evidence, including Wyeth's highly informative writing on the matter,[122] indicates otherwise: it suggests that the fisheries were open and widely shared.[123] Instead, Talbot's remark simply confirms what Robert and Yolanda Murphy interpreted as a good example of the "simultaneous use of abundant salmon runs by people of diverse locality and condition."[124]

Given the Shoshone-Bannock's contrasting subsistence cycles and seasonal movements, the points at which various groups would have reached and utilized the fish resources of the Snake would have been different.[125] Thus, the large encampments of equestrian Shoshone-Bannock, who wintered on the upper Snake, would have fished the region

121 Talbot, op. cit., 56.

122 Wyeth, op. cit., 207.

123 Sven Liljeblad, "Indian Peoples of Idaho" (Unpublished mimeograph, 1957), pp. 23, 36, 54; Robert F. Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society," *Anthropological Records* (1960), Vol. 16 (6), p. 293; Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970 [reprint of 1938 edition]), pp. 54, 168, 192, 194.

124 Murphy & Murphy, ibid., 320

125 Ibid.

much earlier in order to reach the buffalo plains in the fall,[126] while the small parties of Shoshone-Bannock who procured their summer foods in the surrounding mountains may well have descended to the Snake at a later date to catch and dry salmon for winter use. These differing orientations were observed by the fur trapper, Osborne Russell, who traveled the Green, Bear, and Snake Rivers between 1834 and 1843; he contrasted the large encampments of Shoshone-Bannock who included buffalo hunting in their subsistence cycle with smaller "detached companies comprising of from 2 to 10 families who subsist upon roots fish seeds and berries."[127]

As reported in the previous era, the Shoshone-Bannock who wintered on the upper Snake and at other surrounding locations also relied on non-anadromous fish species. In 1839 Farnham wrote that the Shoshone-Bannock near Fort Hall "subsist on the fish of the stream, buffalo, deer, and other game."[128] In the summer of 1844, James Clyman, noted "great Quantities of Springs and Brooks in all Directions with the finest Kinds of Trout" near the mouth of the Portneuf River,[129] and a year

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126 By this point in history, the buffalo were gone from Idaho. Most of the Shoshone-Bannock who relied on this food traveled to the plains of Wyoming and Montana in the early fall in order to make a timely return to their winter campsites on the upper Snake before the passes became snowbound. cf., Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 328.

127 Russell, op. cit., 144.

128 Farnham, op. cit., 113.

129 Camp, op. cit., 103.

later Joel Palmer reported the same situation when he wrote: "It abounds in fish of different varieties, which are readily taken with the hook."[130] Farther downstream at American Falls, Clyman observed a fishing party of Bannocks "who had plenty of Small fish of the Sucker mouthed Kind,"[131] while five years later on July 19, Alonzo Delano recorded in his journal:

> I was startled by a strange puffing noise and looking to the river, I saw several Indians swimming and pushing a frame-work of willows before them. On their landing a little below me, I found they had fish.[132]

As he traveled downstream from American Falls in 1850, Julius Brenchley recalled how the rich trout streams of the upper Snake gave way to the salmon fisheries.

> At this point (American Falls), trout seemed to have disappeared and to be succeeded by salmon, which the Indians took in great abundance either spearing them or catching them in scoop-nets, as they attempted to get up the falls.[133]

Another location where fishing was reported in this era was the Bear River and its tributaries. In September of 1843, Frémont's party came upon Shoshone-Bannock fishing near the present day town of Corrine,

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130 Palmer, op. cit., 87.

131 Camp, op. cit., 104.

132 Alonzo Delano, *Life on the Plains and among the Diggings* (New York: Readex Microprint, 1966) p. 42.

133 Remy & Brenchley, op. cit., 503.

Utah, which he reported as follows:

> As we were stealing quietly down the stream, trying in vain to get a shot at a strange large bird that was numerous among the willows, but very shy, we came unexpectedly upon several families of Root Diggers, who were encamped among the rushes on the shore, and appeared very busy about several weirs or nets which had been rudely made of canes and rushes for the purpose of catching fish.[134]

In later years, this location would be described as an important fishing site for not only for the Shoshone-Bannock who wintered there but also for populations from the upper Snake and Green Rivers.[135] The Shoshone-Bannock even fished as far south as Utah Lake, although this site was becoming less accessible with Mormon settlement. As John Wilson, the Salt Lake Indian agent, wrote in an 1849 letter to Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Interior:

> The Mormon settlement in the Salt Lake valley has not only greatly diminished their [Shoshones and Bannocks] formerly very great resource of obtaining fish out of the Utah lake and its sources, which to them was an important resource, but their settlement, with the great emigration there and to California, has already nearly driven away all the game, and will, unquestionably, soon deprive them almost entirely

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134 Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 496-97.

135 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* {Hereafter RCIA}, 1855, 197-98; see also Dale L. Morgan, "Washakie and the Shoshoni, Part III," *Annals of Wyoming* (1956) Vol. 26(2), p. 172 (ff#91) for further remarks on this fishing.

of the only chances they have for food.[136]

As the United States extended territorial government over the homelands of the Shoshone-Bannock, regular reports of native subsistence practices also began to appear in official correspondence and reports. Many of the early reports were general and vague, due to the vast distance between reporter and subject. Still, these accounts are valuable. They continue to reveal internal differences among the Shoshone-Bannock in regard to their subsistence practices. They also make it clear that government officials understood the importance of fishing in Shoshone-Bannock procurement strategies.

One government representative, Robert Newell, a former trapper, was appointed by Oregon Governor Joseph Lane in the summer of 1849, to serve as a sub-agent of Indian Affairs for the First District South of the Columbia but he did not qualify for this office.[137] Nonetheless, on August 10th, he wrote a lengthy report for Lane in which he described the subsistence patterns of the Shoshone-Bannock below Shoshone Falls as follows:

> they cannot subsist in large bands, as their country is nearly destitute of game of any kind,

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136 John Wilson to Thomas Ewing, August 22, 1849, quoted in Dale L. Morgan, "Washakie and the Shoshoni," *Annals of Wyoming* (1953), Vol. 25(2), pp. 145-47.

137 Robert Newell, *Robert Newell's Memoranda: Travles in the Teritory of Missourie; Travle to the Kayuse War; together with A Report on the Indians South of the Columbia River,* Dorothy Johansen, ed. (Portland: Champoeg Press, 1959), p. 143.

> save a few Antelopes and Deer. They collect on Snake River during the Salmon Season and take large quantities of fish. The principal part of them are scattered much, one, three and five families in a place, no horses or any permanent settled place, but rove about like the game of the mountains, digging roots and collecting grass seed and insects to live upon.[138]

In concluding the report, he further stated that "All the Indians from Fort Hall to the Pacific in the district on or near the Columbia depend mostly upon roots and fish for subsistence."[139] A year later, Governor Lane wrote that the "Shoshonee or Snake Indians" lived in peaceful small bands ranging from the headwaters of the Snake to the Grand Ronde River, and subsisted "principally upon fish, roots, grass, seed, & [et]c." He also noted that the "Ponashta Indians" lived "principally by hunting and fishing."[140] And in 1854, Robert R. Thompson, the agent for "Middle Oregon," emphasized the importance of watercourses in all aspects of Shoshone-Bannock subsistence.[141]

More specific accounts of fishing came from government officials who actually visited the Shoshone-Bannock in their homelands. The subagent, Stephen B. Rose, wrote to Brigham Young, the superintendent of

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138 Ibid., 145.

139 Ibid., 158.

140 RCIA 1850, 127-28.

141 RCIA 1854, 283.

Indian affairs for Utah Territory, in 1851 that the Shoshone "subsist upon fishing and hunting and are tolerably well armed and have a large number of horses."[142] In 1852 Utah agent Jacob Holeman traveled to the upper Humboldt River where he met a group who complained bitterly of white outrages against their people. They said they could no longer "hunt or fish on the river but the whites were shooting at them."[143] The following year Lieutenant John Mullan, a subordinate of Issaac I. Stevens then surveying a northern railroad route to the Pacific, visited the upper Snake River valley where he too encountered the Shoshone-Bannock. On December 12, 1853 Mullan wrote about their subsistence:

> They had with them no lodges and no food, save a large pile of white roots which they had just dug from the side of the river, and which they seem to feast on with as much contentedness as if they were surrounded by all the luxuries of life. The men were absent fishing. Fish and roots are their only subsistence and still these people are fat and in good condition, and without knowing it, we would have supposed their fare to consist of anything but fish and roots.[144]

What Mullan witnessed was, in reality, a common way in which small Shoshone-Bannock bands wintered along the Snake River. It is apparent

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142 Stephen B. Rose to Brigham Young, 20 October 1851, reprinted in Morgan, op. cit., 170.

143 RCIA 1852, 151.

144 RCIA 1854, 209.

that the people who Mullan met had yet to experience the full brunt of white emigration and settlement that their kinspeople to the south on the Humboldt had suffered.

In 1855, Utah agent, Garland Hurt, made a journey to the Humboldt similar to his predecessor's. While encamped near the north end of the Great Salt Lake he was visited by a large group of "Shoshonees, or Snakes proper from the Green River country," who had "come over to the mouth of the Bear River to fish." When Hurt reached the Humboldt he had some difficulty gathering all of the Shoshones together for a council. Many had gone south to hunt, while the headman Nim-ah-tuh-cah and his bands were "about one hundred and fifty miles west, fishing."[145] Hurt's experiences demonstrate not only the importance of fishing to all of the Shoshone-Bannock, but the great distances these people traveled to arrive at their fisheries and the overlapping territories they used.

In the 1850s, some of the richest Shoshone-Bannock fisheries were located on the Salmon and Lemhi Rivers. From 1855 to 1858, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints maintained a mission on the Lemhi River, just downstream of present-day Tendoy, Idaho. (The river takes its name from a character in the Book of Mormon.) Because of the constant presence of Mormon missionaries, there is substantial historical documentation on Shoshone-Bannock fishing during these years. But even

145 RCIA 1855, 197-98.

before the missionaries reached the Salmon River country they recorded the importance of fishing for the Shoshone-Bannock. On May 29, 1855, on the Snake River above Fort Hall, David Moore recorded the visit of some "Snake Indians" who camped nearby, and "caught some very fine trout in the Snake River."[146]

The Mormons arrived in the Lemhi Valley in early summer, just in time to witness the major summer salmon run, an event which they commented upon repeatedly during the coming years. On July 2, 1855 Moore wrote, "The Salmon are commencing to run up this river quite lively they are fine looking chaps." Two days later he recorded, "the Salmon are running in large quantities and are taken in Great Numbers by the Indians."[147] And on July 5, he added:

> The Indians have all moved up to their fish traps and are enjoying themselves finely. They cut the salmon into thin slices and then hang them up in a Shade (made for the purpose) where they are dried.[148]

As the fishing continued into July, Shoshone-Bannock from far and wide gathered, both to take salmon and prepare for the buffalo hunt which followed. In addition to the large summer run, the journals reveal that the

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146 Salmon River Mission Journals 1855-1858. Unpublished manuscript (Salt Lake City, LDS Church Archives), p. 18.

147 Ibid., 35-36.

148 Ibid., 36.

Shoshone-Bannock who stayed in the area year-round fished at other times as well. For instance, Milton D. Hammond reported that on March 24, 1857, "First spring salmon was caught by Tetobar an Indian," while on May 31 of the same year he recorded, "Caught 11 fish, Spring Salmon."[149]

The LDS Salmon River Mission journals leave no doubt that the fisheries of the Lemhi Valley were a critical component in the subsistence strategies of all the Shoshone-Bannock who visited and lived in the area. They also capture some of the Shoshone-Bannock's fishing technology. Their intricate fishing devices and practices, which are dealt with in a later section of this report, indicate a people at home around rivers and fishing. One of the missionaries, Thomas Day, reminisced about an afternoon he spent watching an expert Shoshone-Bannock fisherman, "Long Tom:"

> Each unerring dash with his spear resulted in a struggle and successful capture of a fine salmon, and in a very short time Long Tom was the proud possessor of a dozen fish, each weighing thirty-five to forty pounds.[150]

Not all fishermen were as adept as Long Tom, and that same afternoon Day witnessed a Shoshone-Bannock man flung violently into the river by the

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149 Milton D. Hammond, "A Journal Kept by Milton D. Hammond with a Short Sketch of my Life Previous to Date of Journal 1856-1858." Unpublished manuscript (Salt Lake City, LDS Church Historical Library), pp.18, 23.

150 *Deseret Semi-Weekly News,* 14 April 1891. A clipping of the article containing Day's reminiscences is pasted in his original journal held by the LDS Church Archives.

big fish he had just speared. In the end, man defeated fish, and Day remarked: "they are almost like fish themselves; he came out all right, tightly clinging to the fishing pole and successfully captured his victim."[151] And indeed, the fishermen's "victims" were large. By all accounts the fish averaged between twenty and forty pounds. Jacob Miller wrote in 1856, that often the salmon were "so large that when tied together at the gill or neck and thrown across ponies their tails will drag the ground."[152]

The journals kept by the Mormon missionaries basically reiterate a subsistence pattern described by Lewis and Clark fifty years earlier. In late spring, Shoshone-Bannock congregated on the river to fish for salmon. By mid-July the fishing was winding down and small bands of Shoshone-Bannock began to the journey to the buffalo plains of Montana. "The Indians are not so thick this morning as usual," David Moore wrote on July 15, 1855, "the most of them having left for the Buffalo Country where they expect to remain until the first snows in the fall." But not all the Shoshone-Bannock left the valley and its fisheries, for Moore also reported on July 19 that "Four or five" families intended to "remain about this country during the rest of the summer."[153]

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151 Ibid.

152 Jacob Miller, Journal 1809-1876. Unpublished manuscript (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Marriott Library, Manuscripts Division), p. 63.

153 Salmon River Mission Journals, op. cit., 38-39.

The mission journals over the next two years reveal this same essential pattern; the Shoshone-Bannock gathered in large numbers in mid-June in preparation for the salmon run, they fished and dried salmon for the next four to six weeks, many then departed for the buffalo hunt while small family groups remained in the valley or hunted in the nearby mountains. On June 12, 1856, Moore again reported "Indians coming in preparatory for their fishing season,"[154] while two days later he wrote, "Salmon is being caught by the Natives,"[155] and finally on July 12, "The natives are moving off now for their buffalo hunt, they have caught a great number of salmon this season."[156] During the summer of 1857, Jacob Miller reported the same pattern too. On June 18, he wrote "the salmon are beginning to come up the river one was brought into the fort for the first time this year in the 11th inst." By the end of July the run was over and on August 3, Miller reported "Indian Snagg [Tendoy's uncle and the principal Lemhi Valley headman until his death in 1863] and some others left this place for the Buffalo Country."[157] That fall, James Thadeus Miller commented upon the Shoshone-Bannock that remained in the area year around:

154 Ibid., 92.

155 Ibid., 96.

156 Ibid., 117.

157 Salmon River Mission Journal of Jacob Miller. Unpublished manuscript. (Salt Lake City, LDS Church Archives, 1857).

> A band of Shoshonies called sheep eaters inhabit the nearer surrounding country though it is claimed by the Bannocks who with other Shoshonies resort here in the summer for their supplies of fish.[158]

For the same period, detailed and very revealing eyewitness accounts of Shoshone-Bannock fishing are contained in the published recollections of Elijah Nicholas Wilson, the son of Mormon settlers in Utah.[159] In the summer of 1856, at eleven years of age, he ran off with a group of Shoshone-Bannock related to Washakie. His memories of life among the Shoshone were replete with references to fishing at many different locations along the Portneuf, Snake, and Salmon Rivers in Idaho, and along Red Rock Creek, the Jefferson, Big Hole, Beaverhead, and Madison Rivers in Montana. What is especially striking about his recollections is how fish were such an important part of the Shoshone-Bannock's daily diet in all seasons of the year, and how abundant they were in the locations the Shoshone-Bannock encamped.[160] During the winter of 1856 on the Jefferson River, he recalled:

> We had a fishing hole close to the camp where the squaws and kids would fish. Mother and I had been down there with a lot of others fishing through

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158 James Thadeus Miller, Journal 1857-1858. Unpublished manuscript (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Marriott Library, Manuscripts Division).

159 Elijah Nicholas Wilson, *Among the Shoshones* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1969).

160 Ibid., 17, 23-24, 32, 37-38, 48, 56, 65-67, 81-82, 85-86, 88-94, 115-16, 227-28, 234.

> the ice, and had caught quite a nice lot of fish when mother took what we had to the wickiup.[161]

The following fall, he described another campsite at Red Rock Creek near Lima, Montana, where the creek "was fairly alive with trout."[162] In the spring of 1858, the family with whom he traveled was fishing in the Salmon River drainage, probably on the Lemhi, where the women of his adopted family dried nearly two hundred pounds of salmon.[163] By the summer of 1858, the family had moved to valleys of the Big Hole, Beaverhead, and Jefferson Rivers where Wilson stated:

> We stayed here about two weeks, then went down the Big Hole River until it emptied into the Beaverhead River, and formed the Jefferson River. We did not do anything here but fish, for the buffalo were not fat enough to kill, and besides we had all the dried elk and deer meat we wanted.[164]

And finally, in late summer of the same year, they were encamped at Henry's Lake which Wilson also described as a good fishing spot:

> Then we went on south and came to a beautiful lake where we had such a good time the summer before. This lake is now called Henry's Lake, and is the head of the north fork of the Snake River. We did nothing here but fish, for we had dried

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161 Ibid., 37-38.

162 Ibid., 85-86.

163 Ibid., 89-90.

164 Ibid., 92-93.

> meat to last until we got to the usual hunting grounds.[165]

Like other Shoshone-Bannock, the group with whom Elijah Wilson lived covered a wide territorial range, fishing over the entire course of their yearly subsistence rounds in eastern Idaho and southwestern Montana.

Some of the best official accounts of Shoshone-Bannock and their subsistence practices are found in the reports of Frederick W. Lander, the superintendent of the Pacific Wagon Road, and the man who surveyed the "Lander cut-off" that brought the Oregon Trail through Fort Hall. During the summers of 1857, 1858, and 1859, he traveled among the Shoshone-Bannock of Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah. On February 18, 1860, he sent a lengthy report to the commissioner of Indian affairs describing the Shoshone and Bannock bands which resided along the overland roads and noting their subsistence practices.[166]

The importance of fishing in Shoshone-Bannock subsistence practices is a constant theme in Lander's report. He found that while Washakie's Eastern Shoshones were suffering from a decline in large game,

> their principal subsistence is the roots and seeds of the wild vegetables of the region they inhabit,

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165 Ibid., 94.

166 Frederick W. Lander to CIA, 18 February 1860, USNA, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Letters Received*, 1824-1881: Utah Superintendency, Microcopy 234 {Hereafter, M234: *Utah*}.

> the mountain trout, with which all the streams of the country are abundantly supplied.[167]

His comments present a starkly different picture of a population too often assumed to be strictly adapted to buffalo hunting. He also reported that the Bannocks (or "Pannacks" in his spelling) followed a mixed subsistence pattern which included fish as a major component: "They range through the Blackfoot Valley, where are large Kamas root grounds, and fine opportunities for taking mountain trout."[168] It is also apparent that the Bannocks traveled far from the Blackfoot, as in the summer of 1857, when he met the headman Tash-e-pah, or "French Louis," who had "left most of the disaffected Pannacks at Salmon Falls."[169] Other Shoshone-Bannock also relied on the anadromous and other fish species of the area, including the "Salmon River Snake, Bannacks and Snakes and Sheep Eaters," who subsisted on "Salmon and trout, elk, deer, and antelope," and the "Bannocks of Fort Boise," who took "Salmon fish, wild vegetable and roots."[170]

Even in the most arid environments, the Shoshone-Bannock were reported to fish for part of their livelihood. In December 1860, Utah

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167 Ibid.

168 Ibid.

169 Ibid.

170 Ibid.

Superintendent of Indian Affairs Benjamin Davies made a journey to the Humboldt River as far west as Ruby Valley, Nevada. He marveled at the rich life found at the "warm sulphur springs" in the midst of a seemingly sterile desert:

> Two or three flocks of the mallard duck, which we scared up from some of the warm sulphur springs, and a few rabbits, were all the game we saw during the whole journey....At some of these springs were immense quantities of dark-colored fish, called 'the chub,' about four inches in length, which the Indians used to eat in winter.[171]

Unfortunately for the Indians, the overland mail company had built stations at all of the springs and effectively barred them from using this familiar resource.

During the fifteen year period, between 1836 and 1862, an impressive body of evidence accumulated demonstrating the enormous size of the Shoshone-Bannock's fisheries along the lower and middle reaches of the Snake and their significance to the Shoshone-Bannock who depended on them. These sources also confirm the impressive fish harvests on the Lemhi River and the importance of fishing for Shoshone-Bannock who lived and traveled there. And finally, they document fishing at numerous sites outside the migrational runs of salmon and other anadromous species.

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[171] RCIA 1861, 130.

1.A.3: 1863 to 1879 - By the 1860s, many European-Americans were staying in Idaho not only to farm its water-rich valleys but also to extract the mineral wealth from its soils. The intentions of European-Americans arriving in the region in later times were different from those who had passed through earlier. Unlike the previous generations, the new breed of emigrants were interested in acquiring Shoshone-Bannock lands and waterways to support the development of their own agrarian and mining enterprises. At every opportunity, they displaced the Shoshone-Bannock from important food procurement sites. Because these sites were generally well watered, they were not only the best for supporting the fauna and flora upon which the Shoshone-Bannock depended for their own food but also among the most desirable for sustaining agricultural development.[172]

As revealed in many official government reports of the time, competition over water, land, and the resources these held intensified and severely compromised the Shoshone-Bannock's ability to continue their subsistence at many customary food procurement sites. Even after treaties were signed and reservations were established, government officials acknowledged the Shoshone-Bannock's continuing need to access their most productive fishing, hunting, and gathering sites.

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172 Carling I. Malouf and John Finley, "Euro-American Impact Before 1870," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 11: Great Basin*, Warren D'Azevedo, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), pp. 508-16.

Notwithstanding various efforts to support Shoshone-Bannock farming on the Fort Hall and Lemhi Reservations, these were never sufficient to feed the local populations who continued to live and travel off-reservation to meet their subsistence needs.[173] In addition to the persistent practice of carrying out traditional provisioning activities off-reservation, many Shoshone-Bannock also stayed outside the reservation to make a living as wage-laborers in the towns and on the farms and ranches of their new European-American neighbors. Not uncommonly, people returned to and sought wage work in the areas they had occupied in pre-reservation times.[174] This was especially true of the Shoshone-Bannock who had customarily used the lands and waterways of the Salmon, Lemhi, Pahsimeroi, and Big Lost Rivers, but it was also the case for those who occupied areas father west in the valleys of the Malheur, Weiser, Boise, and Payette Rivers. Although eventually enrolled on the Fort Hall Reservation, many Shoshone-Bannock never really settled there year-

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173 Gregory E. Smoak, "The Shoshone-Bannock Tribes and The Fort Bridger Treaty: Their Off-Reservation Rights." Unpublished report for the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, 1997).

174 Dora Podso & Walter Eagle, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 1, Sven Liljeblad Unpublished Field Notebooks (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, 1960) [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division], pp. 5, 23 {Hereafter, Sven Liljeblad, Notebook}; Josephine Thorpe, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 12 (1960), pp. unidentified & 10; Frank Clarkeson & Josephine Thorpe, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 9 (1962), p. 10; Lasalle Pocatello, Interviewer Seven Liljeblad, Notebook 3 (1966), p. 6; Arthur & Kate Tendoy Oral History, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, January 30, 1980), p. 6; Wilford & Camille George, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, April 4, 1980) p. 1-2, 6-7.

round but spent much of their time living and working at places to which they were accustomed. Indeed, as late as World War II, some Shoshone-Bannock remained in the Salmon River region throughout the year, following a way of life hardly changed from that of their ancestors.[175]

From the time of their first recorded encounter with European-Americans in 1805 until the early reservation era of the 1870s, the Shoshone-Bannock of Idaho experienced enormous changes in the conditions of their existence. Yet, they returned persistently to the locations where they customarily fished, hunted, and gathered. And they defended steadfastly their rights to access the lands and waterways on which these subsistence pursuits took place. From 1863 until 1879, various accounts drive home the importance of riparian oases for the Shoshone-Bannock living in some of the most arid regions of the West, and they also document how the incursions of white travelers and settlers deprived the Shoshone-Bannock of the critical resources they relied upon, as well as how government policies interfered with their access to the resources as well.

As in the past, many of the travelers and explorers who journeyed through Shoshone-Bannock territory in the 1860s reported the abundance of fish in the region. In June of 1863, James and Granville Stuart's Yellowstone expedition passed through southeastern Idaho on their return

175 Jonah Mink, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, July 2, 1997), pp. 1-70.

to Bannack City, Montana, dining on fish all the way. Comments such as "caught plenty of fish today," and "lots of chubs in creek, fish for breakfast of course," can be found in James Stuart's journal.[176] Other prospectors commented on Indian fisheries. Walter De Lacey, whose party explored many of the same areas as Stuart's that same summer of 1863, encountered a band of "Snake Indians" at the forks of the Snake River on August 14, "who had been up the North [Henry's] Fork hunting and fishing and had only recent come down."[177] The following summer George Forman made his way to the Montana mines. He remarked upon his arrival at the Snake River ferry at Eagle Rock (present day Idaho Falls) on August 11, 1864, that the local Bannocks lived, "on fish, camas roots, and roasted grasshoppers or large black crickets."[178] Just weeks earlier another Montana bound traveler, Kate Dunlap, remarked of the Snake River in the same vicinity, "It abounds in speckled trout and mountain suckers."[179] And in August 1865, Dr. Waid Howard noted some "Snake Indians" at Fort

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176 James and Granville Stuart, "The Yellowstone Expedition of 1863," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* (Helena: Rocky Mountain Publishing Company, 1876) Vol. 1, pp. 23-31, 226-27.

177 Walter W. De Lacey, "A Trip Up the South Snake River in 1863," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* (Helena: Rocky Mountain Publishing Company, 1876) Vol. 1, p. 116-17.

178 T. A. Larson, ed., "Across the Plains in 1864," *Annals of Wyoming* (October 1968), Vol. 40(2), p. 272.

179 S. Lyman Tyler, ed., *The Montana Gold Rush Diary of Kate Dunlap* (Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1969), p. B-39.

Bridger, Wyoming, trading dressed elk, deer, buffalo, and beaver skins for various items including "fishing lines."[180]

In the same period, when rich gold strikes brought thousands of prospectors to the mountains of western Montana and the Salmon River country of Idaho, some of the miners witnessed first hand the Shoshone-Bannock's use of fish resources, and they did quite a bit of "fishing" themselves. In August, 1862 a prospecting party led by Moses Splawn and George Grimes discovered the Boise Basin mining district. In fact, Splawn had been told of the area's yellow rocks by a Bannock Indian he had met at the Salmon River diggings. Upon entering the basin, the group came upon a hastily abandoned Indian village. Splawn surmised that the women in the village had fled to get the men as the miners approached. "The lodges, however," Splawn recalled, "were well filled with salmon, both fresh and dried." The prospector helped himself to "all the Salmon I could carry," and returned to his camp.[181] During the following summer a prospecting party led by Captain John Stanley explored the headwaters of the Middle Fork of the Salmon River, and in the Bear Valley, they witnessed the run of

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180 Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle, eds., *Overland Days to Montana in 1865: The Diary of Sarah Raymond and the Journal of Dr. Waid Howard* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1971), p. 208.

181 John Hailey, *The History of Idaho* (Boise: Syms-York Company, Inc., 1910), p. 40. Hailey included Moses Splawn's signed firsthand account of the discovery of the Boise Basin on pages 36-44 of his general history.

salmon in the thousands as well as signs of Indian habitation.[182]

With the gold rushes came territorial government for Idaho and Montana, as well as growing pressure for treaties and reservations. It was James Duane Doty, Utah's superintendent of Indian affairs, however, that made the first attempt to treat directly with the Shoshone-Bannock of Idaho in 1863. His treaties were essentially "peace" treaties and included no territorial concessions and established no reservations. But Doty did provide a general description of Shoshone-Bannock territory, which cited the important fisheries of the lower Snake River as a landmark:

> they wander over an immense region, extending from the fisheries at and below Salmon Falls, on the Shoshonee [Snake] river, near the Oregon line, to the sources of that stream, and to the buffalo country beyond.[183]

When Idaho Territorial Governor Caleb Lyon became involved in the treaty-making process the following year, he too understood the importance of fisheries to the Shoshone-Bannock. His October 10, 1864 treaty with the Boise Shoshone recognized their reliance on fisheries. Although the Boises ceded all of their land within thirty miles of the Boise River, the treaty guaranteed to them the "right of equally sharing

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182 Johnny Carrey and Cort Conley, *The Middle Fork & The Sheepeater War* (Cambridge, ID: Backeddy Books, 1980), p. 2.

183 RCIA 1864, op. cit., 174-76.

the fisheries of said [Boise] river with the citizens of the U.S."[184]

Congressional inaction aside, official Washington did possess a basic knowledge of Shoshone-Bannock fishing. In 1864, Humboldt Valley Indian agent, James C. Burche, reported that the Bannocks of northern Nevada and southern Idaho held the "best portion of the Territory." He singled out the Pueblo Valley, most of which lies in what is today southeastern Oregon:

> It contains three beautiful lakes, into which the numerous streams flowing from the mountains on either side of the valley find their outlet. From both the lakes and the streams large quantities of fish are taken. Heretofore, during the spring, summer, and autumn months, the Indians resorted for the purposes of grazing their horses, hunting, and catching fish.[185]

The rapid settlement of the valley, however, led Burche to fear that the Shoshone-Bannock would not long enjoy access to this traditional resource area.

A year later in 1865, Secretary of the Interior James Harlan ordered Lyon to pursue a treaty with the various Shoshone-Bannock bands, and suggested that the best place for a reservation in southern Idaho would be, "at some point upon the Shoshonee [Snake] River, embracing the fisheries

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184 Caleb Lyon to James Harlan, 20 October 1865, USNA, M234: Idaho; *Idaho Statesman,* 11 October 1864, p. 5.

185 RCIA 1864, 147.

on said stream, and a summer reservation in the vicinity of Great Kammas Prairie."[186] In response to the secretary's order, Gov. Caleb Lyon visited the Great Camas Prairie in October, 1865. He reported back to Harlan:

> The Kouse and the Kammas, two edible vegetables upon which they have subsisted, the salmon in their rivers, and the game on their hills are all being destroyed by the settlements of the white man, and I earnestly desire that an agency be located near Little Kammas Prairie for the winter and a reservation in summer time on the banks of the Shoshonee of some forty thousand acres.[187]

Both Harlan's initial letter and Lyon's investigation and response indicate that government negotiators understood the importance of fishing to Shoshone-Bannock subsistence patterns and to the success of any reservation.

In 1865 and 1866, Special Agent George C. Hough surveyed Idaho Territory for prospective reservation sites, and in every case he looked for locations which offered access to fisheries. In 1865 he recommended a reservation which included Salmon Falls on the Snake River and extended up the Big Wood River to the Camas Prairies.[188] The following year he investigated the Payette basin which offered excellent opportunities for

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186 James Harlan, Secretary of the Interior {hereafter SI} to Robert V. VanValkenberg (CIA), 22 September 1865, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

187 Caleb Lyon to James Harlan, 20 October 1865, USNA, M234: *Idaho* ; RCIA 1865, 234-35.

188 George C. Hough to CIA, 29 December 1865, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

the Shoshone-Bannock to pursue traditional subsistence practices.

> Although I saw much sign of them, where they had caught & dried large quantities of fish for next-winter, and since leaving there I learned that there has been a great number of Nez Perces and some Shoshones there fishing, both the Nez Perces & Shoshones claim the south fork of the Payette as a fishing ground.[189]

Unfortunately the area had already attracted large numbers of white settlers.

In the same year, a sizable *Túkudeka* presence was reported by Hough in some of the remotest regions of the Sawtooths between the Payette and Salmon Rivers.[190] And a year later, David W. Ballard described them in the area of Warrens Creek.[191] This population, later identified as Eagle Eye's band, remained largely out of the reach of government officials until the late 1870s.

In April 1866, Governor Lyon made a treaty with the Bruneau Shoshones, which like the earlier Boise treaty, protected the band's access to their fisheries. During the treaty council on April 12, the Bruneau headman Tcho-wom-ba-ca told Lyon, "Deer, Elk, Fish, Antelope, Roots & Seeds are our food." The governor offered the reservation of the Bruneau Valley "and as much more as is necessary for hunting and

[189] George C. Hough to David W. Ballard, 12 October 1866, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

[190] Ibid.

[191] RCIA, 1867, 247.

fishing." He also assured them, "Your right to your fisheries shall be guaranteed to you."[192] In the draft treaty which Lyon forwarded to Washington, his final promise became a joint-use clause which read:

> The right of taking fish in the Sho sho nee or Snake River at their accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the United States together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots on open and unclaimed lands.[193]

Like the Boise treaty before it, Congress never ratified the Bruneau treaty, and facing financial and political scandal, Lyon fled Idaho Territory.[194] Meanwhile, the Bruneau's wondered what became of their treaty. In August, they asked Special Agent Hough if the United States was going to supply food and clothing to them in the coming winter. The agent, who had no authority to make promises, could only advise them to depend on their traditional ways and "catch as many salmon (which have just commenced running) as possible and dry them, and gather all the roots and seeds possible and cache them for winter."[195]

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[192] Caleb Lyon to SI, 12 April 1866, U. S. National Archives {Hereafter USNA} *Records of the Superintendencies and Agencies of the Office of Indian Affairs, Idaho,* Microcopy 832 {hereafter M832: *Idaho*}.

[193] Unratified Treaty with the Bruneau Shoshones, 12 April 1866, included in Lyon to SI, 16 April 1866, USNA, M832: *Idaho* ; also reprinted as "Caleb Lyon's Bruneau Treaty," *Reference Series,* No. 39 (Boise: Idaho Historical Society, 1968).

[194] Merle W. Wells, "Caleb Lyon's Indian Policy," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (October 1970): 193-200. Lyon absconded with $46,418.40 belonging to the Nez Perces.

[195] RCIA 1866, 189.

Lyon's successor as Idaho's governor, David W. Ballard, found Idaho's Indian affairs in disarray, but learned quickly of the territory's native peoples and their dependence on fisheries. In his first annual report, Ballard described the "principal subsistence" of the Shoshone-Bannock of southeastern Idaho as "fish obtained from the Snake River and its tributaries, roots and crickets." He went on to suggest that a "suitable" reservation for the Shoshone-Bannock should include a "good fishery [and] kammas grounds."[196]

Ballard knew the details of Shoshone-Bannock subsistence strategies because several hundred Boise and Bruneau Shoshones had settled near the capital. Governor Lyon established the camp for the Boises in February 1866 to protect them from indiscriminate attacks during the so-called "Snake War." By summer many of the Bruneaus had moved to the refuge as well. Life at the camp, however, was anything but secure and Governor Ballard wrote:

> They are living in constant dread of the whites settled on the Owyhee and Boise Rivers, as well as a band of Pyuttes which sometimes make raids upon them for the purpose of stealing their stock of roots and Fish which they lay up in spring and summer for winter.[197]

During the summer of 1867, Ballard received frequent updates on the

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196 RCIA 1866, 190-91.

197 David W. Ballard to CIA, 16 June 1866, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

Boises and Bruneaus from Capt. Charles F. Powell, the agent assigned to the bands. In early July Powell moved the camp to the forks of the Boise River some 30 miles from the city, and while Governor Ballard lamented the fact that the Indians would lose the money they earned doing domestic service for the white citizens of Boise, he hoped the site would provide "superior advantages of hunting and fishing."[198] Powell's first report from the new location was less than glowing. The amount of game killed did not compensate for their loss in income, but he also predicted "when the waters recede their fishing will be more successful."[199] By the end of July, he wrote:

> Salmon they have caught many, and my endeavor is to have them prepared for winter use. The Indians, however, have no care, and are slow to learn or to be instructed; they have their own peculiar way of doing things, and think theirs the best and most judicious.[200]

Powell's remarks concerning the Shoshone-Bannock's unwillingness to dry fish demands comment. He made a similar report two years later as the first agent on the newly established Fort Hall Reservation, when he wrote, "They are fishing and hunting with success but cannot be made to

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198 David W. Ballard to Capt. Charles F. Powell, 6 July 1867, reprinted in RCIA 1867, 251-52.

199 Capt. Charles F. Powell to David W. Ballard, 15 July 1867, reprinted in RCIA 1867, 252.

200 Capt. Charles F. Powell to David W. Ballard, 31 July 1867, reprinted in RCIA 1867, 252-53. See also, RCIA 1868, 201-03. Although this report appears positive, in his annual report for 1868, Powell remembered the 1867 fishing season as "unusually poor."

see the importance of drying the fish for winter use."[201] These comments fly in the face of other accounts stating these very people, the Shoshone bands of southwest Idaho, lived on dry fish during the winter, including Governor Ballard's report quoted above and an 1869 report by Captain Powell himself![202] What Powell did not know was that the summer run was higher in oil content and consequently harder to dry. Moreover, he himself would soon witness small groups of Shoshone-Bannock wintering along the Snake River at productive fisheries. Indeed, the ways the Shoshone-Bannocks believed "best and most judicious" had been developed over generations of fishing on the Snake River and its tributaries.

During the treaty-making process, Governor Ballard also gained knowledge of Shoshone-Bannock subsistence practices during interviews with various native leaders. On June 27, 1867, he spoke with "Bannock Jim" [Pagwite] and "Bannock John," whose small bands had been found digging roots at Camas Prairie. As the Snake War still smoldered and rumors abounded that whites were organizing to annihilate them, the army brought the Bannocks to Boise for "safe keeping."[203] Ballard sought to convince them to settle on a reservation and part of the exchange went as

[201] Capt. Charles F. Powell to David W. Ballard, 30 June 1869, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

[202] David W. Ballard to CIA, 16 June 1866; Capt. Charles F. Powell to David W. Ballard, 14 January 1869, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

[203] RCIA 1867, 247.

follows:

> [Ballard] Q Would you like to live on a reservation provided we build you houses, teach you to farm & c?
> [Bannock headmen] A We want to hunt Buffalo and to fish. [204]

The Bannock headmen told Ballard they would be willing to accept a reservation if they were allowed to hunt and fish. But they also warned him they could not speak for all of the Bannocks, and that he must consult with Taghee first.[205]

Ballard finally met with Taghee on August 21, 1867 at Long Tom Creek north of present Mountain Home, Idaho. During the council he asked Taghee to settle his people at the Fort Hall Reservation (which had been set aside by executive order on June 14, 1867), and told the Bannock leader "It is a good place for you, with fish in the streams, game in the hills." Taghee received the governor's remarks coolly. Surely he did not need a description of an area in which he had spent much of his life. Moreover, he was upset with all of the broken promises and defunct treaties of the past and told the governor so. Before he would lead his people onto the reservation he wanted assurances that they could continue their traditional subsistence and trade patterns, including access to the buffalo plains and the camas prairies. The treaty which emerged from the

[204] David W. Ballard to CIA, 30 June 1867, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

[205] Ibid.

council, however, included none of Taghee's conditions. Nowhere were hunting, fishing, or camas sites protected. Ballard claimed that the "articles were read, [and] explained" to the Bannocks before they signed the treaty, yet is seems highly unlikely that Taghee would sign away rights he had demanded earlier in the day.[206] Luckily for the Shoshone-Bannock, the Long Tom Creek treaty suffered the same fate as the Soda Springs, Boise, and Bruneau treaties and was never ratified. Finally, in 1868 Taghee and the Shoshone-Bannock bands of Idaho became parties to a ratified treaty, which became the basis of their off-reservation hunting and fishing rights.

The Fort Bridger council was scheduled to begin in mid-June, but high water, bad roads, and the late arrival of the promised gifts set the opening date back two weeks. Washakie and his Eastern Shoshones remained at Fort Bridger in force, awaiting the arrival of Gen. Christopher C. Augur of the "Great Peace Commission." Fort Bridger agent Luther Mann, with Taghee's help, also was able to gather 800 Bannocks, but when the council began only a little over half of that number remained. The rest had "left for their fishing and summer resorts."[207]

The Fort Bridger treaty of July 3, 1868 guaranteed the Shoshones and Bannocks reservations, as well as

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206 RCIA 1868, 156-59.

207 Ibid.

> the right to hunt on the unoccupied lands of the United States so long as the game may be found thereon, and so long as peace subsists among the whites and Indians on the borders of the hunting districts.[208]

There can be little doubt that the Indians understood fishing as part of this general hunting right. There is no distinction in the Shoshone and Bannock languages between the verbs "to hunt" and "to fish."[209] Nor is there any indication in the council transcript that Augur meant to deprive the tribes of any part of their subsistence, although like all white Americans he felt that agriculture must eventually replace their "hunting and fishing."[210]

Along with the executive orders of June 14, 1867 and July 30, 1869, the Fort Bridger treaty established the Fort Hall Reservation for the Shoshone and Bannock speaking bands of Idaho and neighboring states which became known as the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes.[211] In the wake of

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208 Treaty with the Shoshonees and Bannocks, 15 Stat. 674-675. This clause may also be found in the Crow's treaty of the same year, 15 Stat. 650.

209 Sven Liljeblad in *State of Idaho v. Gerald Cleo Tinno*, District Court of the Seventh Judicial District of the State of Idaho in and for the County of Custer, April 1, 1970, Court Transcript {Hereafter, *State of Idaho v. Tinno* }, pp. 11-12; *State of Idaho v. Tinno,* 04 Idaho 759.

210 C. C. Augur to President of the Indian Peace Commission, 4 October 1868, USNA, *Bureau of Indian Affairs, Irregular Sized Papers.* See also, Smoak, op. cit., 81-96.

211 Executive Order, 30 July 1869, 1 Kappler 839. The 1869 executive order designated the Fort Hall Reservation, as set aside in the 1867 order, as the "reservation provided for the Bannocks by the second article of the treaty with said tribe of 3d July 1868." Later, the executive department decided that all Indians settled at Fort Hall would share "equal rights" with the Bannocks under the Fort Bridger treaty. See, Smoak, ibid., 98-101.

the Fort Bridger treaty, Idaho territorial officials moved quickly to concentrate the Shoshone-Bannock bands at Fort Hall. In December of 1868 Governor Ballard dispatched Captain Powell to make a journey across the Snake River Plain from Boise to Fort Hall and tell "all the Indians of Southern Idaho" of the governor's wish that they settle on the new reservation.[212]

Captain Powell's trip confirmed Shoshone-Bannock reliance on fisheries and riparian resources and illustrates how bands and family groups wintered along the Snake. Powell left Boise on December 16, and soon met a small band of Shoshone-Bannock "encamped on the [Snake] river fishing" near King Hill about seventy-five miles from Boise. At first they objected to Powell's request that they move to Fort Hall in the spring, "saying this is our hunting grounds," but later told the captain that they would go to the reservation. Several days later he found another Shoshone-Bannock winter encampment on Rock Creek, near present day Twin Falls.

> I found another band of Indians (Sheep Eaters or diggers) there were ten or twelve wickiups. They have been located at this point for a long period of time. Seem well disposed towards the Whites, had a good supply of fish and roots laid up for winter and considering all the circumstances were pretty well situated for wintering.[213]

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[212] Charles F. Powell to David W. Ballard, 14 January 1869, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

[213] Ibid.

As Powell moved east he encountered ever larger bands that, regardless of their size, relied on the river valleys for their winter's subsistence. Near Malad City, Pocatello's band was hunting and fishing along the river. And when the captain arrived at Fort Hall he found approximately 250 "Bannacks, Shoshones, Sheep Eaters, and diggers." They were camped along the Snake, but as the river was frozen over, they were "subsisting principally on beaver meat."[214]

The true establishment of the Fort Hall Reservation began with the arrival of the Boise and Bruneau Shoshones in the spring of 1869, and from the beginning it was clear that survival on the underfunded and undersupplied reservation was going to be a struggle. White officials had no choice but to accept, and indeed encourage, the continuation of traditional subsistence practices. On one hand, the Shoshones and Bannocks had no desire to give up their traditional lifeways. In his first monthly report from Fort Hall, Captain Powell blamed the Indians' "disposition to roam" for their lack of interest in agriculture. He added, "away they went in pursuit of game and fish."[215] Idaho's superintendent of Indians affairs Col. De Lancey Floyd-Jones also recognized that,

> They will, very naturally, ask to be permitted to visit when practicable, their hunting and fishing

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214 Ibid.

215 Capt. Charles F. Powell to David W. Ballard, 30 June 1869, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

> grounds -- the Bannacks to hunt the Buffalo, in the vicinity of the wind river mountains and the Shoshones the fisheries and hunting grounds about the head waters of the Malad river, which embraces the Kamas grounds of that district, rich in the various roots of which they are exceedingly fond.[216]

On the other hand, the government never provided an adequate subsistence for the Indians on the reservation. In 1871, Fort Hall Agent Montgomery Berry lamented:

> I am not at all astonished at the action of my predecessors in giving to the Indians long permits of absence from the reservation, having been obliged to do precisely as they did, viz, push the Indians out on fishing and hunting excursions for purposes of economy.[217]

Thus, whether pulled by cultural traditions or pushed by hunger, traditional subsistence practices remained crucial for the Indians at Fort Hall. And, as always, fishing was a major component of their strategies.

The recollections and writings of early Idaho settlers also make it very clear that fishing continued to be important to the Shoshone-Bannock after the establishment of a reservation at Fort Hall. C. S. Walgamott described the subsistence practices not only of the Shoshone-Bannock who settled at Fort Hall but also of those who continued to inhabit the area between Goose Creek and Salmon Falls in the 1870s. He wrote:

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216 Col. DeLancey Floyd-Jones to CIA, 26 August 1869, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

217 RCIA 1871, 544.

> In the spring large bodies of both tame [reservation] and wild [non-reservation] Indians would congregate along the streams emptying into Snake River below Shoshone falls to spear, trap and dry salmon. Rock creek was noted for its salmon and during its first run which was early June, drying racks made from willows were strung along from canyon mouth to where the creek flowed into the river. The most of the reservation Indians would congregate at Salmon falls and after drying large quantities of salmon would go to the Camas Prairie country just west of Hailey, dig camas and later in the season meet Indians from the north who had plenty of buffalo robes.[218]

Further west on the Bruneau River, Adelaide Hawes,[219] another settler, described the fishing of local Shoshone-Bannock in 1869. Even above Shoshone Falls, Shoshone-Bannock relied on local fisheries. When settlers arrived in Jefferson County in the late 1860s, they found the resident Shoshone-Bannock subsisting on fish from Spring Creek. As W. Adams wrote:

> In the area where Spring Creek joined the river [Snake] was an early winter ground for the Bannock-Shoshone Indians. Spring Creek never froze over. Many ducks, geese and swan wintered in the area. Fish could be caught from the creek the year around. Deer and fur-bearing animals also made use of the area...as many as 75 to 100 Lodges of Indians in the area from Spring Creek

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218 Walgamott, op. cit., 41.

219 Adelaide Hawes, *The Valley of Tall Grass* (Bruneau, Idaho, 1975), pp. 79, 132.

north to the river.[220]

Alma Reid, in her history of eastern Idaho, described how some of the settlers in the Birch Creek area fished with the Shoshone-Bannock and even learned fishing techniques from them.[221]

The Shoshone-Bannock's persisting dependence on fish was noted by Fort Hall's Agent Berry who also reported that local supplies were not sufficient to provision the reservation's inhabitants. In his annual report for 1871, he wrote:

> The rivers and creeks which rise in this reservation and empty into Snake River, as well as the last named river and the Blackfoot, supply some fish, but not enough to make fishing one of the industries of the Indians, they only being able to take enough from time to time to supply the immediate wants of a family....Before the establishment of this reserve by the Government the subsistence of the Boise and Bruneau Indians was principally confined to salmon, both winter and summer. Their removal east of the Shoshone Falls of Snake River having cut off their material supply makes them more dependent on the Government than they otherwise would be, could they take an abundance of fish as formerly.[222]

To correct the problem and make the reservation more viable, Berry

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220 W. Adams, *100 Years of Jefferson County Progress* (No publisher or date), p. 41.

221 Alma J. Reid, *Along the Rivers: A Western History* (Firth, ID.: Sagebrush Studio, 1994), pp. 246, 281, 295.

222 RCIA 1871, 542.

offered the grandiose solution of a set of "salmon stairs" to ascend the 212 foot Shoshone Falls, the natural upstream limit of salmon migration on the Snake River. Such a feat would have been one of the engineering marvels of the age, and incredibly expensive. Needless to say, no action was taken on Berry's plans.

In the 1870s fisheries remained important for all Shoshone-Bannock peoples, those at Fort Hall, those at other reservations, and those who remained on lands outside the reservations. In September 1870, Utah Superintendent of Indian Affairs J. E. Tourtellotte reported that the Shoshones living in northwestern Utah had "no permanent place of abode, but rove among the mountains and valleys wherever they find the best hunting and fishing."[223] A month later his Wyoming counterpart, J. A. Campbell, reported that the Eastern Shoshones had spent much of the summer away from the Wind River reservation:

> Fear of the Sioux and other hostile tribes, the scarcity of game and fish, on which they are dependent, and a distrust of the intention of the Government, has made them leave the reservation during the summer months and go south to Fort Bridger, and west to the Bear River, where they subsist on small game, and the fish which are so abundant in that river.[224]

As recorded by E. L. Williams, Washakie also recalled these annual summer

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223 RCIA 1870, 141-44.

224 Ibid., 174-75.

sojourns in the mountains to fish:

> Prior to the adoption of the treaty, as well as afterwards, it was the custom of the tribe to spend most of the year on the Wind River region, but about the first of June, the whole tribe, men, women and children, with all their belongings, ponies, tents, camping equipment, etc. would start on a trip to the Uinta Mountains in northeastern Utah, where they remained during the summer, returning about the latter part of September. There was at that time a great abundance of game and fish in those mountains, and so was an attractive place for the summer location of these Indians. The journey to and from this hunting and fishing ground was made by way of South Pass City over the south pass of the mountain divide, across a broad valley of the Green River and by Fort Bridger. [225]

In a manner that paralleled the situation of Shoshone-Bannock at Fort Hall, fishing continued to be a central component of the subsistence rounds for those who wintered at Wind River, and even after the formation of a reservation for them in Wyoming, these Shoshone-Bannock also traveled off-reservation to the most productive fishing sites.

Many white officials quickly tired of the Shoshone-Bannock's insistence on hunting and fishing outside of the reservation, even though Article IV of the Fort Bridger treaty guaranteed these activities. In Idaho, Gov. Thomas W. Bennett led the calls for a revision of the treaty

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225 P. L. Williams, "Personal Recollections of Wash-a-kie, Chief of the Shoshones," *Utah Historical Quarterly* (October, 1928), Vol. 1 (4), p. 104.

restricting the tribes off-reservation rights. He complained:

> Availing themselves of the liberal and loose provisions of the treaty these Indians [Bannocks and Shoshones], early in the summer of each year, go to Camas Prairie in full strength, and there leaving their old men and old women to dig roots, the others to the number of twelve hundred or two thousand, including their young men and warriors, pass on into all the white settlements in the valleys of the Boise, the Payette, and the Weiser, and remain there for several months 'hunting and fishing' in pursuance of the terms of their treaty -- there being unoccupied lands scattered through these valleys.[226]

He argued that the treaty must be revised with the Indians giving up their general rights in favor of strictly defined off-reservation hunting and root grounds, and fisheries. His calls led to the appointment of a commission (including Governor Bennett) which negotiated such an agreement in November 1873. Once again, however, Congress refused to act, and the provisions of the Fort Bridger treaty remained unimpaired.

The following year Bennett complained again of the numerous Shoshone-Bannock bands which continued to live outside of the reservations. He singled out Eagle Eye's band of Weiser Shoshones who, "remain the year around in the Weiser Valley in the midst of the white settlements hunting, fishing, stealing and marauding to the great terror and danger of the inhabitants." He argued that Eagle Eye's band and

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226 Thomas W. Bennett to SI, 15 February 1873, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

several others "scattered along Snake and Bruneau rivers" should be sent to Fort Hall.[227]

Like their kin at Fort Hall, the other Shoshone and Northern Paiute peoples of Oregon, Idaho, and Nevada who settled on the Malheur Reservation relied heavily on their fisheries. Created by executive order in 1872 for "all the roving and straggling bands in Eastern and Southeastern Oregon," the Malheur Reservation became the home for a diverse group of Northern Paiute and Shoshone speakers, who were often generically referred to as "Snakes."[228] Many "Snake" bands traversed the breadth of Oregon in their annual subsistence cycles and not all settled at Malheur. For instance, the Klamath agent reported that Ocheo's band of "Pi-Ute Snakes" [Northern Paiutes]

> have been accustomed to go to their old country, about Camp Warner, at the opening of spring, where they support themselves through the summer by fishing, hunting, &c., and, as winter approaches, return to Yainax [on the Klamath Reservation] to be fed.[229]

Lack of proper appropriations meant that the Malheur Reservation was not effectively founded until 1874. In August of that year Sam B. Parrish officially took charge of the agency. In his first annual report he

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227 Thomas W. Bennett to CIA, 13 April 1874, USNA, M234: *Idaho;* See also, Hank Corless, *The Weiser Indians: Shoshoni Peacemakers* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990).

228 RCIA 1872, 65.

229 RCIA 1873, 323-24.

commented upon his arrival in late July, "I found but few Indians upon the reservation, the greater portion of those who wintered here having gone away to hunt and fish."[230] Parrish was a popular agent and convinced many of the Indians to commence farming, yet he never demanded that they give up their traditional subsistence practices. When a large portion of the reservation's population left each summer the agent was unconcerned. In September of 1875 he wrote, "At present many of my Indians are out at their summer resorts in the mountains, hunting and fishing, but will soon return."[231] And return they did, in time to harvest the crops they had planted before they left for their hunting grounds and fisheries. Parrish's successor, W. V. Rinehart, also noted such a pattern: "It is usual for them to scatter out from the agency in early spring for the purpose of hunting, fishing, and root-digging." He also identified one of the Indians' fisheries as "the fish-traps on Main Malheur River, 20 miles from the agency."[232] Rinehart's comments came on the eve of the Bannock War of 1878, a conflict which ultimately led to the abolition of the Malheur Reservation.

The "mixed Shoshones, Bannock and Sheepeaters" of the Salmon

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230 RCIA 1874, 76, 320. Commissioner Edward P. Smith summarized Parrish's report in his own annual report; "The Malheur reservation, on the North Fork of the Malheur river...A few Indian families have cultivated small patches of land, but the body of these Indians during the summer have been absent engaged in hunting and fishing."

231 RCIA 1875, 349.

232 RCIA 1878, 119-20.

River country, often known as the Lemhis, represented another Shoshone-Bannock population particularly dependent on fish resources. While they spent a good portion of each year hunting in Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming, they always returned to their homeland in the Lemhi Valley to fish the annual salmon runs. These were the people that the Mormons settled among and described in the late 1850s. During the succeeding two decades they worked to maintain their traditional subsistence cycle. They also remained in their homeland. Under constant pressure to remove to the Fort Hall Reservation, the Lemhis and their capable leader, Tendoy, resisted the change. In 1868 and 1870, Tendoy signed two separate, unratified treaties with officials of Montana Territory. In both cases he sought a reservation for his people in the Lemhi Valley. While neither treaty was ever proclaimed, Congress did appropriate money for the Lemhis in 1872, by which time an unofficial reservation existed for the band. Finally, an 1875 executive order officially created the Lemhi Reservation.[233]

The Lemhis' dependence on fisheries was well documented in the official record both before and during the reservation era. In 1869, former Montana Governor James Tufts wrote of the Lemhis:

> They hunt on the Madison, Jefferson, and Big Hole rivers and their numerous branches, with perhaps a semi-annual sojourn on the Salmon river for the

233 cf., Smoak, op. cit., 41-61.

purpose of fishing.[234]

That same year, Gen. Alfred Sully, Montana's superintendent of Indian affairs, met with Tendoy's band in the Yellowstone country. He reported that they were in a "deplorable condition," but within a few days in the Yellowstone country they had "picked up amazingly on the game and fish that abound in that region."[235]

With the establishment of the "Lemhi Farm" in 1871, fishing remained a staple. In September Agent A. I. Smith reported that the fishing season had been very good; "They have this season caught and dried about 30,000 pounds."[236] In his annual report Montana Superintendent of Indian Affairs J. A. Viall (who oversaw the reservation during these early years even though it lay in Idaho) wrote:

> In the spring and summer they caught fish from Salmon River, and in the fall and winter, such as had horses, were in the habit of hunting buffalo in the Yellowstone country. [237]

Three years later the Lemhi Agent Harrison Fuller reported:

> These Indians formed a confederacy many years ago, and have since been separated from other tribes, making their headquarters in this valley

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234 James Tufts to Col. L. M. Black, 20 August 1869, USN, M234: *Montana.*

235 RCIA 1869, 289-93.

236 RCIA 1871, 432.

237 RCIA 1871, 415-16. Also in M234: *Montana.*

> (Lemhi), subsisting mainly on salmon fish and mountain sheep, sometimes venturing on buffalo-hunting expeditions in the countries claimed by the Sioux and Crows.[238]

The Lemhi Valley with its fisheries and near-by hunting grounds was a familiar and favorable home for the band, and Tendoy refused to go to Fort Hall, "when there is such a scarcity of wood and no fish or game [at that place]."[239] There can be no doubt that fisheries were a primary resource for the Lemhi band.

Unfortunately, white settlers exploited the fisheries in ways which blocked Indian access. Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, white-owned fish traps which all but prevented runs from ascending the Lemhi River were a source of friction between the Indians and white settlers. In 1867, Idaho's acting governor, S. R. Howlett, asked the Idaho County sheriff to investigate reports of illegal fish traps on the Lemhi River. Howlett believed the Indians, "who depend upon these fisheries for their support," were complaining with "just cause." He also cited a territorial law which forbade fish traps extending over one-half the width of any stream.[240] Sheriff John Ramey went to the Lemhi Valley and found that the traps "entirely prevent the fish from ascending the river, thus

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238 RCIA 1874, 264.

239 Harrison Fuller to CIA, 4 December 1874, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

240 S. R. Howlett to John S. Ramey, 3 September 1867, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

preventing the Indians from obtaining fish, which is their only dependence for subsistence." He ordered five traps removed which violated the law,[241] but heard rumors that the owners were planning on rebuilding them in the spring.[242]

And rebuild they did. In 1870 the Crow agent, A. J. Simmons, visited the Lemhi Valley and reported on the destitute condition of the people:

> They were prevented this year from catching their customary amount of salmon for winter's use from the fact of certain white men obstructing the mouth of Lemhi creek [river] with fish traps thereby preventing the salmon from running up to the Indian fisheries.[243]

Two years later the Lemhi agent, J. C. Rainsford, also blamed the white-owned traps for the poor fishing season, but expanded his complaints beyond the Lemhi Valley.

> The salmon, though very abundant in the Columbia River during the past season, has been very scarce at the fishing-places of these tribes, both on Salmon River and the Lemhi Fork. This is, in my opinion, owing to the immense quantities caught, and the obstructions erected by the several fisheries on the Columbia River. The failure is of vast importance to these people, as they have been in the habit of curing and storing large

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241 "An Act for the Protection of Fish," 7 January 1871, *Laws and Resolutions Passed by the Sixth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Idaho* (Boise: James S. Reynolds, Territorial Printer, 1871), pp. 68-69.

242 John S. Ramey to S. R. Howlett, n.d., USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

243 A. J. Simons to J. A. Viall, 1 December 1870, USNA, M234: *Montana.*

> quantities for winter use. The entire amount caught by them this season does not exceed 10,000 pounds; while in past years the amount has been from 30,000 to 60,000 pounds.[244]

While large commercial fisheries downstream on the Columbia may have impacted the Lemhis' catch, subsequent reports revealed that it was the local traps which did the greatest harm.

The fish trap issue reached a head in 1877 and 1878, while tensions ran high during the Nez Perce and Bannock Wars. Capt. Edward Ball who escorted Tendoy and his people back to the Lemhi Valley during the latter conflict recalled loud complaints about a fish trap on the Lemhi River which blocked the salmon run below the reservation.[245] At Lemhi, Agent John A. Wright was very aware of the issue. The trap, he charged, prevented "any fish from ascending the Lemhi or its tributaries and effectually cutting off the supply of Salmon to which the Indians on the Reservation have been accustomed for years past."[246] At first the commissioner was unconcerned, believing that the Lemhi River was not part of the reservation. Wright assured him that is was, and referred him to the February 12, 1875 executive order which established the reserve. The river flowed within the reservation for over ten miles and, "The

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244 RCIA 1872, 282.

245 Capt. Ed. Ball to AAG Dist. of Montana, 30 April 1878, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

246 John A. Wright to CIA, 19 August 1878, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

Indians are very much interested in this matter as the trap is effective and materially interferes with a privilege long enjoyed by them."[247] The agent also contacted the United States district attorney for Idaho for advice on how to proceed against the trap's owners. He charged that they denied "the fishing privileges of the Indians under my care," by obstructing the runs of "Salmon and salmon trout."[248]

In November 1878, Agent Wright wrote a long letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs detailing the fish trap issue. The worst offender was Thomas McGarvey, who had operated fish traps on the Lemhi River since 1862, and his was one of the works that Sheriff Ramey ordered dismantled in 1867. McGarvey's trap was so effective few fish were caught anywhere above it on either the Lemhi or its tributaries. He took "Salmon, Salmon-trout, and the white fish" in large numbers and sold them commercially. In the summer of 1877, during the Nez Perce War, tensions boiled over and the Indians threatened to tear down the trap. To avoid a war the citizens of Salmon, Idaho, paid McGarvey $400 to open the trap. Tensions also approached war in the summer of 1878 due to the short supplies on the reservation, but once again McGarvey closed the gates. Wright provided a detailed description of the trap in question. The works spanned the entire stream bed, but the actual traps only took up

247 John A. Wright to CIA, 26 September 1878, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

248 John A. Wright to Joseph W. Huston (US District Attorney for Idaho), 26 September 1878, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

half the river. The other half was blocked by a series of solid gates which forced the fish to the other side. Wright felt that while McGarvey's trap may not have violated the technical letter of the law, it certainly violated its spirit.[249]

Wright feared violence if something was not done to protect the Indians' right to their fisheries. "The Indians have been in the habit of catching these fish in years past on the Lemhi," he wrote, "and such of its tributaries as pass through this reservation."[250] But the following summer, before either violence or legal action took place, nature took care of McGarvey's fish trap, when a flash flood washed it away. Agent Wright happily reported, "the Indians are now catching an abundant supply of Salmon fish and there in no necessity for the issue of beef until the fish become less plentiful."[251]

The continued abundance of fish along the Salmon River and its tributaries contributed to the ability of many *Túkudeka* to remain independent and outside the reach of the reservation system. On their 1879 expedition to round-up the "hostiles" and *Túkudeka*, who were reputed to have killed Chinese miners at Loon Creek, Capt. Reuben Bernard and members of his First Calvary, Troop G, regularly reported the

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249 John A. Wright to CIA, 6 November 1878, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

250 Ibid.

251 John A. Wright to CIA, 18 July 1879, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

abundance of trout and salmon along their trail.[252] During this military excursion, some of the *Túkudeka* were captured and forcibly relocated to Fort Hall in the aftermath of the Sheepeater War, but others voluntarily settled on the Lemhi Reservation or escaped government supervision altogether. Small groups continued to live, travel, and fish at diverse locations along the Salmon River drainage system until well into the twentieth century, while many others returned to the river periodically to partake of the seasonal salmon harvests.[253]

Fishing continued as an important component of subsistence for the Shoshone-Bannock who once lived in the Salmon River region or harvested salmon below the falls on the Snake River. Fishing remained important even to the Shoshone-Bannock who spent much of their time on waterways outside the salmon's range. In July of 1876, Capt. John G. Bourke wrote

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252 Carrey & Conley, op. cit., 171-72, 175-76

253 Ibid., 2; Mink, op. cit.; Emory Tendoy, Interviewer Jeannette Wolfley, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 26, 1997), p. 3, 25; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #1: Lydia Stone, Princess Stone, Francis Navo, Layton Littlejohn, Walter Nevada, Cina Kaiyou, Ida Bronco, & Minnie Phelps), Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript One, p. 21; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript Two, pp. 26, 30, 33; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navjo), Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Four, pp. 1-2; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Five, p. 2; see Corless, op. cit., 130-38.

about the fishing of Shoshone in Wyoming:

> The Shoshones were expert fishermen, and it was always a matter of interest to me to spend my spare moments among them, watching their way of doing things...They differed from the Apaches in being very fond of fish; the Apaches could not be persuaded to touch anything with scale upon it, or any bird which lived upon fish; but the Shoshones had more sense and made the most of their opportunity to fill themselves with delicious trout of the mountain streams.[254]

Even though Shoshone-Bannock were settled on reservations often far-removed from their historic fishing sites, and even though many of these fisheries became despoiled by mining and agricultural development, they continued not only to return to their old fishing spots but to search out new places when those were destroyed or unavailable. In the next century, ethnographers and linguists would record further evidence of the Shoshone-Bannock's age-old reliance and continuing dependence on fish in their diets.

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254 John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971 [reprint of 1891 edition]), p. 340.

1.B: HISTORIC REPORTS OF THE TRADE IN FISH

Shoshone-Bannock access to an abundance of salmon not only enabled them to fill their own stores but also to meet some of the needs of neighboring populations. As early as 1811, Wilson Price Hunt observed that Shoshone living near Hagerman "had good robes of bison skin, which, so they told me, they obtained in exchange for their salmon,"[255] and in 1831 Warren Angus Ferris[256] commented on the desire of some Shoshone-Bannock in the Sawtooth Mountains to obtain buffalo meat in trade for salmon. In 1826, when Ogden[257] noticed Shoshone moving downstream, he also recorded how their horses were packed with dried buffalo meat which they were carrying to exchange for fish and other items on the middle and lower reaches of the Snake River. In historic times, much of this trade took place in indigenous circles not only between the Shoshone-Bannock who lived and traveled in different locations, but also with neighboring tribes. The information James Teit[258] collected from the Flathead clearly indicates that they traded with the Shoshone-Bannock for dried salmon and salmon oil.

Indeed, the presence of good fisheries along Shoshone-Bannock

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255 Hunt, op. cit., 294.

256 Ferris, op. cit., 171.

257 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 144-45.

258 Teit, op. cit., 357-58.

waterways made certain locations inviting for "trade fairs" which drew native peoples from far and wide. At these meetings, fish were not necessarily the principal trade good, but served to attract and sustain local and visiting parties. Indian and Council Valleys on the upper Weiser River were common sites for such trade fairs,[259] and the Camas Prairie near Fairfield was another. The Lemhi Valley was a crossroads for the very same reasons. In 1876 Lemhi Agent Harrison Fuller wrote:

> Our situation is rather embarrassing; we seem to be the headcenter for roaming bands of Indians to congregate. The Umatilla and Nez Percé Indians come this way to trade and sell their horses; the Flathead Indians come here for salmon fish; the Bannocks and Shoshones, from Fort Hall reserve, come this way on their route to the buffalo country.[260]

Fuller complained that with so many visiting Indians the agency's supplies ran out rather quickly and he was forced to issue hunting passes to the Lemhi people.

The Shoshone-Bannock trade in fish was not limited to other Indian peoples. After 1805, some of this trade shifted to European-Americans, and it is richly documented in their historic journals, diaries, reports, and correspondence. The commerce in fish certainly benefited the European-

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259 Lalia Boone, *Idaho Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1988), p. 94. The Council Valley got its name from the frequent councils held there.

260 RCIA 1876, 44.

Americans whose travels and sojourns in Shoshone-Bannock country were greatly facilitated by a reliable access to high quality foods like salmon. At least at the outset, it probably advantaged the Shoshone-Bannock as well because they were able to acquire a diverse range of commodities from metal knives and awls to beads and blankets not available in their home environments. Over time, however, the rising tide of foreigners moving through and into their country had a disastrous impact on the fisheries which not only sustained the Shoshone-Bannock's subsistence but fueled their trade too.

The earliest evidence of a trade in fish begins with the journals of Lewis and Clark. In their accounts, numerous references were made to the exchange of fish.[261] There is no doubt that they relied on this trade when their own provisions were depleted as revealed in Lewis and Clark's own journal entries.[262] Indeed, Patrick Gass[263] remarked on one occasion that "a small quantity of dried salmon, which we got from the natives is almost our whole stock of provisions."[264] Some fifty years later, Elijah Nicholas Wilson, recalled how a Shoshone-Bannock named Morogonai

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261 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 2: 343, 379, 385-86; Vol. 3, pp. 6, 9, 15, 25, 36, 38, 44-46, 49; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5: 83, 128, 130-31, 135, 139, 144-45, 155, 167, 168, 174-75, 177, 182-183.

262 Ibid.

263 Gass, op. cit., 108-09, 114.

264 Ibid., 114.

described this trade:

> He told me all about the first white men that he ever saw. Lewis and Clark, he said, were the two chiefs and they had about thirty-five white men with them. He said he sold them some horses and they were good, honest, white men. He said he traveled with them for ten days, and would catch fish and swap them for shirts.[265]

Although some of the early food transactions reported by Lewis, Clark, and Gass clearly entailed barter,[266] many appear to have involved sharing as an extension of local hospitality.[267]

Along the Snake and its tributaries below American Falls, the vast majority of early food exchanges involved barter. At Salmon Falls in 1811, the fur trapper, Wilson Price Hunt mentioned how his party traded for salmon,[268] and a year later at the same spot, Robert Stuart reported how his party supplemented their food provisions by acquiring fish from the Shoshone.[269] In the years Alexander Ross and his party were trapping in Shoshone-Bannock territories, he describes purchasing salmon from them

> in order that they might become possessed of

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265 Wilson, op. cit., 116.

266 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3:. 46, 49.

267 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 2: 343, 379; Vol. 3: 9, 25, 36, 44, 45.

268 Hunt, op. cit., 291, 292, 294-96, 299-300.

269 Stuart, op. cit., 107, 115, 127.

> some useful and necessary articles; but especially to keep up a good understanding with them. A needle was given for a salmon, an awl for ten, and a knife for fifty! and they could have enriched themselves at that rate, had we been able to encourage the trade.[270]

This rate of exchange was clearly much higher than what Townsend would report twenty years later on the Boise River,[271] but then as Ross himself points out he was giving a "good measure" to advance his commerce. Such generosity was common practice among traders in North America when they were opening a new region to trade.[272]

The Hudson's Bay Company's traders, Peter Skene Ogden and John Work, also relied on the Shoshone-Bannock for some of their food provisions, even though both were accompanied by teams of experienced trappers and hunters many of whom were descendants of Canada's First Nations.[273] In July of 1829, when he reached the Crooked River in Oregon, Ogden reported that the Shoshone had a large stock of salmon to trade. He wrote:

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270 Ross, op. cit., 266.

271 Townsend, op. cit. 139.

272 Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, *Give Us Good Measure: An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 62, 199-201.

273 cf., Davies & Johnson, op. cit., 133; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 135-36, 170, 192-93; Williams, op. cit., 15, 164 for Peter Skene Ogden; Haines, op. cit. 13; Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 166-67, 170, 173 for John Work.

> I reached a Snake camp of fifty men with their families all busily employed with their salmon fisheries. We have already a good stock on hand. We had not been long arrived before upward of two hundred half dried were traded.[274]

Throughout the fur trade period, trappers and traders like Ogden provisioned themselves with salmon and other food produced and processed by native peoples in order to focus more of their own labor on the procurement of furs.

On his 1832 and 1834 expeditions, Nathaniel Wyeth of the American Fur Company regularly traded with the Shoshone-Bannock for fish. His journal entries for September, 1832 reported a continuous exchange for salmon.[275] John Ball, who accompanied Wyeth in 1832, described the expedition's dependence on Shoshone-Bannock salmon when he wrote:

> We traveled some days along or in the vicinity of the Lewis river after meeting Indians, and subsisting mostly on fresh or dried salmon bought or given us from them, and making short or long day's journeys and laying over to catch the beaver.[276]

A year later in a letter to Dr. Brinsmade, Ball reiterated the party's dependence on Shoshone-Bannock salmon:

> After we entered the buffalo country, we fed on

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274 Williams, op. cit., 164.

275 Young, op. cit., 165-71, 230.

276 Ball, op. cit., 85.

> the flesh of that animal, sometimes fresh, and sometimes dried, and even without salt, until we got to the middle or lower part of the Lewis river. Here we were supplied with salmon by the Indians; for which we gave in exchange, awls, fish hooks, beads.[277]

John Townsend, who traveled with Wyeth on his second expedition, also noted how the trappers depended on the Shoshone-Bannock for their supply of salmon,[278] and he reported many of their barter transactions as well.[279] It is also apparent from Wyeth and Townsend's accounts that notions about a "fair" rate of exchange had started to develop for salmon along the lower reaches of the Snake. Wyeth related an incident where a local Shoshone-Bannock slapped one of his men and kicked his mule for offering him a price less than what he expected,[280] and on another occasion, Townsend described how one group refused to sell their fish at the price offered by the traders.[281] He also supplied a short list of the going rates of exchange.

> The price of a dried salmon is a straight awl, and a small fish hook, the value about one cent; ten fish are given for a common butcher knife that

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277 Ball to Brinsmade, op. cit., 177.

278 Townsend, op. cit., 139.

279 Ibid., 135-36, 139, 141-45, 152-55, 157-58.

280 Young, op. cit., 170.

281 Townsend, op. cit., 155-56.

costs eight cents.[282]

Among other things, this indicates that the local Shoshone-Bannock were becoming more knowledgeable about the value of their own goods vis-a-vis the commodities European-Americans were offering in exchange. Such knowledge not only increased their power to bargain but it also contributed to a greater standardization in rates of exchange.

In the next decade, when the expedition of John Charles Frémont arrived, salmon were still being traded for foreign goods, although the scale of trade appears to have increased considerably. As Frémont himself described it,

> There were several lodges of Indians here, from whom we traded salmon....We now very frequently saw Indians, who were strung along the river at every little rapid where fish are to be caught, and the cry *haggai, haggai* (fish,) was constantly heard whenever we passed near their huts, or met them in the road. Very many of them were oddly and partially dressed in overcoat, shirt, waistcoat, or pantaloons, or whatever article of clothing they had been able to procure in trade from the emigrants; for we had now entirely quitted the country where hawk's bells, beads, and vermilion were the current coin, and found that here only useful articles and chiefly clothing, were in great request. These, however, are eagerly sought after; and for a few trifling pieces of clothing, travelers may procure food sufficient to carry them to the

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282 Ibid., 151.

Columbia.[283]

Not only were the Shoshone and Bannock of the middle Snake hawking their fish calling out "haggai" to passersby,[284] but they were eagerly approaching travelers to trade their fish. On October 2, 1843, while passing near Kanaka Rapids, Talbot wrote:

> Several families of Indians were encamped on an island, but putting the salmon they wished to trade with us on little floats made of grass, they soon swam over to us. We returned to camp well laden. This is not the best season for salmon but we found them notwithstanding very excellent eating.[285]

And when the party arrived on the Boise River, Frémont reported:

> There were several Indian encampments scattered along the river; and a number of inhabitants, in the course of the evening, came to the camp on horseback with dried and fresh fish to trade.[286]

Not only had the explorers, traders, and trappers in the area increased the demand for salmon, but now there were growing numbers of emigrants in need of salmon to stock their provisions as well. In the 1830s, emigrants traveling to Oregon reported their stops at Salmon Falls and the Boise River to trade for fish. One of the earliest was Jason Lee

283 Frémont, op. cit., 270-71; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 531-32.

284 Ibid.; Preuss, op. cit., 92.

285 Talbot, op. cit., 53-54.

286 Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 536-37.

who wrote in 1834:

> We purchased some (salmon) 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 weigh twelve or fourteen pounds.[287]

On August 12, 1836, Narcissa Whitman reported her salmon purchases near the mouth of Salmon Falls Creek,[288] while Sarah W. Smith[289] and Myra F. Eels recorded similar trade two years later. In her diary entry of August 9, 1838, Eells wrote:

> Thursday: Passed the Salmon Falls. Several Indian lodges on the bank of the river. Some 50 or 60 Indians in them. Bought some salmon from them.[290]

A week later on August 15th, one day before arriving at Fort Boise, she reported: "This morning a number of naked Indians came to see us with dried salmon and service berries made into cakes and baked in sun."[291] Her diary clearly reveals the shift in emigrant diets from buffalo meat to salmon as her party descended the Snake,[292] and Frederick Wislizenus's

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287 Lee, op. cit., 248.

288 Whitman, op. cit., 82.

289 Ibid., 104.

290 Eells, op. cit, 56.

291 Ibid., 56.

292 Ibid., 50-56.

journal also describes how travelers depended on dried meat until they reached this river.[293] At Salmon Falls Creek, on the 7th of September in 1839, Sidney Smith recorded in his diary: "We purchased a bale of dried Salmon for 3 knives the Salmon was very fine and dried in the finest stile."[294] And ten days later, Asahel Munger wrote:

> after riding about one hour we came to the falls -- here we got a supply of fish to last us to Ft Boysa [Boise]. Here the Indians have built three houses of willows and grass.[295]

Thomas Farnham, another emigrant who traveled in 1839, wrote on October 8, about the prevailing rate of exchange on the Boise River:

> Our business was transacted as follows: --For one large fish-hook we bought one salmon; for one paper vermilion, six bunches of spawn; for one butcher-knife, one leathern fish rope.[296]

Again, Sidney Smith reported on September 16th when his party arrived on the Boise River, that they traded for over sixty salmon at an encampment with fifty lodges.[297]

Fort Hall, the Salmon Falls, and the Boise River remained popular

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293 Wislizenus, op. cit., 108.

294 Hafen and Hafen, op. cit., 84.

295 Munger, op. cit., 401.

296 Farnham, op. cit., 139-40.

297 Hafen and Hafen, op. cit., 86.

resting and trading spots along the Oregon Trail into the 1850s, and reports of the brisk fish trade at these locations continued. In 1841, Joseph Williams reported his salmon purchases at Salmon Falls and Glenn's Ferry,[298] while James Clyman claimed three years later that he purchased salmon for a trifle at the same location.[299] Joel Palmer described the fishing trade at Salmon Falls in 1845, when he wrote:

> We traveled about nine miles, reaching the Salmon Falls. Here are eighteen or twenty Indian huts. Salmon come up to these falls: the Indians have an abundance of them, which they very readily dispose of for hooks, powder, balls, clothing, calico and knives, and in fact for almost anything we have at our disposal.[300]

An Oregon Trail Guide of the 1840s even provided instructions on what immigrants should expect from the Shoshone-Bannock in the way of food and trade.

> 160 miles below Fort Hall, you will come to the Salmon Falls, where you will find a great many Indians fishing; you can buy the fish very cheap, but you need not lay in any supply, as you will have opportunities of trading for them the balance of your journey.[301]

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298 Ibid., 238.

299 Clyman, op. cit., 104.

300 Palmer, op. cit., 93-94.

301 John M. Shivley, "Guide to Oregon and California, 1846," in Dale L. Morgan, ed., *Overland in 1846: Diaries and Letters of the California-Oregon Trail, Vol. II* (Georgetown, CA: The Talisman Press, 1963), p. 739.

In the 1850s, the emigrants, P. V. Crawford, John S. Zeiber, and Clarence P. Bagley also recorded fish transactions in their diaries.[302]

The immigrants also traded for fish above Shoshone Falls. On September 19, 1849, when Alonzo Delano encountered Bannock near American Falls, he remarked:

> I found they had fish, and came over for the purpose of trade. I tried my hand at making a bargain on reaching the wagons. They wanted a shirt for a small string and one fine salmon trout. I exhibited my stock, but they were unfortunately too small. I next offered them money, and quite as much as they were worth, but that they considered worthless. Some bright buttons were no better, but they offered to take a blanket worth five dollars. This was too hard a bargain for me, and I gave it up for a bad job, but finally I bought the whole lot for six fish hooks, both parties being well satisfied with their bargain.[303]

And in August of 1849, J. Goldsborough Bruff described a trade for salmon at Fort Hall.[304]

Another source of European-American commodities for the Shoshone-Bannock came in exchange for the labor they performed in leading emigrant and exploration parties across the Snake River. On August 12, 1836 Narcissa Whitman explained how Shoshone women at

302 Bagley, op. cit., 176; Crawford , op. cit., 156; *Idaho Yesterdays*, op. cit., 22.

303 Delano, op. cit, 143-44.

304 Bruff, op. cit., 107.

Glenn's Ferry engaged in this work,[305] and seven years later, Frémont reported the same kind of activity.[306] In reference to the same occasion, Talbot wrote on October 6, 1843:

> The Indians helped us a great deal, taking over the carts, swimming the animals &c. We paid them satisfactorily for their services and by sunset had finished our crossing without any accident or serious mishap.[307]

In the 1846, an Oregon Trail guide recorded this activity as well:

> Two days below, you come to the crossing where you must follow the instruction of your Indian guide; when you are across Snake river, all you will gain is good grass for your animals--there not being a sufficient quantity for a large band of stock on the south side.[308]

Described as expert swimmers, or as Talbot put it, "nearly amphibious,"[309] Shoshone-Bannock had been hired by European-Americans for many years to do this sort of task. As early as 1826 Peter Skene Ogden[310] described how the large encampments of Shoshone-Bannock swam their horses across the river when they descended downstream, and

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305 Drury, op. cit., 85-86.

306 Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 532-33.

307 Talbot, op. cit., 55.

308 Shivley, op. cit., 739.

309 Talbot, op. cit., 53-54.

310 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 144-45.

John Work reported how his party was given assistance in swimming their horses across the Weiser River in 1831.[311] By 1853, some of the enterprising Shoshone-Bannock at Glenn's Ferry, along with local Metis, built a boat to ferry immigrants across the river. As described in the Dinwiddie journal:

> Just above the first falls, the French, Creoles and Indians have a ferry, they charged four dollars per wagon for crossing, a great many emigrants were crossing and going down the north side of the river, grass is said to be better on the north side. We camped just below the first falls, found grass about two miles out among the mountains, it had been eat by the Indians horses close by, we kept the south side, caught some fine salmon fish that evening.[312]

The Mormon missionaries who stayed in the Lemhi Valley from 1855 to 1858 also found the Shoshone-Bannock people to be obliging trade partners, with fish being the most common exchange item. As the missionaries moved north past Fort Hall in May of 1855, they encountered "Snake Indians" anxious to exchange some of the "very fine trout" they had taken from the Snake River for bread.[313] Once they were established in the Lemhi Valley this pattern continued. In late August David Moore

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311 Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 167.

312 David or John Dinwiddie, "Overland from Indiana to Oregon: The Dinwiddie Journal," Margaret Booth, ed., *Sources of Northwest History* (Missoula: University of Montana, 1928) Vol. 2, p. 10.

313 Salmon River Mission Journals, op. cit., 35.

remarked, "Quite a number of Indians coming in wishing to trade salmon for bread."[314] There soon developed a thriving salmon trade between the missionaries and the Shoshone-Bannock people in the Lemhi Valley. In June of 1856, as the summer run began, Moore recorded in his journal, "Some salmon bought today the first of the season." And in his entries for the following two days he wrote, "Salmon is being caught by the natives & brought in for sale."[315] The trade grew so large that the missionaries actually exported a portion of the catch back to Utah. Acquiring the fish could be a cooperative effort. In 1856 and 1857 Jacob Miller recorded that the "brethren" had helped the Indians build fish traps on the Lemhi River. But more often skilled Shoshone-Bannock fisherman caught the salmon while the missionaries built barrels and cured the fish for transport. "We buy the salmon so cheap with our Indian trade," Miller recalled in the summer of 1856, "we don't do any catching."[316] Most of the salmon, according to Miller, "dressed out" at between twenty and forty pounds.[317] On a single day in June of 1857, over 180 salmon, weighing at least fifteen pounds each had been traded at Fort Lemhi.[318] Four months

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314 Ibid., 46.

315 Ibid., 92, 117.

316 Jacob Miller (Marriott Library), op. cit., 61-63.

317 Ibid., 62-63.

318 Ibid., 56.

later, a group of the missionaries left for Utah with eight wagons so "well loaded with fish," that they took several extra yoke of oxen along for the journey.[319]

Although it appears that emigrants, prospectors, and settlers increasingly did their own fishing, the Shoshone-Bannock fish trade with European-Americans did not cease. When the prospector George Forman began his return journey to the East in August 1865 he encountered Indians trading salmon near Thousand Springs and Salmon Falls on the Snake River. He wrote:

> The water is very pure and too cold to bathe, and abounds in Salmon which the Indians catch and sell as "Hi yu muck a muck" or "first rate to eat."[320]

In the same area, Charles Walgamott describes how early settlers relied on fresh and dried salmon procured from the local Shoshone-Bannock.[321]

Once the Shoshone-Bannock were located on reservations and removed from their prime fisheries, however, their commerce in fish declined. As European-Americans settled southern Idaho, they began to do much of their own fishing. Indeed, in some instances, they built their own commercial operations and stood in direct competition with the Shoshone-

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[319] Jacob Miller (LDS Archives), op. cit., Tues., Oct. 27, 1857.

[320] George Forman, "George Forman, The Great Pedestrian," William E. Davis, ed., *Idaho Yesterdays* (Spring 1966), Vol. 10, p. 11.

[321] Walgamott, op. cit., 41.

Bannock for fish to trade and subsist upon. This was certainly the case in the Lemhi Valley in the 1870s. With the arrival of the twentieth century, the fish trade became part of a passing chapter in the history of Shoshone-Bannock relations with European-Americans. And today, Shoshone-Bannock fish harvests are neither sold nor bartered to outsiders.[322]

[322] Cora George in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 95; Gerald Tinno in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 181.

PART TWO

SHOSHONE-BANNOCK FISHING AND FISHERIES: AN ETHNOGEOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

Numerous oral histories and ethnographic writings demonstrate the early and continuing importance of fishing in the lives of the Shoshone-Bannock. These sources support Shoshone-Bannock claims to fisheries and waterways within their aboriginal areas of use and occupation as well as clarify some of the reported variations in the role that fishing played in local subsistence economies. In this section, the oral history and ethnographic evidence is presented and cross-referenced with some of the historic documents, already discussed, to provide a geographic overview of Newe fishing and fisheries.

Most of the primary ethnographic sources covered here come from the writings of five scholars who interviewed Shoshone-Bannock peoples during the twentieth century. In 1906, Robert Lowie worked with several

elders on the Lemhi Reservation,[1] and from 1933 to 1935, another ethnograher, Julian Steward, spent ten months among Shoshone-Bannock from Lemhi and Fort Hall. Steward's principal consultant for the Lemhi River Shoshone was James Pegoga, an eighty-five year old, who was born in a village west of the Lemhi River and who moved to the river as a young man when the group of mountain people with whom he was associated joined ranks with an equestrian Lemhi band. Steward also worked with Silver Ballard, a Fort Hall Shoshone man sixty-four years of age; White Horse, an eighty-four year old Bannock man; and Grouse Creek Jack, a Shoshoni who claimed to be one hundred five years of age and lived at Fort Hall. Finally, Ray Diamond, an eighty year old man from Promontory Point, was also an important consultant to Steward.[2] All of the people who consulted with Lowie and Steward lived in the nineteenth century, with the oldest having spent a portion of their lives outside the reservation system. Twenty years later, in the summer of 1954, the ethnographers, Robert and Yolanda Murphy, conducted field research at Fort Hall. Although they worked with people in their late seventies, none of these elders were born before the formation of reservations at Fort Hall and on the

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1 Robert Lowie, *Robert H. Lowie, Ethnologist: A Personal Record* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959), p. 13.

2 Julian Steward, "Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshoni," *Anthropological Records* (1943), Vol. 8 (3), pp. 263-64.

Lemhi River.[3] Between 1940 and 1970, Sven Liljeblad, a linguist, worked with many different elders from Fort Hall, all of whom spent their lives on the reservation. Most of their oral histories are contained in his unpublished field notebooks.[4]

From the 1960s through the 1980s, many oral histories of Shoshone-Bannock elders were taken and transcribed by individuals associated with the American West Center at the University of Utah, the Crabtree/Swanson Archaeological Center at Idaho State University, and the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes. More recently, oral histories have been taken through the cooperation of tribal elders and staffs from the American West Center, the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes' Cultural Resource Survey Organization, their Tribal Education Office, and their Tribal Attorney's Office. Even though elders who consulted with later interviewers may not have lived before the reservation era, they certainly learned and remembered some of the stories about this period from their parents and grandparents. Equally important, today's elders recall the continuing use of fishing, hunting, and gathering resources in the tribes' historic areas of occupation.

Most of the ethnographers who wrote about Shoshone and Bannock

[3] Robert Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society," *Anthropological Records* (1960) Vol. 16(6), p. iv.

[4] Sven Liljeblad Notebooks. Unpublished Field Notebooks (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library) [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division] {Hereafter, Sven Liljeblad, Notebook}.

speaking populations before the 1960s organized their materials around some of the more commonly named geographic areas where these people lived in pre-reservation times. There has been little consistency, however, among writers in the ways they have divided the Shoshone-Bannock geographically or in the names they have used for these groupings. This has led to considerable confusion, and in order to avoid this, the information is presented here according to the waterways in which the Newe were reported to have fished in historic and modern times.

In introducing the discussion of ethnographic and oral history sources on settlement, subsistence, and fishing, it is worth reiterating that all Shoshone-Bannock fished, although they did so in varied ways and at different places. All of the Shoshone-Bannock in Idaho spent much of each year encamped in riparian environments where, in addition to catching fish, they collected game and plants for food, medicine, and other uses. In some areas, these water-rich environments provided lush grasses for the pasturage of their growing herds of horses as well.[5]

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[5] Scott E. Clark, *Nineteenth Century Shoshone-Bannock Riparian Adaptation.* Masters thesis (Pocatello: Idaho State University, 1986).

2.A.-COLUMBIA RIVER DRAINAGE

The Newe populations who were the most dependent on fishing and who lived in areas with the most abundant fisheries were located at a variety of different sites along the Salmon and Snake Rivers and their respective tributaries, all of which fed the larger Columbia River drainage system.

2.A.1: Salmon River and Its Tributaries - The people who the Newe called *Agaideka, Túkudeka, Pengwadeka, Tehiyadeken'e*, and *Kútsundeka* lived and traveled along the Salmon River and its tributaries in north central Idaho. They were heavily dependent on fish and procured a wide variety of different species locally.[6] On the Lemhi River, where the conditions for fishing were especially favorable, "salmon," according to Sven Liljeblad, were "their principal source of livelihood."[7] Salmon were taken during the spring, summer, and fall runs on the Lemhi River, and one variety was also caught on the Salmon River in winter and on its tributary streams where

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6 Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970 [Reprint of 1938 edition]), p. 190-91.

7 Sven Liljeblad, "Indian Peoples of Idaho" (Unpublished mimeograph, 1957), p. 104.

they spawned in March.[8] In addition, the Newe of the Salmon River region were reported to procure at least nine other species of fish including lamprey, suckers, and trout.[9] When local groups traveled to the camas prairies, they relied on trout caught in the tributaries of the Wood River as well.[10]

In their fishing activity, the Newe who lived and traveled along the waters of the Salmon River employed a procurement technology which was every bit as complex and sophisticated as those used by their Sahaptan neighbors whose fishing sites were located farther downstream on the Snake River.[11] A variety of historic sources offer rich descriptions of the Shoshone-Bannock fishing methods and techniques along the Salmon

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8 Robert Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (1909), Vol. 2(2): 175; Steward (1938), op. cit., 190; Steward (1943), op. cit., 268; see also: Meriwether Lewis & William Clark, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D., ed. (New York: Arno Press, 1969) Vol. 3, pp. 373-74 {hereafter Lewis & Clark T}; Meriwether Lewis & William Clark, *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition,* Gary E. Moulton, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), Vol. 5, p. 122 {hereafter Lewis & Clark M}; Patrick Gass, *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery* (Pittsburg: David M'Keehan Publisher,1807), p. 107; Salmon River Mission Journals, 1855-1858. Unpublished manuscript (Salt Lake City, LDS Church Archives), pp. 35-36, 92, 96, 117 {Hereafter, Salmon River Mission}; Deward E. Walker, Jr., "Lemhi Shoshone-Bannock Reliance on Anadromous and Other Fish Resources, *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* (1993) Vol. 27 (2), pp. 235-36.

9 Steward (1938), op. cit., 190.

10 Ibid., 191.

11 Walker, op. cit., 235-36.

River.[12] Drawing primarily on the accounts of Lewis and Clark, the ethnographer, Robert Lowie, summarized some of the elaborate features of their encatchment and projectile devices, and he also described some of the ceremonial activity associated with their fishing.[13] Three decades later Julian Steward offered additional information on the complexity of their fishing methods and technology, most of which he learned from tribal elders who had lived in this region.[14] More recent oral histories and court testimony only add to this extensive documentary record.[15]

The Shoshone-Bannock of the Lemhi Valley were known alternatively as *Kútsundeka,* "Eaters of Buffalo," when they traveled to Montana or *Agaideka,* "Eaters of Salmon," when they remained on the Lemhi and

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12 Jacob Miller, Salmon River Mission Journal of Jacob Miller, Unpublished manuscript (Salt Lake City, LDS Church Archives, 1857), pp. 62-63; Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 2, op. cit., 373-74; Vol. 3, op. cit., 6-10, 39, 44, 46; Salmon River Mission, op. cit., p. 35;

13 Lowie, op. cit., 186-87, 217-18.

14 Steward (1938), op. cit., 185, 187, 190-91, 194; Steward (1943), op. cit., 169-270, 297-98

15 Albert Cawson, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 3 (1950), p. 19; Lizzie Edmo, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad Notebook II (June 7, 1959), p. 20; *State of Idaho v. Gerald Cleo Tinno,* District Court of the Seventh Judicial District of the State of Idaho in and for the County of Custer, April 1, 1970, Court Transcript {Hereafter, *State of Idaho v. Tinno* }. Jonah Mink, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone Bannock Tribal Library, July 2, 1997), pp. 7-8, 50-52; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #1: Lydia Stone, Princess Stone, Francis Navo, Layton Littlejohn, Walter Nevada, Cina Kaiyou, Ida Bronco, & Minnie Phelps), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript One, p. 15 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript One}.

Salmon Rivers to fish.[16] One of their major winter camping grounds was located at *Pa:dai*,[17] and it consisted of a series of sites at the confluence of the Lemhi and Salmon Rivers (modern Salmon, Idaho).[18] In 1805, Shoshone-Bannock encampments and fishing sites were also reported along the Lemhi,[19] and they were regularly noted in the vicinity of the present day town of Tendoy in the 1850s.[20] The journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition also noted several settlements and fishing locations on tributaries of the main Salmon as far as the North Fork and even beyond where Shoshone-Bannock were known to sometimes encamp and fish with Flathead and Nez Perce.[21] Another popular area for fishing and occupation was situated along the lower reaches of the Pahsimeroi in an area also

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16 Anonymous, Oral History Narrative (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library), p. 3; Dora Podso & Walter Eagle, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 1 (January 4, 1960), p. 2; Liljeblad, op. cit., 55, 93; Emory Tendoy, Interviewer Jeannette Wolfley, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 26, 1997), p. 16.

17 Steward (1943), op. cit., 187; This refers to a spring or creek where people assemble: see, Lasalle and Louella Pocatello, Russell Pokibro and Daisy St. Clair, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History Interview, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, January 16, 1980).

18 Steward, op. cit., 187-88; Salmon River, Transcript One, op. cit., 15; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo), Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Four, p. 1 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript Four}.

19 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 2, op. cit., 343, 385-86; Vol. 3, op. cit., 9-10, 36-39.

20 Warren Angus Ferris, *Life In the Rocky Mountains*, Leroy R. Hafen, ed. (Denver: Fred A. Rosenstock The Old West Publishing Company, 1983), p. 228; Salmon River Mission Journals, op. cit.

21 Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, op. cit., 250-51.

called *Pasimadi.*[22]

In historic times, salmon and other fish were the dietary mainstay of many Newe who traveled the Salmon and its affluents from the Pashimeroi to the North Fork, but bison meat was also an important component of their diets.[23] Historic and ethnographic writings include antelope, deer, and elk in the local food supply as well,[24] and a wide range of plants, especially roots and berries, were significant sources of nutrition too.[25]

From the detailed notes of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1805 to the diaries of the Mormon missionary settlement at Fort Lemhi in the 1850s, there is a hiatus in the historic record on fishing in this area.[26] Except for Ferris's 1832 observation[27] on the remains of a Newe

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22 Jonah Mink, op. cit., 2-10. It should be noted that Steward reports the name of the region but locates it incorrectly. In fact, tribal elders report that *Pasemadai* is another way of saying Pahsimeroi. Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewers Patricia C. Albers & Jennifer Lowry, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Six, p. 22 {Hereafter Salmon River, Transcript Six}. Salmon River, Transcript Four , op. cit., 31.

23 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 2, 373-74; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, 122; Liljeblad, op. cit., 106.

24 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 2, 345-46; Steward (1938), op. cit., 189-92.

25 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 2, pp. 15, 17; Liljeblad, op. cit., 106; Steward, ibid.

26 This hiatus does not indicate that the Salmon River Newe stopped fishing at this time. It only suggests that they were not fishing at locations which made them vulnerable to the attacks of their enemies. There is no question that they fished the Salmon River drainage, but they would have done so at sites not easily approached by war parties or passing trapping parties.

27 Ferris, op. cit., 228.

encampment abandoned only a few days earlier on a salmon-rich stretch of the Lemhi, there is no mention of Shoshone-Bannock fishing locations in the area. This is especially surprising given the fact that the Salmon River and its eastern tributary, the Lemhi, contained rich salmon fisheries. As already noted, much of the region near the Lemhi River had become an embattled ground during the peak years of Piegan, Blackfoot, Blood, and Atsina raiding activity, circa 1810 to 1835.

Warfare and raiding in the upper Snake River plains and its adjoining valleys were a daily feature of life judging from the observations of traders and trappers who traveled the region between 1824 and 1835.[28] Much of the area was too dangerous for sedentary, unmounted populations who would have been easy targets for enemy raiders stalking the area for human captives, horses, and other booty. Spring was the favorite time for the tribes of this region to engage in horse-raiding, a season which also corresponded with the height of the first anadromous fish runs. Other seasons were not exempt from enemy raiders as the Newe knew all too well. For safety reasons, however, the Newe who traditionally fished the Salmon-Lemhi area probably either joined ranks with larger, well-armed encampments of the Newe to the south who wintered on the upper Snake, or with the Flathead, Kutenai, and Pend Oreille whose fishing grounds

[28] Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West: A Narrative of Adventures in the Oregon & Rocky Mountains*, Kenneth A. Spaulding, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), pp. 242-43; William S. Lewis & Paul C. Phillips, eds., *The Journal of John Work* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923), pp. 112, 116, 128-29, 147-49.

were generally farther north on Horse Prairie Creek and the Beaverhead River.[29] Another option, of course, was disbanding into smaller groups who lived, traveled, and fished in the more remote regions of the Sawtooths. That both of these alternatives took place is suggested by the peoples who eventually returned to and repopulated the rich riparian environs near the confluence of the Lemhi and the Salmon.[30] Whatever the case, most of the region's Newe would not have been readily encountered or identified by European-American observers, most of whom either traveled the area's peripheries or moved through it during seasons when anadromous species were not plentiful.

Once Blackfeet encroachments into the area subsided, references to Newe fishing reappear in the historic record. By the 1850s, the Salmon-Lemhi region was described again as a major location for Shoshone-

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29 There are number of references to mixed encampments of Flathead, Pend Oreille, and Nez Perce with "others" (which no doubt included Newe) in the Horse Prairie region to the north and also in the Salmon and Lemhi region usually in the accompaniment of European-American trapping parties who were crossing the upper Snake River plains enroute between their posts or campsites on the Snake and Green Rivers and those in upper Idaho and Montana. cf., Francis D. Haines, Jr., ed., *The Snake Country Expedtion of 1830-1831: John Work's Field Journal.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 41; Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, Edgeley W. Todd, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 58-63, 81-83, 97-101; E. E. Rich & A. M. Johnson, eds., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1824-1825 and 1825-1826.* Vol. XIII (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1950), pp. 6-9; Ferris, op. cit., 245, 418-19; Lewis & Philips, op. cit., 113-17, 120-21, 138-39; Lowie, op. cit., 171.

30 Given the fact that Tendoy's father was a Bannock and his mother was a *Túkudeka* , and given reports of sizable numbers of Bannock and a few Nez Perce in this area after 1850, these are all likely possibilities. cf., Peter Gottfredsen, *Indian Depredations in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Peter Gottfredson, 1919), pp. 90-91 [Second, Private Printing, 1969]; Liljeblad, op. cit., 107.

Bannock fisheries.[31] When the Mormon mission was established at Fort Lemhi, groups of Bannock, Shoshoni, and even Nez Perce were reported fishing there.[32] The fisheries were incredibly productive, providing a sufficiency not only for the groups who wintered there but also for those who traveled east to hunt bison.[33] In later decades, reports of their productivity would continue,[34] but competition over their use would increase. In the 1870s, conflicts emerged between the local Newe and the white settlers who constructed fish traps downstream of the Lemhi Reservation to monopolize the catch.[35]

Not all of the population who wintered and fished for salmon in this region, as the Salmon River Mission journals reveal, traveled to Montana to hunt buffalo. Along the affluents of the Salmon River was a widely dispersed population of Shoshone speakers who lived and traveled in smaller groups.[36] Identified as *Túkudeka* or "Eaters of Meat (Sheep),"

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31 Salmon River Mission, op. cit.

32 Gottfredsen, op. cit., 90-91.

33 Salmon River Mission, June 17, 1857.

34 Report from J.C. Rainsford to Colonel J. A. Viall, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* {Hereafter, RCIA} 1872, p. 282.

35 John A. Wright to Commissioner of Indian Affairs {Hereafter, CIA}, 19 August 1878, U. S. National Archives {Hereafter USNA} *Idaho Superintendency,* Microcopy 234 {hereafter M234: *Idaho* }.

36 Liljeblad, op. cit., 106; Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 323; Steward (1938), op. cit., 189-92.

when they hunted, or as *Agaideka* when they fished,[37] these groups also provisioned themselves with a wide variety of game, fish, and plant resources. Some of their parties were probably met by the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1805 near the North Fork of the Salmon River.[38] The next eyewitness account of their presence in the region was on July 13, 1831, when Warren Angus Ferris, a member of the American Fur Company, encountered a small party at the headwaters of the Salmon River in the Stanley Basin.[39] In later years, ethnographers and other observers would offer an essentially identical picture of the historic *Túkudeka*. They were described, first and foremost, as hunting peoples with a considerable reputation in preparing furs and skins.[40] They hunted bighorn sheep and deer, but they also relied heavily on salmon and other fish as well as a wide variety of flora.[41]

In the 1930s, James Pegoga told Julian Steward about one of the

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37 Liljeblad, op. cit., 55; Robert F. Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, "Northern Shoshone and Bannock" in *The Handbook of the North American Indians: Vol. 11, The Great Basin,* Warren L. d'Azevado, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), p. 306; Tendoy, op. cit., 16.

38 Gass, op. cit., 107-08.

39 Ferris, op. cit., 171.

40 Liljeblad, op. cit., 95, 97-98

41 Ibid., 96-97; Sven Liljeblad, "Indian Peoples in Idaho," in *History of Idaho, Vol. 1* , Merrill D. Beal & Merle W. Wells, eds. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1959), p. 49; Steward (1938), op. cit., 189.

winter camp locations of the *Túkudeka*.[42] Known as *Passigwana*,[43] it was located at a warm springs in the mountains near Clayton, Idaho. According to information collected by Robert and Yolanda Murphy, this community contained over thirty families whose food procurement activity took place on Salmon River's main stem and its tributary, the East Fork.[44] Camping sites were also reported at Challis,[45] on the Pahsimeroi,[46] near the Big

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42 Steward (1943), op. cit., 263-64.

43 Steward (1938), op. cit., 187-88; Salmon River, Transcript Four, op. cit., p. 28.

44 Mink, op. cit., 4, 6; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 323. Contemporary Shoshone-Bannock tribal elders remember this community but locate it elsewhere. Salmon River Group Interview (Van #1: Lydia and Princess Stone) Interviewer Esther Boyer, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript Three, pp. 9-11 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript Three}.

45 Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo), Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Five, pp. 5-6 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript Five}. Josephine Thorpe, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 12 (July 8, 1960), no page; Liljeblad, op. cit., 100; Mink, ibid., 15, 27; Podso & Eagle, op. cit., 5, 23.

46 Wilford & Camille George Oral History, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, April 4, 1980), pp. 1-2, 6-7; Arthur and Kate Tendoy Oral History, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, January 30, 1980), p. 6; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo), Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript Two, pp. 26, 30, 39 {Hereafter Salmon River, Transcript Two}; Mink, ibid., 4, 6, 9, 10; Salmon River, Transcript One, op. cit.; 21; Steward (1938), op. cit., 188.

and Little Lost Rivers,[47] and along the Wood River and Camas Creek.[48] Some of the *Túkudeka* who occupied the area between Camas Creek and the Big Lost River were also known as *Pengwedeka,* "Fish Eaters."[49] In 1870, the government agent, A. J. Simmons not only reported "Shoshone, Bannocks, and Sheepeaters" at their customary locations in the Lemhi Valley, but he also noted settlements at the North Fork of the Salmon, the Pahsimeroi, and on Horse Prairie Creek.[50] Shoshone-Bannock tribal elders still recall this area and the numerous sites where their families traveled, lived, fished, and procured other foods until recent times.[51]

Besides the *Túkudeka.*, who frequented the larger valleys of the Salmon River drainage, there were others who spent much of their time on the upper Salmon and its tributaries. The presence of *Túkudeka* along some of the higher elevation watercourses and their dependence on fish

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47 Lasalle Pocatello, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 3 (January 11, 1966), p. 6; John Kirk Townsend, *Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978, Reprint Edition), pp. 120-21; Mink, ibid., 4, 30; Podso & Eagle, op. cit., 23.

48 Theodore Talbot, *The Journals of Theodore Talbot, 1843 and 1849-1852,* Charles H. Carey, ed. (Portland: Metropolitan Press, 1931), pp. 55-57; Haines, op. cit., 30; Liljeblad, op. cit., 93; Mink, ibid., 22; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 139-41; Ross, op. cit., 278; Steward (1938), op. cit., 136.

49 Liljeblad, ibid.

50 A. J. Simmons to J. A. Viall, 1 December 1870, USNA, M234: *Montana.*

51 Wilford & Camile George, op. cit., 1-2, 6-7; Mink, op. cit., 3-4, 6-9, 15; Lasalle Pocatello, op. cit., 6; Arthur & Kate Tendoy, op. cit., 6.

was reported as early as 1831 by Ferris[52] and a year later by John Work.[53] In his ethnographic writings, Liljeblad claimed that these *Túkudeka* possessed some of the "best fishing waters in Idaho," where they built traps and other complex equipment to capture fish collectively during the spring salmon runs.[54]

The *Túkudeka*. occupied many of the tributaries west of the Middle Fork of the Salmon, including the South Fork of the Salmon, Warren Creek, Papoose Creek, Big Creek, Marble Creek, and Bear Valley Creek.[55] These Shoshone-Bannock were intermarried with Nez Perce,[56] and they were closely connected to Shoshone and Bannock speakers who resided on the upper waters of the Weiser and Payette Rivers.[57] They were also called

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52 Ferris, op. cit., 171.

53 Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 155-56, 160.

54 Liljeblad, op. cit., 96.

55 Col. W. C. Brown, "The Sheepeater Campaign" in *Sheepeater Indian Campaign (Chamberlain Basin Country)* (Grangeville, Idaho: Idaho County Free Press, 1968 [reprinted from Tenth Biennial Report, Idaho Historical Society, 1926]), pp. 16, 24; John Hailey, *The History of Idaho* (Boise: Syms York Company, 1910), p. 260; Aaron F. Parker, "Forgotten Tragedies of an Indian War," in *Sheepeater Indian Campaign (Chamberlain Basin Country)* (Grangeville, Idaho: Idaho County Free Press, 1968), pp. 18, 38, 48, 50; David W. Ballard, RCIA, 2 of August, 1867, p. 247.

56 Delia Pohipe, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 9 (1963), pp. 1-2; Jack and Elizabeth Quanda and Alex Watson, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 2 (1965), pp. 31-32; Brown, ibid., 25; Mink, op. cit., 20-21; Podso & Eagle, op. cit., 2.

57 Josephine Thorpe, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 5 (January 31, 1958), pp. 1, 5, 9, 16, 35; Notebook 12 (July 8, 1960), p. 10; Notebook 9 (June 4, 1962), p. 17; Brown, ibid., 26; Hailey, op. cit., 260; Podso & Eagle, ibid., 2, 22; Hank Corless, *The Weiser Indians: Shoshoni Peacemakers* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990).

Tehiyadekene'e, "Deer Eaters" in Shoshone.[58] Because of the remoteness of their homeland, there were few reports[59] about this population until the so-called "Sheepeater Campaign" of 1879.[60] The military personnel who kept records of this campaign described many Shoshone-Bannock encampments along their route,[61] and they also noted the rich salmon and trout fisheries in the region, suggesting that this would have been a major source of food for the Shoshone-Bannock who lived there.[62] Later oral history documentation clearly reveals that the Shoshone-Bannock continued to regularly fish the upper reaches of the Salmon, Weiser, and Payette Rivers, carving out a livelihood where salmon remained an important part of their diet.[63]

East of the Middle Fork, the *Túkudeka* traveled other waterways, such as Camas, Loon, Panther, and Yellowjacket Creeks, which connected them with the Shoshone-Bannock who lived at the confluences of the North

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58 Ibid.

59 George C. Hough to David W. Ballard, 12 Oct. 1866, M234: *Idaho;* RCIA, 1867, p. 247.

60 Johnny Correy & Cort Conley, *The Middle Fork and The Sheepeater War* (Cambridge, ID: Backeddy Books, 1979), pp. 2, 171-72, 175-77; Brown, op. cit., 16, 24.

61 Hailey, op. cit., 16, 24; Parker, op. cit., 18, 38, 48, 50.

62 Hailey, ibid., 16, 24; Parker, ibid., 18, 38, 48, 50.

63 Emory Tendoy, Interviewer Jeannette Wolfley, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, September 24, 1997), pp. 1-2; Mink, op. cit., 2-7, 50-52; Salmon River, Transcript Four, op. cit., 15; Salmon River, Transcript Six, op. cit., 2, 31; Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 2, 3, 8, 16, 44.

Fork, the Lemhi, and the Pahsimeroi with the main Salmon.[64] Little about this region is recorded in historic documents, although ethnographies and oral histories give evidence of Shoshone-Bannock occupying and fishing the area before the twentieth century.[65] In parties of two or three families, some even continued to winter at popular fishing sites in the remote reaches of the Payette, Salmon, Boise, Challis, Sawtooth, and Beaverhead National Forests well into the modern era.[66]

The centrality of anadromous fishing to the Shoshone-Bannock's subsistence economy persisted much longer on the Salmon and its affluents than anywhere else in Idaho.[67] This was due, in part, to the presence of a reservation in the Lemhi-Salmon area until 1907, but it was also a consequence of the many Shoshone-Bannock who stayed in this region to work as farm hands on local ranches and to perform various kinds of wage-work in local towns and mines.[68]

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64 Steward identified a community in the Three Forks area as *Sohodai,* "Cottonwood Place," and one at the confluence of the Middle Fork with the Salmon as *Bohovi,* "Sagebrush" (1938), op. cit., 172, 188; Liljeblad, op. cit., 93; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 322-23.

65 Ibid.; Mink, op. cit., 3-4, 23-26, 30, 32, 68-70; Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 2-4, 6, 8, 16, 29-30, 44; Tendoy (September 24, 1997), op. cit., 1-2; Salmon River Transcript Three, op. cit., 9-11; Salmon River Transcript Four, op. cit., 15; Salmon River Transcript Five, op. cit., 7; Salmon River Transcript Six, op. cit., 12.

66 Liljeblad, op. cit., 100.

67 Liljeblad, op. cit., 108-09; Arthur & Kate Tendoy, op. cit., 8, 11.

68 Salmon River Transcript One, op. cit., 21; Salmon River Transcript Two, op. cit., 26, 30, 33; Salmon River Transcript Four, op. cit., 1-2; Salmon River Transcript Five, op. cit., p. 2; Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 3, 25.

In later years, as the upstream migration of salmon was obstructed on the Snake River and its tributaries above Hells Canyon, more and more Shoshone-Bannock from Fort Hall turned to the Salmon River drainage as a location to fish. Popular fishing areas noted in oral histories include, among many others, the Salmon River near Ellis, the Lemhi, Yankee Fork, East Fork, Middle Fork, Pahsimeroi, Redfish Lake, and Bear Valley Creek.[69] Also, the continuing importance of the Salmon River fisheries to modern day Shoshone-Bannock is clearly evident in the testimony of tribal members who appeared in the trial of the *State of Idaho v. Gerald Tinno.*[70]

2.A.2: Upper Snake and Its Tributaries - In the early historic era, large populations of Shoshone-Bannock wintered on the upper reaches of the Snake. Although they were identified in many different and often confusing ways in the historic record, most of them can be divided into two separate but related populations.

From the mouth of the Portneuf River north to Henry's Fork, a long stretch of the riverfront was occupied by encampments of a mixed

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69 Cawson, op. cit., 19; Edmo, op. cit., 20; Mink, op. cit., 9-10; Salmon River Transcript Two, op. cit., 24-30, 31, 38; Salmon River Transcript Three, op. cit., 9-11; Salmon River Transcript Four, op. cit., 15; Salmon River Transcript Six, op. cit., 12; Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 2-4, 6, 8; Walker, op. cit., 240-45.

70 Sven Liljeblad in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 7-71; Daso Napo, in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 169-75; Russell Pokibo in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 153-69; Arthur Tendoy in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 140-51; Gerald Tinno in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 176-81; Mrs. Jessie Tylor in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 74-87.

population of Shoshone and Bannock speakers. In ethnographic and historic sources, their winter settlements were identified at a variety of different locations.

The largest concentrations appear to have been situated along the Snake River bottom lands from American Falls to *Pohogoy*.[71] Because this location was also a common wintering location for fur trade brigades, the Shoshone-Bannock who camped here were described in some detail in the historic record.

In the same general region, Shoshone-Bannock camps were reported at Lincoln Creek,[72] at Ross Fork Creek,[73] the Blackfoot River,[74] and Henry's Fork.[75] The Portneuf as far as Lava Hot Springs was a popular

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[71] cf., for example: Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, eds., *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont, Vol. 1: Travels from 1838 to 1844* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970) pp. 446-47; Joel Palmer, *Joel Palmer's Journey of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains to the Mouth of the Columbia River; Made During the Years 1845 and 1846,* Reuben Thwaites, ed. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1993[Reprint of the 1906 edition]), p. 87; Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1827-28 and 1828-29* (London: The Hudson Bay Record Society, Vol. 27, 1971), pp. 28-29, 31, 32-33, 40, 124; Elijah Nicolas Wilson, *Among the Shoshones* (1969, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc.), pp.17, 56; Ferris, op. cit., 203-04, 259; Haines, op. cit., 58-60, 64-65, 74, 76-77; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 326-27; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 150; Steward (1938), op. cit., 204; Talbot, op. cit., 49-50.

[72] Steward (1938), ibid., 204

[73] Ibid., Townsend, op. cit., 114-16.

[74] Osborne Russell, *Journal of a Trapper* Aubrey L. Haines, ed. (Portland: Champoeg Press, Reed College for Oregon Historical Society, 1955), pp. 7-8; Ferris, op. cit., 259-60; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 327; Ross, op. cit., 244-45.

[75] Murphy & Murphy (1960), ibid., 327, 331; Russell, ibid., 38; Williams, op. cit., 82.

wintering site for them as well,[76] and the upper Bear River was a location for their encampments including one under the leadership of the famous Horn (also known as Horse.)[77]

Often named *Pohogoy*, after a central landmark in their winter and fall settlement area, these Shoshone-Bannock also went by two other names. The Shoshone speakers were called *Wihinaite* (in Shoshone) or *Wihínakwate* (in Bannock), "On the Knife Side" and the Bannocks were known as *Panaite* (in Shoshone) or *Panakwate* (in Bannock), "On the Water Side."[78] Liljeblad speculates that this complementary naming system arose when members of these two speech communities began to merge with each other along the tributaries of the lower Snake, probably in the proto-historic period, circa 1670 to 1805. Indeed, the merger may well have taken place as a defensive measure in the face of growing hostilities with the Sahaptin speaking peoples to the north, especially the Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Umatilla. These conflicts were not settled until the early decades of the historic era.[79]

Whatever the origin of the Shoshone-Bannock merger, this population became fully bilingual over time, and it grew in size with Shoshone as

76 Ferris, op. cit., 258; Irving, op. cit. 214-15; Russell, ibid., 8-9; Murphy & Murphy (1960), ibid., 331; Steward (1938), op. cit., 204; Wilson, op. cit., 227-28.

77 Irving, ibid., 216; Russell, ibid., 11.

78 Liljeblad, op. cit., 22, 87.

79 Ross, op. cit., 123-25.

well as Northern Paiute speakers continuing to be added to its ranks well into the reservation era.[80] The Shoshone and Bannock speakers of the upper Snake region were closely knit throughout the historic era, and by 1865, Liljeblad estimates they were fully unified.[81] Everywhere in southern Idaho, people with Bannock speaking origins were integrated into social circles dominated by Shoshone speakers. Liljeblad makes clear that by the early reservation period Bannock was a minority language in a population dominated by Shoshone speakers.[82] The hyphenated name, Shoshone-Bannock, used in this report indicates the close and long-standing pattern of social merger that existed between the people of these two speech communities, and it also reflects the lack of any territorial or political boundary between them. For all intents and purposes, the Shoshone and Bannock peoples of southern Idaho, especially those who wintered on the upper stretches of the Snake River, were members of the same spheres of social, economic, and political interest.[83]

A second major population along the upper Snake were predominately

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80 Liljeblad, op. cit.; 60-61; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 326.

81 Liljeblad, ibid., 57-58.

82 Ibid.

83 Robert and Yolanda Murphy see the Shoshone and Bannock speakers of the upper Snake as more separated in historic times than Liljeblad does. cf., ibid., 327. In our estimation, the weight of historical evidence is in Liljeblad's favor. Since there is no way to determine the degree to which Bannock or Shoshone speakers dominated the mixed camps described in the historical record, it is problematic to ascribe to them separate identities.

Shoshone speakers who located their winter encampments in an area from the mouth of the Raft River to the Portneuf. This population was known as *Kammedeka*, "Eaters of Rabbits,"[84] and alternatively as *Yahandeka*, "Eaters of Ground Hogs,"[85] a name probably derived from the abundance of rock chucks at the lava beds near the mouth of Bannock Creek. These Shoshone-Bannock were closely related to Shoshone speakers on Grouse Creek.[86] An alternate name for those who wintered on the Portneuf was *Kuyetika*, "Eaters of Tobacco Root (Valeriana obovata),"[87] which was the name of a location in the Grouse Creek Mountains from which one of their leaders, Pocatello, hailed.[88] The *Kammedeka* were also called *Hukandeka* or "Eaters of Wild Wheat."[89] This name was applied to Shoshone-Bannock who wintered on the Bear River, a people with whom the *Kammedeka* had close ties.[90] The *Kammedeka* and *Hukandeka* also wintered on the Raft

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84 Murphy & Murphy (1986), op. cit., 306.

85 Ibid., 323.

86 Ibid., 324.

87 Liljeblad, op. cit. 56, 113. Anonymous, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library), op. cit., 3.

88 Steward (1938), op. cit., 172; for a biography of Poctello, see, Brigham D. Madsen, *Chief Pocatello: The White Plume* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986).

89 Murphy & Murphy (1986), op. cit., 306.

90 Haddie Ariwite, Oral history interview with Lorin R. Gaarder at Fort Hall, Idaho (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Marriott Library, Special Collections, The American Indian Project, Doris Duke Number 350, February 29, 1969), pp. 2-3; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 324.

River,[91] at Bannock Creek,[92] and Goose Creek.[93] Some of the early reports of encampments at Rock Creek probably include this population too.[94] Marsh Creek,[95] the Malad River,[96] and the Bear[97] were also spots where the closely related *Kammedeka* and *Hukandeka* camped.

By the time European-Americans began to write about the upper Snake region in 1811, most of the Shoshone-Bannock populations in the area were a fully equestrian peoples who traveled a wide territorial range. Some of the *Pohogoy* peoples appear to have traveled to the buffalo plains of Montana in 1805, but later reports suggest that a good deal of their bison hunting, at least between 1824 and 1835, took place in the

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[91] The residents on this river were also called Pisisezgavideka, "Rotten Fish Eaters." cf. Lasalle Pocatello, op. cit., 5; see also; Alonso Delano, *Life on the Plains and among the Diggings* (New York: Readex Microprint, 1966 [Reprint Edition]), p. 42; Clifford Merrill Drury, ed., *First White Women Over the Rockies: Diaries, Letters, and Biographical Sketches of the Six Women of the Oregon Trail who made the Overland Journey in 1836 and 1838, Vol. 1.* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur Clark Company, 1963), p. 144; Wilson Price Hunt, "Journey of Mr. Hunt and his Companions from Saint Louis to the Mouth of the Columbia," in *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail*, Philip Ashton Rollins, ed. (New York: Edward Eberstadt & Sons, 1935) p. 292; Frederick G. Young, ed., *The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-1836* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), p. 163; Haines, op. cit., 74; Steward (1938), op. cit., 216.

[92] Hunt, ibid., 291; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 516-17; Steward, ibid.

[93] Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 166; Steward, ibid.; Young, op. cit., 164.

[94] Myra Eells, "Diaries of Myra Eells," Unpublished manuscript (Portland: Oregon State Historical Society, August 6, 1838); Talbot, op. cit., 52.

[95] Robert Stuart, "Robert Stuart's Narratives of His Overland Trip Eastward from Astoria in 1812-13," in Rollins, ed.,*The Discovery of the Oregon Trail*, op. cit., p. 115; Steward, ibid; Williams, op. cit., 124.

[96] Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 515-16; Steward, ibid.; Williams, ibid.

[97] Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 324.

region of Birch Creek and the Lost Rivers[98] and also around the headwaters of the Portneuf and Blackfoot Rivers.[99] After buffalo disappeared from eastern Idaho in the early 1840s, these Shoshone-Bannock crossed the Rockies in ever larger numbers to hunt on the plains of the Missouri River.[100] Some, however, were reported to hunt bison on the plains of Wyoming as well, following the route of present day Highway 30 over the mountains and then to Green River.[101] The *Kammedeka* appear to have hunted the small herds of bison which inhabited the valleys in their winter camping ranges south of the Snake. When the buffalo disappeared from eastern Idaho, many in their ranks also joined forces with the Shoshone speaking peoples of Bear River and hunted across the mountains with Washakie's bands in Wyoming.[102] Some of them occasionally wintered on Wyoming's Green River.[103]

A large segment of the *Pohogoy* people, the mixed population of Shoshone-Bannock speakers, descended the Snake every year to fish at

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98 Ferris, op. cit., 203, 255, 257-58; Irving, op. cit., 123-24; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 325, 328; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 30, 88; Russell, op. cit., 36-37; Williams, op. cit., 115; Young, op. cit., 228.

99 Irving, ibid.

100 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 326, 328.

101 Ibid., 328-29.

102 RCIA 1865, 158.

103 Ibid., 324.

points below Shoshone Falls.[104] Most of them fished on the lower Snake in both Idaho and Oregon, but they also used the fisheries on its middle reaches.[105] As Julian Steward noted, not all of the Shoshone-Bannock who wintered at Fort Hall descended the Snake River to fish salmon each and every year. He writes that when the winter camps were disbanded, "small groups of families left in different directions to pursue various resources" with some traveling west for salmon.[106] He also points out that "the choice of activity was based upon individual circumstance," although "families usually went first to the Camas Prairie or the Boise, Payette, and Weiser Rivers."[107] The primary goals of these spring trips were to acquire salmon and to trade with populations downstream.[108]

The other large population of Shoshone-Bannock reported to descend the Snake each year to fish, the *Kammedeka*, were those with winter encampments widely dispersed over the southern tributaries of the upper

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104 Irving, op. cit., 123; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 327.

105 Steward (1938), op. cit., 153-54; Murphy & Murphy (1960), ibid., 328.

106 Steward (1938), ibid. 203; Steward (1943), op. cit., 268.

107 Ibid., 203.

108 J. Goldsborough Bruff, *Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff,* Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), p. 107; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 144-45; Steward, ibid.; Talbot, op. cit., 49-50; Williams, op. cit., 36; Bruff, op. cit., 107.

Snake from the Raft River to the Portneuf River in southeastern Idaho.[109] As early as September of 1812, when Robert Stuart reported a trade in dried salmon at Marsh Creek,[110] it is evident that some of them acquired their fish from locations below Shoshone Falls. In fact, some of the Shoshone-Bannock who encamped along Goose Creek were also reported to have made winter encampments along the middle Snake.[111] The *Kammedeka*, were closely tied to the peoples of the Bear River region and to the largely pedestrian Shoshone-Bannock of the Grouse Creek Mountains and the lower Bear River. When they went down river for salmon, they most likely fished on the south side of the river with the populations at Rock Creek, Salmon Falls Creek, and Glenn's Ferry. Some Shoshone-Bannock probably went even farther at one time or another, since Peter Skene Ogden recorded a meeting on the Malad River in the winter of 1829 with a Shoshone-Bannock man who he had met the previous year on the Malheur River in Oregon.[112]

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109 RCIA, 1871, 544; Walter De Lacey, *A Trip Up the South Snake River in 1863* (Helena: Rocky Mountain Publishing for Historical Society of Montana, 1876), Vol. 1, pp. 116-17; Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, Anahuac and Rocky Mountains and in the Oregon Territory* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1843), p. 113; Frederick Lander to CIA, 18 February 1860, M234: *Utah*; T. A. Larson, ed., "Across the Plains in 1864," *Annals of Wyoming* (1968), Vol. 40 (2), p. 272; Hunt, op. cit.; Irving, op. cit., 274, 292; Murphy & Murphy (1960) ibid., 324; Palmer, op. cit., 87; Steward (1938), op. cit., 216; Stuart, op. cit., 115, 127.

110 Stuart, op. cit., 127.

111 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 322.

112 Williams, op. cit., 123.

For the Shoshone-Bannock populations who wintered along the bottom lands of the Snake River near Fort Hall and along its major tributaries, the Portneuf, Blackfoot, and Raft Rivers, fish were an important part of their subsistence. After traveling downstream every spring to fish salmon below Shoshone Falls,[113] they dried their harvests and stored some of them in caches near their winter camp sites located along the upper Snake and its affluents.[114] They also took several different species of non-anadromous fish, including trout, suckers, whitefish, squawfish, and *tasigi* (a small minnow-like fish) above the falls.[115] In fishing local waters, they were reported to use a variety of devices from weirs and nets to basketry traps and spears.[116] At Fort Hall, Steward reported that the building of weirs entailed the cooperation of several families who worked under the direction of a fish leader.[117] Some

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113 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 321, 328; Steward (1938), op. cit., 200, 203, 205.

114 Murphy & Murphy (1960), ibid., 327.

115 Charles L. Camp, ed., *James Clyman Frontiersman: As Told in his Own Reminiscences and Diaries* (Portland: Champoeg Press, 1960), p. 104; Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City* (London: W. Jeffs, 2 Volumes, 1866), p. 503; Delano, op. cit., 144; Hunt, op. cit., 291; Steward (1938), op. cit., 199, 205; Steward (1943), op. cit., 268.

116 Robert Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (1924), Vol. 20 (3), p. 200; Wihii, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 4, (May 6, 1952), p. 16; Delano, op. cit., 143-44; Hunt, op. cit., 291; Irving, op. cit., 224; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 496-97; Steward (1938), ibid., 179, 198, 205; Steward (1943), ibid., 269-70, 297-98.

117 Steward (1938), ibid., 205.

groups also traveled to the Bear River where they fished chub in the spring.[118] In fact, Robert and Yolanda Murphy write that many groups conducted their first spring hunts and fish collections in southeastern Idaho before traveling to more distant locales down river.[119]

Besides fishing, the upriver Shoshone-Bannock engaged in a variety of other procurement activities during their annual subsistence cycle.[120] In the early spring, they were known to travel to the Caribou Mountains east of *Pohogoy* to hunt deer.[121] In the summer, they spent a good deal of time on the Camas Prairie building their stores of camas, yampa, and other root crops,[122] and some went south to the Grouse Creek Mountains and even as far as Ibapah in Utah to pick pine nuts.[123] In the fall, they sought bison, antelope, deer, and elk either in the valleys of the Lemhi and Lost Rivers or in the Yellowstone area and western Wyoming.[124] Many of the pedestrian *Kammedeka*, however, hunted antelope, deer, and elk closer to their winter encampments in the Promontory Range, the Grouse Creek

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118 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 328.

119 Ibid., 327.

120 Steward (1938), op. cit., 202-07.

121 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 328.

122 Ibid., 324, 328; Steward, ibid., 203.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid., 329.

Mountains, and Goose Creek Mountains.[125] In the winter, the upriver populations hunted mule deer and cottontails.[126] They gathered a wide variety of berries and other plants along the Snake River bottom lands, near Bear Lake, and wherever their travels took them in any given subsistence year.[127]

Although much of the environment straddling the upper Snake River was a dry, sagebrush plains with little to recommend it as a place for subsistence, the river's bottom lands, especially near *Pohogoy*, contained a riparian environment rich with fish, plants, waterfowl and other small game important in local diets and for trade. For the equestrian Shoshone-Bannock, this location had another advantage because it contained good pasturage for their horses. It was also centrally situated, being in close proximity to the salmon fisheries down river and only a short distance from the buffalo grounds in the foothills of the Lost River Range. Many early observers described these natural assets.[128] Yet, it is equally clear that the region could not sustain the large and ever growing populations who gathered there. After the bison became extinct in Idaho, and as the region became filled with outsiders, the mixed populations of Shoshone

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125 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 324.

126 Ibid., 328.

127 Ibid.; Steward (1938), op. cit., 203.

128 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 32; Townsend, op. cit., 162; Williams, op. cit., 52.

and Bannock speakers had to travel farther and farther afield to make their subsistence. And in later years, after the establishment of the Fort Hall Reservation, agents regularly reported the necessity of giving the local population permission to hunt, fish, and gather outside reservation boundaries.[129]

2.A.3: Lower Snake and Its Tributaries - Many of the Shoshone-Bannock subsistence patterns described in historic and ethnographic sources involved seasonal cycles with different but nonetheless wide ranging migratory movements. There was yet another pattern associated primarily with the Shoshone-Bannock who wintered and remained much of the year along the lower reaches of the Snake River and its tributaries. Known in Shoshone as *Séhewoki'i*,[130] "rows of willows," the valleys of the Weiser, Payette, and Boise Rivers were ideal for settlement. Some of the Shoshone-Bannock who lived in the Weiser River valley were called *Woviagaitika*, "Driftwood Salmon Eaters,"[131] while those on the lower Payette were sometimes called *Pasigo Panaiti*, "Camas Bannocks."[132] On the Boise River, the Shoshone-Bannock were known as *Sohoagaitika*,

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129 Capt. Charles F. Powell to David W. Ballard, 30 June 1869, USNA, M234: *Idaho;* Col. DeLancey Floyd Jones to CIA, 26 August 1869, USNA, M234: *Idaho;* RCIA 1871, 542, 544.

130 Liljeblad, op. cit., 62.

131 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 318.

132 Thorpe, op. cit., 19.

"Cottonwood Salmon Eaters"[133] or *Poise-neme'a*, "Boise People."[134] Another name for the Shoshone speakers of the Boise area was *Yahandeka*, or "Ground Hog Eaters."[135] In this region, Shoshone speakers were also called, *Wihinaiti,* "On the Knife Side," and they tended to be located upstream on these tributaries.[136] Paiute speakers, who were known as *Panaiti*, "On the Water Side," mostly located their encampments downstream towards the Snake and across the river on the Owyhee, Malheur, and Burnt Rivers. The Paiute speakers were also known as *Koa'agaitoka*, "Trap Salmon Eaters,"[137] a name applied as well to Shoshone speakers who lived further upstream near Glenn's Ferry.[138]

The lower Snake region was rich in food resources. As Julian Steward wrote, "The rivers afforded salmon, the meadows had roots, especially camass, and pasturage for horses, and the low altitude produced mild winters."[139] Indeed, the resources of this region were so

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133 Liljeblad, op. cit., 82.

134 Anonymous Oral History, op. cit., 4.

135 Ibid., 55, 83; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 318.

136 The name may be derived from the obsidian quarries located along the upper reaches of the Payette. cf., Lezzie Edmo & Delia Pohipe, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 10 (1961), p. 8.

137 Liljeblad, op. cit., 83.

138 Ibid.

139 Steward (1938), op. cit., 172.

abundant that the population who wintered here did not have to move far afield to make their livelihood.[140] According to Robert and Yolanda Murphy, the rivers of western Idaho gave a "good yield of fish" with two major salmon runs in the springtime.[141] They also remark that the "abundance of fish" created a situation in which local populations "did not need to resort to salmon fishing on the middle Snake,"[142] although some groups were reported to have fished there periodically.[143] The productivity of these fisheries was noted as early as the Astoria expedition of 1811-1812.[144] It continued to be reported in the journal entries of various fur trappers and explorers,[145] and in the diaries of emigrants.[146] And in later years, it would be noted in the reports and

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140 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 318.

141 Ibid., 319.

142 Ibid.; Ross, op. cit., 178-79.

143 Murphy & Murphy (1960), ibid., 318; see also: Williams, op. cit., 164.

144 Stuart, op. cit., 83.

145 John Ball, *The Autobiography of John Ball, 1794-1894* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur Clark Co., 1925), p. 85; Jackson & Spence, op. cit. 538-39; Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 166-67; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 91; Ross, op. cit., 178-79, 269; Townsend, op. cit., 139-45; 151-53; Williams, op. cit., 15; Young, op. cit. 169-70.

146 Leroy Hafen & Ann Hafen, eds. *To the Rockies and Oregon 1839-1842: With Diaries and Accounts by Sidney Smith, E. Willard Smith, Joseph Williams, et. al.* (Glendale: The Arthur Clark Company, 1955), p. 86; Farnham, op. cit., 139-40.

correspondence of government officials as well.[147] A variety of historic and ethnographic reports also give extensive evidence of the use of weirs, dams, nets, and harpoons to harvest fish,[148] and they offer important details on the preservation and storage of fish in this region as well.[149]

In the salmon season, from the late spring through early fall, the region supported an even larger population as the banks of local rivers became filled with Shoshone-Bannock from other locations.[150] Ethnographic writings confirm historic reports[151] of how Shoshone and Bannock speakers who wintered elsewhere, especially in Idaho's Sawtooth Mountains and the Fort Hall region, used the fisheries of the Boise, Weiser, and Payette Rivers. Their stays, which coincided with the duration of the spring and summer salmon runs, involved other forms of resource procurement and extensive trading with the locals and their Sahaptin and

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147 RCIA, 1864, op. cit., 174-76; RCIA 1866, 190-91; George C. Hough to David W. Ballard, op. cit., M234: *Idaho.*

148 Davies & Johnson, op. cit., 131; Ross, op. cit., 178-79; Townsend, op. cit., 143, 154-56; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 319; Steward (1938), op. cit., 168, 203; Williams, op. cit., 92.

149 Irving, op. cit., 349; Ross, ibid., Townsend, ibid., 147-49.

150 Frederick W. Lander to CIA, 18 February 1860, [USNA], M234: *Utah*; U.S. Congress, House, *Report Upon the Pacific Wagon Roads,* Ex. Doc. 108, 35th Cong., 2d sess., serial 1008, 1859, p. 72; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 318; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 145; Steward (1938), op. cit., 172; Williams, op. cit., 16, 36; Townsend, op. cit., 144; Young, op. cit.,169.

151 Irving, op. cit., 123; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 133.

Salish speaking neighbors to the north and west.[152]

Three other major rivers emptied into the Snake from the west, the Owyhee, Malheur, and Burnt Rivers. Julian Steward reported that people from both the Snake and Humboldt Rivers traveled to the headwaters of the Owyhee River and wintered there when salmon were plentiful.[153] Like their sister tributaries to the east, the fisheries of these streams supported peoples who remained in the area year around as well as those who came from the upper Snake and the highland interiors of Idaho and Oregon.[154]

Although salmon and other fish constituted a major part of local diets,[155] other foods were procured in the area as well. From the meadows, rich stocks of roots and other plant foods were gathered, and from the nearby mountains, deer, elk, and other game were taken.[156] The populations on the Boise also went to Camas Prairie near Fairfield to dig roots.[157]

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152 Liljeblad, op. cit., 63, 65, 88-89; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 317-18, 328; Steward (1938), op. cit., 172-73; see also: Hunt, op. cit., 294; Stuart, op. cit.,109.

153 Steward, ibid., 168.

154 Davies & Johnson, op. cit., 133.

155 George C. Hough to Gov. David W. Ballard, 12 October 1866, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

156 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 319.

157 Capt. C. F. Powell to CIA, 17 September 1869, USNA, M234: *Idaho* ; RCIA 1867, 252.

Along the lower Snake, Shoshone speakers tended to occupy the east side of the river while Northern Paiute speakers settled on the west side.[158] Their encampments were densely distributed along all of the watercourses in this area, especially in the summer months. On the east side of the river, campsites were reported on the main stem of the Boise,[159] and on its various affluents including Meadow Creek and Corral Creek.[160] The Payette,[161] Weiser,[162] and their tributaries, Mann's Creek,[163] Big Willow Creek,[164] and Little Willow Creek[165] were popular locations for settlement as well. The outlet of Payette Lake was reported to be a very popular summer campsite for the Shoshone-Bannock of the

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158 Liljeblad, op. cit., 87.

159 Eells, op. cit., August 15, 1838; Farnham, op. cit., 139-40; Hafen & Hafen, op. cit., 86; Haines, op. cit., 17; Hunt, op. cit., 296; Irving, op. cit., 228, 337-38; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 538-39; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 318-19; Ross, op. cit., 150, 262-63; Palmer, op. cit., 98; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 91, 132; Steward (1938), op. cit., 172; Stuart, op. cit., 83; Williams, op. cit., 15; Townsend, op. cit., 44, 147-49, 152-53; Young, op. cit., 170-71, 230;

160 Haines, op. cit., 18-19; Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 155-56, 160.

161 cf., for example: Haines, op. cit., 13; Irving, ibid., 337-338; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 543-44; Steward, op. cit., 172; Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 318-19; Williams, op. cit., 12-13.

162 cf., for example: K. G. Davies & A. M. Johnson, eds., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1826-27* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, Vol. XXIII, 1961), p. 131; Hunt, op. cit., 299; Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 166; Murphy & Murphy, ibid.; Ross, op. cit., 178-79, 269; Steward, ibid.

163 Hunt, op. cit., 296.

164 Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 165.

165 Ibid., 166.

lower Snake, the*Túkudeka*, and for the Nez Perces.[166] On the west side, Shoshone-Bannock encampments were observed on the Owyhee,[167] Malheur,[168] and the Burnt[169] Rivers.

In historic times, the lower portion of the Snake River was a major crossroads, where the riparian trails of six major waterways came together. This was a location where Shoshone and Northern Paiute speakers intermingled, where they traded, intermarried, celebrated together, and collaborated in common subsistence pursuits like fishing, and where they also joined ranks in times of conflict and war. In all probability, it was in this area that the first mixed populations of Shoshone and Northern Paiute speaking peoples first emerged.[170] Sven Liljeblad suggests that the merger probably took place on the Weiser River, the location of a major trade center in the region. And by the the time European-Americans began to write about this area in 1811, it had also given rise to fully equestrian peoples of mixed Shoshone and Bannock

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166 Corless, op. cit., 9.

167 cf., for example: Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 134, 186-87; Townsend, op. cit., 153-54; Young, op. cit., 169-70.

168 cf., for example: Davies & Johnson, op. cit., 133; Rich & Johnson, ibid., 126-27.

169 cf., for example: Haines, op. cit. 11; Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 131; Townsend, op. cit., 156-58; Williams, op. cit., 93-94.

170 Beatrice Blythe, "Northern Paiute Bands of Oregon," *American Anthropologist* (1938), Vol. 40, p. 403; Lijeblad, op. cit., 63, 84-85; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 318, 321; Steward (1938), op. cit., 172.

ancestry who traveled every year from this location to the upper reaches of the Snake and beyond.[171] These Shoshone-Bannock traveled widely, but no matter how far afield their journeys took them, they always returned to the lower Snake to fish and trade in the summer.[172] And they continued to do so even after the Fort Hall Reservation was established in 1867.[173] Even some of the tribal elders who Sven Liljeblad interviewed between 1940 and 1970 reported remaining on or returning to the tributaries of the lower Snake where they must have fished well into the twentieth century.[174]

2.A.4: Middle Snake and Its Tributaries - Further upstream from the mouth of the Bruneau to Shoshone Falls, the middle reaches of the Snake River supported a local population who wintered in the area, and who during the salmon runs, hosted peoples from many other locations as well. According to Julian Steward, the "main economic life" of the groups who wintered on the middle Snake "centered around fishing and seed and root gathering."[175] These people wintered at various valley locations to be

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171 Liljeblad, ibid., 84-90.

172 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 43-44, 177-78.

173 Thomas W. Bennett to Secretary of the Interior, 15 February 1873, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

174 Podso & Eagle, op. cit., 2; Thorpe, op. cit., 16-20.

175 Steward (1938), op. cit., 167.

near their salmon caches and to be protected from the raids of predatory bands.[176] Many of them traveled north to Camas Prairie to dig roots in the early spring and to the mountains north and south of the river to hunt in the fall.[177]

The Shoshone-Bannock who drew much of their subsistence from this area were identified by several different terms, including *Taza Agaitika*, "Summer Salmon Eaters," *Pia Agaitika*, "Big Salmon Eaters," *Koa'agaitika*, "Fish-trap Salmon Eaters," and *Yahandika*, "Ground Hog Eaters," the last two names also applied to people on the lower Snake.[178] There were several winter encampments of Shoshone-Bannock some of which were noted in historic sources. When Steward and the Murphies conducted their fieldwork, in the 1930s and 1950s respectively, some of the elders remembered the names of these sites. South of the Snake River near the town of Hot Springs on the Bruneau River was a camp location called *Koa Agai*, "Salmon Weir,"[179] probably the one Ogden first recorded in 1826.[180] Near Glenn's Ferry, there was a village named *Biesoniogwe*.[181]

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176 Ballard to CIA 18 November 1866, M232: *Idaho* ; Steward, ibid., 167.

177 Steward, ibid.

178 Anonymous Oral History, op. cit., 4; Liljeblad, op. cit., 83; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 321.

179 Murphy & Murphy, ibid., 322.

180 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 193.

181 Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 322.

The historic record is replete with references to encampments on the south side of the middle Snake including locations at Rock Creek,[182] Salmon Falls Creek,[183] along the banks of Kanaka Rapids,[184] at Glenn's Ferry,[185] at the mouth of the Bruneau River,[186] and at Castle Creek.[187]

On the northern banks of the river, there was a winter camping place near King Hill called *Akongdimudza*, "Sunflower Hill," which Wilson Price Hunt first described in 1811.[188] A camp called *Saihunupi*, "Tule Canyon," was located three miles below Hagerman,[189] and another known as *Pazin: tumb*, "Thistle Rock," was situated farther below Hagerman by about eight

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182 C. S. Walgamott, *Reminiscences of Early Days: A Series of Historical Sketches and Happenings in the Early Days of the Snake River Valley* (Twin Falls, ID: C. S. Walgamott, 1926), pp. 29-31, 41.

183 Hafen & Hafen, op. cit., 84; Williams, op. cit., 90; Young, op. cit., 164.

184 Charles Preuss, *Exploring with Fremont*, Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde, eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 91-92; Drury, op. cit., 82, 104; Eells, op. cit., August 9, 1838; Hafen & Hafen, op. cit., 238; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 528-30; Palmer, op. cit., 93-94; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 170; Stuart, op. cit., 109-10; Talbot, op. cit., 53-55.

185 Lasalle and Louella Pocatello, Russell Pokibro, and Daisy St. Clair, Oral history interview (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, January 16, 1980), p. 24; Drury, op. cit., 85-86, 104; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 532-33; Talbot, op. cit., 55; Hafen & Hafen, op. cit., 238.

186 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 133-34, 180-81; Irving, op. cit., 222-23; Young, op. cit., 167-168.

187 Stuart, op. cit., 85; Young, op. cit., 168.

188 Hunt, op. cit., 294-95; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 322; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 135-36.

189 Murphy & Murphy, ibid.

miles.[190] Near the town of Bliss was an encampment called *Ototumb*, "Silty Soil,"[191] while nearby on Clover Creek was a camp called *Paguiyua*.[192]

There were three major salmon runs on this portion of the Snake. The first took place sometime between March and April, the season of the *tohmo agai* (spring salmon). The second run followed in May or June with the *taza agai* (summer salmon), and Glenn's Ferry was reported as a popular site to procure this fish.[193] The third run took place in late August through early October with the *kua agai* (wier salmon) or *yuhva agai* (fall salmon). Salmon also moved up the tributaries of the middle Snake at which point they were called *wovi agai* (wood salmon/fall salmon). According to Steward, the area was also fished during the winter months for trout, *yuhvu pengwe* (winter fish), and *natzika* (a small shad-like fish).[194]

Elaborate technologies were used in this region to harvest the different runs of anadromous fish and other species as well. The use of weirs, dams, hooks, nets, and harpoons has been reported at locations

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190 Steward (1938), op. cit., 165.

191 Ibid.

192 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 322.

193 Lasalle & Louella Pocatello, Pokibro & St. Clair, op. cit., 24.

194 Steward (1938), op. cit., 168.

along the entire stretch of the middle Snake.[195] In this region, large scale fishing, associated with the runs of anadromous species, involved both cooperation and ceremony under the direction of a respected leader.[196] Here, as well, extensive drying and preservation methods were used to store fish for trade and off-season subsistence.[197]

The importance and productivity of the middle Snake's fisheries were reported regularly in the journals of the fur traders before 1835,[198] but the most extensive documentation came with the emigrants who made

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195 Osborne Cross, quoted in Author Unknown, "Thousand Springs and Salmon Falls," *Idaho Yesterdays* (1974) 18(3): 20. Original quote from Osborne Cross's journal, published in the *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1850*, pp. 197-99; Asahel Munger and Wife, "Diary of Asahel Munger and Wife," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (December, 1907), Vol. 8, p. 401; Frederick Adolph Wislizenus, *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1989), p. 108; Nathaniel Wyeth, "Indian Tribes of the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains; The Salt Lake Basin, The Valley of the Great Saaptin, or Lewis' River, and the Pacific Coasts of Oregon," in *Information Respecting the Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States. Part 1,* Henry R. Schoolcraft, ed. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1851), pp. 213-14; Ball, op. cit., 84; Irving, op. cit., 332-33; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 528-30; Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 322, 328; Preuss, op. cit., 91; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 193; Steward (1938), op. cit., 167, 169; Stuart, op. cit., 109-10; Talbot, op. cit., 53, 54-55; Walgamott, op. cit., 29, 41; Young, op. cit., 167-68.

196 Remy & Brenchley, op. cit., 282; Irving, op. cit., 332-33; Steward (1938), op. cit., 169; Wyeth, op. cit., 207.

197 David W. Ballard to CIA, 16 June 1866, USNA, M234: *Idaho;* Hunt, op. cit., 294; Talbot, op. cit., 54-55; Walgamott, op. cit., 31, 41.

198 Ball, ibid., 84; Hunt, op. cit., 294, 295; Irving, ibid., 221-23, 332-33, 384; Rich & Johnson, ibid., 133, 135-38, 170, 193; Ross, op. cit., 274; Stuart, op. cit., 107, 109-10; Wyeth, ibid., 202, 207; Young, ibid., 165-68.

this area an important stop on the Overland Trail.[199] In later years, the importance of these fisheries to the Shoshone-Bannock would be noted in the writings of government officials and European-Americans who settled this area.[200]

The fisheries on this portion of the Snake were also used extensively by Shoshone and Bannock speakers who wintered elsewhere. As the Murphys write: "Salmon did not extend above Shoshone Falls, and the population living upstream regularly favored fishing places below the Falls."[201] Other fish which did not travel upstream beyond Shoshone Falls were sturgeon, lampreys, and redfish.[202] People who wintered on the Camas prairies near Fairfield fished here in the spring[203] as did people

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199 Clarence P. Bagley, "Crossing the Plains," *Washington Historical Quarterly* (July 1922), Vol. 13, p. 176.; P. V. Crawford, "Journal of a Trip across the Plains, 1851," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (June 1924), Vol. 25, p. 156; David and John Dinwiddie, "Overland from Indiana to Oregon: The Dinwiddie Journal," Margaret Booth, ed., *Sources of Northwest History* (Missoula: University of Montana,1928), Vol. 2, p. 10; Overton Johnson & William H. Winter, *Route Across The Rocky Mountains: Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier.,* Carl L. Cannon, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), p. 29; F. A. Wislizenus, op. cit., p.108; Camp, op. cit., 55; Drury, op. cit., 82, 85-86, 104; Eells, op. cit., 55-56; Hafen & Hafen, op. cit., 84-85, 238; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 528-34; Munger, op. cit., 401; Preuss, op. cit., 91; Palmer, op. cit., 93-94; Remy & Brenchley, op. cit., 503; Talbot, op. cit., 53-57; Walgamott, op. cit., 29, 33, 41.

200 Adelaide Hawes, *The Valley of Tall Grass* (Bruneau, Idaho, 1975), p. 79, 132; Capt. C. F. Powell to David W. Ballard, 14 January 1869, CIA M234: *Idaho*; Walgamott, op. cit., 29, 41; RCIA, 1866, 189.

201 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 319.

202 Steward (1943), op. cit., 268.

203 Steward (1938), op. cit., 167.

living in the vicinity of Bannock and Grouse Creeks,[204] Fort Hall,[205] and along the Portneuf and other waterways south of Pocatello.[206] The regular and recurring use of the middle Snake by groups wintering in other locations is also documented in historical sources.[207]

Although salmon and other fish were the main subsistence pursuit of those who wintered along the middle reaches of the Snake, a variety of insects and roots were also important in local diets.[208] Hunting was not a significant subsistence pursuit in this area. When deer were hunted, they were usually taken on Camas Prairie and in the Sawtooth Mountains near Hailey.[209] Local Shoshone-Bannock pursued antelope in the highlands south of the Snake,[210] while elk and bighorn sheep were procured in the Sawtooths.[211] Steward also reports that the Shoshone-Bannock of the middle Snake differed from the people further east in so far as "fishing

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204 Ibid., 216; Lasalle & Louella Pocatello, Pokibro & St. Clair, op. cit., 24; Murphy and Murphy (1960), 322; Steward (1943), op. cit., 268.

205 Ibid., 200, 203; Murphy & Murphy, ibid., 321, 328.

206 Ibid., 219; Murphy & Murphy, ibid., 324.

207 Murphy & Murphy, ibid., 320; see also: Talbot, op. cit., 54; Townsend, op. cit., 242, 245, 257-62; Williams, op. cit., 302, 326.

208 Steward, op. cit., 167.

209 Ibid.; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 322.

210 Murphy & Murphy, ibid.

211 Ibid.; Steward (1938), op. cit., 167.

was their principal subsistence."[212]

North of the middle Snake, the Big Wood River and its tributary Camas Creek was an important subsistence and trading area for Shoshone-Bannock throughout the region. Every spring groups congregated here to gather camas and other roots but also to trade dried fish for buffalo meat, white clay from Soda Springs, obsidian, and a host of other items.[213] The name, *Yahandeka*, "Eaters of Ground Hogs," was applied to Shoshone-Bannock who lived in this area and traveled largely on foot, but it was also more generally used to refer to any group who hunted this food delicacy in the spring months.[214] People known as *Pengwetika*, "Fish Eaters," who inhabited the southern Sawtooths and the Big Lost River range, also camped here in the winter and spring.[215] The equestrian Shoshone-Bannock who wintered on the Salmon River and the upper Snake came here for roots and trade[216] as did some of the populations whose wintering grounds were located on the middle and lower reaches of the

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212 Steward, ibid.

213 Liljeblad, op. cit., 47, 65; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 319-22; Steward (1938), op. cit., 167; Williams, op. cit., 16.

214 Anonymous Oral History, op. cit., 4.

215 Liljeblad, op. cit., 106; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 331.

216 Doris Ponzo, Oral history interview with Lorin R. Gaarder at Fort Hall (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, The American Indian History Project, Doris Duke Number 178, February, 1967), pp. 2-3; Liljeblad, ibid., 65; Murphy & Murphy, ibid., 324, 328; Arthur & Kate Tendoy, op. cit., 9.

Snake as well as the highlands south of the river.[217] The Camas Prairie was an area of great economic and social significance to the Shoshone-Bannock. Early government officials in Idaho recognized this and argued that it be set aside and protected for Shoshone-Bannock use.[218] Even in the face of danger from white vigilantes, following the "Snake War," Boise Shoshone still went to the Camas Prairie to dig roots in 1867,[219] and a guarantee of continued access to the prairie was one of the terms that Taghee insisted upon in his various "talks" and negotiations with government officials.[220] So important was this prairie that it was set aside for them in the Fort Bridger treaty.[221] As late as 1873, Thomas W. Bennett, Idaho's territorial governor, was reporting Shoshone-Bannock journeys to the prairie in the early summer months.

He wrote:

> Availing themselves of the liberal and loose provisions of the treaty these Indians [Shoshones and Bannocks], early in the summer of each year, go to the Camas Prairie in full strength, and there leaving their old men and old women to dig roots,

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217 Capt. Charles F. Powell to CIA, 17 September 1869, USNA, M234: *Idaho* ; RCIA 1867, 252; Steward (1938), op. cit., 167; Murphy & Murphy, ibid., 319-320, 322.

218 Gregory E. Smoak, "The Shoshone-Bannock Tribes and The Fort Bridger Treaty: Their Off-Reservation Rights" (Unpublished Report. Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, 1997), pp. 24-27.

219 Ibid., 32.

220 RCIA 1868, 197-98, 658; Smoak, op. cit., 37-40.

221 Liljeblad, op. cit., 70-71.

> the others to the number of twelve hundred to two thousands, including their young men and warriors, pass on into the white settlements in the valleys of the Boise, the Payette, and the Weiser, and remain there for several months, 'hunting and fishing' in pursuance of the terms of their treaty--there being unoccupied lands scattered through these valleys. [222]

And in 1877, Major Jim from the Lemhi region appealed to the government to preserve the Camas Prairie when he said:

> Your people make farms and fence up all the country, the Indians make their farm too, which is the Great Camas Prairie, where our women dig roots to feed them and the children. The white men drive too many hogs and cattle upon the prairie, which eat up the roots of the camas and destroy the plant. We cannot live without food, and the camas root has always been our food. When the camas is destroyed our children will suffer from hunger....We wish to have the Great Camas Prairie put with the Fort Hall reservation, so we can live there [Camas Prairie] and dig camas. *We never sold or gave away the Camas Prairie. We had nothing to do with any treaty which would take it away from us* [emphasis added].[223]

Tragically, much of the rich food base was ultimately destroyed after settlers illegally seized it, plowed it under, and allowed their pigs to

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222 Thomas W. Bennett to SI, 15 February 1873, M234: *Idaho;* Smoak, op. cit., 106-16.

223 Mason Brayman to Secretary of War, 2 June 1877, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

feast on its abundant root crops.[224]

Symbolically, the Camas Prairie was a significant location in the Shoshone-Bannock's territorial rounds. This prairie stood at the very heart of their enormous terrritorial range. It was the place to which most Shoshone-Bannock came at one time or another, traveling the Snake, its tributaries and sister rivers to get there. The Shoshone-Bannock who traveled here represented the full diversity of location and circumstance in the historic world of those who were eventually settled at Fort Hall.

There were the Shoshone-Bannock from the east who owned large herds of horses and who divided their subsistence year between fishing and gathering along the valleys of the Snake, Salmon, and Bear Rivers to hunting in the mountains and open plains in locations as far away as the tributaries of the Missouri and Colorado Rivers. These Shoshone-Bannock lived and traveled in large encampments, and they tended to make their winter encampments above Shoshone Falls along the banks of the Snake River, its tributaries and in the valleys of the Lemhi and Bear Rivers.

On the desert highlands to the south and in the high mountains to the north were Shoshone-Bannock who lived in small parties and owned few horses. These Shoshone-Bannock also separated their subsistence cycle into a time for fishing and gathering in the spring and summer, and a time for hunting in the fall. Those in the south subsisted more heavily on plants

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224 Smoak, op. cit., 103-04, 109-10.

and small game because their customary regions of travel were largely devoid of big game, while those in the north were more devoted to hunting the bighorn sheep, elk, and mule deer of the mountains. Notwithstanding the different orientations in their subsistence cycles, the ranges of both populations tended to be more localized than those of the bison-hunting Shoshone-Bannock. Most of them, however, still covered wide territories, and many of them managed at one time or another to travel to the Camas Prairie to fish, dig roots, and trade. Even groups as far away as the Grouse Creek Mountains on the Utah-Nevada border were known to frequent this famous prairie.

Finally, there were Shoshone-Bannock who wintered along the lower and middle reaches of the Snake who, although depending predominately on anadromous fish for their livelihood, gathered plant foods and also hunted on the upper reaches of tributaries which flowed into the Snake. The migratory subsistence cycles of these people were probably the most localized, however. Those who wintered on the middle reaches of the Snake certainly traveled to the Camas Prairie, and some were even reported to take their first salmon at this location.[225] Although the people who wintered on the lower Snake had rich root grounds closer to home, they too came here on occasion to fish, gather, and trade.[226]

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[225] Steward (1938), op. cit., 167, 191; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 321.

[226] Murphy & Murphy, ibid., 319.

2.B.: MISSOURI RIVER DRAINAGE

In the nineteenth century, there was a continuous and long-standing connection between Shoshone-Bannock peoples along the riverine corridors that connected the Salmon and the Snake Rivers with various tributaries of the Missouri. There were two patterns of settlement and land use.

The first was an extension of the localized, high mountain hunting pattern associated with the *Túkudeka* of the Sawtooths.[227] This pattern extended east to the high mountain valleys of the Bitterroot and Beaverhead Mountains, the Yellowstone Park area,[228] and the Wind River Mountains.[229] In these areas, *Túkudeka* traveled in small parties and focused much of their subsistence on big game hunting. Hunting was probably more important to these *Túkudeka* because of the absence of anadromous fish runs which supplied such an important component of their counterparts' diet in the Sawtooths. Sven Liljeblad reported that these people were also called *Padehiyandeka*, "Elk Eaters,"[230] while Julian

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227 Anonymous Oral History, op. cit., 3.

228 "Note on Indian Occupancy," *Yellowstone Nature Notes* 5-6 (May-June, 1935), p. 2

229 Ake Hultkranz, "The Indians and Wonders of Yellowstone: A Study of the Interrelations of Religion, Nature and Culture," *Ethnos* 19 (1-4): 34-68; Irving, op. cit., 207; Russell, op. cit., 23, 26.

230 Liljeblad, op. cit., 56; Lasalle Pocatello, op. cit., 2, 5.

Steward identified one group, which was named after *Paqadut*, Red Rock Lake, with a settlement located at Red Rock Creek near present day Lima, Montana. Steward also noted an unnamed location where these Shoshone-Bannock wintered on the Beaverhead River near Dillon, Montana, and today's tribal elders confirm this.[231]

The second strategy was associated with the large parties of bison hunting Shoshone-Bannock who traveled into the area seasonally and came to the region from the Salmon River and the upper reaches of the Snake. *Kútsundeka*, "Eaters of Buffalo," were also sometimes called *Padehiyandeka*, "Eaters of Elk," when they hunted elk in the Teton Basin and on the upper courses of the Yellowstone and Beaverhead Rivers.[232] Shoshone-Bannock bison hunters traveled to the Wind River[233] but more often to *Kutsuambihi*, "Buffalo Heart," or the bison plains of Montana between the present day towns of Big Timber and Billings on the Yellowstone River.[234] The Shoshone-Bannock took several different routes to the bison country.[235] From the valley of the Lemhi, they traveled across Lemhi Pass to the Beaverhead, on to the Jefferson, and from there

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231 Mink, op. cit., 12-14; Steward (1938), op. cit., 188.

232 Anonymous Oral History, op. cit., 3.

233 RCIA 1865, 158; RCIA 1867, 247-248; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 328.

234 Murphy & Murphy, ibid.; RCIA, 1867, ibid.

235 Liljeblad, op. cit., 64, 106.

to the Yellowstone.[236] Sometimes, they probably moved farther north across the Big Hole River and Flathead country as well. From the upper Snake, they entered the area following Red Rock Creek to the Beaverhead and then east across the Madison to the Yellowstone.[237] There were also routes across Targhee pass and down the Gallatin River.[238] Shoshone-Bannock sometimes wintered on the Yellowstone or the Beaverhead when they were unable to cross the mountains before the passes were snow packed.[239]

In later years, especially after the Stevens treaty of 1855 which established a joint, intertribal hunting area in central Montana, many Shoshone-Bannock people remained in this area year-round.[240] Indeed, by the 1850s and 1860s, the valleys of the Big Hole, Jefferson, Madison, Beaverhead, Yellowstone, Gallatin, and Madison had become the primary

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236 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 328, 331.

237 Ibid., 328.

238 Ibid., 329.

239 Lander to CIA, 18 February 1860, op. cit., 72; Murphy & Murphy (1960), ibid., 331; Steward (1938), op. cit., 204.

240 Francis Haines, *The Buffalo: The Story of the American Bison and Their Hunters from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1970) pp. 158-59; Smoak, op. cit., 14-15.

home of many Shoshone-Bannock.[241] Numerous government officials recognized these areas as part of the territory of the peoples they had come to identify as Shoshone, Bannocks, and Sheepeaters.[242] On August 20, 1869, James Tufts, territorial governor of Montana, wrote of the Shoshone-Bannock from the Lemhi Valley:

> They hunt on the Madison, Jefferson, and Big Hole rivers and their numerous branches, with perhaps a semi-annual sojourn on the Salmon river for the purpose of fishing.[243]

In the agreement that Tendoy negotiated with Montana territorial officials on January 3, 1870, the acknowledged territorial range of the Lemhi Shoshone-Bannock included stretches of the Salmon, Big Hole, Snake, Green, Gallatin, and Yellowstone Rivers.[244] And today this area continues to be used by Shoshone-Bannock for hunting, fishing, and gathering. [245]

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241 LaSalle and Louella Pocatello, and others, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library Archives, October 22, 1975), Tape A-16, pp. 3, 4. LaSalle and Louella Pocatello, Oral History Interview, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, January 16, 1980), pp. 5, 7. Wilson, op. cit., 37-38, 85-86, 91-94.

242 Nathaniel T. Hall to Thomas F. Meagher, 6 April 1866, USNA, M234: *Montana* ; Green Clay Smith to CIA, 3 October 1866, USNA, M234: *Montana* ; Luther Mann to F. H. Head, 15 July 1867; F. H. Head to CIA, 3 August 1867, M234: *Utah*; W. J. Cullen and James Tufts to CIA, 25 September 1868, USNA, M234: *Montana*; Smoak, op. cit., 44-50.

243 James Tufts to L. M. Black, 20 August 1869, USNA, M234: *Montana.*

244 Smoak, op. cit., 57.

245 Ibid., Lizzie Edmo, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 4 (1957), p. 3; Oren George, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 1(1961), p. 23; Delia Pohipe, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 2 (1958), p. 15; Yanee Teton, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 1 (1959), p. 9-11; Mink, op. cit., 12-13; Lasalle Pocatello, op. cit., 14.

The heaviest and most prolonged use of the Missouri River drainage by populations of Shoshone and Bannock speaking peoples from Idaho was around the forks of the great river and the Yellowstone valley. Much of it was concentrated in the valleys of the Beaverhead, Ruby, Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin, and Yellowstone Rivers, where small bands of *Túkudeka* and large encampments of the *Kútsundeka* from the upper Snake and Lemhi Rivers regularly traveled and encamped. Farther south, the use of the Missouri River drainage was confined largely to Shoshone-Bannock who lived in Wyoming and settled on the Wind River Reservation. Although Shoshone and Bannock speaking peoples, especially those who wintered on the Portneuf, Malad, and Bear Rivers, frequently crossed the South Pass to hunt buffalo on the plains of Wyoming, most of their fishing took place elsewhere.

2.B.1: Tributaries West of the Yellowstone Park Area - Many of the *Túkudeka* who wintered and fished in the Sawtooths were closely related to people living along streams in the Bitterroot and Beaverhead Mountains. These populations fished for non-anadromous species in the streams of the upper Missouri, but there are few direct references to this activity in ethnographic or oral history sources.[246] Nor are there many sources on fishing among the large populations of Shoshone-Bannock from the Lemhi

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246 Wihii, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 2 (1951), p. 12; Mink, op. cit., 13.

and upper Snake Rivers who crossed this area annually to hunt buffalo.[247] One of the richest is Elijah Nicholas Wilson's account of his childhood years with a group of Shoshone-Bannock who camped and fished at Red Rock Creek, Henry's Lake, the Teton Range, and along the Jefferson, Big Hole, Madison, and Beaverhead Rivers.[248] When their needs required and supplies permitted, the Shoshone-Bannock took fish from the region's trout-rich streams as did many of the European-Americans who crossed the area in the nineteenth century.[249] As Elijah Wilson remembered: "We went east nearly to the Teton Peaks, where we found all kinds of game plentiful and streams full of trout."[250] North of Red Rock Creek, probably on the Beaverhead, he reported: "then we passed the rest of the winter in fishing and hunting for chickens and rabbits."[251] And on the Big Hole River, he had this to say:

> From this place we went down to the forks of the river, and I think we stayed there two or three weeks to give the women time to tan the deer

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247 James Tufts to Col. L. M. Black, 20 August 1869, USNA, M234: *Montana;* RCIA 1869, 289-93.

248 Wilson, op. cit., 32, 37-38, 48, 56, 65, 85-86, 88-89, 91-94.

249 James and Granville Stuart, "The Yellowstone Expedition of 1863," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* (Helena: Rocky Mountain Publishing Company, 1876), Vol. 1, p. 23-31, 226-27.

250 Wilson, op. cit., 65.

251 Wilson, op. cit., 88-89.

skins. It was fine fishing in the Big Hole River.[252]

Another account of fishing in this region is found in Sven Liljeblad's notebooks:

> There were seven different camps when he [Wihii] made the trip to Yellowstone. He is the only one living now. There were plenty of animals and fish, but the only things gone now are the roots that they used to eat.[253]

In the twentieth century, this area has continued to be a popular location for Shoshone-Bannock fishing.[254]

2.B.2: Tributaries East of the Yellowstone Park Area - Although the Shoshone who lived in the mountains and on the plains of Wyoming were largely big game hunters, they also included fish in their diets. Much of their fishing took place in the rich trout streams of the Wind River Mountains, but some of it was reported to have taken place on the upper reaches of the Bear River and the Uintah Mountains.[255] In July of 1876, Capt. John G. Bourke

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252 Ibid., 91.

253 Wihii, op. cit.

254 Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 9, 12, 33.

255 John G. Bourke, *On the Border With Crook* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), pp. 340-41. Raymond W. Settle & Mary Lund, *Overland Days to Montana in 1865* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1971), p. 208; RCIA 1870, pp. 174-75; Frederick Lander to CIA, 18 February 1860, M234: *Utah.*

described Wyoming's Shoshone as "expert fishermen."[256] In his classic monograph on the ethnogeography of the Wind River Shoshone, published in the 1940s, Demitri Shimkin wrote:

> Fish played, and continue to play, an important role in Wind River economy. Methods of taking fish were relatively efficient: weirs, dams, and fishtraps were the major devices. The fish were dried or smoked on a large scale....In general, fish were principally taken in the spring, when the stores of bison meat were running low. At other times, they were regarded as an auxiliary food, eaten when other supplies were lacking. In such instances less efficient techniques came into play, such as fishing through a hole in the ice, angling, spearing, etc. The yield then would not have been very great.[257]

This stands in marked contrast to many of the Shoshone-Bannock's plains dwelling neighbors to the east who did not include fish in their diet and moreover, often assiduously avoided them. That Shoshone-Bannock continued to include fish as an important part of their subsistence even on the plains, and that they employed a complex technology to do so, is further testimony to the long-standing significance of fishing in the lives of Numic speaking peoples throughout the Intermountain West.[258]

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256 Bourke, ibid.

257 Demitri Shimkin, "Wind River Shoshone Ethnogeography," *Anthropological Records* (1947), Vol. 5(4), p. 268.

258 Omer Stewart, "Fishing and the Wind River Shoshone Indians," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 25 (1), pp. 13-30.

2.C: COLORADO RIVER AND GREAT BASIN DRAINAGES

South of the Snake River Valley and to the west were many Shoshone and Northern Paiute speaking populations closely connected to the Shoshone-Bannock who wintered at locations along the Snake and its tributaries.

2.C.1: The Bear River and the Great Salt Lake - One of the largest of these populations lived and traveled along the Bear River and other waterways which emptied into the Great Salt Lake. Like their Shoshone-Bannock neighbors to the north, this population alternated between fishing and root gathering in spring and summer, and hunting in fall and winter. In 1832, Capt. Benjamin Bonneville observed, they "shift their encampments from place to place as fish and game abound."[259] A large portion of this

259 Irving, op. cit., 74.

population, well over 200, perished in the Bear River Massacre near Preston, Idaho, in 1863.[260] According to Wilson Jack and his wife, the Shoshone-Bannock who died at Bear River were a mixed population. He said:

> They killed a lot of them there. Just whole bunch of Indians stay in winter. They kill them right there and bury them. That's Shoshone Indians. Some mixed from these people here on [Bannock Creek] and other...some of them may be is Bannock Indian with them, maybe some.[261]

Even though they were reported in historic sources, there is little about them in the ethnographic record. What is known is that this population and the Shoshone speaking "Weber Utes" wintered in the lower elevation valleys of rivers that fed the Great Salt Lake, including the Bear and Malad Rivers.[262]

These Shoshone-Bannock were also called *Hukkandeka*, and they were merged with people called the *Pengwedeka*, "Eaters of Fish," who lived closer to the Watsatch Mountains. Steward notes they were closely related to the *Kammedeka*, and he argues that the distinction between

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260 Brigham Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989); Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 323.

261 Wilson Jack, Oral history interview with Lorin R. Gaarder (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections, American Indian History Project, Doris Duke Collection Number 177, January 27, 1967), p. 5.

262 Russell, op. cit., 114-15; Steward (1938), op. cit., 218-20.

these people and those living along Bannock Creek is "arbitrary."[263] Indeed, these three populations were known to congregate at Bear Lake,[264] and they were probably among those frequently reported at this location in historic times.[265] They no doubt traveled together to hunt buffalo on the Green River with Shoshone under the leadership of Washakie,[266] and in post-horse times, their territorial ranges most certainly overlapped.[267]

Their winter camping places were probably intermingled with the *Kammedeka* on the Malad River, but they also had winter campsites on the Bear River in an area called *Sudotsa*, "Round Willow Place" and at various locations in the Promontory Range including *Nagwituwep* at Blue Creek.[268] Those known as, *Pengwedeka*, wintered on the Logan River, which they called *Kwa'agun:ogwai*, "Crane House River," and on the Little Bear River, *Woudaogwi*.[269] In the spring, they relied on the rich fisheries of the lower

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263 Steward, ibid., 177; Anonymous Oral History, op. cit., 3.

264 Steward, ibid., 178.

265 Delano, op. cit., 133; Eells, op. cit., July 22, 1836; Hafen & Hafen, op. cit., 232; Preuss, op. cit., 85-86; Rich & Johnson, op. cit. 43-45; Ross, op. cit., 168-72; Williams, op. cit., 128.

266 Steward (1938), op. cit., 178-79, 219.

267 This can be deduced from reports of the various sites where these Shoshone-Bannock were reported to procure their subsistence.

268 Steward (1938), op. cit., 178.

269 Ibid., 218.

Bear River near the present day town of Corrine, in Utah,[270] and in the summer they often encamped on the upper reaches of the Bear River and at Bear Lake where they supported themselves on the rich supplies of fish, berries, and roots.[271] In the fall, they probably hunted bison with the *Kammedeka* in the valleys of Marsh Creek, the Bear, and Malad Rivers, but when this animal became extinct in southeastern Idaho, they too crossed the mountains to join the large bison hunts near the Green and Wind Rivers.[272] They hunted antelope and jack rabbits south of Lampo on the Bear River flats.[273] They traveled to Grouse Creek for pine nuts,[274] and in earlier times, they probably took bighorn sheep which were still numerous in the Cache Valley in the 1830s.[275]

Some of these Shoshone-Bannock, most likely the horse-rich *Pengwedeka,* were reported to travel widely for trade, extending their travels as far west as the headwaters of the Klamath River.[276] But those who lived in small parties near the Promontory Range appear to have been

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270 Ibid., 178, 219; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 496-97.

271 Ibid., 219; Jackson & Spence, ibid., 474-76, 484

272 Ibid., 178-79, 219.

273 Ibid., 178-79.

274 Ibid.

275 Ibid., 219.

276 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 43-44.

poor in horses and probably traveled a much more restricted range than their equestrian relatives. Generally speaking, they appear to have shared more in common with the Shoshone speakers who traveled the highland deserts farther west.

The Shoshone-Bannock who typically wintered along the Bear River and other watercourses emptying into the Great Salt Lake also used the affluents of the Snake, especially Bannock Creek and the Portneuf between Pocatello and Soda Springs. Like the Shoshone and Bannock speaking groups to the north and west, these populations fished, hunted, and gathered root crops along the various waterways they covered in their annual subsistence cycle.[277]

The Bear River and the northern shores of Bear Lake were reported as popular places to fish in the spring and summer months not only for the resident population but also for some of the groups who wintered along the upper Snake near *Pohogoy*, at Bannock Creek, and even in Wyoming.[278] As Wihii described it:

> The people now in Bannock Creek had separate leaders and stayed around Boxelder down in Utah and Bear River....I can't understand how the hell they could see in that deep water, they teamed up

277 Ibid., 227; John C. Ewers, ed., *Adventures of Zenas Leonard Fur Trader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), pp. 65-66; RCIA 1870, 141-44; Irving, op. cit., 74; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 496-97; Steward, op. cit., 176, 179.

278 Omer Stewart reports that some of Brigham Young's trading accounts include the making of fish spears for local Indians, op. cit., 17.

> two and two. Teamwork. One fellow stood high up on the shore. He pointed with his spear. The other was in the water up to his waist. He speared the fish. They counted the speed of the fish and the direction he was going.[279]

According to Steward, one of the most popular places to fish was located near the present day town of Corrine. Among the fish taken at this location were *auwok* (sucker), *widjavankw* (chub), and *tsapengwe* (trout).[280] Fish were not as plentiful on other tributaries (i.e., Dove Creek) leading to the Great Salt Lake, but they were taken seasonally at these sites as well.[281] There is even a report of Shoshone and Bannock fishing as far south as Utah Lake in the 1840s. [282] Here, as in other areas of Shoshone-Bannock occupation, sophisticated devices and methods were used to procure fish.[283]

2.C.2: The Colorado River and Its Tributaries - Although the Green River was the site of a major trade rendezvous which drew Shoshone-Bannock from a

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279 Wihii, interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 4, May 6 (1952), p. 16.

280 Steward (1938), op. cit., 179.

281 Ibid., 176.

282 John Wilson to Thomas Ewing, August 22, 1849: quoted in Dale L. Morgan, "Washakie and the Shoshoni: A Selection of Documents from the Records of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Part I:1849-1852," *Annals of Wyoming* (1955), Vol. 25(2), pp.145-47.

283 Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 496-97; Lowie (1924), op. cit., 200; Steward (1938), op. cit., 176, 179; Steward (1943), op. cit., 269-70.

wide area, and even though it was a location where some of the Idaho Shoshone-Bannock wintered in late historic times,[284] there are only a few reports of fishing either in the historic or the ethnographic record. One of these is Washakie's own recollections of his people's summer travels to the Uinta Mountains where they would have fished the tributaries of the Green River.[285] At about the same time, Frederick Lander also reported that trout and other fish inhabited the watercourses of Washakie's territory, and that the Shoshone took them as a supplemental resource when supplies permitted and needs required.[286] Bourke, Shimkin, and Stewart's detailed descriptions of Shoshone fishing in Wyoming apply here as well.[287]

2.C.3: The Humboldt River Drainage - Commonly identified as "root diggers" in historic sources, the populations to the south and west of the Snake River pursued their subsistence and encamped in small parties along a wide range of overlapping watercourses which extended from the high deserts of northeastern Utah to central Oregon. The subsistence of these Shoshone speakers rested primarily on plant foods supplemented by fish

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284 Steward (1938), ibid., 216; Murphy & Murphy , op. cit., 324.

285 E. L. Williams, "Personal Recollections of Wash-a-kie, Chief of the Shoshones," *Utah Historical Quarterly* (October, 1928), Vol. 1 (4), p. 104.

286 Lander to CIA, 18 February 1860, op. cit.

287 Bourke, op. cit., 340-41; Shimkin, op. cit., 268; Stewart, op. cit., 13-30.

and game, and they were largely pedestrian with few horses.

Even though Shoshone-Bannock lived in remote locations on the highland deserts and mountain valleys of southern Idaho, and adjoining regions in Utah, Nevada, and Oregon, they were never isolated. There was a continuous movement of people between the river drainages of the Columbia and Great Basin, and in the 1930s, Julian Steward reported one intermarriage between a man from the Boise River with a woman whose family wintered at Dove Creek on the eastern side of the Grouse Creek Mountains.[288]

In the east, the peoples who wintered in the Grouse Creek area were known as *Tebadeka*, "Pine Nut Eaters."[289] They had one winter camping place on Grouse Creek called *Tu*, "black tule," another southwest of the town of Lucien called *Oº* (a type of shaly rock) at a place called *Podongo'e*, "stick top," a third on Dove Creek called *Pduyavavadizop* (an unknown species of seeds gathered in the spring), and a final site at the head waters of the Raft River near Yost called *Kuiya* (the root of valarianes edulis) which was the birthplace of Pocatello.[290] In their explorations of this area, various trading parties encountered encampments at Dove

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288 Steward (1938), op. cit., 175.

289 Ibid., 174; Liljeblad, op. cit., 113. This name also sometimes applied to the *Hukandeka* and *Kammedeka*. cf., Anonymous Oral History, op. cit., 3.

290 Steward, ibid.

Creek[291] and Deep Creek as well.[292] Some of these Shoshone-Bannock eventually settled at Fort Hall.[293]

The Grouse Creek Mountains were a major pine nut gathering location which not only attracted Shoshone-Bannock from the Snake River but which also provided the locals with an important trade item to take on their own excursions when they fished salmon on the Snake[294] and dug roots at Camas Prairie.[295] Although they spent most of their year gathering, fishing trout, and hunting for waterfowl, antelope, and rabbits in their highland range along the Idaho and Utah/Nevada borders,[296] some of them were known to winter at the mouth of Goose Creek on the Snake River.[297]

Farther west in the desert highlands at the headwaters of the Bruneau, Jarbidge, and Owyhee Rivers were locations of other Shoshone speakers. Many of the Shoshone who used this area wintered either on the

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291 Haines (1971), op. cit., 111.

292 Williams, op. cit., 136-37.

293 Anonymous Oral History, op. cit., 4; Jack, op. cit., 5. Again, the names *Tebadeka*, *Hukandeka*, and *Kammedeka* were used interchangeably for people who lived in and traveled the area between the Bear River in the east to Grouse Creek in the west, and from the Great Salt Lake in the south to Bannock Creek in the north.

294 Steward (1938), op. cit., 175.

295 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 322.

296 Steward (1938), op. cit., 175-79

297 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 322.

Snake or the Humboldt River, but they sometimes spent the winters on the headwaters of the Owyhee when the salmon runs were especially productive.[298] One local population known as *Wongogoda*, "Sitting White Pine," was reported to live at the headwaters of the Jarbidge,[299] and they were probably the Shoshone whom Wyeth observed fishing for bull trout in the spring of 1832.[300]

The Shoshone speakers who lived and traveled the headwaters of rivers along the Idaho-Nevada border depended heavily on plant foods but also a wide variety of small game and fish. Not only did they regularly fish the upper reaches of the Owyhee, Jarbidge, and Bruneau but some of them moved downstream during the salmon runs.[301] Many of those who traveled the rivers and streams of southern Idaho in historic times also used various watercourses that fed the Humboldt River of Nevada. This was particularly true for the populations who wintered in the highlands that bordered Idaho.[302] In addition to citations from the historic record,[303] Julian Steward's work provides many details about the procurement of

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298 Steward (1938), op. cit., 162, 168.

299 Ibid., 169.

300 Young, op. cit., 165.

301 Steward (1938), op. cit., 162.

302 Ibid., 168.

303 RCIA 1852, 151; RCIA 1855, 198; RCIA 1861, 130; Williams, op. cit., 140.

trout, suckers, and minnows in the local streams and hot springs of the Humboldt River drainage system and the upper reaches of tributaries that fed the Snake. His work clearly shows that in this desert region as well, the Shoshone were equipped with a complex fishing technology which included nets, dams, and weirs.[304]

2.C.4: The Waterways of Central Oregon - Many of the Bannock speaking peoples who settled at Fort Hall are descended from Northern Paiute speakers who inhabited the desert rivers and streams of central Oregon in historic times. The Northern Paiute speakers of Oregon, like the Shoshone speaking peoples to the east, wrested their livelihood by plant gathering, hunting, and fishing.[305] Known also as "Snakes" and "Root Diggers" in early sources, these populations were widely dispersed over the high desert landscape of Oregon, traveling in small groups over fairly restricted ranges.

Some of them, however, regularly migrated from their high desert locations to subsist and trade at down-river locations.[306] In the west, the Malheur River connected these populations to the Snake River, and farther

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304 Julian Steward, "Culture Element Distribution: XIII, Nevada Shoshone," *Anthropological Records* (1941), Vol. 4(2), pp. 226-27, 276; Steward (1938), op. cit., 153, 159.

305 Haines (1971), op. cit., 135-39; Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 170, 173; Williams, op. cit., 140-41, 156, 164, 216.

306 Davies & Johnson, op. cit., 130.

west the John Day River was a major artery bringing them to the Columbia. This area was the source of continual recruitment to the ranks of the mixed populations of Northern Paiute and Shoshone speakers not only along the lower reaches of the Snake River but also at its upriver locations near *Pohogoy*.[307]

The interior of Oregon was the western periphery of a vast communication network which connected Shoshone and Northern Paiute speakers from the rivers of central Oregon to the tributaries of the Missouri and Colorado in the east. And in historic times, the Snake River was the hub of this communication network. To give just one example of how far this network spread, the famous Northern Paiute leader, Winnemucca, was reported in the company of Shoshone-Bannock bison hunters on the plains of Montana in the 1863.[308]

For central Oregon, there is also a trail of historic accounts which describe the importance of fishing in this area,[309] and there are also ethnographic sources which detail the devices and practices associated

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307 Liljeblad, op. cit., 58-59; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 326.

308 James and Granville Stuart, op. cit., 153-56.

309 RCIA 1864, p. 147; RCIA 1854, p. 283; Williams, op. cit., 156; see also: sources listed under Owyhee, Malheur, Burnt, and John Day Rivers in other sections.

with fishing in the region.[310]

Whether the evidentiary record on Shoshone-Bannock fishing is examined from a chronological or a geographic perspective, it is clear that fish were an important component of their subsistence and trade in historic times. Clearly, fish were most significant to the populations who wintered along the Snake River and its major tributary, the Salmon, but they were also important to the Shoshone-Bannock who lived along watercourses outside the runs of anadromous species. The pivotal role of fish in Shoshone-Bannock life is further confirmed in the next chapter where information is presented on the technological, social, and ritual patterns associated with their fishing culture.

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310 Catherine Fowler & Sven Liljeblad, "Northern Paiute," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Vol.11 Great Basin*, Warren D'Azevado, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), p. 453; Omer Stewart, "Cultural Element Distributions: XIV," *Anthropological Records* (1941), Vol.4(3), pp. 424-26.

PART THREE

THE CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY OF SHOSHONE-BANNOCK FISHING

No matter where they lived and traveled in southern Idaho and adjoining states, the Shoshone-Bannock depended on fish for both subsistence and for trade. Although they procured other "wild" foods as well, fish were a basic component of their diet throughout the year but especially during the spring and summer spawning seasons. Many different species of anadromous and non-anadromous fish were harvested, and they were taken with sophisticated technologies and techniques indicative of a fishing people. In this section, the focus is placed on the culture of Shoshone-Bannock fishing as this is revealed in their language, material technologies, social organization, and ritual.

3.A: THE LANGUAGE OF FISHING

A characteristic of Numic languages, which include both Shoshone and Bannock, is their processual character, or as Jay Miller[1] puts it, their "kinetic quality." Verbs are at the core of all expression, while nouns merely denote from where and to what the action is directed. In the Shoshone language, the actions of "fishing," "gathering," and "hunting" are a case in point. These actions are expressed in a single instrumental verb structure. In his testimony at the trial of the *State of Idaho v. Gerald Tinno*, the well-known and highly respected linguist of Numic languages, Dr. Sven Liljeblad, argued that the verb "*tygi*" could be used simultaneously to express the actions of fishing, gathering, and hunting. The verb is the same. It means "to go out and procure wild food." What changes are the objects, fish, animals, and plants, against which the act of procurement is engaged. Thus, *penggwi tygi hund'oi* is translated as "I'm going to hunt for fish;" *agaitygihund'oi*, "I'm going to hunt for salmon;" *yamba-tygi-hundoi*, "I'm going to hunt for wild carrots," *tyhya'ja tygi hund'oi*; "I'm going to hunt for deer" or *yahadygiahundoi*; "I'm going to

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1 Jay Miller, "Numic Religion: An Overview of Power in the Great Basin of Native North America," *Anthropos* (1983), Vol. 78, p. 339.

hunt for rock chuck."[2] Other verbs, including *hannih* "to make, prepare," may also be used simultaneously to denote actions which involve the taking of fish, animals, and plants,[3] actions which are generally separated by distinct verbs in the English language.[4] As one tribal elder put it:

> Hunting [in the Shoshone language] means more... [than just hunting animals]. [It means hunting] anything to survive on [fish, berries]. They hunted which ever way the buffalo disappeared [they followed the bison]. They went Montana way too....[The Bannocks] they wintered here [Fort Hall] but they go in April, may be May they start

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2 Dr. Sven Liljeblad in *State of Idaho v. Gerald Cleo Tinno*, District Court of the Seventh Judicial District of the State of Idaho in and for the County of Custer, April 1, 1970, Court Transcript {Hereafter, *State of Idaho v. Tinno* }, pp. 11-14, 36; Supreme Court decision cites his testimony, 8 June 1972, *State of Idaho v. Tinno,* 04 Idaho 759. For further discussions about the use of the verb "tygi," see also: Emory Tendoy, Interviewer Jeannette Wolfley, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 26, 1997), p. 17 {Hereafter Emory Tendoy, August 26, 1997}; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo), Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Four, p. 44 {Hereafter Salmon River, Transcript Four}; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Five, pp. 17, 19; {Hereafter Salmon River, Transcript Five}; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewers Patricia C. Albers & Jennifer Lowry, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Six, p. 37 {Hereafter Salmon River, Transcript Six}.

3 Berverly Crum and Jon Dayley, "Western Shoshoni Grammar," *Occasional Papers and Monographs in Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics* (Boise: Boise State University, 1993), Vol. 1, p. 265.

4 In English, while the verb, "to hunt," is restricted, at least conventionally, to the act of searching for and securing wild animals, it can also be extended metaphorically to other contexts including the popular expression "to hunt for a house." In contrast to the Shoshone language, where it is a conventional and standard practice to use the term "hunt" to gloss the procurement of a whole range of wild foods, this is not the case in English.

> spreading out in different directions to gather food. Roots near Fairfield, Camas Prairie, and out [northward] for salmon fish. Out they way [east] buffalo and game. And some go south for salt...that's kind of rare.[5]

It is critical to know that the verb "to hunt" has a much more inclusive usage and meaning in the Shoshone and Bannock languages in order to understand how the Shoshone-Bannock most likely interpreted the wording of their treaties with the United States government. This is especially true of the Fort Bridger treaty which contains liberal provisions that protect the right of the Shoshone-Bannock at Fort Hall to "hunt" at off-reservation locations.

3.B: FISH HARVESTED BY THE SHOSHONE-BANNOCK

As already documented from sources in the historic and ethnographic record, fish contributed substantially to Shoshone-Bannock diets, and they were hunted in all seasons throughout the Shoshone-Bannock's vast areas of occupation. Nutritionally, salmon and other fish compare with beef, eggs, and milk in providing essential amino acids. Anadromous fish species supply iodine, and fish roe contains up to five times as much

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5 Allen Turner, "The Realm of the Sacred," in *Shoshone-Bannock Culture History,* Richard Holmer, ed. (Pocatello: Idaho State University, Swanson/Crabtree Anthropological Research Lab. Reports of Investigations 85-16, 1985), p. 36.

iodine as fish flesh.[6] Fish supply Thiamine (B_1), riboflavin (B_2), calcium, and phosphorus.[7] The liver in fish is a good source for Vitamins A and D. The fat content of fish, which supplies these important vitamins and amino acids,[8] varies by species and season, and it differs among anadromous fish by location, depending on whether they are caught on the lower Columbia or on its upper reaches along the Salmon and Snake Rivers.[9]

The caloric values of fish also vary by species. Erhard Rostlund's study shows that calories per average pound of edible fish are highest for salmon, eel, and catfish (1,000). Lamprey and lake trout are around 800 calories per pound, while whitefish and shad are between 600 and 700 calories per pound. Sturgeon, carp, lake herring, and brook trout, on the other hand, provide from 400 to 500 calories per pound.[10] Squawfish, chub, and other Cyprinidae were not analyzed, but Rostlund suggests these fish are probably similar to carp in calories.[11]

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6 Erhard Rostlund, *Freshwater Fish and Fishing in Native North America* (Berkeley: University of California Publications in Geography, 1952), Vol. 9, p. 3.

7 Ibid., 3-4.

8 Mark G. Plew, "Implications of Nutritional Potential of Anadromous Fish Resources of the Western Snake River Plain," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* (1983), Vol. 5 (1&2), pp. 58-65.

9 Rostlund, op. cit., 4-5.

10 Ibid., 5-6.

11 Ibid., 5.

Although fish are rich in protein, they are deficient in carbohydrates.[12] The Shoshone-Bannock's heavy consumption of carbohydrate-rich roots, seeds, and nuts made up for this deficiency. In combination with camas, spring beauty, bitterroot, and wild carrot, the fish and meat taken by Shoshone-Bannock in historic times provided them a balanced and well-rounded diet. Even though the Shoshone-Bannock sometimes faced food scarcity, particularly during the winter months, their waterways and lands provided them a solid and predictable nutritional base overall. Indeed, Rostlund suggests that per unit area (excluding farm regions) aquatic resources produced more food than land-based ones in many areas of the West.[13]

For generations, the Shoshone-Bannock of Idaho have fished a variety of anadromous and non-anadromous species. Below Shoshone Falls on the Snake River and throughout the Salmon River basin, fish were a mainstay in Shoshone-Bannock diets. Above the falls and at riverine locations farther east, fish also contributed substantially to the Shoshone-Bannock's food base. Today fish remain a vital part of subsistence for the Shoshone-Bannock who are enrolled members of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of Idaho. Every year, large numbers of the tribe's men and women harvest fish at customary locations on and off their reservation. Fish are

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[12] Ibid., 3.

[13] Ibid., 6.

eaten fresh in season, but large quantities are also frozen and stored for use at other times.[14]

3.B.1: ANADROMOUS FISH SPECIES - Salmon provided the Shoshone-Bannock of Idaho with their most abundant and predictable supplies of fish. For those who lived along the waterways of the Salmon and its tributaries or along the Snake below Shoshone Falls, anadromous fish were the primary aquatic food resource. On the Snake River, Shoshone Falls was the absolute limit of salmon migration, while Auger Falls, the Upper and Lower Salmon Falls, seriously impeded their upstream movements. Some anadromous species also entered the tributaries of the Snake but did not move far upstream.[15] Even the Shoshone-Bannock who wintered on waterways above the salmon runs, relied on anadromous fish and annually traveled to fisheries downstream where various species could be caught on a regular and recurring basis.

3.B.11: *Agai?i* (salmon) - The Shoshone-Bannock distinguished several

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[14] Mrs. Jesse Taylor in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 78; Arthur Tendoy, in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 145; Gerald Tinno in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 179, 181.

[15] Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Sociopolitical Groups* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970 [Reprint of 1938 edition]), p. 42.

runs of anadromous fish most of which were called *agai?i.*[16] Since only the Chinook species of salmon reach Shoshone-Bannock waterways in great quantities, some of the fish called agai are not true salmon.[17] The Shoshone-Bannock commonly distinguish *agai?i* according to their seasonal runs or the locations they typically frequented.

The fish which ran in the spring along the middle Snake were known as *tohmo agai?i*, literally "spring salmon."[18] According to Julian Steward, this was probably *salmo gairdneri,* or the steelhead,[19] a trout not a salmon. The sea-run form, known as the Richardson or salmon trout, is much larger than its inland cousin, the rainbow trout. William Sigler and John Sigler maintain that steelhead were native to the Snake River and its tributaries as far upstream as Shoshone Falls.[20] Steelhead reach the waterways of Idaho from December to March and spawn during the late winter and

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16 Ibid; Druscilla Gould, *Shoshone Dictionary* (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, 1986), p. 48; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #1: Lydia Stone, Princess Stone, Francis Navo, Layton Littlejohn, Walter Nevada, Cina Kaiyou, Ida Bronco, & Minnie Phelps), Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript One, p. 11. {Hereafter Salmon River, Transcript One}; Zelphia Towersap, *Bannock Dictionary* (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, n.d.), p. 27.

17 Julian Steward, "Culture Element Distributions: XXIII: Northern and Gosiute Shoshoni," *Anthropological Records* (1943), Vol. 8 (3), p. 268.

18 Steward (1938), op. cit., 42, 168, 190. see also: Turner, op. cit., 20.

19 Steward, ibid.

20 William F. Sigler and John W. Sigler, *Fishes of the Great Basin: A Natural History* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1987), p. 120.

spring.[21]

Before dams were built along the Snake, the runs of *tohmo agai?i* took place from March to April. One of the best locations for harvesting these fish was at the upper and lower falls near Hagerman. They were commonly caught in nets but were also taken with dams, weirs, or hooks.[22] On the Salmon River, they can be harvested throughout the winter but are usually caught in March when they enter the smaller streams to spawn.[23] *Oncorhynchus tschawytscha* (Walbaum) or chinook salmon are probably what Shoshone speakers on the Lemhi and Salmon Rivers call *agai?i,* while those on the middle Snake address them by several names. The expression *taza agai?i* "summer salmon" is used for the early runs in May or June. Glenn's Ferry was known as a good location to catch this salmon in historic times.[24] *Kua agai?i* "weir salmon" or *yuva aagai?i* "fall salmon"

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21 Steward (1938), op. cit., 42.

22 Ibid., 167.

23 Ibid., 190.

24 Lasalle and Louella Pocatello, Russell Pokibro and Daisy St. Clair, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History Interview (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, January 16, 1980), p. 24.

are names applied to the later runs from August through October.[25] When chinook ascend the small streams to spawn in the summer, they are also known as *wovi agai?i,* "log salmon."[26] Locally the *wovi agai?i* are called "dog salmon," although the true dog salmon never ascended the Snake or the Salmon.[27] Steward maintains that chinook arrived on the middle Snake as early as May or June, although the major spawning runs took place between July and September.[28] Chinook are taken on the Salmon River and its tributaries during the month of August.[29] David Jordan and Barton Evermann indicate chinook spawn at the headwaters of the Salmon River from August to early September, while those ascending the Snake River

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25 Steward (1938), op. cit., 42, 168; see also, Julia Ballard, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 11, Unpublished Field Notebooks (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, June 12, 1959), p. 43 [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division] {Hereafter, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook}; Lizzie Edmo, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 11 (June 7, 1959), p. 21; Josephine Thorpe, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 5 (January 29, 1958), p. 14 for the Bannock versions.

26 Steward (1938), op. cit., 43, 168; Turner, op. cit., 20; see also: Louis Davis, Sven Liljeblad Interviewer, Notebook 41 (1952), p. 11 for Northern Paiute names. Some contemporary tribal elders use this term to denote the third seasonal run of salmon and interpret it as interchangeable with the expression *yuha agai ?i* , "fall salmon." Jonah Mink, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, July 2, 1997), p. 5; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #1: Lydia Stone, Princess Stone, Francis Navo, Layton Littlejohn, Walter Nevada, Cina Kaiyou, Ida Bronco, & Minnie Phelps), Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript One, p. 11; Salmon River, Transcript Four, op. cit., 23; Salmon River, Transcript Six, op. cit., 18.

27 Steward, ibid., 43, 168; Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., p. 3.

28 Ibid., 43.

29 Ibid., 190.

spawned as late as October.[30] During their runs the chinook are trapped and speared in a variety of different manners.[31] After the spawning season, when the chinook are ridden with sores and emaciated, they can be gleaned by hand as well.

Another variety of salmon, called *anga agai?i,* "red salmon," is caught in the Salmon River drainage.[32] This is the *oncorhynchus nerka*, sockeye, red salmon or redfish, which ascends the Payette and Salmon rivers to spawn from July to August.[33] In Idaho's Alturas, Pettit, Redfish, and Big Payette Lakes, there is also a dwarf, non-sea-run form of the sockeye.[34]

3.B.12: *Patokwa/Padoga* (Lamprey) - Another anadromous species utilized by the Shoshone-Bannock is the 3-tooth lamprey, *Entosphenus tridentatus* (Gairdner). Eels migrate between fresh water and sea water, but unlike salmon, they head out to sea to spawn and return to freshwater for their growth period.[35] The lamprey is found in the Salmon and in the Snake River below the falls.[36] One specific site where lamprey were often caught is

30 David S. Jordan and Barton W. Evermann, *American Food and Game Fishes* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969), p. 152.

31 Steward (1938), op. cit., 168, 191.

32 Ibid, 43, 190; see also: Lizzie Edmo, op. cit., 21.

33 Jordan & Evermann, op. cit., 155; Steward , ibid., 43, 190.

34 Jordan & Evermann, ibid., 156.

35 Jordan & Evermann, ibid., 76-82.

36 Steward (1938), op. cit., 43, 190.

north of the town of Ellis on the Salmon.[37] Bannock speakers called the lamprey, *patokwa,* "water snake,"[38] while Shoshone speakers called it *pado'oa,* [39] *padoga*, or alternatively *pahdo?a,* on the Lemhi River,[40] and *paæ sunuwiyo* at Wind River.[41]

3.B.13: *Pakkwi pap?i* (Sturgeon) - The third anadromous species which the Shoshone-Bannock took was *Acipenser transmontane* (Gairdner), the Columbia River sturgeon and its cousins, the Oregon and white sturgeon. These fish are large, known to reach weights upwards of 650 pounds.[42] They were commonly taken before the falls of the Snake River where the catches were reported in early historic sources[43] and in oral histories.[44] The sturgeon, like the salmon, is ordinarily anadromous but some remain in fresh water throughout the year. They were caught from March to October

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37 Mink, op. cit., 6.

38 Wick Miller, "Numic Languages," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 11: Great Basin*, Warren D'Azevado, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), p. 103.

39 Steward, op. cit., 43.

40 Ibid., 190; Salmon River, Transcript One, op. cit., 10.

41 Demitri Shimkin, "Wind River Shoshone Ethnogeography," *Anthropological Records* (1947), Vol. 5(4), p. 278.

42 Jordan & Evermann, op. cit., 5.

43 E. E. Rich & A. M. Johnson, *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1824-1825 and 1825-1826 , Vol. XIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1950), p. 71; Frederick Young, ed., *The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth 1831-1836* (New York: Arno Press), p. 169.

44 Mink, op. cit., 11; Lasalle and Louella Pocatello, Pokibro & St. Clair, op. cit., p. 24.

in the Snake River, typically appearing at the Upper Falls following the high waters in spring and remaining until winter.[45] Shoshone speakers called the sturgeon, *pakkwi pap?i*, "the big brother of the fishes"[46] or *aga?ipap?i* , "big brother of salmon."[47] In Bannock, one name given is *penkwipop?i,* "big brother of fishes."[48]

3.B.2: NON-ANADROMOUS FISH SPECIES - Besides the salmon, several varieties of non-anadromous fish were important to the Shoshone-Bannock throughout their many and diverse areas of occupation. Non-anadromous fish are identified generically by the names *bai?ngwe* [49] or *pankwi* [50] in Shoshone and *pakwidae* [51] in Bannock. Historically, there were many different species of non-anadromous fish in southern Idaho and adjoining states. Some of the more common such as trout and suckers are easily matched with the names given them in the Shoshone and Bannock

45 Jordan & Evermann, op. cit., 5-6.

46 Miller, op. cit., 103; Lasalle & Louella Pocatello, Pokibro & Daisy St. Clair, op. cit., 24.

47 Yellowstone Group Interview, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), Transcript One {Hereafter Yellowstone, Transcript One}(Alfred Navo speaking), p. 1.

48 Salmon River, Transcript One (Layton Littlejohn speaking), p. 14.

49 Gould, op. cit., 24.

50 Lizzie Edmo, Sven Liljeblad Interviewer, Notebook 11 (1959), p. 22; Bessie Judson, Sven Liljeblad Interviewer, Notebook 6 (1951), p. 48; Norman Tinno, Sven Liljeblad Interviewer, Notebook 6 (1957), p. 27.

51 Towersap, op. cit.,16.

languages. Others, however, are not so easy to identify and cross-reference. Ethnographers and linguists elicited names for several different fish in the Shoshone and Bannock languages but did not correlate these ascriptions with a specific biological nomenclature. They also identified some of the species in local waterways by their scientific names but did not designate them either in the Shoshone or Bannock tongue.

3.B.21: ***Tsapai?ngwi/Pishapakwi*** **(Trout)** - Trout are found in streams, rivers, and lakes throughout Idaho and are less "seasonal" than salmon.[52] The cut-throat or black-spotted trout *Salmo mykiss* (Walbaum), Dolly Varden trout, *Salvelinus parkei*, and rainbow trout *Salmo gairdneri* (Richardson), are common in Idaho rivers, although Sigler and Sigler claim that the cut-throat is the only trout native to the region.[53]

The cut-throat is the main trout in the area, and it is probably the one called *tsapankwi* or*tsapain?gwi* "good fish" by Shoshone speakers [54] or *ca:ppenkwi* or *pishapakwi* by the Bannock.[55] The Dolly Varden, also called salmon trout in Montana or bull trout in Idaho (and elsewhere charr,

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[52] Mink, op. cit., 5.

[53] Sigler & Sigler, op. cit., 113.

[54] Gould, op. cit., 56; Steward (1938), op. cit., 43, 190; Tinno, op. cit., 44; Salmon River, Transcript Five, op. cit., p. 18; Yellowstone Interview (Emory Tendoy), Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, Fieldnotes {Hereafter, Lowry fieldnotes} (October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 1.

[55] Lizzie Edmo, Sven Liljeblad Interviewer, Notebook 6 (1949), p. 6; Notebook 13 (1959), p. 2; Miller, op. cit., 103; Towersap, op. cit., 31.

western charr, or Oregon charr), is found in streams and lakes throughout the Northwest.[56] *Isasonko,* "Coyote's lungs," is one name given in Shoshone for this species of trout[57] and another is *tsapa?ingwipi?a,* "Big Trout."[58] Shoshone and Bannock names for other varieties of trout are found in published and unpublished sources, but their biological nomenclature is unidentified.[59]

3.B.22: ***Mugucu?u/ Mudziwihü'*** **(Whitefish)** - Whitefish are native to the Great Basin. The *Coregonus williamsoni* (Girard) or *Prosopium williamsoni* are found throughout the region.[60] The Rocky Mountain whitefish or mountain herring is probably synonymous with the Bannock term *mu'gu'c?u* [61] or the Shoshone name, *mudziwihü',* "pointed nose."[62] This fish has been reported in waterways throughout the territory of the Shoshone-Bannock. In addition to whitefish that were ubiquitous in the region, there were

56 Jordan & Evermann, op. cit., 210-11.

57 Miller, op. cit., 103.; Turner, op. cit., 20.

58 Lowry Fieldnotes, op. cit., 1.

59 Albert Cawson, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 3 (1950), p. 35; Lizzie Edmo, Interviewer Liljeblad, Notebook 6 (1949), p. 67; Notebook 20 (1952), p. 33; Notebook 13 (1959), p. 2; Norman Tinno, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 6 (1957), p. 28; Steward (1938), op. cit., 168, 205.

60 Johnny Carrey & Cort Conley, *The Middle Fork & The Sheepeater War* (Cambridge, Idaho: Backeddy Books, 1977), p. 220; Sigler and Sigler, op. cit., 356.

61 Bessie Judson, op. cit., 63, 67, 81.

62 Steward (1938), op. cit., 40-41, 43, 190. For variations, see, Lizzie Edmo, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 10 (1952), p. 33; Cawson, op. cit., p. 35; Shimkin, op. cit., 278; Turner, op. cit., 20;

several local and rare varieties, including three native to Bear Lake: the Bear Lake whitefish (*Prosopium abyssicola*), Bonneville cisco (*Prosopium gemmiferum*), and the Bonneville whitefish (*Prosopium spilonotus*).[63]

3.B.23: *Aywa'gu/Mugade?e* (Sucker) - Sucker are also native to Idaho, and there are many different species in this state and in neighboring ones as well. The *Pantosteus jordani* (black or blue sucker) occurs throughout the Snake River basin.[64] *Catostomus pocatello* (moogadee)[65] is prevalent along the Snake and is eaten by the Shoshone-Bannock at Fort Hall.[66] *Catostomus macrocheilus* (Columbia River or yellow sucker)[67] is abundant in Redfish Lake, but is not known to occur in the Snake River basin above Shoshone Falls.[68] On the Bear River, there is the *Catostomus fecundus* (Cope, Yarrow, or Utah Lake sucker) and along the Humboldt River at least eight different varieties of sucker have been identified.[69]

Most of the Shoshone and Bannock names for sucker are very similar. *Mgade?e* "holding with the mouth" is probably the *Catostomus pocatello*

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63 Sigler and Sigler, op. cit., 355-56.

64 Steward (1938), op. cit., 43.

65 Jordan & Evermann, op. cit., 53.

66 Ibid., 53.

67 Steward (1938), op. cit., 43.

68 Jordan & Evermann, op. cit., 50-51.

69 Steward (1938), op. cit., 41.

variety.[70] Another word for sucker is *auwok*, which was used by Shoshone along the Bear River and probably refers to the *Castostomus fecundus* species.[71] *Aywa'gu* is one name in Bannock for sucker.[72]

3.B.24: *Ondamaya* (Squawfish) - *Ptychocheilus oregonensis*, or squawfish, inhabits the waters of the Snake and Salmon Rivers.[73] Also known as the Sacramento pike, big-mouth, box-head, yellow-belly, and chappaul, it is also abundant in Idaho's lakes.[74] According to Jonah Mink, squawfish were caught on the Salmon River,[75] and they were a favorite fish of the Shoshone-Bannock who traveled this area. As he says,

> To a white man it's that 'trash' fish, Squaw fish. Squaw fish is a favorite of the people. White people call it trash fish and they won't eat it. I don't know why.[76]

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70 Ibid., 190, 205; see also, Willie Martin, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 1, (1950), p. 4; William Tendoy, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 6 (1941), p. 13; Crum & Dayley, op. cit., 272; Gould, op. cit., 53; Salmon River, Transcript Four, 40; Turner, op. cit., 20.

71 Yellowstone Interview (Alfred & Lois Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 2 (Hereafter Yellowstone, Alfred & Lois Navo); Steward (1938), op. cit., 41, 179. A similar name for sucker is also used by Shoshone speakers at Wind River, although it is unclear whether this is the same variety. Shimkin, op. cit., 278.

72 Lizzie Edmo, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 18 (1952), p. 74; Willie Martin, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 13 (1950), p. 4; Lizzie Edmo, Notebook 10, op. cit., 33; Bessie Judson, op. cit., 81.

73 Steward (1938), op. cit., 43.

74 Jordan & Evermann, op. cit., 68-9.

75 Mink, op. cit. 11.

76 Ibid., 5.

The squawfish were called *ondiawox* by Shoshone speakers who fished the Owyhee River[77] or *ondamaya,* "yellow fin" by those from the Lemhi and Salmon River area.[78] These names are consistent with those used by contemporary Shoshone-Bannock elders.[79]

3.B.25: Minnows and Chub - Minnows, chub, and other small fishes were also abundant in the rivers and lakes of Idaho and neighboring states. Jordan and Evermann indicate there are about two-hundred and twenty-five known species of minnows in North America.[80] Small species were reported throughout the historic and ethnographic record as an important source of food especially when other fish were unavailable.[81]

Julian Steward gave the scientific names of several small species of fish which he believed were used for food, but he never matched any of them with their identities in the Shoshone or Bannock languages. Some of the minnows he listed included *Leuciscus balteatus*, found below Shoshone Falls, *L. hydrophlox* located above the falls, *Uranidea bendirei* limited to Goose Creek, and *Cottus Leiopomus* concentrated in the Little Wood River.[82] He also

77 Steward (1938), op. cit., 168.

78 Ibid. 190.

79 Salmon River, Transcript One, op. cit., p. 10; Salmon River, Transcript Four, op. cit., 24.

80 Jordan & Evermann, op. cit., 67.

81 Steward (1938), op. cit., 42.

82 Ibid., 43.

mentioned that there were numerous small fish in Bear Lake and the Bear River.[83]

Besides the varieties of minnows, numerous species of chub frequented the waters in Shoshone-Bannock territory. *Myocheilus caurinus* or Columbia chub occurred in large schools in the Snake River to Shoshone Falls.[84] They were abundant at fishing sites, attracted to the offal thrown into the river during the salmon harvest.[85] Sometimes they are called fresh-water herring or whitefish, but they are actually part of the minnow family of fishes.[86] Chub also frequented Bear Lake and the Bear River, both of which were reported as favorite sites for this fish by the Shoshone-Bannock of eastern Idaho.[87]

Steward also reported several Shoshone names for small species of fish but did not identify them with any biological nomenclature. He gives *wizabankwi* as the name for perch in Shoshone[88] and reports its presence by a similar name in the Bear River area, *widjavankw*.[89] Tribal elders give

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83 Ibid., 41.

84 Ibid, 43.

85 Jordan & Evermann, op. cit., 73.

86 Jordan & Evermann, ibid, 72-73.

87 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 328.

88 Steward (1938), op. cit., 205.

89 Ibid., 177.

the name *widja pengwi* "fish with the leg," and identify it emphatically as a chub.[90] Another variety with an unknown scientific identity is called *puhiw?a?a,* "green stripes," and reported in the vicinity of the Salmon and Lemhi Rivers.[91] The same name is also recorded for Shoshone speakers on the Owyhee River.[92] *Tasigi,* according to Steward, was a name given for a green-striped minnow at Fort Hall.[93] Another variety of minnow was called *awito'o* in the Lemhi area and described as six inches longer than the green-stripe variety but with the appearance of a catfish.[94] And finally, minnow, known as *natzika?a* was located along the middle reaches of the Snake *natzika' a*.[95]

3.B.26: Pickering and Perch - *Acrocheilus alutaceus,* the Agassiz and Pickering, chisel-mouth, square-mouth, or hard-mouth is another fish which Steward suggested might have been taken as food by the Shoshone-Bannock.[96] It occurred throughout the Snake River[97] and in the Harney-Malheur river

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90 Yellowstone, Alfred & Lois Navo, op. cit., 2.

91 Steward (1938), op. cit., 190.

92 Crum & Daley, op. cit., 281.

93 Steward (1938), op. cit., 205.

94 Ibid., 190.

95 Ibid., 168.

96 Ibid., 43.

97 Ibid.

system of the Great Basin.[98] Neither a Shoshone or a Bannock name has been discovered for this species.

Steward also refers to the perch as a fish which could be taken in the tributaries of the Snake River above American Falls,[99] although no other information regarding its existence in these waters has been found. Modern day elders did not have a name for perch, nor did any of those asked recognize this as a species in local waters.[100]

3.C: FISHING TECHNOLOGY

The Shoshone-Bannock used a variety of tools and techniques to procure and preserve fish. Many of these were complex, comparing well with the productive technologies of other American Indian populations who lived along the lower Columbia River. The widespread presence of sophisticated fishing equipment in the material cultural inventories of Idaho's Shoshone-Bannock demonstrate quite clearly that these were a fishing people.[101]

3.C.1 - PROCUREMENT TECHNOLOGIES - The devices and methods which the

[98] Sigler and Sigler, op. cit., 149-50.

[99] Ibid., 177.

[100] Salmon River, Transcript One, op. cit., 10.

[101] Deward E. Walker, Jr., "Lemhi Shoshone-Bannock Reliance on Anadromous and Other Fish Resources," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* (1993) Vol. 27 (2), pp. 215, 246.

Shoshone-Bannock used to catch fish varied according to the kinds of fish taken, the sites where these were procured, and the seasons when they were harvested. The Shoshone-Bannock employed encatchment devices such as weirs, dams, basketry traps, nets, and hooks; they hunted with projectile devices including harpoons, spears, bows and arrows, and finally, they caught fish by gleaning and poisons.

3.C.11: Encatchment Devices - Historically, the Shoshone-Bannock followed a variety of encatchment techniques and technologies to herd and harvest large quantities of fish. Although weirs, dams, basketry traps, nets, and hooks were employed alone,[102] they were also used in combination.[103]

3.C.11a: Weirs, Dams and Traps - The earliest description of a large encatchment device for "driving" fish comes from the Salmon-Lemhi region. On August 21, 1805, Meriwether Lewis offered a detailed description of a weir on the Lemhi, a few miles southeast of present day Salmon, Idaho:[104]

> This morning early Capt. C. resumed his march; at the distance of five miles he arrived at some

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102 Steward (1938), op. cit., 191.

103 Ibid., 169, 179, 187, 190-91, 194.

104 Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *Original Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D., ed. (New York: Antiquarian Press, Ltd., 1959), Vol. 3, pp. 6-7, 39 {Hereafter Lewis & Clark T}; Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, Gary E. Moulton, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), Vol. 5, pp. 134-38, 140-41 {Hereafter Lewis & Clark M}. (This weir is marked "were for fishing," and it is also found on Lewis and Clark map 67 in the Atlas of Moulton's edition of their journals.)

brush lodges of the Shoshones inhabited by about seven families...after smoking with them he visited their fish wear [weir] which was about 200 yds. distant. he found the wear extended across four channels of the river which was here divided by three small islands. three of these channels were narrow, and were stoped by means of trees fallen across, supported by which stakes of willow were driven down sufficiently near each other to prevent the salmon from passing. about the center of each a cilindric basket of eighteen or 20 feet in length terminating in a conic shape at its lower extremity, formed of willows, was opposed to a small aperture in the wear with it's mouth up stream to receive the fish. the main channel of the water was conducted to this basket, which was so narrow at it's lower extremity that the fish when once in could not turn itself about, and were taken out by untying the small ends of the longitudinal willows, which form the hull of the basket. the wear in the main channel was somewhat differently contrived. there were two distinct wears formed of poles and willow sticks, quite across the river, at no great distance from each other. each of these, were furnished with two baskets; the one wear to take them ascending and the other in descending. in constructing these wears, poles were first tyed together in parcels of three near the smaller extremity; these were set on end, and spread in a triangular form at the base, in such manner, that two of the three poles ranged in the direction of the intended work, and the third down the stream. two ranges of horizontal poles were next lashed with willow bark and wythes to the ranging poles, and on those willow sticks were placed perpendicularly, reaching from the bottom of the river to about 3 or four feet above it's surface; and placed so near each other, as not to

> permit the passage of the fish, and even so thick in some parts as with the help of gravel and stone to give a direction to the water which they wished. the baskets were the same in form of the others. this is the form of the work, and disposition of the baskets.[105]

This device for catching salmon combined weirs, dams, and basketry traps, and William Clark provided a graphic sketch of its design with detailed notes (see Appendix C). It suggests that wooden logs were used to divert the fish, while rocks were employed to dam and control the flow of water between the weirs. Other reports of weirs were also contained in the expedition's journals.[106]

Fifty years later, on July 2, David Moore, a Latter-day Saint missionary, described a similar device for herding salmon at another location along the Lemhi River.

> The Indians are making a trap to catch them in as they pass up the river. this is done by putting a kind of frame across the river in two places about 2 or 3 rods apart and leaving small doorways in the small willow work of the tower frame to allow the fish to pass the small willows are placed against two poles that is lashed on the upper side of the frame, so that the big end of them sits on the bottom of the river. those small willows are firstly woven together with bark and

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105 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3: 6-7; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5: 134-38, 140-41. (This weir was probably located about four miles north of Tendoy, Idaho, near where Kenny Creek joins the Lemhi; see Moulton's Atlas map 67.)

106 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3: 8-10, 44.

> them set along in rocks. the upper frame work and willows are aimed to be so tight that the fish cannot get through. at the same time giving ample room for the water to pass between the willows. The willows of the upper rack are but shorter than those of the Lower Rack and stand sloping down stream, which allows the salmon to leap over the top of them, and fall into a basket when they are about sure to remain.[107]

And the following year another missionary, Jacob Miller, assisted the Shoshone-Bannock in putting up their willow baskets and dams near Fort Lemhi in the spring. As he described it:

> aided the indians to put in a fish trap to catch Salmon, consisting of two sets of triangle posts 3 posts lashed together reaching across the river and two posts lashed to each set and Small willows tied together with the peeled bark, set from the upper side against the poles and rock placed against the parts standing in the water and the upper set such that they are so close that the fish cannot(?). And holes placed across on each side of the upper holes so that when the fish try to jump over they are caught between the poles.
>
> The lower line is such that the fish pass through round openings of willows like baskets, move past way down and the unwoven part all coming to a point, Such that they open to let the fish through, but close to prevent them from going back down the Stream except that they are closed at the point and the fish starting to go down Stream are caught in those baskets. Some of which are made several feet long and can be

[107] Salmon River Mission Journal 1855-1858. Unpublished manuscript (Salt Lake City: LDS Church Archives), p. 35.

> detached with the fish caught after the bull pen, as we call the place between the two dams, has been cleaned of fish.
>
> Indians catch with spears or harpoons those in the bull pen when it is cleaned those caught in the rack of the upper dam are divided by the chief those caught in the lower baskets belong to those who prepare the baskets and each one has those who catches in the pen and each morning the catching game goes on during the Salmon Season.[108]

Eight decades after Lewis and Clark arrived on the Lemhi River, Robert Woodbridge, the agent for the Lemhi Reservation wrote to the commissioner of Indian affairs, on March 23 that the Lemhi Indians were still using weirs to catch salmon and other fish.[109] Ethnographers also described weirs, dams, and traps at these locations,[110] and oral history reports further confirm that fish weirs and traps were used on the Salmon River and its tributaries, the Lemhi and Pahsimeroi, through the early

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108 Jacob Miller, *Original Pioneer Journal of Jacob Miller, 1809-1856.* Unpublished manuscript (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, Marriott Library Special Collections), pp. 62-63.

109 Robert Woodbridge to CIA, 23 March 1885, USNA, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Letters Received, 1881-1907.*

110 Robert H. Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone," *Anthropological Papers of the American Musuem of Natural History* (1909), Vol. 2 (2), pp. 186-87; Robert F. Murphy & Yolanda Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society," *Anthropological Records* (1960), Vol. 16(6), p. 331; Steward (1938), op. cit., 190-91; Steward (1943), op. cit., 269, 298;

decades of the twentieth century.[111]

Although some of the most detailed historic accounts of Shoshone-Bannock weir fishing come from the Lemhi River region, there are many references to the characteristics of weirs, dams, traps, and nets at other locations. The Snake River and its various tributaries were the sites of several weirs. Peter Skene Ogden noted a weir at the mouth of the Bruneau River on June 23, 1826,[112] and one along the Owyhee River on July 3, 1828.[113] John Work mentioned a fish weir along the John Day River on July 16, 1832,[114] and two months later, on September 19, Nathaniel Wyeth, an American fur trader, described how Shoshone-Bannock employed dams to catch fish on the Bruneau.[115] At the same date and location, John Ball, who accompanied Wyeth's expedition offered a detailed description of Shoshone-Bannock weir fishing. He wrote:

> The manner of fishing was ingenious. The stream was shallow and they built a fence across it near its mouth and then some distance above, leaving weirs at one side, so that the fish coming down or

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111 Cawson, op. cit., 19; Edmo, Notebook 11, op. cit., 20; Mink, op. cit., 50-52; Salmon River, Transcript One, op. cit., 15; Salmon River, Transcript Four, op. cit., 44; Tendoy, op. cit., 38.

112 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 193.

113 Glyndr Williams, ed., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1827-1828 and 1828-1829* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society), Vol. XXVIII, p. 92.

114 William S. Lewis & Paul C. Phillips, eds., *The Journal of John Work* (Cleveland: The Arthur Clark Company, 1923), p. 173.

115 Young, op. cit., 167-68.

> going up would come in, but would not find their way out.[116]

And in 1848, Wyeth recollected how fish were caught in weirs at night:

> These Indians [Snake River Shoshone] are very expert in the use of this instrument [the harpoon], and take many fish at all the falls and rapid waters, and construct, on small streams, barriers of stones or brush, to force the fish into certain places, where they watch for them, often at night with a light.[117]

Another good account of weir fishing comes from John Kirk Townsend, another of Wyeth's associates, who wrote on August 24, 1834 at the mouth of the Malheur River:

> 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, placed 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 then is used dexterously, and they are thrown out, one by one, upon the shore.[118]

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116 John Ball, *The Autobiography of John Ball, 1794-1894* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur Clark Co., 1925), p. 84.

117 Nathaniel Wyeth, "Indian Tribes of the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains; The Salt Lake Basin, the Valley of the Great Saaptin, or Lewis' River, and the Pacific Coasts of Oregon," Henry R. Schoolcraft, ed., *Information Respecting the Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Part I* (Philadelphia: Lippencott, Grambo & Co, 1851), p. 213.

118 John Kirk Townsend, *Narrative of a Journey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1978), p. 154-55.

And Capt. Benjamin Bonneville, who passed the Salmon Falls in July of 1834, described how the Shoshone-Bannock combined spear fishing with the use of weirs. As he reported:

> These fish are taken in great numbers at the numerous falls of about four feet pitch. The Indians flank the shallow water just below, and spear them as they attempt to pass. In wide parts of the river, also, they place a sort...of withes, and forming an angle in the middle of the current where a small opening is left for the salmon to pass. Around this opening the Indians station themselves on small rafts, and ply their spears with great success.[119]

Emigrants on the Overland Trail also noted weirs and dams near Salmon Falls. In 1837 Asahel Munger described "rapids where they catch fish (which run up into places made for the purpose, with stones) with their hands."[120] In the next decade, members of Fremont's expedition observed these devices too. On the 1st of October in 1843, Fremont himself included a description in his journal at Kanaka Rapids,[121] and three days later, another member of his party, Frederick Talbot, described one of the weirs as follows:

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119 Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville,* Edgeley W. Todd, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 332-33.

120 Asahel Munger and Wife, "Diary of Asahel Munger and Wife," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (December, 1907), Vol. 8, p. 401.

121 Donald Jackson & Mary Lee Spence, *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont. Volume I: Travels 1838-1844* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. 528-30.

> This morning we passed many ingenious snares and wears placed in the river for catching fish. The Indians are frequently at great labor to dam up parts of the river, making these artificial channels which much facilitate obtaining the salmon.[122]

George Goodheart, a trapper, recalled fish traps built on Rock Creek in the 1840s,[123] while W. S. Walgamott, an early settler, remembered their presence in the area during the 1870s.[124] Finally, ethnographers noted several weir, dam, and basketry trap sites along the Snake and its tributaries, which included locations along the middle reaches of the Snake at Glenn's Ferry and Hagerman,[125] as well as along the Payette, Weiser, and other tributaries of the lower Snake.[126]

Above the salmon runs on the Snake River, encatchment devices were used for harvesting non-anadromous fish as well. In the spring of 1833, Bonneville arrived at Fort Hall where he found Shoshone-Bannock catching trout and other fish in traps.[127] On July 19, 1849, Alonzo Delano observed

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122 Theodore Talbot, *The Journals of Theodore Talbot 1843 and 1849-52*, Charles H. Carey, ed. (Portland, OR: Metropolitan Press, 1931), pp. 54-55.

123 Charles Walgamott, *Reminiscences of Early Days, Vol. 1* (Twin Falls, Idaho: C. S. Walgamott, 1926), p. 29.

124 Ibid., 41.

125 Steward (1938), op. cit., 167, 169; Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 322.

126 Steward, ibid., 203; Murphy & Murphy, ibid., 319.

127 Irving, op. cit., 224.

Shoshone-Bannock swimming across the Snake near American Falls, pushing a willow frame before them.[128] Weirs were also reported on other watercourses. John Charles Fremont's travel journals contain a description of a weir on the Malad River. On September 1, 1843, he wrote:

> As we were stealing quietly down the stream, trying in vain to get a shot at a strange large bird that was numerous among the willows, but very shy, we came unexpectedly upon several families of *Root Diggers*, who were encamped among the rushes on the shore and appeared very busy about several weirs or nets which had been rudely made of canes and rushes for the purposes of catching fish.[129]

And in 1876 John Bourke described a weir, dam, and driving method used by the Shoshone of the Wind River area:

> They did not bother much about hooks and lines, flies, casts, and appliances and tricks of that kind, but set to work methodically to get the biggest mess the streams would yield. They made a dam of rocks and wattle-work of willow, through which the water could pass without much impediment, but which would retain all solids. Two or three young men would stay by this dam or framework as guards to repair accidents. The others of the party, mounting their ponies, would start downstream to a favorable location and there enter and begin the ascent of the current, keeping their ponies in touch, lashing the surface of the stream in their front with long poles, and

128 Alonzo Delano, *Life on the Plains and Among the Diggings* (New York: Readex Microprint Corporation), pp. 143-44.

129 Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 496-97.

> all the while joining in a wild medicine song. The frightened trout, having no other mode of escape, would dart up-stream only to be held in the dam, from which the Indians would calmly proceed to take them out in gunny sacks. It was not very sportsmanlike, but it was business.[130]

Ethnographers also record the building of weirs, dams, and traps at Fort Hall,[131] on the Bear River,[132] and the Wind River. [133]

Ethnographic writings substantiate early historic descriptions of Shoshone-Bannock weirs. They report that weirs were constructed out of wood, usually willow or water birch, readily available along local watercourses. Weirs were built to allow water to flow through and guide fish to specific locations for dip netting, spearing, basket trapping, or hand removal.[134] Salmon were commonly taken with weirs but other species were harvested with these devices as well.[135]

As Townsend reported in 1834, shallow waters worked best for weir fishing. According to Robert Murphy and Yolanda Murphy,

> Glenn's Ferry was one of the better fishing sites;

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130 John G. Bourke, *On the Border With Crook* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), pp. 340-41.

131 Steward (1938), op. cit., 205; Steward (1943), op. cit., 269, 298.

132 Ibid., 179, 298.

133 Shimkin, op. cit., 268.

134 Lowie (1909), op. cit., 186-187; Steward (1938), op. cit., 169; Steward (1943), op. cit., 269.

135 See, for example, Irving, op. cit., 224 ; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 528-30.

> the waters between the three islands in the Snake River at this point were shallow enough for weirs to be used.[136]

Weirs were rarely used on deeper rivers like the Salmon, but were built on tributaries, such as the Lemhi and Pahsimeroi.[137]

Fish weirs were called *k?oa,* "corral."[138] There were several different designs for weir construction. First, there was a simple or single weir construction. Silver Ballard provided information on a single weir of twined willows supporting multiple baskets, while White Horse and Grouse Creek Jack described a single weir of twined willows with a single basket in the center.[139] Secondly, there were complex or multi-fence formations.[140] James Pegoga from the Lemhi area reported a double salmon weir which Steward described as follows:

> Four or five tripods supported closely spaced willows about 5 feet tall on the downstream side, holes being left just above the water through which salmon swimming upstream leaped to enter the *basawos* (baskets). The willow fence sloping upstream and completing the trough prevented the salmon continuing upstream. For other species, the tripods were on the upstream side and the

136 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 322.

137 Steward (1938), op. cit., 203, Mink, op. cit., 5-52.

138 See also: Appendix B for other variations. Clara and Douglas Little, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 1 (1973), p. 1; Crum & Daley, op. cit., 268; Edmo, Notebook 11, op. cit., 21; Steward (1938), op. cit., 169, 194.

139 Steward (1943), op. cit., 269-70.

140 Ibid.

fence on the downstream side was of bent willows.[141]

Ray Diamond of Promontory Point recalled another complicated weir design which had three fences: the first two did not stretch completely across the river, but the third one blocked the entire river. A harpooner waded or stood on a log at the end of the last weir and speared fish.[142] Finally, White Horse of Fort Hall recounted a complicated weir which blocked the deep side of a stream, and formed a corral on the shallow side. The corral was floored with twined willows which sloped off into the water. Men sat on a platform at each side of the corral, knocking fish onto the willow floor with long poles.[143]

Basketry traps, *pengwewoz*, "fish basket,"[144] were also widely employed by the Shoshone-Bannock alone or in conjunction with other devices.[145] Weirs and dams guided fish to the baskets which trapped them.[146] Basketry traps, often made of willow, were located in the

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141 Ibid. (italics ours).

142 Ibid., 270.

143 Ibid.

144 Salmon River, Transcript Four, op. cit., 44.

145 Ibid., Steward 190-91; Albert Cawson, Sven Liljeblad Interviewer, Notebook 3 (1950), p. 19; Robert Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography" *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (1924), Vol. 20 (3), p. 200; Steward (1943), op. cit., 298; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 319, 322, 331.

146 Steward (1943), op. cit., 270.

shallow waters of small creeks but may have been used in larger streams as well.[147]

Like weirs, dams were used in association with other fishing tools and techniques.[148] Dams blocked or diverted the water, guiding the fish towards weirs, spearing sites, or locations to glean. Made of earth, sand, rock, and/or logs, they were especially useful in slowing down fast-moving waters. Beaver dams, which also slowed the movement of water, however, were often destroyed to maintain a stream flow for the Shoshone-Bannock's own fishing needs.[149] Jonah Mink remembered how the waters were dammed during the salmon run along the Salmon River and its tributaries.

> Another thing they did, I can remember. Say if there's a small creek, two of 'em going like that (gesture for a fork), maybe they'd go in back down here and cut the water off on one. If there's one creek coming down, all of sudden they'll take off, they'll separate. But they'll catch each other down here. Or else they just take off somewhere else. They'll block this one off. See, the water dries up and there's fish all over. They just go up there and pick them up. That's another way of catching. I remember that. So when they get all of what they could, what they found in there laying in the dry creek, they'll open that creek and the

147 Ibid., 270, 298; Steward (1938), op. cit.; 167, 191, 205.

148 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 322.

149 Francis D. Haines, ed., *The Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831: John Work's Field Journal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 17.

water will go on.[150]

In a few of the more productive fisheries, weirs and dams were permanent structures in local waterways. Large snow-melts and other natural forces sometimes damaged these fixtures, requiring their repair or rebuilding.[151] In other instances, weirs were more portable: dismantled every fall, repaired and stored over the winter, and then returned to local watercourses in the spring.[152]

3.C.11b: Nets - Fish nets, *wa?na*,[153] are more diverse in their use than weirs, dams, baskets, or spears because all types of fish can be caught with them and because they can be adapted to most any riparian environment. The making and maintenance of nets, however, is more difficult and labor intensive than many other fishing devices. According to Erhard Rostlund,

> Wherever nets can be used, more fish can be taken with them and with less effort than by any other method [except by completely blocking a salmon run with a weir]....But fish nets are not so easily manufactured as some other fishing gear, and the very fact that people spend time and effort in making nets can only mean that they are seriously engaged in fishing. A highly developed net fishery

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150 Mink, op. cit., 52.

151 Steward (1938), 169.

152 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 331.

153 Gould, op. cit., p.40; or *wanna* in Bannock, Towersap, op. cit., p. 24.

> is a distinguishing mark of a specialized or professional fisher folk. [154]

If nets are the mark of a highly developed fisher people, the Shoshone-Bannock certainly would have fit this class in historic times.

Net use among the Shoshone-Bannock was reported widely in the historic record. As early as 1811, Wilson Price Hunt of the Astoria party recorded the use of nets on the Raft River.[155] In 1819, the Northwest Company trader, Alexander Ross recounted the use of dip nets in conjunction with spear fishing,[156] and a decade later Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company reported on the use of dip nets made from wormwood near the Weiser River on July 9, 1827:

> they [Shoshone] appear to have remained here the great part of the winter for I observe two miles beyond their Camp they had peel'd the Bark of the Worm Wood it is with this they manufacture their *scoop* Nets their lines and Ropes for their Horses and it answers well almost equal to those manufactured with hemp.[157]

On September 11, 1832 Nathaniel Wyeth came upon Shoshone-Bannock on

154 Rostlund, op. cit., 81.

155 Wilson Price Hunt, "Diary of His Overland Trip Westward to Astoria in 1811-1812," in *Narratives: The Discovery of The Oregon Trail*, Phillip Ashton Rollins, ed. (New York: Edward Eberstadt & Sons, 1935), p. 291.

156 Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West: A Narrative of Adventures in the Oregon & Rocky Mountains*, Kenneth A. Spaulding, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), pp. 178-79.

157 K. B. Davies & A. M. Johnson, *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1826-1827 Volume XXIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Company, 1961), p. 131.

the lower Snake who had "large nets made in the European manner of the hemp of the country."[158] Sixteen years later, in a letter dated April 23 to Henry R. Schoolcraft, Wyeth offered the most detailed description of the nets employed by the Shoshone-Bannock in historic times:

> Fish-nets are made with the outer bark of some weed which grows in the country, but I took no particular note of what it was, or how separated from the stalk. It makes a line stronger than any of those I had among my outfit, although they were selected from the best materials of an angling warehouse by myself, who profess to be a judge of such articles. The twine is formed by laying the fibre doubled across the knee, the bight towards the left, and held between the thumb and finger of the hand with the two parts which are to form the twine toward the right and a little separated rolling these two parts between the knee and the right hand, outwardly from the operator and twisting the bight between the thumb and finger on the left hand, forms the thread. More fibre is added as that first commenced on diminishes in size, so as to make a continuous and equal line. In this way, excellent twine is made much more rapidly than could be expected. The nets are of two kinds: the scoop which is precisely the same as used in the United States; and the seine, which is also in principle exactly the same; and the knot used in the netting also appears to me exactly the same: but in this I may be mistaken, as I have never seen the operation performed. The leaded line is formed by attaching oblong rounded stones, with a sunken groove near the middle in which to wind the

158 Young, op. cit., 169.

attaching ligature. Reeds are used for floats.[159]

Nets were used by the Shoshone-Bannock along many different watercourses. They were reported in the Salmon River drainage,[160] on the middle reaches of the Snake near Hagerman,[161] along the upper Snake at Fort Hall and at the mouth of the Raft River,[162] on the Bear River,[163] and along the lower Snake and its tributaries.[164]

Hemp, wormwood, nettle, and possibly flax were used by the Shoshone-Bannock to make nets.[165] In 1940 Andrew Johnson told Sven Liljeblad that fishing nets were made of *Øanap*, probably a type of nettle.[166]

Nets were constructed and used in several different ways. Scoop nets, called *nuhuwanép*, were shaped like those used by modern recreational fishermen and made of a willow rim with a red-bark plant

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159 Wyeth, op. cit., 213-14.

160 Lowie (1909), op. cit., 185; Steward (1943), op. cit., 269, 297.

161 Steward (1938), op. cit., 167.

162 Hunt, op. cit., 291; Steward (1943), op. cit., 269.

163 Steward (1938), ibid., 198.

164 Ross, op. cit., 178-79; Steward (1938), op. cit., 168.

165 Samuel Parker, *Journal of An Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1990), p. 90. The flax reported by Parker was in Jackson Hole and the Indians who used it for nets could have been one of five different tribes in that area; see also: Davies and Johnson, op. cit., 131; Steward (1943), op. cit., 269; Wyeth, op. cit., 169.

166 Andrew Johnson, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 11 (1940), p. 8.

cord. The Bannock also used a sack-like net, stretched across the bottom of a shallow stream.[167] Seine nets, on the other hand, were used for large scale fishing especially in deep waters.[168] James Pegoga from Lemhi told Julian Steward that seine nets were constructed in eight to ten feet squares, bordered with stone weights, and held by men who swam or rafted the water. White Horse, a Bannock living at Fort Hall, described a seine net of fifty to sixty feet in length, fifteen feet wide, with a vertical pole at each end, ten wooden floats on the top edge, and stone sinkers at the lower edge. And Grouse Creek Jack reported a net similar to the one described by White Horse made of *a˜gawanép,* a plant often utilized by the Shoshone-Bannock for cord making.[169]

3B.11c: Hooks - Julian Steward reported that the Shoshone-Bannock had several types of hooks in historic times, but these were less used than other devices. Some hooks were made of bone. One type was a sage hen wishbone which had "the string attached either to the apex or to one arm of the V," and another had "two pieces of bone tied together to form a single barb."[170] Other hooks were manufactured from wood. Greasewood, while still green, was curved in the shape of a hook and

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167 Steward (1943), op. cit., 269, 297, 361.

168 Ibid., 269.

169 Ibid.

170 Ibid., 270.

dried. Other forms included: 1) "two pieces of wood tied together to form a single barb," and 2) "two pieces of wood tied V-shaped with the string at the apex."[171] Elijah Nicholas Wilson reported that the Shoshone-Bannock used horsetail hair to make their lines.[172]

According to Rostlund, the use of fishing hooks and lines is restricted mainly by the habits of fish, not by the depth or rapidity of water flows. Not all fish will take a hook either:

> Thus a baited hook is rarely taken by salmon and shad while ascending rivers, and almost never by lake herrings and whitefishes. Since these species were of great importance in the catch, both in quantity and quality, it is little wonder that fishhooks played a relatively small role in Indian fishery.[173]

Unlike weirs and nets, fish hooks were not as important for obtaining large quantities of fish, but they were useful for individual fishers. Shoshone-Bannock used hooks on the Salmon River,[174] on the Bear River,[175] and they employed them to catch trout on the lower Snake[176] and on the

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171 Ibid., 270, 298.

172 Elijah Nicolas Wilson, *Among the Shoshones* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1969), p. 23-24.

173 Rostlund, op. cit., 113-14.

174 Steward (1938), op. cit., 190-91; Steward (1943), op. cit., 270.

175 Steward (1943), ibid.

176 Steward (1938), 190-91.

Wind River.[177] Additionally, while not a popular device in catching salmon, hooks were used in capturing trout and sturgeons.[178] Because the hook was predominately used by individual fishers in settings not readily observed, there are few reports on their use in the historic record.[179] However, beginning with the Lewis and Clark Expedition, there are numerous accounts of their desirability as a trade item acquired from European-Americans.[180]

3.C.12: Projectile Devices - Historical reports indicate that the use of projectile devices was a well-established part of fishing technology among the Shoshone-Bannock by the beginning of the 19th century. Writing about the Salmon-Lemhi River region on August 19, 1805, Meriwether Lewis commented "in fishing they employ wairs, gigs, and fishing hooks."[181] Two days later, on August 21st, the journals of Lewis and Clark described a Shoshone-Bannock gig fishery on the Lemhi fork of

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177 Shimkin, op. cit., 268.

178 Rostlund, op. cit., 11.

179 Lewis and Clark T, Vol 2: 373-374; Lewis and Clark M, Vol 5: 122.; Salmon River Mission Journals, op. cit., 35.

180 Lewis and Clark T, Vol. 3: 46; Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, Anahuac and Rocky Mountains and in the Oregon Territory* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1843), p. 139-40; Joel Palmer, "Journal of Travels Over the Oregon Trail in 1845-1846," in *Early Western Travels*, Reuben G. Thwaites, ed. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), Vol. 30, pp. 93-94; Delano, op. cit., 144; Townsend, op. cit., 145, 155-56; Young, op. cit., 168.

181 Lewis and Clark T, Vol. 2: 373.

the Salmon River. Lewis wrote:

> Joined this evening by Cruzatte and Collins who brought with them five fresh salmon which had been given them by the Indians at the forks. the forks of this river is famous as a gig fishery and is much resorted [to] by the natives. They killed one deer today.[182]

While Clark wrote:

> I entered a lodge and after smokeing with all who Came about me I went to see the place those people take the fish, a wear across the Creek in which there is Stuk baskets Set in different directions So as to take the fish either descending or ascending on my return to the Camp which was 200 yards only the different lodges....brought in to the lodge I was introduced into, Sammon boiled, and dried Choke Chers....those two men [Cruzatte and Collins] joined me at my Camp on the right Side below the 1st Clift with 5 Sammon which the Indians gave them at the forks, the place they *gig* fish at this season. Their method of takeing fish with a gig or bone is with a long pole, about a foot from one End is a Strong String attached to the pole, this String is a little more than a foot long and is tied to the middle of a bone from 4 to 6 inches long, one end Sharp the other with a whole to fasten on the end of the pole with a bearb, to the large end, the[y] fasten this bone on one end & with the other, feel for the fish & turn and Strike them So hard that the bone passes through and Catches on the opposite Side, Slips off the End of the pole and holds the Center of the bone.[183]

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182 Lewis and Clark T, Vol. 3: 8, 39; Lewis and Clark M, Vol. 5: 135-38, 140-41.

183 Ibid.

Latter-day Saint missionaries also recorded spear fishing on the Lemhi River a half century later. One of these missionaries, Jacob Miller, recounted how the Shoshone-Bannock harpooned salmon caught in a local weir.[184] Four decades later in 1891, the *Deseret News* contained a story of how another missionary, Elder Thomas Day, observed the spearing of salmon at the same location.[185] In later years ethnographers would give additional evidence of the use of harpoons and spears in salmon fishing on the Salmon River and its tributaries.[186]

Oral histories, collected since the 1950s, also contain many descriptions of "hunting" salmon with harpoons and spears.[187] One account by Jonah Mink, who grew up in this region during the 1930s, is particularly instructive and unique because it recounts the important role that Shoshone-Bannock women played in this method of fishing. As he tells it:

> There's a road and the Salmon's (the river) right down here. The Salmon kind of turns like this.

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184 Jacob Miller, op. cit., 62-63.

185 From a clipping of the *Deseret Semi-Weekly News*, April 14, 1891, found in Elder Thomas Day's Journal, "Salmon River Mission Journal 1855-1858." Unpublished manuscript (Salt Lake City: LDS Church Archives).

186 Lowie, (1909), op. cit., 185-86; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 331; Steward (1938), op. cit., 190-91; Steward (1943), op. cit., 270.

187 Brandelle Whitworth, Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, July 7, 1997); Lizzie Edmo, Notebook 11, op. cit., 20; *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit; Tendoy, op. cit., pp. 5, 6, 38.

The store's right here (at Ellis). That whole thing is just a steep slide of rock like that. And what they do, if I remember right, the men are in the water. They are standing in the water like that, right in the Salmon, that's clear right there. These ladies and the older men can't get down there. They can't do it no more. Like a lady, like you, if she's got a husband down there standing with a spear in that much water, then you watch.

See there are salmon in there. This is the important part of the whole thing that people don't understand. The salmon are in there. The salmon are all over. The men are all lined up down through there. The women are sitting up there. Pretty soon one of them [salmon] start breeding right there, like in front of your husband or just above him somewhere. Then you just holler at him, get his attention. Then he'll stab that spear. When they get done, those fish, those salmon, get done with their work, then you have him plunge his spear forward up there somewhere. You tell him, 'Roll it down, roll it down,' or something like that, and the spear will be coming down. And when that spear...say that salmon is right here...is falling down, you say, 'Now!'."

They (the women) work up there, see. They do not...all the Lemhi Shoshones, I remember, do not spear salmon before they get their eggs in the water. It's after, right when they get done with their mating is when they do that. Like the fish, they will be laying right here, and they get done. Before they start floating too far, that's when they get'em. They don't get'em before they have their eggs.[188]

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188 Mink, op. cit., 7-8.

He also described the platforms the Shoshone-Bannock built on small creeks feeding the Pahsimeroi and Lemhi, when he was a child. These platforms were used to spot the fish to be speared. As he puts it:

> What they did, they made, over this creek where the salmon spawn (There's only certain spots they do.) they built a...They pulled all these tall trees down, willows or whatever it is.. They were moving them like this (gesture) right over that creek. That wide. I remember I was watching them. They kept putting some on until a man could lay on there, crosswise. There was enough room for one man to lay up there. Same thing, now....They had that thing woven. They pulled everything down like that so the man could climb up there, lay up there.[189]

Along the Salmon River and its many tributaries, spearing has remained a popular method of salmon fishing for the Shoshone-Bannock until the modern era.[190]

Harpoons, spears, and gigs were ubiquitous in their use across the various waterways the Shoshone-Bannock fished in historic times. On August 25, 1812 Robert Stuart of the Astoria Expedition stopped at Salmon Falls and observed how special spears were used to obtain large quantities of salmon:

> Their spears are a small straight piece of Elks Horn, out of which the pith is dug, deep enough to receive the end of a very long willow pole & on the

189 Mink, ibid., 50-51.

190 Ibid., 9-10.

> point an artificial beard is made fast by a preparation of Twine and Gum...this point of Horn is about seven inches long...a strong string of the same length is attached...the wicker catches [in the fish], pulls off the point and leaves the salmon struggling with the string through his body....The string is an excellent and necessary invention.[191]

On the same day, he also described in some detail how the Shoshone-Bannock positioned themselves on rocks in the middle of the Snake to spear the salmon.[192]

In July of 1832, John Ball described spear fishing near the same location as follows:

> They had spears with a bone point with a socket that fitted onto a shaft, and a hole through the point, by which a string tied it to the handle. At sunrise at a signal from the chief they rushed in from both sides, struck the salmon through the spear, the point came off, and held by the string to the shaft, they towed them to shore and so soon had hundreds on land.[193]

Two decades later, in the summer of 1839, Frederick A. Wislizenus described the spear fishing here as follows:

> Below the falls, near the Columbia River, it is full of salmon, which the Indians kill by thousands with the

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191 Stuart, op. cit., 109-10.

192 Ibid.

193 John Ball, *The Autobiography of John Ball, 1794-1894* (Glendale, Ca: The Arthur Clark Co., 1925), p. 84.

spear, dry, and keep in store.[194]

And in the 1840s, the trapper, George Goodheart recalled "a great many Indians spearing and drying salmon" at the falls.[195]

Other early accounts of spear fishing on the middle reaches of the Snake come from the expeditionary journals of the military. On October 1, 1843, John C. Fremont reported that "when the salmon come up the river in the spring, they are so abundant that they [the Shoshone] merely throw in their spears at random, certain of bringing out a fish."[196] On the next day, another member of the expedition, Charles Preuss, made a similar remark: "Below the falls the fish rise in such multitudes that the Indians can pierce them with their spears without looking."[197] Theodore Talbot, however, offered the most detailed description when he wrote:

> We most admired the dexterity with which they spear the salmon....The Indians use a long spear with a barb fitting...the barb...is attached by a cord to the lance and the fish is played about, until they can get near enough to kill or throw it upon the shore.[198]

Six years later on August 16, Osborne Cross, another military man, wrote

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194 F. A. Wislizenus, *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, [Reprint edition of Missouri Historical Society,1989]), p.108 .

195 Walgamott, op. cit., 29.

196 Frémont, op. cit., 269; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 528-30.

197 Charles Preuss, *Exploring with Fremont,* Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde, trans. and eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 91.

198 Talbot, op. cit., 53.

of the Shoshone-Bannock's skill at spearing salmon:

> It was amusing to see them [Bannocks] watching for fish, as they throw a spear with as much precision as an arrow; and no sooner caught than they would plunge into the rapids and make for our side to dispose of it [in trade].[199]

Down river near the confluence of the Bruneau, the trader, Nathaniel J. Wyeth, told how Shoshone-Bannock caught salmon with dams and spears in 1833. He wrote:

> In [the] morning went to see the Indians catch Salmon which is done by entangling them in their passage up the creek among dams which they erect and spearing them they catch an immense quantity the operation commences in the morning at a signal given by their chief.[200]

Again, the writings of ethnographers support historic documents on the importance of spear fishing along the middle reaches of the Snake. According to Robert Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, Glenn's Ferry[201] and the rapids above Hagerman were two of the more popular spear fishing spots in the area.[202] Hagerman was popular because its waters were too deep

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199 Author Unknown, "Thousand Springs and Salmon Falls," *Idaho Yesterdays* (1974) 18(3), p. 21. Original quote from Osborne Cross's journal, originally published in the *Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1850*, pp.197-99.

200 Young, op. cit., 168.

201 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 328.

202 Steward (1938), op. cit., 167.

for weirs.[203]

Additional accounts of spear fishing appear in the historic record for locations along the Snake River at its lower reaches. In 1819, the fur trader, Alexander Ross, reported that the Shoshone-Bannock from this region

> are expert and successful fishermen and use many ingenious contrivances in catching the salmon but the principal one is that of spearing for this purpose the fisherman generally wades into the water often up to his waist and then cautiously catches the ascending fish, the water being clear, he poises and balances his fourteen-foot spear so well and throws it so adroitly that he seldom misses his aim. Others again erect scaffolds, while many stand on projecting rocks with scoop nets and in narrow channels they make weirs and form barriers. With all these methods and many more in full operation and on almost every point the fish, except those in deep water, seldom escape the cunning and dexterous men.[204]

Two decades later on August 20, 1834, John Townsend described the salmon spears carried by men on the Boise River,[205] and on the twenty-fourth at the Malheur River, he reported how fish were speared while entrapped by nets and weirs.[206]

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203 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 322.

204 Ross, op. cit., 178-79.

205 Townsend, op. cit., 143.

206 Ibid., 155-56.

Beyond the Snake River basin, the fur trader, John Work, reported spear fishing on the John Day River in Oregon.[207] Robert Lowie mentioned how barbed arrows were used to hunt fish from grass rafts near the Great Salt Lake.[208] And Demetri Shimkin described how spears were used by Shoshone-Bannock on streams flowing into the Wind and Green Rivers in Wyoming.[209] This method was also used in lake environments. Wihii related to Sven Liljeblad how the Shoshone-Bannock at Bear Lake fished with spears:

> I can't understand how the hell they could see in that deep water, they teamed up two and two. Teamwork. One fellow stood high up on the shore. He pointed with his spear. The other was in the water up to his waist. He speared the fish. They counted the speed of the fish and the direction he was going.[210]

Brandelle Whitworth also recalled how as a child in the 1970s she accompanied her grandfather on nighttime spear fishing excursions at Redfish Lake.[211]

The Shoshone-Bannock made both a simple and a compound style of spear. Many of the historical accounts refer to gig-spears constructed

207 Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 170.

208 Lowie (1924), op. cit., 200.

209 Shimkin, op. cit., 268.

210 Wihii, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 4, (May 6, 1952), p. 16.

211 Whitworth, op. cit.

with detachable tips attached to the spear shaft by a cord. The cord was used to draw the fish onto shore. This type of spear, or more accurately a harpoon, was very effective in capturing large salmon and sturgeon weighing 40 pounds or more.[212] James Pegoga gave Steward a description of a two-piece harpoon head, similar to a figure illustrated by Robert Lowie in his ethnography.[213] Steward writes:

> Some heads were of greasewood (tonov:) with a barb of mahogany (tunamb:) and a foreshaft of serviceberry ? (tuvai) 1 1/2 feet long attached to a main shaft of willow (pambodosuhuv:; pa, water, bodo, pole, suhuv:, willow). These were used from boats or by men wading in pools when salmon rested in the shade. They allowed the harpoon to float until ready to throw.[214]

A Shoshone from Fort Hall, Silver Ballard, described a harpoon head as a single, barbed piece of greasewood (*tonov:*).[215] And Ray Diamond, from Promontory Point in the Bear River region, recalled a harpoon head made from deer antler.[216]

Non-gig spears were also used, most likely when hunting smaller fish. Steward reported a multiprong spear employed by the Shoshone-

212 Lewis and Clark T, Vol 2: 374; Lowie (1909), op. cit., 185-87; Wyeth, op. cit., 213.

213 Lowie (1909), ibid., 186. Also see Appendix C for a reproduction of the figure included in Lowie.

214 Steward (1943), op. cit., 270.

215 Ibid.

216 Ibid.

Bannock of Promontory Point for night fishing,[217] and more recently, one was remembered in use at Redfish Lake.[218] Spears were used in combination with weirs and dams, by individuals or by groups, in rivers and lakes, and in deep or shallow water, and they were employed at most locations where Shoshone-Bannock fished.[219] Finally, bows and arrows were reported in use for capturing fish by Shoshone from the Promontory Point region near the Bear River. [220]

3.C.13: GLEANING AND POISONS - In addition to driving fish into dams and retrieving them by hand, there are several historical reports of gleaning dead fish by hand.[221] While traveling the Hagerman valley near the mouth of the Wood River on August 24, 1812, Robert Stuart wrote in his journal:

> Saw some Indians on the opposite side swimming after dead & wounded Salmon floating on the surface of the water.[222]

In the next decade, on October 23, 1825, Ogden noted this method of obtaining salmon on the Boise River as well.

> We Started early in descending Reid's River the

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217 Ibid.

218 Whitworth, op. cit.

219 Steward (1943), op. cit., 298.

220 Ibid.; Lowie (1924), op. cit., 200.

221 Ibid.

222 Stuart, op. cit., 108.

> road fine we met with a Small Camp of Snakes busily employed in collecting dead Salmon from them.[223]

In the 1840s, Talbot commented on the "gleaning" of salmon late in the season near Canyon Creek along the middle reaches of the Snake River.[224] And several decades later, Lee Humfreville reported Shoshone-Bannock catching fish in landlocked holes after the Snake's floods had receded.[225]

Oral histories also indicate that the collecting and consuming of dead fish was practiced by at least one group who lived on the Raft River. In 1966, Lasalle Pocatello told Sven Liljeblad the following.

> 'Rotten fish eaters,' big band wintering about Hagerman in winter. They opened the ice and got them [the fish that came up dead].[226]

And Ed Boyer also told Sven Liljeblad about the people on the Raft River who were referred to as "Rotten Fish Eaters," but who were also known as "Ground Hog Eaters" in Shoshone.[227]

Rafts made of rushes were the principal form of water transportation for the Shoshone-Bannock in historic times, and these were

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223 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 91.

224 Talbot, op. cit., 55-57.

225 J. Lee Humfreville, *Twenty Years Among Our Savage Indians* (New York: Hunter & Co., 1899), p. 210.

226 Lasalle Pocatello, op. cit., 5.

227 Ed Boyer, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 2 (1968), p. 1.

used to transport fishers to spots where they caught fish by hand or through other methods.[228] Fremont reported the use of small rafts at Salmon Falls on October 1, 1843, and wrote: "We are encamped immediately on the river bank, and with the salmon jumping up out of the water, and Indians paddling about in boats made of rushes."[229] In his April 23rd, 1848 letter to Henry R. Schoolcraft, Nathaniel J. Wyeth also described in detail the rafts made by the Shoshone-Bannock:

> The navigation of this region appears to have been confined to crossing the streams when the water was too cold for comfortable swimming. The only apparatus used was little more than a good raft, made of reeds which abound on many of the streams. They are about eight feet long, and formed by placing small bundles of reeds, with the butt-ends introduced and lashed together, with their small ends outwards. Several of these bundles are lashed together beside each other, and in such a manner as to form a cavity on top. There is no attempt to make it tight; the only dependence is on the great buoyancy of the materials used. It is navigated with a stick, and almost entirely by pushing. This rude form of navigation, apparently, is the only one ever used in the country, in which, in fact, there is hardly timber enough for a more improved form.[230]

The use of poisons to catch fish in small streams and in lakes has

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228 Irving, op. cit., 332-33.

229 Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 531.

230 Wyeth, op. cit., 214.

been reported for Northern Paiute speaking peoples at Malheur Lake and on the Owyhee River.[231] Julian Steward took the position, however, that Shoshone speakers along the Snake River and surrounding areas did not use fish poisons, an opinion which is supported by the lack of references to fish poisons in historic documents or oral history sources.[232] According to Rostlund, the use of fish poisons was rare in North America and in the west it was limited to groups in California and adjoining locations.[233]

3.C.2: PRESERVATION TECHNOLOGIES - Historical reports indicate that the preservation and storage of fish was a well-established Shoshone-Bannock practice by the beginning the the nineteenth century. Members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition observed scaffold drying on the main branch of the Salmon north of its confluence with the Lemhi[234] and also at Fourth of July Creek.[235] On the August 28, 1805 Clark wrote of obtaining fish roe, which was dried and used in soups by members of his party:

> I purchased Some fish roe of those pore but kind people with whome I am Encamped for which I

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231 Omer Stewart, "Cultural Element Distributions: XIV," *Anthropological Records* (1941), Vol.4(3), pp. 425-26 .

232 Steward (1943), op. cit., 270.

233 Rostlund, op. cit., 127.

234 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3: 16.

235 Ibid., 15.

> gave three Small fish hooks, the use of which they readily preserved; one Indian out all day & killed only one Sammon with his gig; My hunters killed nothing.[236]

A half century later, David Moore, a missionary at Lemhi, observed how the Shoshone-Bannock on the Lemhi River processed their salmon:

> The Indians have all moved up to their fish traps and are enjoying themselves finely. They cut the salmon into thin slices and then hang them up in a Shade (made for the purpose) where they are dried.[237]

In 1819 Alexander Ross gave an account of a large salmon fishery on one of the lower Snake's tributaries and described how large quantities of fish were dried in sheds:

> From the skill of the natives in curing them they continue at all seasons of the year sweet and in good condition. They are dried slowly in sheds covered above to exclude them from the rays of the sun.[238]

In the same general area, Townsend also noted salmon drying on the twenty-second of August in 1834, but his account taken at the Boise River suggests that "platforms" were used to dry the fish.[239] Two months later in October, Captain Bonneville and his party also observed a large fishery

236 Ibid., 45-46.

237 Salmon River Mission Journals, op. cit., 36.

238 Ross, op. cit., 178-79.

239 Townsend, op. cit., 147-49.

and scaffold drying operation on the lower Snake River.[240]

Farther east along the middle reaches of the Snake, there are other accounts of the preservation of salmon and their preparation for eating. Theodore Talbot wrote on October 3, 1843:

> Round every hut are high platforms covered with drying salmon. These present quite a gay appearance for the meat of the salmon is of a deep scarlet color. To each hut is attached a sort of storehouse in which the salmon when dried and bound into bundles with cords of grass, are carefully stored away for winter use. In their huts they have little more than their bows and arrow, fishing tackle and a few pots made of earth or of osiers lined with some resinous substance rendering them water proof. Their favorite method of cooking salmon is to roast it in the ashes.[241]

And at Rock Creek in the same general area, George Goodheart, who was a trapper in the 1840s, described the baking of salmon in pits:

> They would build large fires at their different lodges and when they had burned long enough to make the ground hot down to a considerable distance in depth, the fire would be pulled to one side and a hole to the required depth and size would be dug in the hot earth. The salmon, after being prepared by pasting over with mud some quarter of an inch in thickness would be placed in the hole made to receive it, then covered over with hot earth and allowed to bake until the sun

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240 Irving, op. cit., 349.

241 Talbot, op. cit., 54-55.

> was high (When properly baked in this fashion, fresh salmon is very delicious. By splitting the mud casing it can be made into two halves and eaten out of the baked mud dishes with sharp sticks or as the Indians sometimes preferred, with their fingers).[242]

Recalling his early pioneer days in the same area, W. S. Walgamott remarked, "Rock Creek was noted for its salmon and during its first run which was early June, drying racks made from willows were strung along from the canyon mouth to where the creek flowed into the river." [243]

Drying is the most widely and commonly used method of preserving fish among American Indians.[244] The Shoshone-Bannock wrapped their fish in bark and grasses[245] and dried them on platforms.[246] Fish were often reported to be dried under a shade, perhaps to retain as much of their fat content as possible. They were dried and smoked on a large scale even among the Shoshone-Bannock who lived in Wyoming.[247] Fish drying was primarily the work of women,[248] and it continued well into modern times

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242 Walgamott, op. cit., 31.

243 Ibid., 41.

244 Rostlund, op. cit., 137.

245 Steward (1943), op. cit., 304, 364.

246 Hunt, op. cit., 294; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 327; Shimkin, op. cit., 268; Steward (1938), op. cit., 165.

247 Shimkin, ibid., 268.

248 Rostlund, op. cit., 139.

as reported by Maggie Wewa who told Sven Liljeblad in 1968 that "they used to dry salmon all around Malheur."[249] More recently, tribal elders have described the drying of salmon, trout, and suckers on the Lemhi and Pahsimeroi Rivers.[250]

After being dried, fish were cached in pits which were kept near campsites.[251] In November of 1811, Hunt described the storage of dried salmon in underground caches near Kings Hill on the middle Snake.

> On the 14th, we came upon an indian camp of three huts. All around was a vast quantity of the heads and skins of salmon, to which were still clinging pieces of flesh--the best having been hidden in the ground.[252]

More than fifty years later, Governor Ballard reported that the Shoshone-Bannock of the Bruneau region stored "Roots and Fish which they lay up in spring and summer for winter."[253]

The location of a cache was usually known only to the family that made it. Caches and their contents were considered private property.

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249 Maggie Wewa, Interviewer Liljeblad, Notebook 4 (October 8, 1968), p. 4.

250 Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript Two, p. 28 {Hereafter Salmon River, Transcript Two}; Tendoy, op. cit., p. 38.

251 Lowie (1924), op. cit., 200; Mink, op. cit., 23-24; Steward (1938), op. cit., 168, 205; Steward (1943), op. cit., 304.

252 Hunt, op. cit., 294.

253 David W. Ballard to CIA, 16 June 1866, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

Dried roots, berries, and salmon were the foods most commonly stored in underground pits but not meat. Cached food was used when fresh food supplies were exhausted. The Shoshone-Bannock resorted to their caches only in the spring when other resources were scarce.[254]

3.D: OTHER CULTURAL USES OF FISH

Besides food, the Shoshone-Bannock were reported to use fish for other purposes, including ornamentation and glue-making. In the early nineteenth century, William Clark noted ornaments made from the backbones of fish,[255] and in more recent times, Shoshone-Bannock elders told Sven Liljeblad about salmon glue. Andrew Johnson said that salmon glue was made from the cooking of salmon skulls.[256] He also pointed out that bows were glued with this,[257] and Ninis Teton reported that it was used to affix arrowheads and feathers to a shaft.[258] *Ca'go* is a name given in Shoshone for fish glue,[259] while *a'uva'--icva'·ga A* is a name given in

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254 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 327.

255 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3: 10; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5: 139.

256 Andrew Johnson, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 14 (1940), p. 28.

257 Ibid.

258 Ninis Teton, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 18 (1949), p. 3

259 Andrew Johnson, op. cit., 28.

Bannock.[260]

3.E: FISH MANAGEMENT

Among the Shoshone-Bannock, fishing was done frequently by individuals alone or in small parties on an opportunistic basis, requiring little in the way of special organization or assistance.[261] There were times, however, when fishing was carried out jointly and required the cooperation and management of larger groupings of people. This took place especially during the salmon runs on the Snake and Salmon Rivers, but it could also take place any time weirs or nets were used to capture large quantities of fish.

Men and women of all ages fished. Salmon fishing, however, was primarily the activity of young adult males, although women, children, and older men assisted in spotting fish for the harpooners and in transporting fish to drying areas.[262] Jonah Mink recalled in some detail the role that children played in cooperative fishing endeavors:

> So this is when those salmon start again. This guy laying up there is a spotter. At that time, us kids and women, the salmon are there. The salmon was all over the creek. So they had us kids

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260 Ninnis Teton, op. cit., 3.

261 Mink, op. cit., 12; Wilson, op. cit., 17, 23-24, 48, 56, 88-89, 92-94, 227-28.

262 Wilson, op. cit., 37-38.

playing around close to the creek, or river, and listen. So once you start to hear that splashing, you run back to the camp and tell the people. The men are sitting there, their spears and everything sharp, and poles taped together. That's when one pair starts the whole thing, and spawning starts.

Everybody goes back down and hits that river and takes their places, wherever they sat. That guy climbs up there. So he lays up there and tells whoever is up there, there is a salmon next to him. They're spawning and that guy can see them. Or else, he can tell the other guy, " I can't see any. Tell me. So he tells him, 'Okay. Throw your spear up river and float it down.' Down, up, something like that. 'Now!' So they get two salmon. As soon as they get through spawning, before they get 'em, they've got to make sure that the eggs are laid. I saw somewhere, in one of these creeks, that's what they did.

One time my playmates were sitting there watching them. Sometimes the older kids could drag the salmon. My grandfather or my father would kill a salmon and bring it up to the bank and give it to us kids. We had to drag it back to the house. The women were over there waiting. They got their fires going. They would cut'em open, dress'em up and put them against the fires and start roasting them. So that's our job, dragging them salmon, if we was big enough. Sometimes we was too small. The salmon are bigger than we are.[263]

Much of the more opportunistic fishing of trout and other non-anadromous

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263 Mink, op. cit., 50-51.

species, however, was carried out by women and children as much as men.[264]

Cooperative fishing efforts were associated primarily with the use of weirs, dams, basketry traps, and/or seine nets.[265] As Wyeth observed in reference to the Shoshone-Bannock along the middle reaches of the Snake,

> The paucity of game in this region is, I have little doubt, the cause of the almost entire absence of social organization among its inhabitants; no trace of it is ordinarily seen among them, except during salmon-time, when a large number of the Snakes resort to the rivers, chiefly to the Fishing Falls, and at such places there seems some little organization; some person called a chief usually opens a trade or talk, and occasionally gives directions as to times and modes of fishing.[266]

In the same area, Steward reported that four or five families would join together in the construction of dams and weirs under the supervision of a knowledgeable person, called a *kuwédagwani*, "fish trap boss,"[267] who

> took the responsibility of visiting the dam to remove the fish from the basket traps and of distributing them among the people who had assisted him. For his trouble he kept the greater share of the catch. Dams and weirs were rebuilt

264 Ibid.; Tendoy, op. cit., 16; Wilson, op. cit., 23-24, 32, 37-38, 48, 88-89.

265 Murphy & Murphy (1986), 293; Steward (1938), op. cit., 169, 179, 190-91.

266 Wyeth, op. cit., 207.

267 Steward (1938), op. cit., 169.

each year....A single stream often had several dams on it.[268]

In the Salmon River region at *Passigwana*, there was also a fish boss, called *pangwidagwani*,[269] who organized the cooperative use of weirs and dams.[270] And at Fort Hall, the building of weirs also entailed the cooperation of several families under the direction of a leader, but as elsewhere, it was not associated with any form of stable organization.[271]

Fishing sites were not "owned" in any sense,[272] although it was considered incredibly ill-mannered for someone to begin fishing at a weir site or at a family's customary fishing location without permission.[273] What "ownership" existed was a form of usufruct, and as Wyeth argued in 1851, it was associated primarily with the use and management of salmon fisheries.[274]

Fishing tools and devices, however, were considered the "private" property of the people who made them, and in the case of weirs, their use

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268 Ibid.

269 Ibid., 187, 194.

270 Ibid., 190-91.

271 Ibid., 205.

272 Ibid., 169, 192; Liljeblad, op. cit., 36, 54; Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 293.

273 Mink, op. cit., 10-11.

274 Wyeth, op. cit., 207.

was shared with the permission and/or under the direction of the owner.[275] Once a weir was constructed, used, and left by its owners, other people were free to use it. According to Robert and Yolanda Murphy, the Fort Hall Shoshone-Bannock used weirs built by people who wintered at Glenn's Ferry and shared in their catch.[276]

3.F: RITUAL ASSOCIATED WITH FISH AND FISHING

The Shoshone-Bannock were described as very pragmatic and businesslike in their pursuit of fish,[277] and Julian Steward even suggested they had no ceremonialism associated with fishing.[278] This assertion is contradicted, however, by a substantial body of evidence, including Steward's own writing, which suggests that various rituals did indeed accompany fishing. For the Lemhi River region, for example, he wrote:

> For construction of more ambitious weirs, especially in the Lemhi River, about 20 families cooperated, erecting their tipis on the bank at each end of it. A man was stationed at each end of the weir to watch for the fish *while the people danced.* [279] [emphasis added]

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275 Liljeblad, op. cit., 36, 54.

276 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 328.

277 Bourke, op. cit., 341; Ross, op. cit., 178-79; Davies and Johnson, op. cit., 131.

278 Steward (1938), op. cit., 191.

279 Ibid., 190-91.

Thirty years earlier, Robert Lowie provided a fairly detailed description of rituals preparing for and celebrating the arrival of the salmon. One dance, called *n≠uæ akin* , was a circle dance celebrated towards the end of winter or at the beginning of spring. According to Lowie, "Its object was to ensure a plentiful supply of food, especially of salmon and berries."[280] The second celebration took place when the *tohmo agai?i* arrived in the spring. The people painted themselves with *bi'cap* and shared in a feast where the first catch was divided among all those present.[281] In 1940, Jeanette Pocatello told Sven Liljeblad of a similar celebration held in the spring just before the salmon arrived.

> (holding the hands with the fingers in between the partners)...*n¨a±zananikay* [was] done in spring just before they started to fish salmon...Get up top over the place where you had a pain or believed to have a sickness. 'shake out your sickness.' They say [during the dancing] *"n´eapanïÖsundah'ay"*, "My father, pity me!"[282]

In historic times, ritual feasts were reported with the arrival of the salmon along the middle stretches of the Snake River. Captain Bonneville reported an annual celebration for this area in 1834. As retold by Washington Irving, "It was now the season of the annual fish-feast, with

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280 Lowie (1909), op. cit., 217-18.

281 Ibid., 218.

282 Jeanette Pocatello, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 16 (1940), p. 35.

which the Indians in these parts celebrate the first appearance of the salmon in this river."[283] This custom was also observed by Julius Brenchley near Salmon falls in September of 1850:

> At the commencement of their fishing season the Indians perform a sort of superstitious ceremony, which consists in making certain prayers or signs over one of the fish before they venture to eat any. They believe that a violation of this law will bring ill-luck to the fishers, and any one of them disobeying it would run the risk of losing his life, even if he were famishing.[284]

Other forms of ritual can be interpreted from descriptions of Shoshone fishing practices in Wyoming, as in 1876, when Capt. John G. Bourke told of Shoshone singing "a wild medicine song" while driving fish upstream.[285] Besides dances, feasts, and prayers associated with the arrival of salmon, Jonah Mink recalled that men went into the sweat house the morning before the salmon's arrival, and they did so because "when they get in the water they figure the salmon won't smell them and leave, take off."[286] Ritual observances associated with the arrival of fish runs were not only

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283 Irving, op. cit., 332-33.

284 Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City* (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), Vol. II, p. 504.

285 Bourke, op. cit., 340-41.

286 Mink, op. cit., 18-19.

characteristic of the Shoshone-Bannock in Idaho,[287] but they were also reported for those in Nevada and Oregon.[288]

Fish could also be a source of power or "medicine." In 1941, Raphael Lavatta related to Sven Liljeblad how fish power might be used to cure wounds. As he told it,

> I knew one old man who had fish power. His name was Pig'i. He was a Lemhi. He was Old Snag's son. It was about 1860. Old Snag was Tendoy's uncle. Pig'i wa pEg g.úI púragant. In a fight with the Pondorei (Indians of Montana, neighbors to the Flatheads) he was shot in his breast. He jumped off his horse, and jumped into a little creek. It was in the winter, cold as the devil. He swam around there for awhile. He got up. He just spit one little lump of blood in the water. He was not sick one day.[289]

Fish, especially salmon, were also featured in many of the Shoshone-Bannock's stories of mythic times when Coyote traveled the earth and created much of the world as it is known today.[290]

From the evidence found in historic and ethnographic sources, the

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287 Ake Hultkranz, "Mythology and Religious Concepts," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Vol. 11, Great Basin,* Warren D'Azevado, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), p. 634.

288 Catherine Fowler & Sven Liljeblad, "Northern Paiute," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Vol.11 Great Basin,* Warren D'Azevado, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), p. 453.

289 Raphael Lavatta, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 5 (1941), p. 3.

290 Anonymous Oral History, op. cit., "Coyote Builds the Dams on the Snake River," Lowie (1909), op. cit., 247, 274-79.

Shoshone and Bannock of Idaho and their predecessors respected the fish and the times of their arrival. The Shoshone-Bannock certainly respected the water and all the life that it contained.[291] Observances and powers associated with fish very likely had additional spiritual meaning for many Shoshone-Bannock, but as Eleanor Heady noticed with religious stories, these may not have been described to outsiders because "some things are too sacred to be shared."[292]

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291 Sven Liljeblad, "Oral Tradition: Content and Style of Verbal Arts," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Vol. 11, Great Basin,* Warren D'Azevado, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), p. 653; Jay Miller, op. cit.; Turner, op. cit.

292 Eleanor B. Heady, *Sage Smoke: Tales of the Shoshoni-Bannock Indians* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Co., 1973), p. 10.

PART FOUR

PRESENT RESEARCH AND FUTURE NEEDS

The information gathered for this report draws upon a wide range of published sources and some unpublished material as well. It is by no means exhaustive, however, in its coverage of the documentation potentially available on the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes' historic entitlements to off-reservation fishing in Idaho and neighboring states. There are many other sources, particularly unpublished document collections, which are likely to have some bearing on issues relating to Shoshone-Bannock fishing from historic times to the present.

4.A: PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIAL

Primary documents are sources which contain first hand observations and narratives. In this report, we have relied heavily on published primary documents, and secondarily, on unpublished archival collections. Most of these included the published journals and diaries of fur traders, explorers, and emigrants who traveled through Shoshone-Bannock country during the early part of the nineteenth century. The

report also incorporates ethnographies based on original field research, and it includes official reports and correspondence which are available on microfilm for the superintendencies of Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, and Montana. In addition, we studied a few unpublished documents located in archival collections at the Oregon State Historical Society, the University of Utah's Marriott Library, the LDS Church Archives, and the Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. Mr. Smoak also gathered copies of some primary material at the National Archives in Washington, D. C. at an earlier date for his dissertation research, and in so far as this material had bearing on the subject of this report, it was used.

4.A.1: PUBLISHED SOURCES - In this report, the primary documents focus principally on historical accounts of Shoshone-Bannock fishing. Some of these sources were also used to support a general overview of Shoshone-Bannock settlement and subsistence in the nineteenth century. We are confident that we now have covered and studied the vast majority of published primary sources with documentation pursuant to the Shoshone-Bannock's historic fishing locations and practices. We are also certain that we have tracked down the bulk of published materials relating to historic settlements and other subsistence sites, but we have not fully analyzed and interpreted these as yet.

4.A.2 UNPUBLISHED SOURCES - Although we covered a wide range of the unpublished sources available to us, which include copies of government

documents, ethnographic field notes, and oral history transcriptions, many sources of unpublished information remain untapped. It must be emphasized that most of this report's documentation and interpretation cover the period before 1879. Occasionally, information is referenced of a more recent vintage, but this period of time is harder to track. This is because the primary documents which are currently available in published sources or on microfilm come from the period before 1879. The primary data for the years thereafter are not readily available and will require lengthy research at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. and other locations. Documents relating to more recent historic periods are housed in federal repositories, at state, country, city, and university libraries, in the archival records of churches which established missions at Fort Hall, and in the field note collections of linguists and ethnographers who worked with the Shoshone-Bannock and deposited their records in museums and other public archives. Tracking down some of this material would be very valuable not only in buttressing the evidentiary record we have already assembled on Shoshone-Bannock fishing, hunting, gathering, and settlement before 1879 but also in establishing patterns of continued off-reservation use into the modern era.

4.B: SECONDARY SOURCE MATERIAL

Secondary sources are works which draw together, chronicle, and interpret primary documents. Here we have relied upon standard books and articles which deal with the history, ethnography, and geography of the region in which Shoshone-Bannock lived in historic times.

4.B.1: SECONDARY SOURCES ON THE SHOSHONE-BANNOCK - The secondary sources on the Shoshone-Bannock in particular and northern Shoshone and Paiute speaking populations more generally have been covered exhaustively as these pertain directly to fishing. Except in a very general way, these sources have not been mined and analyzed to assess other historic subsistence practices and settlement patterns.

4.B.2: SECONDARY SOURCES ON NEIGHBORING TRIBES - We also covered some of the secondary historical and ethnographic sources on neighboring tribes, and we found this to be very useful in identifying areas where Shoshone-Bannock jointly lived and traveled with some of their neighbors. We believe it would be very useful to look more carefully at the full range of secondary historical and ethnographic sources on certain neighboring populations, especially the Crow, Flathead, Cayuse, Umatilla, and Nez Perce, in order to pinpoint additional joint settlement and subsistence sites. It might also be helpful to look more thoroughly through some of the published and unpublished primary documents associated with these tribes.

4.C: ORAL HISTORY DOCUMENTATION - Indispensable to any chronicle and interpretation of settlement and subsistence are the first hand recollections of the Shoshone-Bannock themselves. These are important for corroborating other documentation but especially for clarifying and expanding upon information contained in various documentary sources. Oral histories are invaluable in documenting subsistence and settlement sites not recorded in other sources.

4.C.1: AVAILABLE ORAL HISTORY DOCUMENTS - For this report, we relied on four collections of oral history material: 1) the Doris Duke Oral History Collection compiled by the staff of the American West Center and located in the special collections of the Marriott Library at the University of Utah, 2) the field notebooks of Sven Liljeblad archived at the University of Nevada in Reno with copies housed in the Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library; 3) Transcripts of oral history interviews collected by staff associated with the Shoshone-Bannock Bilingual Curriculum and the Tribal History Projects and also housed in the tribes' library; and 4) Recent oral histories gathered under the the auspices of the tribe's legal and cultural resource offices. The oral history work completed this past summer has been invaluable in putting together this report, but there are still major holes in the data which can only be filled with additional interviewing.

4.C.2: FUTURE ORAL HISTORY NEEDS - More interviews are needed with persons knowledgeable of the Salmon River area, especially locations

west of the Middle Fork, of the Yellowstone area, and of the headwater regions of the Weiser, Payette, and Boise Rivers, and any other off-reservation locations where important settlement and subsistence activity have taken place since the Fort Bridger treaty and the establishment of the Fort Hall Reservation. These interviews need to include not only elders knowledgeable about the past use of these areas based on their own experiences, those of their parents, and their grandparents, but also individuals who continue to be actively engaged in fishing, hunting, and collecting plants and other natural resources.

4.D - FUTURE REQUIREMENTS

Beyond the additional information needed to expand the database on historic entitlements in the area of fishing, there are massive amounts of material available on settlement and other sorts of subsistence sites which need to be assembled, ordered, analyzed, and interpreted. At the very least, appendices comparable to the one contained in this report need to be amassed in order to chronologically track available information on these subjects. This needs to be done to assure that the maps which graphically represent various resource and settlement sites are accurate and supported by a detailed chronological record. Beyond this, the data on the sites and the practices associated with all forms of settlement, travel, and subsistence need to be presented and interpreted in a narrative

format. This kind of effort is very time-consuming, and although much of the background work has already been done, time still needs to be devoted to tracking, representing, and interpreting data in areas of land and water use other than fishing.

CONCLUSION

A long time ago, an old woman was fishing on the Snake River. It was a big river and she caught the fish and threw them into a big pot she had with her so that the pot was full of living fish. She was trying to take the fish from the river because where they had floods, all the fish would go downstream and she was afraid there wouldn't be any more fish in her part of the river. She knew that if the fish went downstream, they wouldn't come back upstream to the part of the river where she fished and that was why she was putting them in her big pot.

As she sat there, Coyote came along to the place where she was fishing on the river. When he arrived at where the woman was, he wouldn't behave. He wouldn't do what the old woman told him to do. The old woman said, "I have to tell you these things because you won't behave while I'm fishing here. You keep playing here and you might trip and knock my pot over, so why don't you go play somewhere else?"

But the Coyote didn't listen to her and kept on playing where she was fishing, so the old woman talked to him and warned him but he didn't listen and he kept playing around.

Finally, as she had warned, he tripped and knocked the pot into the river. When the pot was tipped over, all of the fish floated back into the river. The old woman became very angry with coyote and she said, "You see, that's what I was trying to tell you, not to play around, but you kept playing around and now you have tipped the fish over and they're back in the river. I was trying to keep them from going downstream and now they'll never come back up."

After she had said these things to Coyote, the Coyote said, "All right, Old Lady, I'll fix things. Just let me have your pot and I will run along the river where there is already a part of a dam. The dam will keep all the fish behind it and they won't be able to go downstream anymore." And then, he did as he said he would.

He took the old woman's pot on his back and he ran upstream to where the dam was already halfway built. Then he arrived at the place

where there was already some rocks in the river. He got more rocks and added to the rocks already there and built a dam. I don't remember the Indian name for the place where coyote built the dam, but when the whites arrived, they called it "Eagle Rock." [Editors Note: Eagle Rock is an early name for present day Idaho Falls].

All the time that Coyote was building the dam, water continued to flow over it. Because the water kept flowing over it no matter how high he built it, he decided he better do something else. He had an idea there was a place downstream that was narrow, and he though he could build a dam there very fast, so he grabbed the old woman's pot and ran downstream to the place where he thought it would be easier to build a dam. So he began running downstream with the old woman's pot on his back. He ran down across the flat country to a place where the canyon narrowed. There was a falls at this place already and there he began building the dam. [Editors Note: He seems to have arrived at the present site of American Falls.]

He started putting his rocks in place and adding other things to them like mud. But, while he built it higher and higher, the same thing continued to happen: the water kept flowing over the top of it. When he couldn't stop the water from flowing over, he stood and thought for awhile.

He thought, "I know another place where it won't be hard to build. Where the canyon walls along the river are steeper and it will be easier to build there." (This is the place that white people today call Twin Falls.)

Again he stood and thought for awhile. He thought finally of another place downstream where he could build a dam, so he grabbed the old woman's pot and ran down to the new place where he would build the dam. He built the new dam a lot higher than he had built the last one. (The new dam was at the place that the white man calls Shoshone Falls. I don't know what the Indians called this place long time ago.)

Coyote had some trouble building that dam but still it was a little higher than the first one. But, he still couldn't do anything to stop the water from flowing over it. He couldn't stop the water, so he decided he would go a little further downstream. He thought, "I will go just a little further downstream this time."

So, with his pot on his back, he ran and ran to the place where the river was very shallow and he waded into it. He stopped in the middle of the river with the old woman's pot. He set the pot down in the middle where the river was shallow. Then he stood again and thought. He thought, "Why am I doing this? It is too hard to build a dam. Why don't I just let this go?" Then he left the old lady's pot in the middle of the river. He just left it there.
In later times, the Indians called this place, "Coyote's Pot." That's what they called the place where Coyote had left the old woman's pot.

(This was a place near what the white man calls Huntington, Oregon.) Near that place there is a big rock in the river and in the center of the rock there is a hole. And that is the end of the story of the Coyote and the Old Woman's Pot.[1]

This newer version of the story where Coyote creates structures along the Snake River foreshadows the modern era when the building of great concrete dams diminished the salmon runs on the Snake River and confined them to locations below the Hells Canyon Dam. When the older version of this story was told by generations of Shoshone-Bannock long past,[2] anadromous species of fish were still abundant along the Snake River below Salmon Falls and throughout the Salmon River basin. Beginning in the 1860s, however, there was a noticeable decline in the number of fish available for harvesting along the Snake and its affluents. Johnny Carrey and Cort Conley described the decline on the Middle Fork of the Salmon as follows:

> First visitors and settlers of the Middle Fork described the early fishing as remarkable. Three and four pound trout were common; salmon in side streams, such as Sulphur Creek, were "thick as blackberries in July." As late as 1955, it was a simple matter to catch more than a hundred fish a day, ranging in size up to 16 inches. Since that time,

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1 Anonymous Oral History, "Coyote Builds Dams on the Snake River," Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, n.d.).

2 The older version of the story is found on page one of this report.

the fishery has experienced an unfortunate skid.[3]

And Princess Stone, an elder of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribe, also recalled how plentiful the fish once were on the Salmon. As she put it,

> I remember when they used to have a lot of trout on the East Fork. You would get a female salmon, there was eggs you know, you put that egg on your line, and just when you're about this much above the water, them fish would jump at it. Millions of 'em. It's gone. I remember when salmon were plentiful, we used to go up on that lookout there, by the dam. Where the dam's broke now, Sunbeam Dam. You look down there and you'd see the fish, millions of 'em, black. You'd have your pick. It's not anymore.[4]

Over the years, many different forces reduced the water quality of Idaho's rivers and contributed to the gradual degradation of its fisheries. Mining, damming, and agriculture had the most serious affects.

Mining impacted local fisheries first. Gold was first discovered in the state on the Pend Oreille River in 1852.[5] During subsequent decades, gold strikes took place along many watercourses in the heart of the Shoshone-Bannock's territorial range. The Boise Basin and the Yankee Fork

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3 Johnny Carrey and Cort Conley, *The Middle Fork & The Sheepeater War* (Cambridge, ID: Backeddy Books, 1980), p. 217.

4 Salmon River Group Interview (Van #1: Lydia and Princess Stone) Interviewer Esther Boyer, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript Three, p. 9.

5 W. J. McConnell, *Early History of Idaho* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1913), p. 55.

of the Salmon River were a few locations where mining damaged food sites and where the local Shoshone-Bannock were displaced as a result.[6] When dredge mining was introduced in the 1940s, many already compromised riparian environments and fisheries were eroded even further.[7]

Dams, created to harness the hydroelectric power of the Columbia River and to store water for agricultural use, also degraded local fisheries.[8] Dams were constructed on the Columbia and its tributaries until 1975, and scientific studies indicate these dams contributed substantially to the endangerment and extinction of several species of salmon.[9] This took place throughout the salmon's range but it was especially pronounced along the Snake where some of the Shoshone-Bannock's richest and most productive fisheries were located.

More recently, agricultural pesticides have had deleterious effects on riparian environments in the greater Northwest. In 1956, lands throughout the Columbia River drainage system were sprayed with DDT to

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6 Ibid., 55, 79.

7 Idaho Department of Parks and Recreation and Challis National Forest, *Custer Motorway Adventure Road* (Brochure of the Idaho Travel Council, Idaho Dept. of Parks and Rec., and Challis National Forest, 1990); Keith C. Petersen, *River of Life, Channel of Death* (Lewiston, ID: Confluence Press, 1995), p. 1.

8 Richard White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995).

9 Petersen, op. cit., 4, 113, 121, 210.

control the spruce bud worm, and this action had clear impacts on the region's aquatic food chains.[10] Less widespread but no less insidious were the chemical exposures caused by ranchers and farmers in the region. Sheep dips, for instance, were commonly conducted near water sources. Miranda Stringham wrote about a sulphur-creosote dip at the head of Badger Creek in Idaho that contaminated the stream and local ground water.[11]

Whether singly or in combination with one another, agriculture, dams, and mining irreversibly changed Idaho's riparian environments, and in the process, they forever altered the Shoshone-Bannock's access to many of the traditional fisheries guaranteed them under the Fort Bridger treaty of 1868. Notwithstanding the degradation of many of their fisheries in modern times, the members of today's Shoshone-Bannock Tribes continue to actively seek out fish at customary procurement sites and to "hunt" them in traditional ways. But many of the traditional locations where they once fished salmon, trout, and a wide variety of other species are places where the fish runs have dwindled or disappeared altogether. As a result, tribal members search out and fish the watercourses within their aboriginal areas of travel and occupation where abundant and reliable fish runs still occur.

10 Carrey & Conley, op. cit., 217.

11 Miranda C. Stringham, *The People of the Hills*, Volume 3 (Idaho Falls, ID: Zip Print, 1976), p. 1.

As amply demonstrated in this report, the predecessors of today's Shoshone-Bannock tribal members depended heavily on fish in their subsistence. A wide variety of species were harvested throughout the historic era, and they were taken with many of the technological devices and methods characteristic of advanced fisher peoples. This fishing took place over the entire range of watercourses the Shoshone-Bannock lived and traveled. With the Snake River drainage system as the heart of this range, the historic Shoshone-Bannock covered a vast system of waterways in their search for food and for the fish which constituted (and which still make up) such an important and necessary part of their diets.

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1950 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 3 , Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (March 18). [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Clarkeson, Frank, & Josephine Thorpe

1962 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 9 (June 4), Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Davis, Louis

1952 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 41, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, p. 11. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Edmo, Lizzie

1951 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook (1951), Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, p. 12. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

1952 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 10, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

1952b Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 18 (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library),[Original copies located at

Reno: University of Nevada Library, Special Collections].

1957 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 4, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

1959 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 11, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (June 7) [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

1959b Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 13, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (June 7) [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Edmo, Lizzie, & Bessie Judson

1949 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 6, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, p.67 [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Edmo, Irene, & Jeanette Pocatello aka Jeanette Lewis Hardy

1951 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 3, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Edmo, Lizzie, & Delia Pohipe

1961 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 10, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

George, Oren

1961 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 1, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

George, Wilford & Camille

1980 Interviewer Merceline Boyer, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (April 4).

Group Oral History Interview

1975 Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (October 22, 1975), Tape A-16, pp. 3-5.

Jack, Wilson

1967 Oral History Interview with Lorin R. Gaarder at Fort Hall, Idaho, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Marriott Library's Special Collections, The American Indian History Project, Doris Duke Number 177 (January 27).

Johnson, Andrew

1940a Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 11, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

1940b Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 14, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, p. 28. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

1940c Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 19, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Judson, Bessie

1951 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 6, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Lavatta, Raphael

1941 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 5, Unpublished Field Notebooks, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Lewis, Doty

1952 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 16 (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library), [Original copies located at

Reno: University of Nevada Library, Special Collections].

Little, Clara and Douglas

1973 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 1. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Original copies located at Reno: University of Nevada Library, Special Collections].

Martin, Willie

1950 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 1. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Original copies located at Reno: University of Nevada Library, Special Collections].

Mink, Jonah

1997 Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History Interview. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (July 2), 70 pp.

Navo, Albert & Lois

1972 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 3. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Original copies located at Reno: University of Nevada Library, Special Collections].

Navo, Zuni

1968 Oral History Interview with Lorin R. Gaardner at Salmon, Idaho. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections. American Indian History Project, Doris Duke Number 351 (February 29).

Pocatello, Jeanette

1940 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 16. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Original copies located at Reno: University of Nevada Library, Special Collections].

Pocatello, Lasalle

1966 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 3. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (January 11). [Original copies located at Reno: University of Nevada Library, Special Collections].

Pocatello, Lasalle and Louella, and others

1980 Interviewer Merceline Boyer, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, (October 22), Tape A-16.

Pocatello, LaSalle and Louella, Russell Pokibro, and Daisy St. Clair

1975 Shoshone-Bannock Oral History Interview, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (January 16).

Podso, Dora

1960 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook (No #). Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library,(January 4, 1960), [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

1960b Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook (No#). Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library,(January 7, 1960). [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Podso, Dora, & Walter Eagle

1960 Interviewer Seven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 1. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, pp. 2, 5, 23. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Pohipe, Delia

n.d. Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 4. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, p. 6. [Original copies located at Reno: University of Nevada Library, Special Collections].

Pohipe, Delia, and Lizzie Edmo

1958 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 2. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (January 11), p. 15. [Original copies located at Reno: University of Nevada Library, Special Collections].

Pohipe, Delia, and Lizzie Edmo (translator)

1963 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 9. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (March 24), p.1-2, 69 [Original copies located at Reno: University of Nevada Library, Special Collections].

Ponzo, Doris

1967 Oral History Interview with Lorin R. Gaarder at Fort Hall, Idaho, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Marriott Library's Special Collections, The American Indian History Project, Doris Duke Number 178, (February), pp. 2-3, 6.

Quanda, Jack and Elizabeth, and Alex Watson

1965 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 2. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, (January 7, 1960), [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Salmon River Group Interview

1997a Van #1: Lydia Stone, Princess Stone, Francis Navo, Layton Littlejohn, Walter Nevada, Cina Kaiyou, Ida Bronco, & Minnie Phelps, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (August 14), Transcript One, pp. 26.

1997b Van#2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (August 14), Transcript Two, pp. 43.

1997c Van #1: Lydia and Princess Stone, Interviewer Esther Boyer, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, (August 14, 1997), Transcript Three, pp. 15.

1997d Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (August

15), Transcript Four, pp. 40.

1997e Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers & Jennifer Lowry, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (August 15), Transcript Five, pp. 29.

1997f Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers & Jennifer Lowry, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (August 15), Transcript Six, pp. 40.

Tendoy, Arthur & Kate

1980 Interviewer Merceline Boyer, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (January 30).

Tendoy, Emory

1997 Interviewer Jeannette Wolfley, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, (August 26), pp. 45.

1997b Interviewer Jeannette Wolfley, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, (September 24), pp. 12.

Tendoy, William

1941 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 6. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Tinno, Norman and Martha

1957 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 6. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Teton, Ninis

1949 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 18. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library. p. 3 [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division.

Teton, Yanee

1959 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 1. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, pp. 8-11 [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Thorpe, Josephine

1958 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 5. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, (January 29) pp. 1, 5-6, 9, 14, 16, 35-36 [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

1960 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 12. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, (July 8) no page, p. 10 [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Wewa, Maggie

1968 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 4. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, (October 7) p. 1. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

1968b Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 4. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, (October 8) p. 4. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Whitworth, Brandelle

1997 Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (July 2).

Wihii

1951 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 2. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, p.12. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

1952 Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 4. Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (May 6), p. 16. [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division].

Yellowstone Group Interview

1997 Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, (October 21 & 22), Transcript One, pp. 6.

Yellowstone Interview (Alfred Navo)

1997 Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (October 21 & 22). pp. 15.

Yellowstone Interview (Alfred & Lois Navo)

1997 Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (October 21 & 22). pp. 15.

Yellowstone Interview (Francis Navo)

1997 Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (October 21 & 22). pp. 15.

Yellowstone Interview (Emory Tendoy)

1997 Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (October 21 & 22). pp. 15.

1997 Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, Notebook, Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library (October 21 & 22). pp. 14.

APPENDIX A

Reported Locations of Fish and Fishing

This part of the report contains an index of all the general reports and specific locations cited in the historic, ethnographic, and oral history record. All of the site placements for fish and fishing on the map which accompanies this report are supported by the documentation contained in this section. The map and the indexical listing which follow are not to be viewed or interpreted as totally inclusive of the places where Shoshone-Bannocks fished since the early nineteenth century. The coverage here is neither exhaustive nor complete. It includes only those sites which are supported by the documentary evidence studied so far.

There are also additional locations where Shoshone-Bannocks were reported to have lived and where they probably fished as well according to need and circumstance. Some of these places are included here but

contained in brackets to indicate that even though fishing likely occurred at these spots, it has not been confirmed directly in either historic, ethnographic or oral history sources.

CODE:

- · **Territorial Range**
- Δ **Settlement Site**
- @ **Area of Travel**
- ^ **Signs of habitation or travel**
- = **Trade**
- ≈ **Fishing or Fresh Fish**
- ~ **Dried Fish**
- √ **Hunting, Meat, Skins, or Furs**
- Ω **Gathering and Plants**
- ¥ **Insects**
- π **Horses**
- ® **Resource**
- © **Technology**
- *f* **Transport**
- ß **Place Name**

1: The Snake River and Its Tributaries

The Snake River is known alternatively as *Pi?a k?wa*, "Big Flow," and *Pasinuyu k?wa,* "Snake Flow," in Shoshone. There are several general descriptions of Shoshone-Bannocks fishing along the course of the Snake River from its headwaters in the Yellowstone area to its confluence with the Columbia. Although these do not specify the particular locations where Shoshone-Bannocks fished, they do offer important information on the place of fishing in their culture.

Place Name 1857 ß Place Name [Piupa].[1]
Snake River

Place Name 1952 ß Place Name [Pa`si'nu?ju'na`hu'K.wa'].[2]
Snake River

Place Name 1957 ß Place Name [Pa`ßa'hú.pa'c].[3]
Snake River

Place Name 1980 ß Place Name [Bea-oh-gwayd].[4]
Snake River

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1 Elijah Nicholas Wilson, *Among the Shoshones* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1969), p. 56.

2 Doty Lewis, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebook 16 (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, 1952), p. 36 [Original copies located at Reno: University of Nevada Library, Special Collections] {Hereafter Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook}.

3 Martha and Norman Tinno, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, ibid., Notebook 6 (1957), p. 44.

4 Arthur and Kate Tendoy, Oral History Interview (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, January 30, 1980), p. 25.

Place Name 1997 — ß Name [Pahshinoiyah] "snake river."[5]
Snake R

1840 — ·π≈√Ωπ A description of territory and subsistence.[6]
Unspecified

> The Snakes or Shoshones, are widely scattered tribes....The hunters report, that the proper country of the Snakes is to the east of the Youta Lake, and north of the Snake or Lewis River; but they are found in many detached places. The largest band is located near Fort Boise, on the Snake river, to the north of the Bonnacks. the Snakes have horses and fire-arms and derive their subsistence both from the chase and from fishing. There are other bands of them, to the north of the Bonnacks, who have no horses, and live on acorns and roots.

8/10/1849 — ≈ A comment on the dependence of American Indians on fish from Fort Hall to the Pacific.[7]
Unspecified

> All the Indians from Fort Hall to the Pacific in the district on or near the Columbia depend mostly upon roots and fish for subsistence.

8/10/1849 — ΔΩ≈√· A general overview of the territorial range of the Shoshone and Bannocks, with a discussion of their fishing, hunting, and gathering activities.[8]
Unspecified

> They are a warlike people and occupy such a large tract of country though they are much scattered as they cannot subsist in large bands, as their country is nearly destitute of game of any kind, save a few Antelopes and Deer. They collect on Snake River during the Salmon Season and take large quantities of fish. The principal part of them are scattered much, one, three and five families in a place, no horses

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5 Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript Two, p. 3 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript Two}.

6 Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), Vol. 4, pp. 471-72.

7 Robert Newell, *Robert Newell's Memoranda: Travles in the Teritory of Missourie; Travle to the Kayuse War; together with A Report on the Indians south of the Columbia River*, Dorothy O. Johanson, ed. (Portland: Champoeg Press-Reed College, 1959), p. 145

8 Ibid., 158

or any permanent settled place, but rove about like the game of the mountains, digging roots and collecting grass seed and insect to live upon.

10/22 1849 ·≈√Ωπ A general description of territorial range and subsistence of the Bannocks and Shoshone.[9]
Unspecified

The Ponashta Indians occupy a large district of country south of Snake river, from forty miles below Fort Hall to the Grand Round [sic], south in the direction of Salt Lake, and west toward the California Mountains. This tribe is divided into small bands, and are so intermarried with the Shoshonees that it is almost impossible to discriminate between them. The Powashatas [sic] predominate, however. They are a warlike people; are poor, have a few arms, and live principally by hunting and fishing.

The Shoshonee or Snake Indians inhabit a section of country west of the Rocky Mountains....Small bands of this tribe are scattered from the head waters of the Snake River to the Grand Round [sic] - a distance of four or five hundred miles....They subsist principally upon, fish roots, grass seed, & c. They have a few horses; are indifferently armed; are well disposed toward the whites, and kill but little game.

Ethnography 1938 ≈ General description of fish species used by Shoshone-Bannocks.[10]
Unspecified

Ethnohistory 1986 ≈ General discussion of Shoshone-Bannocks' historical use of riparian environments along Snake River.[11]
Unspecified

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9 Oregon Governor, Joseph Lane, *Annual Reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* {Hereafter, RCIA}1850, pp. 127-28.

10 Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970) [reprint of 1938 edition], pp. 41-43.

11 Scott E. Clark, *Nineteenth Century Shoshone-Bannock Riparian Adaptations.* Unpublished Masters thesis (Pocatello: Idaho State University, 1986).

1.A: Upper Snake and Its Tributaries: From the Headwaters to Shoshone Falls

The upper Snake River and its tributaries lacked anadromous fish because none were able to ascend the river above Shoshone Falls. Consequently, the Shoshone-Bannocks who wintered along the upper sections of the Snake were required to descend the river annually to procure their catches of salmon, eel, and sturgeon. The upper reaches of the Snake, however, had their own productive fisheries rich in trout, suckers, and many other species. As noted elsewhere, these were taken on a more opportunistic basis as need arose and supply permitted.

1.A.1: General Descriptions

Letter 1825/26
Upper Snake

Δ@≈√ Large numbers of Shoshone and Bannock leaders are reported to have hunted buffalo in the fall and in the spring to have descended the Snake River to catch salmon and to gather roots.[12]

> The first in the Fall resort to Buffalo, and in the Spring descend the South Branch and support themselves on Roots and Salmon.

Early 1830s
Upper Snake

Δ@≈√ Identification of population who stayed upriver to hunt buffalo in fall and travel downstream to Salmon Falls to fish in summer.[13]

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12 E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, eds., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1824 -1825 and 1825-1826, Vol. XIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society,1950), pp. 262-65.

13 Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, Edgeley W. Todd, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 384.

400 warriors who live at Salmon Falls in the summer and then move to upper Snake to hunt in the fall.

1833 Δ@≈ Description of routes upriver populations take to
Upper Snake fish downstream in summer.[14]

As soon as the spring opens they move down the right bank of Snake River, and encamp at the heads of the Boisee and Payette....Hence they strike upon tributary streams on the left bank of Snake River, and encamp at the rise of the Portneuf and Blackfoot streams, in the buffalo range.

1/1/1833 '≈√ Description of territory, fishing, and hunting.[15]
Upper Snake

The Snake Indians hunt the buffalo. That animal, however, does not range below the American Falls.--They also live on salmon, which they dry. In this quarter, and on the Columbia, they live on fish principally.

1832-1834 @≈Ω Shoshone-Bannock who winter on upper Snake and
Upper Snake fish en route to Camas Prairie, where roots also taken.[16]

1834-1843 @≈Ω General description of Shoshone-Bannock subsistence in area.[17]
Upper Snake

detached companies comprising of from 2 to 10 families who subsist upon roots fish seeds and berries.

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14 Ibid., 123.

15 Ball to Brinsmade, January 1, 1833 {From the N.Y. Commercial Advertiser]. Mr. Ball's Third Letter From Beyond the Rocky Mountains --Part 1. Reprinted in Archer Butler Hulbert, *The Call of the Columbia: Iron Men and Saints Take the Oregon Trail,* (1934, Denver: The Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library), p. 175.

16 Nathaniel Wyeth, "Indian Tribes of the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains; The Salt Lake Basin, The Valley of the Great Saaptin or Lewis River, and the Pacific Coasts of Oregon," in Henry R. Schoolcraft, ed., *Information Respecting the Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Part I* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1851), p. 202.

17 Osborne Russell, *Journal of a Trapper,* Aubrey L. Haines, ed. (Portland: Champoeg Press, Reed College for Oregon Historical Society, 1955), p. 144.

12/12/1853 ≈Ω General description of local subsistence.[18]
Upper Snake

> They had with them no lodges and no food, save a large pile of white roots which they had just dug from the side of the river, and which they seem to feast on with as much contentedness as if they were surrounded by all the luxuries of life. The men were absent fishing. Fish and roots are their only subsistence and still these people are fat and in good condition, and, without knowing it, we would have supposed their fare to consist of anything but fish and roots.

1856 @≈Ω√π General description of travel and subsistence.[19]
Upper Snake

> We traveled all day over a country that was more like the bottom of an old lake than anything else, and camped that night by another spring. The Indians pulled me from my horse, piled me down on a robe, started a fire, then caught some fish and broiled them on the coals. Oh, what a fine supper we had that night; The next morning I felt pretty well used up, but I ate some fish and a large chuck of dried elk meat for my breakfast and felt better.

1856 @≈π General description of travel and subsistence.[20]
Upper Snake

> We came to a large river, which they called Piupa (Snake River), where we joined another large band of Indians belonging to the same tribe....My mother gave me a fish hook and a line that was made out of hair from a horse's tail. With these I caught my first fish, and some of them were very large ones, too.

1856 @≈√ General description of subsistence.[21]
Upper Snake

> There were lots of antelope in the valley and plenty of fish in the stream by the camp, so when mother would go to sleep, I would go

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18 Lt. Mullen's report, RCIA 1854, 209.

19 Elijah Nicolas Wilson, *Among the Shoshones* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1969), p. 17.

20 Ibid., 23-24.

21 Ibid., 32.

fishing.

1864
Unspecified

·≈√Ω A general description of territorial range and subsistence of the Bannocks and Shoshone.[22]

...they wander over an immense region, extending from the fisheries at and below Salmon Falls, on the Shoshonee [Snake] river, near the Oregon line, to the sources of that stream, and to the buffalo country beyond. The Shoshonees and Bannocks are the only nations which, to my knowledge, hunt together over the same ground.

9/17/1869
Unspecified

≈√Ω Hostility with whites and the need to provide local population with subsistence.[23]

To prevent the Indians under my charge from being murdered by the whites and afford them the opportunity of hunting, fishing and digging roots compelled me to be with them constantly.

Ethnography 1938
Upper Snake

@≈Ω√= A discussion of the joint movements of upriver Shoshone-Bannock for hunting, gathering, trading, and fishing below Shoshone Falls.[24]

Ethnography 1938
Upper Snake

@≈Ω√ Discussion of subsistence cycle for Shoshone-Bannock who wintered in the region which included movements to buffalo hunting, salmon fishing, berry collecting, root gathering, and trading areas away from the upper Snake.[25]

Ethnography 1938
Upper Snake

@≈= The downstream movements of the upriver Shoshone were principally for fishing and trading. They typically followed the northern side of the Snake River to the Camas Prairie and then went on

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22 James Duane Doty, RCIA 1864, 174-75.

23 C. F. Powell to Commisioner of Indian Affairs {Hereafter, CIA}, 17 of September, 1869, U.S. National Archives {Hereafter, USNA}, *Idaho Superintendency* Microcopy 234 {Hereafter, M234: *Idaho*}.

24 Steward, op. cit., 200.

25 Ibid., 203.

to the Boise, Payette, and Weiser Rivers.[26]

Ethnography 1938 Upper Snake	≈®© A listing of the kinds of fish taken on the upper reaches of the Snake, and a description of fishing practice and technology.[27]
Ethnography 1938 Upper Snake	≈ Descriptions of fishing devices used by populations in the area.[28]
Ethnography 1960 Upper Snake	©≈Ω√ Caches of fish were kept underground but not meat.[29]
Ethnography 1960 Upper Snake	@≈Ω√ A description of upriver Shoshone-Bannocks' annual subsistence round which included early spring travels to Bear River and Bear Lake to hunt and fish with summer movements downstream for salmon fishing at Glenn's Ferry. Some groups went farther west to fish on the Bruneau, Boise, and Weiser Rivers. [30]
Ethnography 1986 Upper Snake	@≈Ω√ A description of upriver Shoshone-Bannocks' use of resources beyond the Fort Hall Reservation.[31]

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26 Ibid.

27 Ibid., 205.

28 Julian Steward, "Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshoni," *Anthropological Records* (1943), Vol. 8 (3), pp. 267-70, 298.

29 Robert F. Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subistence and Society," *Anthropological Records* (1960), Vol. 16 (6), p. 327.

30 Ibid., 328.

31 Alan Turner, "The Realm of the Sacred," in *Shoshone-Bannock Culture History,* Richard Holmer, ed. (Pocatello: Idaho State University, Swanson/Crabtree Anthropological Research Lab. Reports of Investigations 85-16, 1986), p. 36.

1.A.2: The Lost River Area

Technically, these rivers flow under the lava fields and empty into the Snake River downstream in the Twin Falls area. They are included here because the Shoshone-Bannocks who regularly traveled and used them tended to winter at locations along the upper Snake. Historically, the grasslands straddling these rivers were a popular bison hunting ground. Today, they remain an important hunting area for antelope.

1.A.21: The Big Lost River

In addition to being a good area to hunt bison in early historic times, this river valley was a commonly traveled route to reach the Camas Prairie near Fairfield, Idaho, and the salmon fisheries on the lower and middle reaches of the Snake. Fishing along this river and its tributaries was confined to non-anadromous species.[32]

Place Name 1997 — ß Name [soho?rai] "cottonwood flow."[33]
Big Lost River

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32 Warren Angus Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, Leroy R. Hafen, ed. (Denver: Fred A. Rosenstock The Old West Publishing Company, 1983), pp. 203, 255, 257-58; Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1827-1828 and 1828-1829 , Vol. XXVIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971), p. 115; Frederick G. Young, ed., *The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth 1831-1836* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), p. 228; Irving, op. cit., 123-24; Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 325, 328; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 30, 88; Russell, op. cit., 36-37.

33 Salmon River Group Interview (Van #1: Lydia Stone, Princess Stone, Francis Navo, Layton Littlejohn, Walter Nevada, Cina Kaiyou, Ida Bronco, & Minnie Phelps), Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript One, p. 2 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript One}.

Place Name 1997
Big Lost River

ß Name [sohokwai] "cottonwood flow. "[34]

Place Name 1997
Canyon from Big Lost R to Sun Valley

ß Name [pengwi?eyuhah] with just trout in it.[35]

8/12/1834
Big Lost R.

Δ@≈ An observation of a recent encampment of Bannock who are reported to be traveling down to fisheries along the middle reaches of the Snake.[36]

> we came to a large, recent Indian encampment, probably of Bannecks, who are traveling down to the fisheries on Snake river. We here took their trail which led up the valley to which we had been steering.

1.A.22: The Little Lost River

A popular location for buffalo hunting but no reports of fishing in the historic record.

Place Name 1997
Little Lost R

ß Name [pasahuna] "dry valley."[37]

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[34] Salmon River, Transcript Two, 13.

[35] Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Five, p. 18 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript Five}.

[36] John Kirk Townsend, *A Narrative of a Journey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 132.

[37] Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo), Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Four, p. 53 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript Four}.

1.A.23: Birch Creek

Not only were groups reported to hunt in this region, but it was also a wintering ground for one of the larger Shoshone-Bannock encampments.

Place Name 1997
Birch Creek
ß Name [kahsi?ah].[38]

Place Name 1997
Birch Creek
ß Name [ishihukwhijah].[39]

9/5/1843
Birch Creek
Δ≈√ Report of a large Bannock village with lodges whose residents had just returned from salmon fishing to hunt buffalo.[40]

1870s
Birch Creek
Δ≈ Descriptions of fishing and settlement.[41]

1.A.24: Spring Creek and Mud Lake

Place Name 1975
Mud Lake
ΔßV [De a paka did] is name for Mud Lake and [Ba ga nee new go ad] is name of location at Mud Lake where Shoshone-Bannocks sun danced when buffalo were still in area.[42]

1870s
Δ≈√ Description of camps, hunting and fishing in area.[43]

38 Salmon River, Transcript One, 7.

39 Salmon River, Transcript Four, 53.

40 Russell, op. cit., 36-37.

41 Alma J. Reid, *Along the Rivers: A Western History* (Firth, Id.: Sagebrush Studio, 1994), pp. 246, 281, 295.

42 Group Session, Oral History Interview, Interviewer Zelphia Towersap. (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library , October 15, 1975), Tape A-17, p. 2.

43 W. Adams, *100 Years of Jefferson County Progress* (No publisher or date), p. 41.

Spring Creek

> In the area where Spring Creek joined the river [Snake] was an early winter ground for the Bannock-Shoshone Indians. Spring Creek never froze over. Many ducks, geese and swan wintered in the area. Fish could be caught from the creek the year around. Deer and fur-bearing animals also made use of the area....as many as 75 to 100 Lodges of Indians in the area from Spring Creek north to the river.

1.A.3: Headwaters of Snake to the Mouth of the Portneuf River

This was a popular area for the *Pohogoy* Shoshone-Bannocks to winter and to hunt in the fall. It also contained many good locations for fishing trout, sucker, chub, and other species that inhabited local rivers and lakes.

1.A.31 Henry's Lake and Henry's Fork

One of the Shoshone-Bannock winter encampments in the 1830s was reported on this tributary of the Snake.[44] In later decades, after hostilities with the Blackfeet subsided, it became an increasingly popular area to hunt in the fall months.

Place Name 1952 Idaho Falls	ß [pc`?a'n·c`K·wA ti^pi'p· Ø (')sa'gi^na'K·wa`c] is name of location above Idaho Falls.[45]

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44 Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1827-1828 and 1828-1829 , Vol. XXVIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971), p. 82; Murphy & Murphy, ibid., op. cit., 327, 331; Russell, op. cit., 38.

45 Irene Edmo, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 6 (1952), p. 54.

Place Name 1997 — ß Name [Hohtahgahre].[46]
Area around St. Anthony

Place Name 1997 — ß Name [Pahnogahre].[47]
Area around Island Park

Place Name 1997 — ß Name [yuhia?ba], "warm flow."[48]
Lake near Island Park

Place Name 1997 — ß Name [timbe posaka] "rock bridge."[49]
Idaho Falls

Spring of 1857 — @Δ√≈ Description of travels, camp, hunting, and fishing.[50]
Henry's Lake[51]

> We stayed here a few days then went east three days' travel and came to a beautiful lake that was fairly alive with fish. Oh, how I did catch them! There was plenty of game everywhere. We could see buffaloes at any time and in any direction that we looked. I had great fun fishing and running antelope.

Summer of 1858 — @Δ√≈ Description of travels, camp, hunting, and fishing.[52]
Henry's Lake & Madison R

> From there we went up the Madison River about ninety miles, where we stayed a month. The buffalo were getting fat, so we killed quite a few and dried the meat and made their hides into robes. Then we went on south and came to a beautiful lake where we had such a good time

46 Yellowstone Group Interview, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript One, p. 1 {Hereafter, Yellowstone Transcript One}.

47 Ibid.

48 Yellowstone Interview (Emroy Tendoy), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 6 {Hereafter, Yellowstone, Tendoy-A}.

49 Salmon River, Transcript Two, 2.

50 Wilson, op. cit., 48.

51 see: Wilson, ibid., p. 94 for identification that this quote refers to Henry's Lake.

52 Ibid.

the summer before. This lake is now called Henry's Lake, and is the head of the north fork of the Snake River. We did nothing here but fish, for we had dried meat to last until we got to the usual hunting grounds.

1856
Henry's Fork

Δ≈√ Description of an area north of the Snake, possibly Henry's Fork.[53]

There were lots of antelope in the valley and plenty of fish in the stream by the camp, so when mother would go to sleep, I would go fishing.

8/14/1863
Henry's Fork

Δ≈√ Report of a small group who had been hunting and fishing in this area.[54]

who had been up the North [Henry's] Fork hunting and fishing and had only recently come down.

Oral History 1997
Henry's Fork

Δ≈√ Fishing, hunting, and camping location.[55]

Oral History 1997
Henry's Fork
by St. Anthony

≈√Ω Good location for fishing trout and suckers, hunting rabbits, and digging roots.[56]

Oral History 1997
West of Island Park

≈Ω Good location for fishing and gathering. huckleberries.[57]

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53 Wilson, op. cit., 32.

54 Walter W. De Lacey, "A Trip Up the South Snake River in 1863," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* (Helena: Rocky Mountain Publishing Company, 1876) Vol. 1, p. 116-17.

55 Emory Tendoy, Interviewer Jeannette Wolfley, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 26, 1997), p. 12.

56 Yellowstone Interview (Alfred & Lois Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 2 {Hereafter, Yellowstone, Alfred & Lois Navo}.

57 Yellowstone, Tendoy-A, op. cit., 6.

Oral History 1997 ≈Ω Good location for fishing little mountain
West of Island Park trout with red spots.[58]

Oral History 1997 ≈ Location where Lemhi fished.[59]
Camus Creek
near Kilgore

1.A.32: Headwaters to Blackfoot River and other Tributaries

Place Name 1997 ß There are known names for this area but these are too
Jackson Hole Area sacred to speak.[60]

Place Name 1997 ß Name [Fahmahahwonoi or Fahmahwahaideh]. [61]
Swan Valley

1.A.33 Blackfoot River

Winter encampments of Shoshone-Bannocks were located on this river in the 1820s and 1830s.[62]

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58 Yellowstone Interview (Emory Tendoy), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, Fieldnotes (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), p.1 {Hereafter, Yellowstone, Emory Tendoy-B}.

59 Yellowstone, Tendoy-A, op. cit., 7.

60 Yellowstone, Transcript One, 2.

61 Yellowstone Group Interview, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Notebook (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 2 {Hereafter, Yellowstone Notebook}.

62 Warren Angus Ferris *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, Leroy R. Hafen, ed. (Denver: Fred A. Rosenstock The Old West Publishing Company, 1983), pp. 259-60; Alexander Ross. *The Fur Hunters of the Far West: A Narrative of Adventures in the Oregon & Rocky Mountains*, Kenneth A. Spaulding, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), pp. 244-45; Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 327.; Russell, op. cit., 7-8.

Place Name 1957 ß Name [Γwa´n.'Ø.ßi`hu'.ua'c].[63]
Blackfoot R

Spring of 1857 Δ≈ Description of camp and fishing.[64]
Blackfoot R

> We traveled south, down the river from this beautiful lake, for about seven days and came to another large stream that came from the east, and when the two came together it made a very large river, which the Indians called Piupa. We put our wickiups by a small stream that came out of the north fork of this big river. It was not very wide, but quite deep, and was full of fish.

1860 ≈Ω√ General description of Bannock's subsistence
Blackfoot R activities in Blackfoot Valley.[65]

> They range through the Blackfoot Valley, where are large Kamas root grounds, and fine opportunities for taking mountain trout.

8/11/1864 ≈Ω√ General subsistence description for Bannocks.[66]
near Eagle Rk

> Bannock Indians plenty, a degraded lot who live on fish, camas roots, and roasted grasshoppers or large black crickets.

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63 Martha & Norman Tinno, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 6 (1957), p. 44.

64 Wilson, op. cit., 56.

65 Lander to CIA, 2/18/1860 M234: *Utah.*

66 T. A. Larson, ed., "Across the Plains in 1864," *Annals of Wyoming* (October 1868), Vol. 40(2), p. 272.

1.A.34 *Pohogoy*, Ross Fork, and Lincoln Creek

This was a favorite location for the winter encampments of the mixed population of Shoshone and Bannock speaking peoples, and it was also reported as a place where people fished, hunted waterfowl and small game, gathered plants, and grazed their horses along the rich bottom lands.[67]

Place Name (1980) *Pohogoy* — ß Discussion of meaning of name *Pohogoy* because area has lots of sage brush; also an area for rabbits and a place near spring at Buffalo Lodge where Sun Dance held.[68]

Place Name 1997 — ß Name [sohorai] [69]
Indian Creek
near Indianola at Fort Hall

Place Name 1997 *Pohogoy* — ß Name [pohogoy].[70]

12/15/1827 *Pohogoy* — Δ≈Ω√ A Shoshone-Bannock winter camp with 1500 people who are located near *Pohogoy* and reported to

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67 cf., for example: Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, eds., *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont. Vol. 1, Travels from 1838 to 1844* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. 486-87; Joel Palmer, "Journal of Travels Over the Oregon Trail in 1845-1846," in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels. Volume XXX* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), p. 87; Theodore Talbot, *The Journals of Theodore Talbot 1843 and 1849-52,* Charles H. Carey, ed. (Portland: Metropolitan Press, 1931), pp. 49-50; Ferris, op. cit., 203-04, 259; Murphy & Murphy (1960), ibid., 326-27; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 150; Russell, op. cit., 58-60, 64-65, 74, 76-77; Steward (1938), op. cit., 204; Townsend, op. cit., 114-16; Williams, op. cit., 28-29, 31, 32-33, 40, 124.

68 Arthur & Kate Tendoy, op. cit., 20.

69 Salmon River, Transcript Four, 25.

70 Salmon River, Transcript One, 7.

depend on buffalo, salmon, carp, and roots.[71]

and will when they take their departure in the spring carry with them a stock for three months, when salmon and carp, with roots, will supply them with a sufficiency again to reach buffalo, which will never fail them; and were it not for enemies, and horse stealing, might live and die contented and happy, and almost without labor.

May 1833
Pohogoy

≈Δ© Description of a local Shoshone-Bannock settlement whose inhabitants live upon trout and other fish which they catch in great numbers at this season in traps.[72]

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.

5/29/1855
Snake R

≈ Description of trout fishing and a trade on Snake.[73]

Some of the Snake Indians came along with us from McArthur's Bridge & camped near by our camp. they caught some fine trout in Snake River & traded to us for bread.

1856
Snake R

Δ≈√ Description of wintering site with fishing and good game.[74]

we moved down the river to where we were going to stop for the winter. Here fishing was good, and white tail deer, sage-hens, ducks, and rabbits were very plentiful.

9/12/1868
Pohogoy

Δ≈ Report of Tahgee's group out fishing.[75]

...for their fishing and summer resorts.

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71 Williams, ibid., 36.

72 Irving, op. cit., 274.

73 Salmon River Mission Journals 1855-1858. Unpublished manuscript (Salt Lake City, LDS Church Archives), p. 18.

74 Wilson, op. cit., 115.

75 Luther Mann, 12 September 1968, RCIA 1868, 156-59

1/14/1869 *Pohogoy*

Δ√ Report of beaver meat as a subsistence food.[76]

Composed of Bannocks, Shoshones, Sheep Eaters, and diggers. Snake River being frozen over they were subsisting principally on beaver meat.

6/30/1869 *Pohogoy*

@√≈ Description of nomadic ways of peoples at Fort Hall and their pursuit of game and fish.[77]

They are all fishing and hunting with success but cannot be made to see the importance of drying the fish for winter use. I had some of them putting in crops and they worked well for a short time. Their disposition to roam soon made them tired of work and away they went in pursuit of game and fish.

8/26/1869 *Pohogoy*

@√≈Ω Discussion of permission given Fort Hall people to travel to traditional subsistence areas.[78]

They [the Indians at Fort Hall] will, very naturally, ask to be permitted to visit when practicable, their hunting and fishing grounds -- the Bannocks to hunt the Buffalo, in the vicinity of the Wind River mountains and the Shoshones the fisheries and hunting grounds about the head waters of the Malad River, which embraces the Kamas grounds of that district, rich in the various roots of which they are exceedingly fond.

9/1/1871 *Pohogoy*

≈ Agent discusses lack of adequate supplies of fish at Fort Hall, especially for those groups who lived on the Bruneau and Boise Rivers in earlier times.[79]

The rivers and creeks which rise in this reservation and empty into Snake River, as well as the last named river and the Blackfoot, supply some fish, but not enough to make fishing one of the industries

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76 C. F. Powell to David W. Ballard, 14 January 1869, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

77 C. F. Powell to David W. Ballard, 6 June 1869, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

78 Delancy Floyd Jones to CIA, 26 August 1869, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

79 Fort Hall Agent Montgomery Berry, RCIA 1871, 542.

of the Indians, they only being able to take enough from time to time to supply the immediate wants of a family. Before the establishment of this reserve by the Government the subsistence of the Boise and Bruneau Indians was principally confined to salmon, both winter and summer. Their removal east of the Shoshone Falls of Snake River having cut off their material supply makes them more dependent on the Government than they otherwise would be, could they take an abundance of fish as formerly.

9/1/1871 ≈ Agent discusses need to allow local groups to
Pohogoy fish and hunt off-reservation.[80]

I am not at all astonished at the action of my predecessors in giving to the Indians long permits of absence from the reservation, having been obliged to do precisely as they did, viz, push the Indians out on fishing and hunting excursions for purposes of economy.

2/15/1873 @≈Ω√ Agent describes annual travels and subsistence
Pohogoy round off reservation afforded by the terms of the Fort Bridger Treaty.[81]

Availing themselves of the liberal and loose provisions of the treaty these Indians [Bannocks and Shoshones], early in the summer of each year, go to the Camas Prairie in full strength, and there leaving their old men and old women to dig roots, the others to the number of twelve hundred or two thousand, and including their young men and warriors, pass on into all the white settlements in the valleys of the Boise, the Payette, and the Weiser, and remain there for several months 'hunting and fishing' in pursuance of the terms of their treaty --there being unoccupied lands scattered through these valleys...I believe the proper way to correct the treaty and permanently settle the difficulty would be to confine the Indians to their reservation and to such grounds as they may need for digging roots, hunting, and fishing.

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80 Fort Hall Agent Montgomery Berry, RCIA 1871, 544.

81 Thomas Bennett to SI, 15 February 1873, M234: *Idaho.*

1.A.4: Portneuf River to Shoshone Falls

Along this stretch of the river and its tributaries were many reported locations of Shoshone-Bannock encampments and also productive fisheries.

1.A.41: Portneuf River

Another commonly reported location for Shoshone-Bannock winter encampments in the area was the Portneuf. The hot springs near its headwaters at Soda Springs and Lava Hot Springs were highly valued, and it was also associated with a well-traveled trail to Bear River and Green River.[82] In the 1840s and 1850s, it was noted as a rich fishery for trout.

Place Name 1857 — ß Name [tobitapa].[83]
Portneuf R

Place Name 1951 — ß Name [tïwØ.sa?a] or [tï^wØ.sa?´na].[84]
Portneuf R

Place Name 1951 — ß Name [tï^wØ.sahu.'na].[85]
Portneuf R

Place Name 1951 — ß Name [pi^hØ.a´gu'jï na`hØu? K.wa'].[86]
Portneuf R

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82 Sven Liljeblad, *Indian Peoples of Idaho* (Unpublished mimeograph, 1957), pp. 23, 36, 54, 56, 113 ; Steward (1938), op. cit., 172.

83 Wilson, op. cit., 85-6.

84 Lizzie Edmo, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 5 (1951), p. 12.

85 Bessie Judson, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 8 (1951), p. 16.

86 Bessie Judson, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 16 (1951), p. 3.

Place Name 1952 Portneuf R	ß Name [pi`ha'.g(')ujï`hu.'na'c] or [pi`ha ±gujï`ua`hu.'kwa'c].[87]
1957 Oral History Portneuf R	ß Name of the headwaters of the Portneuf River [pi`h$^{Ø}$· agu'jï na` h^{Ø}u·K·wa' uc·Øpaæ·'tï'].[88]
1952 Oral History Pocatello R	ß Name of Pocatello River [po` k·ï't·a'ra` na`h^{Ø}u·' K·wa'].[89]
9/3/1812 Marsh Creek	Δ~= A small encampment with dried salmon for trade.[90]
9/6/1812 M of Portneuf	Δ~= A camp is recorded whose inhabitants have with dried salmon to trade.[91]
1839 M of Portneuf	Δ≈√ General comment on subsistence.[92] subsist on fish of the stream, buffalo, deer, and other game.
9/17/1843 M of Portneuf	ΔΩ≈√© Description of Shoshone and Bannock subsistence.[93] Their subsistence consists of roots, fish and small game.

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87 Doty Lewis, op. cit., p. 35.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid.

90 Robert Stuart, "Robert Stuart's Narratives of His Overland Trip Eastward From Astoria in 1812-13," *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail*, Phillip Ashton Rollins, ed. (New York: Eberstadt & Sons, 1935), p. 115.

91 Ibid., 127.

92 Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, Anahuac and Rocky Mountains and in the Oregon Territory* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1843), p. 113.

93 Talbot, op. cit., 49-50.

9/10/1844 ≈® Description of abundance of trout in the area.[94]
M of Portneuf

> great Quantities of Springs and Brooks in all Directions with the finest Kinds of Trout

8/7/1845 Δ®≈ Notes large numbers of Shoshone-Bannock in area, and also describes the rich fisheries of the Snake.[95]
M of Portneuf

> Snake River, which flows within one half mile of the fort, is a clear beautiful stream of water. It courses over a pebbly bottom. Its width is about one hundred and fifty yards. It abounds in fish of different varieties, which are readily taken with the hook.

8/24/1849 ~= Report on a trade in dried fish.[96]
M of Portneuf

> dried salmon to barter...The bundles of dried fish were deposited on the wall platform.

Summer of 1857 ~√ Description of food prepared at a location probably along the Portneuf or one of its tributaries.[97]
Portneuf

> (referring to his Indian mother) She would often have fried fish and fried chickens or ducks for supper, but would not let me eat any of it if she could help it. When I first went to live with her she made a small sack and tied it to my saddle and would keep it full of the best dried fish, so that when we were traveling, I could eat if I got hungry, for she said I could not go all day without eating anything as the Indians did.

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94 Charles L. Camp, ed., *James Clyman Frontiersman: As Told in his Own Reminiscences and Diaries* (Portland: Champoeg Pres, 1960), pp. 102-03.

95 Palmer, op. cit., 87

96 J. Goldsborough Bruff, *Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff,* Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944) p. 107.

97 Wilson, op. cit., 81-82.

Winter of 1867 ≈√ Description of fishing and hunting.[98]
Dempsey Creek

> Within the cedars we found plenty of black tail deer, while in the willows the white-tail were so numerous that we had little trouble to get all we needed. Trout we could catch at any time: so we had food in abundance.

1.A.42: American Falls and Bannock Creek

This area was well recorded, especially in ethnographies and oral histories, as a major camping and subsistence area.[99]

Place Name 1940 ß Name [se'gui-augue]. Reported to be a central
Bannock Creek winter camping ground for the *Hukendeka.* [100]

Place Name 1951 ß Name [pc'˘sc'˘ywadïba'˘ya].[101]
Bannock Creek

Place Name 1940 ß Name [si'gwihunu?G].[102]
Bannock Creek

Place Name 1957 ß Name [tï· ßØ'zØ'].[103]
American Falls

10/23/1811 ≈Δ© A camp where the inhabitants have large
American Falls quantities of small fish of an unknown species

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98 Ibid., 227-28.

99 Wilson Price Hunt, "Diary of His Overland Trip Westward to Astoria 1811-12," *Narratives. The Discovery of the Oregon Trail,* Philip Aston Rollins, ed. (New York: Edward Eberstadt & Sons, 1935), p. 291; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 516-17; Steward, op. cit., 216.

100 Jeanette Pocatello, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 16 (1940), p. 32.

101 Lizzie Edmo, op. cit., 32

102 Ed Boyer, Sven Liljeblad Interviewer, Notebook 3 (1957), p. 8.

103 Martha & Norman Tinno, op. cit., 44.

which are caught in nets. Rafts made of reeds also reported. [104]

10/15/1844
American Falls

≈Δ Bannocks are reported fishing for small fish of a sucker variety at a place where springs come out of rocks.[105]

who had plenty of small fish of the Sucker mouthed kind.

7/19/1849
American Falls

≈Δ© A description of a fishing weir where trout were being caught and a trade where the fish were exchanged for fish hooks.[106]

I was startled by a strange puffing noise and looking to the river saw several Indians swimming and pushing a frame-work of willows before them. On their landing a little below me, I found they had fish, and came over for the purpose of trade. I tried my hand at making a bargain on reaching the wagons. They wanted a shirt for a small string and one fine salmon trout. I exhibited my stock, by they were unfortunately too small. I next offered them money, and quite as much as they were worth, but that they considered worthless. Some bright buttons were no better, but they offered to take a blanket worth five dollars. This was too hard a bargain for me, and I gave it up for a bad job, but finally I bought the whole lot for six fish hooks, both parties being well satisfied with their bargain.

Summer 1850
American Falls

≈® A description of location where trout disappear.[107]

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104 Hunt, op. cit., 291.

105 Camp, op. cit., 104.

106 Alonzo Delano, *Life on the Plains and among the Diggings* (New York: Readex Microprint, 1966), p. 144.

107 Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City.* Vol. 2 (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), p. 503.

Ethnography 1938
Bannock Creek

@ΔΩ≈√ Groups from this region traveled to Bear Lake, Malad River, Snake River, and Camas Prairie in summer to procure different foods.[108]

1.A.43: Raft River

There are several historical and ethnographic accounts of Shoshone-Bannocks traveling and living along this river.[109]

Place Name 1957
Raft R

ß Name [pa`ßu'hu(')guzu(')ßa`hu'.na'c].[110]

Place Name 1957
Raft R

ß Name "Rabbit Creek," [Ka'miHu.na'].[111]

10/26/1811
M of Raft R

Δ≈= A camp where the residents had trout to trade.[112]

3/22-26/1826
M of Raft R

@Δ Large camps of Shoshone-Bannock who wintered along the upper Snake are reported moving to downstream locations.[113]

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108 Steward (1938), op. cit., 217.

109 Francis D. Haines, Jr., ed., *The Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831: John Work's Field Journal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 1971, p. 74; Sarah White Smith, "Diary of Sarah White Smith," in *First Women over the Rockies*, Clifford M. Drury, ed. (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963), Vol. 3, p. 144; Hunt, op. cit., 292; Steward (1938), ibid., 216; Young, op. cit., 163.

110 Martha & Norman Tinno, op. cit., 44.

111 Lasalle Pocatello, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 3 (1966), p. 7.

112 Hunt, op. cit., 292.

113 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 144-45.

1.A.44: Goose Creek

A watercourse reported in ethnographic sources as a place where Shoshone-Bannocks lived, traveled, and fished.[114]

Ethnography 1960 Goose Creek	≈ This location is above the salmon run and only trout were reported to be caught here.[115]
Ethnography 1960 Goose Creek	@≈Δ People who customarily lived and traveled along this stream often wintered on the Snake River bottoms, and they also fished for salmon at Glenn's Ferry.[116]

114 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 166; Steward, op. cit., 216; Young, op. cit., 164.

115 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 322.

116 Ibid.

1.B: Middle Snake and Its Tributaries: Shoshone Falls to the Bruneau River

The middle Snake and its main tributary, the Bruneau, were major fisheries for salmon, sturgeon, and lamprey. These waterways not only supported populations who were residents of the area throughout much of the year but they also provided for Shoshone-Bannock who wintered in other locations. Peoples who wintered on the Portneuf River, the Blackfoot River, and on the upper Snake River bottoms fished the middle Snake as did peoples from the highland areas of Goose Creek, Grouse Creek, and the Jarbidge River.

After 1865, it was reported that the salmon runs started to fail along this stretch of the Snake. While it is clear that Shoshone-Bannock returned to fish here over the summer months, even after their resettlement on the Fort Hall Reservation, their use of this once rich fishing area declined when the salmon runs became smaller and less reliable. And in later years, after the building of dams along the Snake, the salmon were no longer able to ascend to the areas where they once spawned.

1.B.1: General Descriptions

1/1/1833 =≈√ Description of trade, fishing, and hunting.[1]
Middle Snake

> After we entered the buffalo country, we fed on the flesh of that animal, sometimes fresh, and sometimes dried, and even without salt, until we got to the middle or lower part of the Lewis river. Here were were supplied with salmon by the Indians; for which we gave in exchange, awls, fish hooks, beads.

1848 @≈ A detailed description of organization and property relations at the fisheries.[2]
Middle Snake

> The paucity of game in this region is, I have little doubt, the cause of the almost entire absence of social organization among its inhabitants; no trace of it is ordinarily seen among them, except during salmon-time, when a large number of the Snakes resort to the rivers, chiefly to the Fishing Falls, and at such places there seems some little organization; some person called a chief usually opens a trade or talk, and occasionally gives directions as to times and modes of fishing.

1848 Δ≈ A description of fluctuations in the weight and health of Shoshone who wintered along the middle reaches of the Snake according to the appearance and disappearance of the salmon.[3]
Middle Snake

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1 Ball to Brinsmade, January 1, 1833 [From the N.Y. Commercial Advertiser]. Mr. Ball's Third Letter From Beyond the Rocky Mountains --Part 1. Reprinted in Archer Butler Hulbert, *The Call of the Columbia: Iron Men and Saints Take the Oregon Trail* (1934, Denver: The Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library), p. 177.

2 Nathaniel Wyeth, "Indian Tribes of the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains; The Salt Lake Basin, The Valley of the Great Saaptin or Lewis River, and the Pacific Coasts of Oregon," in Henry R. Schoolcraft, ed., *Information Respecting the Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Part I* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1851), pp. 207, 209.

3 Ibid., 216.

1848
Middle Snake

≈© Description of spear fishing at night.[4]

These Indians [Snake River Shoshone] are very expert in the use of this instrument [the harpoon], and take many fish at all the falls and rapid waters, and construct, on small streams, barriers of stones or brush, to force the fish into certain places, where they watch for them, often at night with a light.

1848
Middle Snake

≈© Description of fishing nets in region.[5]

Fish-nets are made with the outer bark of some weed which grows in the country, but I took no particular note of what it was, or how separated from the stalk. It makes a line stronger than any of those I had among my outfit, although they were selected from the best materials of an angling warehouse by myself, who profess to be a judge of such articles. The twine is formed by laying the fibre doubled across the knee, the bight towards the left, and held between the thumb and finger of that hand, with the two parts which are to form the twine toward the right and a little separated rolling these two parts between the knee and right hand, outwardly from the operator and twisting the bight between the thumb and finger of the left hand, forms the thread. More fibre is added as that first commenced on diminishes in size, so as to make a continuous and equal line. In this way, excellent twine is made much more rapidly than could be expected. The nets are of two kinds: the scoop which is precisely the same as used in the United States; and the seine, which is also in principle exactly the same; and the knot used in the netting also appears to me exactly the same: but in this I may be mistaken, as I have never seen the operation performed. The leaded line is formed by attaching oblong rounded stones, with a sunken groove near the middle in which to wind the attaching ligature. Reeds are used for floats.

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4 Ibid., 213.

5 Ibid., 213-14.

1848
Middle Snake

≈© Description of rafts in region.[6]

The navigation of this region appears to have been confined to crossing the streams when the water was too cold for comfortable swimming. The only apparatus used was little more than a good raft, made of reeds which abound on many of the streams. They are about eight feet long, and formed by placing small bundles of reeds, with the butt-ends introduced and lashed together, with their small ends outwards. Several of these bundles are lashed together beside each other, and in such a manner as to form a cavity on top. There is no attempt to make it tight; the only dependence is on the great buoyancy of the materials used. It is navigated with a stick, and almost entirely by pushing. This rude form of navigation, apparently, is the only one ever used in the country, in which, in fact, there is hardly timber enough for a more improved form.

10/1863
Middle Snake

Δ≈Ω Report on importance of this area to Shoshone-Bannocks for fishing and gathering.[7]

All of the Indians living northwest of Salt Lake visit the grounds in the spring and summer, putting up their winter supply of camas, and after the root season is over, resort to the falls and other points on the Snake to put up fish.

9/20/1865
Middle Snake

Δ≈Ω Recommendation for a treaty in area.[8]

a treaty be made and a reservation established in southern Idaho, on the banks of the Malade [Wood] or Shoshone [Snake] river, for the better protection of the settlers on Great Kammas prairie and the travellers over the emigrant road along the valley of the Shoshonee [Snake].

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6. Ibid., 214.

7 Colonel Maury, in *War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902), 226.

8 Idaho Governor Caleb Lyon, 20 September 1965, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* {Hereafter, RCIA}, pp. 234-35.

9/22/1865
Middle Snake

Δ≈Ω Need to establish reservation encompassing fisheries and the Camas Prairie.[9]

You will please instruct...Governor Lyon...to hold a conference with the Great Kammas Indians and the Indians of Southern Idaho, and if, practical, to negotiate a treaty with them, establishing permanent peace between them and the United States, and providing for their settlement on a permanent reservation at some point upon the the Shoshone [Snake] River, embracing the fisheries on said streams, and a summer reservation in the vicinity of the Great Kammas Prairie.

10/20/1865
Middle Snake

Δ≈Ω Description of importance of Camas Prairie and fish to the Shoshone-Bannocks, and how they are being destroyed by white settlers.[10]

The Kouse and the Kammas, two edible vegetables upon which they have subsisted, the salmon in their rivers, and the game on their hills are all being destroyed by the settlements of the white man, and I earnestly desire that an agency be located near Little Kammas Prairie for the winter and a reservation in summer time on the banks of the Shoshonee of some forty thousand acres.

12/29/1865
Middle Snake

Δ≈Ω Description of subsistence locations that need to be included in reservations.[11]

I am thoroughly of the opinion that a reservation taking in Salmon Falls and extending up Wood River would be the most judicious selection that could be made.

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9 James Harlan to Robert V. VanValkenberg, 20 October 1965, Commisioner of Indian Affairs {Hereafter, CIA} *Idaho Superintendency,* Microcopy 234 {Hereafter, M234: *Idaho*}.

10 Caleb Lyon to James Harlan, 20 October 1965, CIA, M234: *Idaho.*

11 Geo C. Hough to CIA, 29 December 1865, M234: *Idaho.*

Ethnography 1938 Middle Snake	≈ Fishing was the "principal subsistence" of Shoshone on the middle Snake.[12]
Ethnography 1938 Middle Snake	≈Ω Mainstay of local diet for groups wintering on the middle reaches of the Snake River was fish and roots.[13]
Ethnography 1938 Middle Snake	@≈Ω Seasonal round with locals depending on dried salmon, insects, and roots in the winter, salmon fishing in spring, camus gathering in summer, salmon fishing again in late summer, and deer hunting in surrounding mountains in the fall.[14]
Ethnography 1938 Middle Snake	≈© A description of the kinds of fish taken on the middle Snake and its tributaries along with details on fishing practices and technologies.[15]
Ethnography 1938 Middle Snake	≈ A report on fish preservation, winter fish, and fishing.[16]
Ethnography 1938 Middle Snake	≈* A discussion of fishing practices, including social cooperation and leadership.[17]

> ...took the responsibility of visiting the dam to remove the fish from the basket traps and of distributing them among the people who had assisted him. For his trouble he kept a greater share of the catch. Dams and wiers were rebuilt each year....A single stream often had several dams on it.

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12 Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970) [reprint of 1938 edition], p. 165.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., 167.

15 Ibid., 167-69.

16 Ibid., 168.

17 Ibid., 169.

Ethnography 1960
Middle Snake

≈® Description of how foods were cached for the winter.[18]

Ethnography 1960
Middle Snake

≈© The populations of the middle Snake River relied heavily on the salmon runs and procured salmon in the spring, summer, and fall. Basketry traps were used.[19]

Ethnography 1960
Middle Middle Snake

≈ΩΔ The populations who remained over the winter were small in number. Greater use was made of the region's resources by Shoshone-Bannocks who wintered elsewhere. The two main attractions being the Camas Prairie and the fishing sites between Glenn's Ferry and Shoshone Falls.[20]

I.B.2: Wood River and Camas Creek

This was an important region to the Shoshone-Bannocks of southern Idaho. Not only did it hold their valuable root grounds on Camas Prairie, but it was also one of the major routes they traveled between the fisheries on the lower and middle reaches of the Snake and the buffalo grounds on its upper stretches.

I.B.21: Wood River

Place Name 1997
Wood River

ß Name [sohohawe].[21]

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18 Robert F. Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subistence and Society," *Anthropological Records* (1960), Vol. 16(6), p. 327.

19 Ibid., 322.

20 Ibid., 321.

21 Boise River Group Interview (Lois Navo), Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, December 1, 1997), Transcript One, p. 15 {Hereafter, Boise River, Transcript One}.

8/24/1812
M of Wood R

≈ Shoshone reported swimming after dead and wounded salmon. [22]

Saw some Indians on the opposite site swimming after dead & wounded Salmon floating on the surface of the water.

3/22/1826
Raft R to Wood R

@ΔΩ√≈π= A report of a large camp of 400 lodges and twice as many horses loaded with buffalo meat. The group is reported moving to work roots on the Wood, then to the falls to fish for salmon, and then on to the Burnt River to trade with the Nez Perce. In fall, the group returns to the upper Snake river to hunt buffalo. Over the next three days, Ogden also mentions the movement of several other large camps.[23]

The snake camp...400 heads and nearly double that number of horses all loaded with Buffalo Meat, this camp is now bound to sickly River to work roots and at the salmon season will all resort to the Falls and in the Fall will return to winter at the Buffalo.

8/14/1834
Wood River

@Δ~=√ Returning from the fisheries, Shoshone-Bannock were reported following the "Indian trail" to the upper Snake to hunt buffalo. Dried salmon were traded.[24]

...informed us that they were Snakes who were returning from the fisheries, and travelling towards the buffalo on the 'big river.'. Soon after we encamped the Snake chief and two of his young men visited us. We formed a circle around our lodge and smoked the pipe of peace with them, after which we made them each a present of a yard of scarlet cloth for leggings, some balls and powder, a knife and a looking glass. Captain W. then asked them a number of questions, through an interpreter, relative to the route, the fishery, &c &c,-and finally bought of them a small quantity of dried salmon (*then extensive discussion of kamas gathering).*

22 Robert Stuart, "Robert Stuart's Narratives of His Overland Trip Eastward From Astoria in 1812-13," *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail*, Phillip Ashton Rollins, ed. (New York: Eberstadt & Sons, 1935), p. 108.

23 E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, eds., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1824-1825 and 1825-1826, Vol. XIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society,1950), pp. 144-45.

24 John Kirk Townsend, *A Narrative of a Journey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), pp. 135-38.

Ethnography 1938
Wood R

≈@ When Shoshone from the Sawtooth Mountains traveled to the Camas Prairie, they frequently caught trout en route.[25]

I.B.22: Camas Creek

10/15/1827
Camas Creek

Δ≈Ω A report of the earlier presence of a large encampment with 300 lodges at Camas Prairies where Shoshone-Bannocks came to dig for roots and then dispersed to fish for salmon along nearby waterways.[26]

> It is from near this point the lower Snakes form into a body every fall prior to their starting for buffalo, and collect camas to enable them to reach it without starving. It appears it is not long since they have started and their camp may be about three hundred tents. In the spring of the year they return again to this place, and scatter on the different streams in quest of salmon, with a few horse thieving excursions, in which they generally are but too successful, is the way in which they pass their lives and were they dead few would regret them.

8/18/1834
Camas Creek

≈= A trade for salmon anticipated.[27]

> We are anxious, also, to fall in with the Snake Indians in order to get a supply of salmon, as we have been living for several days on a short allowance of wretched, dry meat, and this poor pittance is now almost exhausted.

2/15/1873
Camas Creek

@≈Ω√ Agent describes annual travels and subsistence round off reservation afforded by the terms of the Fort Bridger Treaty, including Camas Prairie.[28]

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25 Steward, op. cit., 191.

26 Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1827-1828 and 1828-1829 , Vol. XXVIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971), p. 16.

27 Townsend, op. cit., 138.

28 Thomas Bennett to SI, 15 February 1873, M234: *Idaho.*

Ethnography 1938 Camas Creek	@Δ≈Ω The first salmon on this stream were caught by people who wintered there near their caches of dried and roots but who traveled to the Snake for more fishing.[29]
Ethnography 1938 Camas Creek	@Δ≈Ω In July people who fished the Snake River usually came here for the gathering of yamp, camas, and other roots, and then they returned to the Snake for the autumn salmon run.[30]
Testimony 1970 Camas Creek	@Δ≈Ω Description of how families used this area for fishing and gathering roots.[31]
Oral History 1997 Camas Creek	@Δ≈Ω Description of how families traveled annually to this area to fish and gather roots.[32]

I.B.3: Northern Banks - Clover Creek to Canyon Creek

This area contained some of the best anadromous fisheries in Shoshone-Bannock country, and it was also the location of several sedentary settlements whose existence and location remained fairly stable from the time of the earliest reports by European-Americans in 1811 to the period of the Shoshone-Bannocks' removal from this region in the 1860s.

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29 Steward, op. cit., 167.

30 Ibid.

31 Mrs. Jessie Tyler in *State of Idaho v. Gerald Cleo Tinno*, Supreme Court of the State of Idaho, April 1, 1970, pp. 82-83 {Hereafter, *State of Idaho v. Tinno* }.

32 Jonah Mink, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, July 2, 1997), pp. 15, 22.

I.B.31: Bliss and Clover Creek

Two winter villages were located near here.[33]

I.B.32: Hagerman

There were also villages in the vicinity of this present day community, which were recorded in early historic sources.[34]

11/11-12/1811 ~Δ= Camp with salmon for trade.[35]
Hagerman

> I visited some huts at which was a large quantity of salmon. These huts are of straw, are shaped like ricks of grain, and are warm and comfortable. We saw, at the door, large heaps of sagebrush which serves as fuel. I bought two dogs. We ate one them for breakfast. These indians had good robes of bison skin, which so they told me, they obtained in exchange for their salmon.

Ethnography 1938 ≈@ Best fishing on the middle Snake reputed to be
Hagerman near Hagerman between the upper and lower falls where fish were speared and taken in nets.[36]

Ethnography 1960 ≈ Above Hagerman salmon were speared because
Hagerman the waters were too deep for weirs.[37]

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33 Steward, op. cit.; 165-66; Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 322.

34 Ibid.

35 Wilson Price Hunt, "Diary of His Overland Trip Westward to Astoria 1811-12," *Narratives. The Discovery of the Oregon Trail,* Philip Aston Rollins, ed. (New York: Edward Eberstadt & Sons, 1935), p. 294.

36 Steward (1938), op. cit., 167.

37 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 322.

Oral History 1966 ≈ Description of winter fishing.[38]
Hagerman

'Rotten fish eaters', big band wintering around Hagerman. They opened the ice and got the fish that came up dead.

I.B.33: King Hill

A location of one of the winter settlements was reported here.[39]

11/14/1811 Δ~= A camp with dried salmon hanging in lodges
King Hill and stored in underground caches. Salmon also traded.[40]

we came upon an indian camp of three huts. All around was a vast quantity of the heads and skins of salmon, to which were still clinging pieces of flesh--the best having been hidden in the ground.

11/15/1811 Δ~= Another encampment where dried salmon is
King Hill traded.[41]

3/2/1826 Δ≈√π= A discussion of the value of the river to to the
King Hill resident population with a description of salmon, salmon trout, and sturgeon in diet. A trade for dogs and horses takes place at one camp where the residents have a reputation for horse thievery.[42]

It is however a valuable River to the poor natives as it supplies them with salmon. Sturgeon also ascend this stream in the Spring but the

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38 Lasalle Pocatello, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 3 (1966), Sven Liljeblad Unpublished Field Notebooks (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library) [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division], p. 5 {Hereafter, Sven Liljeblad, Notebook}.

39 Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 322.

40 Hunt, op. cit., 294.

41 Ibid., 295.

42 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 135-36.

natives kill but few of them, they also take a few salmon Trout but I know not at what season our success this day 2 Bea. Traded 1 Beaver and 4 Dogs about a dozen Indians came to our Camp we treated them Kindly and in return they attempted stealing a Knife but being detected the Thief soon disappeared I am really surprised they do not steal our Horses as they are noted Horse Thieves so far however we have no cause to consider them as such certainly oppurtunities are not wanting if they were so inclin'd.

3/2/1826 — Δ≈ A discussion of how the Shoshone-Bannocks are more more numerous at this location in April or May.[43]
King Hill

from appearances they are most numerous here but at what season I cannot say the Snake Indians say in April & May but remain not longer when they travel again Eastward.

12/16/1868 — Δ≈ A group of Shoshone-Bannocks are reported camping and fishing at this location.[44]
King Hill

I.B.34: Canyon and Long Tom Creek

10/4/1843 — ©≈Ω Found remains of fishing equipment and holes on the prairie of the creek "which had been made by the diggers in search of roots."[45]
Creek before Mountain Home

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43 Ibid., 137-38.

44 C. F. Powell to David W. Ballard. 14 January 1869, CIA M234: *Idaho.*

45 Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, eds., *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont. Vol. 1, Travels from 1838 to 1844.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. 533-34; John Charles Frémont, *Narratives of Exploration and Adventure,* Allan Nevins, ed. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1969), p. 272.

10/7/1843
Canyon Creek

Δ≈ Important discussion of status differences and access to salmon fisheries between various Shoshone-Bannock groups after meeting a small party who had just come from the hills.[46]

> These poor creatures had been wandering over the barren hills and sandy plains during the summer in quest of a scanty support, and were now on their way to the "Great River", as they call the Saptin, to endeavor to obtain a few fish for their winter subsistence. It seems that there is a monopoly of the fisheries on the Snake River. The Banak Indians who are the most powerful, hold them in the spring when the salmon and other fishes are in best condition --later on different tribes of the Shoshonees hord the monopoly.

1.B.4: Southern Banks - Shoshone Falls to Glenn's Ferry

Lots of encampments were reported on the southern banks of this stretch of the Snake during the summer and early fall salmon runs, although most of the year-round population wintered at villages on the northern banks. This was the most well-reported fishing area for the Shoshone-Bannocks largely because it was a major stopping point along the Overland Trail.

I.B.41: Rock Creek

8/06/1836
Rock Creek

Δ≈= A camp where salmon is traded.[47]

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[46] Theodore Talbot, *The Journals of Theodore Talbot 1843 and 1849-52,* Charles H. Carey, ed. (Portland: Metropolitan Press, 1931), pp. 55-57.

[47] Myra F. Eells, *1838 Diaries of Myra F. Eells.* Original manuscript (Portland: Oregon State Historical Society), August 6, 1838.

10/1/1843
Rock Creek

*≈= A Shoshone woman and child are met from whom some dried salmon are bought.[48]

12/16/1868
Rock Creek

Δ≈Ω Group with 10 or 12 lodges who have roots and fish stored for the winter.[49]

> I found another band of Indians (Sheep Eaters or diggers) there were ten or twelve wickiups. They have been located at this point for a long period of time. Seem well disposed towards the whites, had a good supply of fish and roots laid up for winter and considering all the circumstances were pretty well situated for wintering. These Indians present the anomaly of having no head chief, and although camping near each other, each family seeming to act independent and for themselves.

1840s
Rock Creek

Δ≈© Description of fishing with traps and racks for drying.[50]

> Here we found Indians, both Shoshone and Bannock. They were preparing for salmon fishing. They were putting traps in the creek and building racks for drying.

1840s
Rock Creek

Δ≈© Description of fish preparation.[51]

> They would build large fires at their different lodges and when they had burned long enough to make the ground hot down to a considerable distance in depth, the fire would be pulled to one side and a hole to the required depth and size would be dug in the hot earth. The salmon, after being prepared by pasting over with mud some quarter of an inch in thickness would be placed in the hole made to receive it, then covered over with hot earth and allowed to bake until the sun was high (When properly baked in this fashion, fresh salmon is very delicious. By splitting the mud casing it can be made into two halves and eaten

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48 Talbot, op. cit. 53.

49 C. F. Powell to David W. Ballard. 14 January 1869, CIA M234: *Idaho.*

50 C. S. Walgamott, *Reminiscences of Early Days: A Series of Historical Sketches and Happenings in the Early Days of Snake River Valley.* (Twin Falls, ID: C.S. Walgamott, 1926), p. 29.

51 Ibid., 31.

out of the baked mud dishes with sharp sticks or as the Indians sometimes preferred, with their fingers).

1870s
Rock Creek

Δ≈© Description of salmon fishing.[52]

In the spring large bodies of both tame [reservation] and wild [non-reservation] Indians would congregate along the streams emptying into Snake River below Shoshone falls to spear, trap and dry salmon. Rock creek was noted for its salmon and during its first run which was early June, drying racks made from willows were strung along from canyon mouth to where the creek flowed into the river. The most of the reservation Indians would congregate at Salmon falls and after drying large quantities of salmon would go to the Camas Prairie country just west of Hailey, dig camas and later in the season meet Indians from the north who had plenty of buffalo robes.

I.B.42: Upper and Lower Falls, Crystal Springs, Kanaka Rapids, Thousand Springs

This was probably the most heavily used fishing location along the middle reaches of the Snake, and it was certainly the one most well documented in the historic record.

8/25/1812
Salmon Falls

≈Δ Large, productive Shoshone fishery is described with a camp of 100 lodges. Harpoon fishing techniques are also noted.[53]

...we found about 100 lodges [of] Shoshonies busily occupied in Killing & drying Fish....The fish begin to jump soon after sunrise when the Indians in great numbers with their spears swim in, to near the centre of the Falls, where some placing themselves on Rocks & others to their middle in Water, darts on all sides assail the Salmon, who struggling to ascend, and perhaps exhausted with repeated efforts, become an easy prey --With the greatest facility prodigious quantities are slaughtered daily, and it must have been from this place that the dead & wounded came which we saw picked up by the starving wretches below; am completely at a loss to conceive why these [poor] creatures do not prefer mingling with their own nation at this immense fishing place (where a few hours

52 Ibid., 41.

53 Stuart, op. cit., 109-10.

exertion would produce more than a months labor in their own way); rather than depend on the uncertainty of a Fish ascending close along shore or catching a part of what few make their escape wounded From these Falls...along shore or catching a part of what few make Mr. Miller says that he stopped here on his way down -- it was in the afternoon, by far the best spearing time, when to his utter astonishment, the Indians in a few hours killed some thousands of fish.

Their spears are a small straight piece of Elks Horn, out of which the pith is dug, deep enough to receive the end of a very long willow pole & on the point an artificial beard is made fast by a preparation of Twine and Gum....this point of Horn is about seven inches long...a strong string of the same length is attached...the wicker catches [in the fish], pulls off the point and leaves the salmon struggling with the string through his body....The string is an excellent and necessary invention.

Fall of 1824
Salmon Falls

≈* A comparison is made with the "concourse of natives" fishing at the Dalles on the Columbia River. [54]

At the falls the concourse of natives resembled the Columbia narrows at Dalles des Morts this season of the year. But I was taught a little experience at Amaketsa's camp not to put up near them, so we passed on.

5/26/1826
Salmon Falls

≈= At Isle a la Cashe, sturgeon are plentiful at this season but the locals only take a few. A trade for sturgeon is conducted.[55]

one of the Men traded a small piece of Sturgeon....there are no scarcity of them at this season but the natives take but few...

Early 1830s
Salmon Falls

Δ≈ A report of 400 warriors who live at Salmon Falls in summer and then move to the upper Snake to hunt in the fall.[56]

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54 Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West: A Narrative of Adventures in the Oregon & Rocky Mountains*, Kenneth A. Spaulding, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. 274.

55 Rich & Johnson, op. cit. 170.

56 Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, Edgeley W. Todd, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,1961), p. 384.

December 1833 ≈ ® The large numbers of fish taken at the falls.[57]
Salmon Falls

> Just above, the whole stream pitched in one cascade above forty feet in height, with a thundering soud, casting up a volume of spray that hung in the air like a silver mist. These are called by some the Fishing Falls as the salmon are taken here in immense quantities. They cannot get by these falls.

July 1834 Δ≈ Description of feasting at first run of salmon.[58]
Salmon Falls

> It was now the season of the annual fish-feast, with which the Indians in these parts celebrate the first appearance of the salmon in this river. These fish are taken in great numbers at the numerous falls of about four feet pitch. The Indians flank the shallow water just below, and spear them as they attempt to pass. In wide parts of the river, also, they place a sort of...withes, and forming an angle in the middle of the current where a small opening is left for the salmon to pass. Around this opening the Indians station themselves on small rafts, and ply their spears with great success.

8/11/1834 Δ≈Ωπ Description of subsistence practices.[59]
Shoshone Falls

> they have few horses and no guns and live chiefly on fish and roots, hence the name diggers. They are friendly and peaceable. The subsist at present on salmon which have just commenced running. The salmon go no higher than here. We purchased some (salmon) 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 weigh twelve or fourteen pounds.

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57 Ibid., 221.

58 Ibid., 332-33.

59 Jason Lee, "Diary of Reverend Jason Lee-II," Dorothy Hull, ed., *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 1916, Vol.17 (3): 247.

8/12/1836 Δ≈= Description of fishing and fish trade.[60]
Salmon Falls

Raised camp this morn at Sunrise. Came two hours ride to the Salmon fishery. Found a few lodges of Diggers of the Snake tribe (so called because they live on roots during winter) who have just commenced fishing.

8/08/1838 Δ≈= Report an exchange in salmon.[61]
Salmon Falls

We find here some Indians who are fishing. They are extremely poor, are called diggers because they get their subsistence from the roots which they dig. During the salmon season they fish, but in the winter many of them die from actual starvation....We have purchased salmon of these Indians, find it beautiful & we are feasting on it.

8/09/1838 Δ≈= Several hundred lodges noted; salmon purchased here.[62]
Salmon Falls

Thursday: Passed the Salmon Falls. Several Indian lodges on the bank of the river. Some 50 or 60 Indians in them. Bought some salmon from them.

8/09/1838 ≈© Description of use of dams in fishing.[63]
Salmon Falls

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60 Narcisa P. Whitman, "Mrs. Whitman's Diary, July to December 1836," in *First Women over the Rockies,* Clifford M. Drury, ed. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963), Vol. 1, p. 82.

61 Sarah White Smith, "Diary of Sarah White Smith," in *First Women over the Rockies,* Clifford M. Drury, ed. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963), Vol. 3, p. 104.

62 Eells, op. cit., August 9, 1838, 55-56.

63 "Journal of Myra F. Eells," *Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association* (1889), p. 85. Quoted in "Thousands Springs and Salmon Falls," *Idaho Yesterdays,* 18 (3), p. 15.

8/17/1839 Δ=≈© Description of dams and trade.[64]
Salmon Falls

after riding about one hour we came to the falls--here we got a supply of fish to last us to Ft. Boysa. Here the Indians have built three houses of willows and grass. These are not perpendicular falls, but rapids where they catch fish (which run up to places made for the purpose, with stones) with their hands.

Summer 1839 ≈© Report of large salmon catches and use of
Salmon Falls spears in fishing.[65]

Below the falls, near the Columbia River, it is full of salmon, which the Indians kill by thousands with spear, dry, and keep in store.

9/08/1839 ≈Δ= An encampment of 10 to 12 lodges where the
Salmon Falls inhabitants had no fish nor anything else to trade.[66]

9/11/1839 ≈* Met a solitary Indian who said he would have plenty
Thousand Springs of salmon in two days this we found to be the case.[67]

8/14/1841 ≈Δ Report of encampments filled with fish.[68]
Salmon Falls

A large company of the root diggers live here in little lodges made of willow bushes and grass. Here they catch thousands of salmon. These, with the roots they dig, constitute their food. Their little lodges were lined with fish, of which, we bought plenty to do us.

64 Asahel Munger and Wife, "Diary of Asahel Munger and his Wife," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (December, 1907), Vol. 8, p. 401.

65 Frederick Adolph Wislizenus, *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1989), p. 108.

66 Leroy Hafen and Ann Hafen, eds., *To The Rockies and Oregon, 1839-1842: with Diaries and Accounts by Sidney Smith, Amos Cook, Joseph Holman, E. Willard Smith, Francis Fletcher, Joseph Williams, Obadiah Oakley, Robert Shortess, T. J. Farnham* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1955), p. 85.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid., 238.

10/1/1843
Crystal Springs

©≈ Report wicker dams which because of location must have been used for fish other than salmon.[69]

> Here the Indians had constructed wicker dams, although I was informed that the salmon do not ascend the river so far; and its character below would apparently render it impracticable.

10/1/1843
Kanaka Rapids

Δ©≈~= The productivity of the fisheries and the technique of spear fishing described. A trade for dried salmon also noted.[70]

> Our encampment was about one mile below the *Fishing falls* [Salmon Falls], a series of cataracts with very inclined planes, which are probably so named because they form a barrier to the ascent of the salmon; and the great fisheries from which the inhabitants of this barren region almost entirely derive a subsistence commence at this place. These appeared to be unusually gay savages, fond of loud laughter; and, in their apparent good nature and merry character, struck me as being entirely different from the Indians we had been accostumed to see. From several who visited our camp in the evening, we purchased, in exchange for goods, dried salmon. At this season they are not very fat, but we were easily pleased. The Indians made us comprehend, that when the salmon came up the river in the spring, they are so abundant that they merely throw in their spears at random, certain of bringing out a fish.

10/1/1843
Kanaka Rapids

Δ©≈√= Clothing made of small animal skins described and people reported fishing for salmon in small rafts.[71]

> These poor people are but slightly provided with winter clothing; there is but little game to furnish skins for the purpose; and of a little animal which seemed to be the most numerous; it required 20 skins to make a covering to the knees. But they are still a joyous talkative race, who grow fat and become poor with the salmon, which at least never fail them-the dried being used in the absence of the fresh. We are encamped immediately on the river bank, and with the salmon jumping up out of the water, and Indians paddling about in boats made of rushes, or laughing around the fires, the camp to-night has quite a lively appearance.

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69 Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 528-30.

70 Ibid., 530-31.

71 Ibid.

10/2/1843
Salmon Falls

ΔO≈√Ω Description of the locals reliance on salmon and their fishing with spears. Also a discussion of use of groundhog skins for clothing and reeds for dwellings.[72]

Yesterday we passed the Fishing Falls. Now we can purchase salmon to our hearts desire. These miserable Indians are a happy, harmless people. Here, too, only wealth makes them insolent and arrogant, as it does the Sioux with their long buffalo skins, their nice lodges, etc. These poor devils sew together twenty groundhog skins, and yet the garment does not reach to their knees. Their winter lodgement is made of reeds, and salmon is their only food, which, to be sure, is never exhausted. Below the falls the fish rise in such multitudes that the Indians can pierce them with their spears without looking.

10/2/1843
LSalmon Falls

ΔO≈√= Large concentration of people at the lower falls reported and a trade for salmon conducted. Also, a good description of the articles the Shoshone desired in trade.[73]

There were several lodges of Indians here, from whom we traded salmon....We now very frequently saw Indians, who were strung along the river at every little rapid where fish are to be caught, and the cry *haggai, haggai* (fish) was constantly heard whenever we passed near their huts, or met them in the road. Very many of them were oddly and partially dressed in overcoat, shirt, waistcoat, or pantaloons, or whatever article of clothing they had been able to procure in trade from the emigrants; for we had now entirely quitted the country where hawk's bells, beads, and vermilion were the current coin, and found that here only useful articles, and chiefly clothing, were in great request. These, however, are eagerly sought after; and for a few trifling pieces of clothing, travellers may procure food sufficient to carry them to the Columbia.

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72 Charles Preuss, *Exploring with Frémont: The Private Diaries of Charles Preuss, Cartographer for John C. Frémont on His First, Second, and Fourth Expeditions to the Far West,* Edwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde, eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 91.

73 Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 531; Frémont, op. cit., 270-71.

10/2/1843
Kanaka Rapids

Δ≈© Description of fishing techniques and encampment of people who wish to trade with them.[74]

Camped early on the banks of Snake River, having come thirteen miles...went down the river to some Shoshonee lodges at the commencement of the "Fishing Falls" These Indians speak the same language as the other Snakes but are far poorer and are distinguished by the name of Shoshoccos, "Diggers" or "Uprooters". They have very few, and indeed most of them, have no horses, are nearly naked and have no better shelter than shanties made of twisted willows; in winter many take refuge in caves. They are nearly amphibious. We most admired the dexterity with which they spear the salmon. These fish ascend Snake River to these falls in great numbers. The Indians use a long spear with a barb fitting loosely on its point. When they spear the salmon the barb immediately comes off, but is attached by a cord to the lance and the fish is played about, until they can get near enough to kill, or throw it upon the shore. Did they not use this method, the weight and struggles of the salmon would so much enlarge the wound or break the lances, so as to set them free. Even as it is some salmon more knowing than their fellows bite through the cord and thus escape.

Several families of Indians were camped on an island, but putting the salmon they wished to trade with us on little floats made of grass, they soon swam over to us. We returned to camp well laden. This is not the best season for salmon but we found them notwithstanding very excellent eating.

10/3/1843
Kanaka Rapids

Δ≈©= Discusses encampments all along the river bank and also the drying platforms for salmon. A fish trade is reported.[75]

We upset a cart in crossing a creek but there were numbers of Indians at hand to drive after its contents as they drifted down the stream. We passed several cascades formed by streams precipitating themselves over the high rocky bluffs which still wall in the river on its opposite bank. The river is very full of rapids thousands of salmon are seen leaping up their farther ascent. The river on this side and all the islands are lined with shanties and black with indians all occupied in catching or drying the salmon. Round every hut are high platforms covered with drying salmon. These present quite a gay appearance for the meat of the salmon is of a deep scarlet color. To each hut is attached a sort of storehouse in which the salmon when

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74 Talbot, op. cit., 53-54.

75 Talbot, op. cit., 54-55.

dried and bound into bundles with cords of grass, are carefully stored away for winter use. In their huts they have little more than their bows and arrow, fishing tackle and a few pots made of earth or of osiers lined with some resinous substance rendering them water proof. Their favorite method of cooking salmon's to roast it in the ashes. Many of them go about entirely naked. They are of rather low stature and ill made. The women have remarkably thick crooked legs. They vary much in color from dark copper to light yellow. Their faces seem more like white people than any Indians I have yet seen and occasionally among the young people you see one very handsome. A great many have bad eyes, there is hardly one among the older ones whose eyes are not more or less affected. This, owing probably to the reflection of the sun from the water, which they so much frequent in summer, and from the snow in winter in a country where there are no trees or other objects to relieve the eyes. It may be also owing in part to the strong, bitter, smoke of the absinthe which they use for their principal fuel. There were many indians in Camp all the evening and we traded a quantity of salmon fresh and dried. There was one of these Indians who belonged to the better class of Snakes, or to the rich Shoshonees, but had been reduced by a succession of mishaps and was now abiding with his more abject brethren. He had known Fitz. in former times, and hoped to obtains his sympathy by detailing the misfortunes that had befallen him. He introduced his son a fine young lad, with all the strong emotion of a father's pride in a promising heir, telling us that he was "Very strong in battle against the enemies of their Nation," having already slain a Blackfoot Indian.

10/4/1843 Δ≈© Description of weirs and snares.[76]

Kanaka Rapids

This morning we passed many ingenious snares and wears placed in the river for catching fish. The Indians are frequently at great labor to dam up parts of the river, making these artificial channels which much facilitate obtaining the salmon.

9/16/1844 ®≈= A description of salmon fisheries and a trade in fish.[77]

Salmon Falls

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76 Talbot, op. cit., 55.

77 Charles L. Camp, ed., *James Clyman Frontiersman: As Told in his Own Reminiscences and Diaries* (Portland: Champoeg Pres, 1960), p. 104.

8/20/1845
Salmon Falls

Δ≈= Location of an encampment and detailed description of goods exchanged for salmon.[78]

We traveled about nine miles, reaching the Salmon Falls. Here are eighteen or twenty Indian huts. Salmon come up to these falls: the Indians have an abundance of them, which they very readily dispose of for hooks, powder, balls, clothing, calico and knives, and in fact for almost anything we have at our disposal.

1846
Salmon Falls

=≈π Oregon Trail guide describes fish trade.[79]

160 miles below Fort Hall, you will come to the Salmon Falls, where you will find a great many Indians fishing; you can buy the fish very cheap, but you need not lay in any supply, as you will have opportunities of trading them the balance of your journey.

1846
Salmon Falls

Δ≈ Another Oregon Trail guide description of fishing at the falls.[80]

The Indians take immense quantities of Salmon here, which they cut into thin slices, dry in the Sun, and afterwards pack them up, in grass cases. The natives along Snake River live principally upon fish and roots.

1848
Salmon Falls

≈ A discussion of the periodic dependence of the Snake River Shoshone-Bannock on salmon and their abundance at the falls on the middle reaches of the Snake River.[81]

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78 Joel Palmer, "Journal of Travels Over the Oregon Trail in 1845-1846," in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels. Volume XXX* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), pp. 93-94.

79 John M. Shivley, " Guide to Oregon and California, 1846," *Overland in 1846: Diaries and Letters of the California-Oregon Trail, Vol. II* , Dale L. Morgan, ed. (Georgetown, CA: The Talisman Press, 1963), p. 739.

80 Overton Johnson & Wm. H. Winter, *Route Across the Rocky Mountains: Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier*, Carl L. Cannon, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), p. 29.

81 Wyeth in Schoolcraft, op. cit., 202.

1848
Salmon Falls

≈ A description of the large number of Shoshone-Bannock who fish at the falls during the salmon runs.[82]

8/16/1849
Salmon Falls

≈ Description of spear fishing and trade.[83]

> It was amusing to see them [Bannocks] watching for fish, as they throw a spear with as much precision as an arrow; and no sooner caught, than they would plunge into the rapids and make for our side to dispose of it [in trade].

10/16/1849
Salmon Falls

Δ≈ Group putting up and storing salmon for the winter.[84]

> It was at these falls that we met a few Indians, for the first time since leaving Fort Hall, who had assembled here to lay in their supply of salmon for the winter, as well as to subsist on them during the fall.

1850
Salmon Falls

≈© Description of fishing with scoop nets.[85]

> At this point (American Falls), trout seemed to have disappeared and to be succeeded by salmon, which the Indians took in great abundance either spearing them or catching them in scoop-nets, as they attempted to get up the falls.

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82 Ibid., 207.

83 Osborne Cross. Quoted in *Idaho Yesterdays,* "Thousand Springs and Salmon Falls," *Idaho Yesterdays* (1974) 18(3): 21. [Original quote from Osborne Cross's journal, published in the Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1850, pages 197-99.]

84 Ibid.

85 Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City,* Vol. 2 (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), p. 503.

1850 ≈ An observation about the ritual associated
Salmon Falls with fishing.[86]

At the commencement of their fishing season the Indians perform a sort of superstitious ceremony, which consists in making certain prayers or signs over one of the fish before they venture to eat any. They believe that a violation of this law will bring ill-luck to the fishers, and any one of them disobeying it would run the risk of losing his life, even if he were famishing.

7/29/1851 ≈= A description of fishing, drying, and trading.[87]
Salmon Falls

At the latter place we got our first salmon. This was a notable point for the catching of these fish by the Indians who came there from many miles in every direction to catch and dry the salmon for their winter's food. All sorts of trades were made for the fish. The Indians had no use for money but were glad to exchange for clothing and particularly for ammunition.

7/1851 ≈= A description of fish trade.[88]
Salmon Falls

Here we found Indians, ready to trade salmon for anything we had to spare.

8/1851 ≈= An account of the fish trade.[89]
Salmon Falls

I had bought a salmon of an Indian on Monday, and John Gallagher bought a dry one and at this place we purchased three more. One very large and fresh.

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86 Ibid., 504.

87 Clarence P. Bagley, "Crossing the Plains," *Washington Historical Quarterly* (July 1922) Vol. 13, p. 176.

88 P. V. Crawford, "Journal of a Trip across the Plains, 1851," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (June 1924) Vol. 25, p. 156.

89 Cross, *Idaho Yesterdays* , op. cit., 22.

1853 — Δf Description of ferry built by Shoshone-Bannocks and Metis.[90]
Salmon Falls

> Just above the first falls, the French, Creoles and Indians have a ferry, they charged four dollars per wagon for crossing, a great many emigrants were crossing and going down the north side of the river, grass is said to be better on the north side. We camped just below the first falls, found grass about two miles out among the mountains, it had been eaten by the Indians horses close by, we kept to the south side, caught some fine salmon fish that evening.

8/1865 — ≈= Description of a trade in salmon.[91]
Salmon Falls

> The water is very pure and too cold to bathe, and abounds in salmon which the Indians catch and sell as "Hi yu muck a muck" or 'first rate to eat.'

I.B.43: Salmon Falls Creek

8/08/1836 — ≈Δ= Report of Indian fishing and trade for salmon.[92]
Salmon Falls Crk

9/07/1839 — ≈Δ= An Indian lodge found where the party's first salmon obtained.[93]
Salmon Falls Crk

> Dried Salmon for 3 knives the Salmon was very fine and dried in the finest stile.

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90 David or John Dinwiddie, "Overland from Indiana to Oregon: The Dinwiddie Journal," Margaret Booth, ed., *Sources of Northwest History* (Missoula: University of Montana, 1928) Vol. 2, p. 10.

91 William E. Davis, ed., "George Forman, The Great Pedestrian," *Idaho Yesterdays* (Spring 1966). Vol. 10, p. 10.

92 Sarah Smith, op. cit., 104.

93 Leroy Hafen and Ann Hafen, eds., *To The Rockies and Oregon, 1839-1842: with Diaries and Accounts by Sidney Smith, Amos Cook, Joseph Holman, E. Willard Smith, Francis Fletcher, Joseph Williams, Obadiah Oakley, Robert Shortess, T. J. Farnham* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1855), p. 84.

1.B.44: Glenn's Ferry

This was a major settlement area for the Shoshone-Bannocks[94] and a major crossing on the Overland Trail.

Place Name 1961 — ß Name [ma'(.)y.inu(.)c].[95]
Glenn's Ferry

Oral History 1974 — ß ≈ Name of place [Daza Agai] where people procured their summer salmon.[96]
Glenn's Ferry

8/12/1836 — Δπ Explains how Indian women led horses across the river.[97]
Glenn's Ferry

10/3/1843 — Δf≈ An Indian hired to ferry expedition across the river, and an encampment described.[98]
Glenn's Ferry

> An Indian was hired to conduct us through the ford, which proved impracticable for us, the water sweeping away the howitzer and nearly drowning the mules which were were obliged to extricate by cutting them out of the harness....The Indians informed us that one of the men, in attempting to turn some cattle which had taken a wrong direction, was carried off by the current and drowned....We were obliged to make our camp where we landed, among the Indian lodges, which are semicircular huts made of willow, thatched over with straw, and open to the sunny south.

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94 Steward, op. cit., 166; Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 322.

95 Oren George, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 1(1961), p. 23.

96 Lasalle and Louella Pocatello, Russell Pokibro, and Daisy St. Clair, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History Interview, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, January 16, 1980), p. 24.

97 Sarah Smith, op. cit., 85-86.

98 Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 532-33.

10/6/1843 — Glenn's Ferry

Δf Description of Indian assistance in ferrying expeditions equipment across the river.[99]

> The Indians helped us a great deal, taking over the carts, swimming the animals &c. We paid them satisfactorily for their services and by sunset had finished crossing without any accident or serious mishap.

1846 — Glenn's Ferry

$=\approx\pi$ Oregon Trail guide describes and guides who help transport wagons across the Snake. [100]

> Two days below, you come to the crossing where you must follow the instruction of your Indian guide; when you are across Snake river, all you will gain is good grass for your animals--there not being a sufficient quantity for a large band of stock on the south side.

Ethnography 1960 — Glenn's Ferry

$\approx$ This was reported as one of the better fishing spots because the waters between the islands were shallow enough to sustain weirs.[101]

Ethnography 1960 — Glenn's Ferry

$@\approx$ The reliance of upriver Shoshone-Bannocks on the local fisheries.[102]

Ethnography 1960 — Glenn's Ferry

$@\approx\Delta$ People who customarily lived and traveled along Goose Creek often fished for salmon at this location.[103]

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99 Talbot, op. cit., 55.

100 John M. Shivley, "Guide to Oregon and California, 1846," *Overland in 1846: Diaries and Letters of the California-Oregon Trail, Vol. II* , Dale L. Morgan, ed. (Georgetown, CA: The Talisman Press, 1963), p. 739.

101 Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 322.

102 Ibid., 328.

103 Ibid.

Oral History 1997 ≈Δ Identified as a location where sturgeon found.[104]
Glenn's Ferry

Oral History 1997 ≈ Location for fishing sturgeon.[105]
Glenn's Ferry

1.B.5: Bruneau River and Its Tributaries

A winter village and the site of a well-known fish weir reported near mouth of this river.[106]

1.B.51: Lower Bruneau

Place Name ß Name [køá?cyáidi(`)Kc`].[107]
Bruneau R

8/21/1812 Δ~= A camp at Rocky Bluff where dried salmon is
M of Bruneau traded.[108]

2/25/1826 Δ~= A small encampment where "some very bad salmon"
Bruneau R were traded.[109]

6/23/1826 ≈© A permanent fishing weir reported.[110]
M of Bruneau R.

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104 Mink, op. cit., 11, 16.

105 Emory Tendoy, Interviewer Jeannette Wolfley, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 26, 1997), pp. 8, 16, 38.

106 Steward (1938), op. cit., 166-67.

107 Clara and Douglas Little, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 1 (1973), p. 4.

108 Stuart, op. cit., 107.

109 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 133.

110 Ibid., 193.

September 1832
M of Bruneau

Δ≈© Location and description of a fishing community, with commentary on technology.[111]

In some ten or twelve days after leaving the trappers, we reached the mouth of the creek where it joins the Lewis (Snake) river. And here we found a large encampment of Indians, being a favorable site for fishing. The first thing on arriving the chief, in their usual hospitable manner, sent us a fine salmon for our dinner, and would have deemed it an insult to be offered pay for it. We were strangers and his guests.

The creek finally comes out of the ravine into a better looking country, here we met other Indians. They call themselves Shoshones and seemed very friendly and sold us their salmon for such of our goods as they seemed most to need--awls of iron to prick their deer skins for sewing into garments, and knives, for they hardly possessed an article of our manufacture.

The manner of fishing was ingenious. The stream was shallow and they built a fence across it near its mouth and then some distance above, leaving weirs at one side, so that the fish coming down or going up would come in, but would not find their way out.

They had spears with a bone point with a socket that fitted onto a shaft, and a hole through the point, by which a string tied it to the handle. At sunrise at a signal from the chief they rushed in from both sides, struck the salmon through the spear, the point came off, and held by the string to the shaft, they towed them to shore and so soon had hundreds on land.

9/4/1832
Bruneau R

Δ~= A camp at which seven large dried salmon were bartered for two fish hooks.[112]

Here we found an Indian family of whom for 2 fish Hooks we bought 7 salmon of about 4 lbs weight each when green they were split and dried.

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111 John Ball, *The Autobiography of John Ball, 1794-1894* (Glendale, Ca: The Arthur Clark Co., 1925), p. 84.

112 Frederick G. Young, ed., *The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth 1831-1836* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), p. 167.

9/5/1832
Bruneau R

≈= Another trade in which four salmon are exchanged for two fish hooks.[113]

Two Indians came to us with 4 salmon which we bought for 2 hooks.

9/6-9/1832
M of Bruneau

Δ©≈=√π A large village where salmon, geese, and ducks are plentiful. Twenty horsebacks escort Wyeth's party to the camp. Presents are exchanged, and salmon traded for fish hooks. An exchange of horses is also reported. A description of how salmon are caught, and a dam site is also reported where the locals catch plenty of salmon.[114]

In morning went to see the Indians catch Salmon which is done by entangling them in their passage up the creek among dams which they erect and spearing them they catch an immense quantity the operation commences in the morning at a signal given by their chief.

1/12-13/1834
Bruneau River

Δ~Ω A winter camp with 100 families who subsist on roots and large quantities of fish.[115]

4/12/1866
Bruneau R

'≈> Treaty guarantee of access to fisheries.[116]

Bruneau headman Tcho-wom-ba-ca told Lyon: "Deer, Elk, Fish, Antelope, Roots and Seeds are our food."

The governor : "as much more as is necessary for hunting and fishing." "Your right to your fisheries shall be guaranteed to you."

In treaty: "The right of taking fish in the Sho sho nee or Snake River

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113 Ibid.

114 Ibid., 167-68.

115 Irving, op. cit., 222-24.

116 Treaty Council between Idaho Governor Caleb Lyon and headman of Bruneau Shoshone, 12 April 1866. USNA.

at their accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the United States together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots on open and unclaimed lands."

6/16/1866 ≈Ω A location where people reported to store
Bruneau R roots and salmon.[117]

...roots and fish which they lay up in spring and summer for winter.

8/31/1866 ·≈Ω> Official report on permission given Bruneau's.
Bruneau R to to catch and store salmon and to put up roots.[118]

catch as many salmon (which have just commenced running) as possible and dry them, and gather all the roots and seeds possible and cache them for winter.

1869 Δ≈Ω Description of fishing and plant procurement.[119]
Bruneau R

Ethnography 1960 ≈© A fish weir was reportedly maintained on this river
Bruneau and it was frequented by Shoshone-Bannocks who wintered upriver.[120]

1.B.52: Upper Bruneau and Jarbidge Rivers

6/22/1826 @≈ A Shoshone family is reported traveling down river
Bruneau R from the high country to fish at Salmon Falls.[121]

8/30/1832 Δ≈Ω= Description of a camp with about 120 Shoshone

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117 David W. Ballard to CIA, 6 June 1866, USNA, M234: *Idaho.*

118 George C. Hough, 31 August 1866, RCIA, 189.

119 Adelaide Hawes, *The Valley of the Tall Grass* (1975, Bruneau, Idaho), pp. 79, 132.

120 Murphy & Murphy , op. cit., 322.

121 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 192-93.

Jarbidge R

who have salmon spawn, dozen spotted fish resembling tom-cod, raspberries, and serviceberries for which the party offers something in exchange.[122]

...procured fresh Salmon Spawn which was very encouraging as we are nearly out of provisions and the country would afford us a scanty subsistence I gave these Indians a few small presents to convince them of our friendly disposition. This day for the first time in this country saw raspberrys these Indians gave me a cake made of service berrys quite good they had about a Dozen of spotted fish of a kind I had never seen resembling a Tom-cod.

9/3/1832
Bruneau R

Δ ≈ Found a small party of Shoshone-Bannocks with trappers traded four hooks in exchange for eight fish (four lbs each) which looked like salmon.[123]

9/3/1832
Bruneau R

ΔΩ≈= 15 Indian "diggers" are met near a pool with stagnant water on their way to fish down river.[124]

They gave me some sweet root to eat for which I gave them 3 Hooks. they had a young yellow legged eagle with them and most of the diggers we have met had a small kind of Hawk at their camps these they feed and tame. this party also had a young bird tame resembling a King Bird....these Indians had with them staves for fish spears so we presume they are going to the river for fish and so think ourselves on the right trail.

Ethnography 1960
Bruneau R

@≈ The upriver Shoshone-Bannock's use of local fisheries during the summer is reported at this spot.[125]

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122 Young, op. cit., 165.

123 Ibid., 166.

124 Ibid., 167.

125 Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 328.

1.C: Lower Snake and Its Tributaries: Bruneau River to Mann's Creek

The lower Snake and its tributaries in Idaho and Oregon were probably some of the most productive fisheries for the Shoshone-Bannocks. Much of the population who wintered on the tributaries remained in this region throughout the year, moving up and down the valleys as season and circumstance demanded. This area known as *si.wøk`?i*, "willows in a row,"[1] was also a favorite summer fishing area for some of the populations who wintered along the upper Snake near Ferry Butte or *Pohogwe*. Even after the Shoshone-Bannocks of Idaho were removed to Fort Hall in 1867, many families continued to return to this area to fish the salmon runs during the summer months.

1.C.1: General Description

1819-1824
Lower Snake

'≈√ Ross divides Snakes into three groups: one of which was identified as the War-are-ree-kas or Fish-eaters who were described as living chiefly by fishing.[2]

> Sherry-dikas Dog-eaters, War-are-ree-kas or Fish-eaters, and Ban-at-tees or robbers. [The first] are the real Sho-sho-nes and live in the plains, hunting the buffalo...[The second]...are very numerous; but neither united nor formidable. They live chiefly fishing and are to be found along all the rivers, lakes and water pools throughout the

1 Dora Podso, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebooks, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, January 7, 1960) [Original copies located at Reno: University of Nevada Library, Special Collections], pp. 12, 18, 20, 22 {Hereafter Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook}.

2 Alexander Ross, *The Fur Hunters of the Far West: A Narrative of Adventures in the Oregon & Rocky Mountains*, Kenneth A. Spaulding, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), p. 166.

country.

1819-1824
Lower Snake

Δ≈© Description of a large salmon fishery and encampment with a discussion of fishing and drying techniques.[3]

The War-are-ree-kas are expert and successful fishermen and use many ingenious contrivances in catching the salmon but the principal one is that of spearing.

From fifty to one hundred persons may be seen within a short distance of each other, all being employed in their own particular way. At the same time, youngsters are not idle but employed in carrying home the fish to the camp, while the women, old and young, are each at their post, cleaning and preparing them for future use and particularly to meet the urgent demands of a long winter.

It seems the salmon is not terrified by noise, for in all of these instances the fishermen call out loudly to each other. the immense quantities of this delicious and serviceable fish caught at even one of these great fish camps might furnish all London with a breakfast! and although many hundred miles from the ocean, our people affirmed that it still retains its richness and flavour. From the skill of the natives in curing them they continue at all seasons of the year sweet and in good condition. They are dried slowly in sheds covered above to exclude them from the rays of the sun.

10/23/1825
Lower Snake

≈ Reports lots of dead salmon in river.[4]

9/11-12/1832
Lower Snake at
M of Owyhee/Boise

Δ≈= Settlements noted all along the river, with inhabitants catching salmon and a large fish, probably, a sturgeon which was traded to Wyeth's party. Mention is also made the existence of large nets for fishing.[5]

The river is full of salmon and a plenty of them are to be had of the Indians whom we meet every few mils [sic] fishing on the banks of

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3 Ibid., 178-79.

4 E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, eds., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1824 -1825 and 1825-1826, Vol. XIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1950), p. 92.

5 Frederick G. Young, ed., *The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth 1831-1836* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), p. 169.

the stream.

9/14/1832
Lower Snake

Δ≈= A camp located on island where trade for salmon was attempted but failed when one of Wyeth's men offered less for them from a person who slapped him and kicked his mule.[6]

Being out of provisions, I sent a man on a mule to buy some salmon he went up 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 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.

9/15/1832
Lower Snake

≈= A reported salmon trade.[7]

10/12/1832
Lower Snake

≈Ω Camas Prairie described in western Idaho where extensive camps noted about a month old. [8]

here they find salmon in a creek running through it and dig the Kamas root but not an Indian was here at this time.

July 1834
Lower Snake

≈Δ© A description of the fisheries with large numbers of people catching an abundance of salmon. Drying scaffolds and the storage of fish for winter use are also mentioned.[9]

The Shoshokoes, whom they had met with in such scanty numbers on their journey down the river [the previous summer], now absolutely

6 Ibid., 170.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., 172.

9 Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, Edgeley W. Todd, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 349.

thronged its banks to profit by the abundance of salmon, and lay up a stock for winter privisions. Scaffolds were everywhere erected, and immense quantities of fish drying upon them. At this season of year, however, the salmon are extremely poor.

Summer1834
Lower Snake

@Δ Formidable bands of Bannock from the Upper Snake are reported around the upper Payette and Boise.[10]

8/23/1834
Lower Snake

Δ≈= Description of an unsatisfactory trade.[11]

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.

10/20/1834
Lower Snake River

Δ≈ Large numbers of people are noted at the the salmon run.[12]

The Shoshokoes, whom they had met with in such scanty numbers on their journey down the river [the previous summer], now absolutely thronged its banks to profit by the abundance of salmon, and lay up a stock for winter privisions. Scaffolds were everywhere erected, and immense quantities of fish drying upon them. At this season of year, however, the salmon are extremely poor.

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10 Irving, op. cit., 337-38.

11 John Kirk Townsend, *A Narrative of a Journey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), pp. 153-54.

12 Irving, op. cit., 349.

Ethnography 1938 Lower Snake	·≈Ωπ The area was well-suited for occupation with salmon, camas grounds, and pasturage for horses.[13]
Ethnography 1960 Lower Snake	·≈Ωπ The area was rich. "The streams gave a good yield of fish, roots abounded in the valleys, and game was found in the near-by-mountains...winters are comparatively mild."[14]
Ethnography 1960 Lower Snake	@Δ~Ω√ Winter camps located along valleys and streams by caches of roots and salmon; spring subsistence was salmon and roots, and in summer they traveled to camas prairie. In late summer and early fall, salmon caught and dried for the winter but hunting was chief activity.[15]
Ethnography 1960 Lower Snake River	≈ Two salmon runs. One in March or April and a second which followed immediately after the first and continued until end spring.[16]

1.C.2: Southern Tributaries - Castle Creek to the Burnt River

From the mouth of the Owyhee River north to the Burnt River was a densely populated zone where Shoshone and Bannock speakers were intermingled. On the west side of the Snake River and lower reaches of its western tributaries most of the people were Bannock speakers, closely connected to Northern Paiute who lived much of the year in the

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13 Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970 [reprint of 1938 edition]), p. 167.

14 Robert F. Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society," *Anthropological Records* (1960), Vol. 16(6), p. 318.

15 Ibid., 319.

16 Ibid.

interior regions of Oregon.

1.C.21 - Castle Creek

9/11/1832 — Δ≈ Small family encampment where fish hooks are traded for salmon.[17]
Castle Creek

1.C.22 - Owyhee River

There were many settlements reported along this river from its mouth to its headwaters on the Idaho-Nevada border.[18]

Place Name 1973 — ß Name [tagitíKa].[19]
Owyhee R

7/08/1828 — ≈ Location of an "Indian Fish pen." [20]
Owyhee R

9/2/1831 — ≈Ω√ A description of subsistence.[21]
Upper Owyhee R

> We arrived on headwaters of the Multenemough River without anything of moment occurring--where we made our fall's hunt....We were told by the natives that those animals[buffalo] were never known further west, which is something singular, as the country is just the same, if not better as to grass. These Indians subsist principally upon salmon, and such other fish as they can catch, with the assistance of roots, buds, berries, and some small game, which

17 Young, op. cit., 168.

18 cf., for example: Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 134, 186-87; Townsend, op. cit., 153-54; Young, op. cit., 169-70.

19 Clara and Douglas Little, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 1(1973), p. 1.

20 Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1827-1828 and 1828-1829 , Vol. XXVIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971), p. 92.

21 Ewers, John, ed., *Adventures of Zenas Leonard, Fur Trader.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p. 48.

they kill with the bow and arrow.

9/13/1832 — Δ A camp located on a creek filled with salmon.[22]
Owyhee R

Ethnography 1938 — ≈ Description of some of the kinds of fish taken
Owyhee R — on this river.[23]

Ethnography 1938 — Δ≈ Observation that people both from the Snake and
Owyhee R — Humboldt Rivers wintered on the south fork of this stream when salmon were plentiful.[24]

1.C.23 - Malheur River

This was another river where Shoshone-Bannocks were reported to have traveled and lived along its entire course.[25]

Place Name 1968 — ß Name [tukwi'n.ani?i'].[26]
Malheur R

7/14/1827 — [^√ Signs of Indians on all sides burning fires.][27]
Malheur R

these are signals for Indians to assemble as they shortly will steer their course to Buffaloe.

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22 Young, op. cit., 169-70.

23 Steward, op. cit., 168.

24 Ibid.

25 cf., for example: K. G. Davies and A. M. Johnson, eds., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1826-1827, Vol. XXIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1961), p. 133; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 126-27.

26 Maggie Wewa, Interviewer, Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 4 (October 7, 1968), p. 1.

27 Davies and Johnson, op. cit., 133.

7/15/1827 ≈= A trade in carp reported.[28]
Malheur R

with a good stock of small dried Carp all were traded and will supply us food for three days so much in our favor.

9/17-18/1832 Δ≈ A settlement where salmon were traded.[29]
M of Malheur

9/28/1832 Δ≈ A settlement where an exchange for salmon
M of Malheur conducted.[30]

8/24/1834 ≈© Good description of fishing and the use of spears.
M of Malheur Also, the observation is made that people.[31]

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 and creeks &c. Across these, a net of closely woven willows is stretched, placed 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 this 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.

8/24/1834 ≈= A salmon trade conducted.[32]
M of Malheur

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28 Ibid.

29 Young, op. cit., 170-71.

30 Young, op. cit., 171.

31 Townsend, op. cit., 155-56.

32 Young, op. cit., 230.

9/7/1874 ≈√ Report of subsistence.[33]
Malheur R

I found but few Indians upon the reservation, the greater portion of those who wintered here having gone away to hunt and fish.

11/1/1874 ≈√ Description of subsistence.[34]
Malheur R

A few Indian families have cultivated small patches of land, but the body of these Indians during the summer have been absent engaged in hunting and fishing.

9/2/1875 ≈√ Account of subsistence.[35]
Malheur R

At present many of my Indians are out at their summer resorts in the mountains, hunting and fishing but will soon return.

4/23/1878 @≈Ω√ Description of subsistence.[36]
Malheur R

The Indians belonging to this reservation are collecting here from all parts of the country, and there are now more here than at any time during the winter. It is usual for them to scatter out from the agency in early spring for the purpose of hunting, fishing, and root-digging.

8/1/1878 ≈Ω© Description of fishing and fish-traps.[37]
Malheur R

On the 5th June, at noon, all the working Indians quit and left the agency without giving notice or assigning cause. On the following day the few remaining ones left in like manner, and, as I learned from my

33 Sam B. Parrish, 7 September 1874, *Report of the Commisioner of Indian Affairs* 1874, 320 {Hereafter, RCIA}.

34 Edward Smith, 1 November 1874, RCIA 1874, 76.

35 Sam B. Parrish, 2 September 1875, RCIA 1875, 349.

36 W. V. Rinehart, 1 August 1878, RCIA 1878, 119.

37 Ibid., 119-20.

interpreter, all the tribes were then congregating at the fish-traps on Main Malheur River, 20 miles from the agency.

Oral History — ~ Description of fishing drying.[38]
Malheur R

All around Malheur they used to dry salmon.

1.C.24 - Burnt River

Settlements of Bannock and Shoshone speaking peoples were reported along this river and in the nearby Blue Mountains as well.[39]

Summer 1832 — ≈ Discussion of traders dependence on local salmon.[40]
near Burnt R

We traveled some days along or in the vicinity of the Lewis river after meeting Indians, and subsisting mostly on fresh or dried salmon bought or given us from them, and making short or long day's journeys and laying over to catch the beaver.

8/25/1834 — ≈Δ= An encampment with ten lodges of Snakes and Bannocks from whom 80 salmon were purchased.[41]
near Burnt R

8/26/1834 — ≈Δ= A family of Snakes from whom a considerable quantity of salmon is purchased.[42]
Burnt R

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38 Meggie Wewa, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad Notebook 4 (October 8, 1968), p. 4.

39 cf., for example: Francis D. Haines, Jr., ed., *The Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831: John Work's Field Journal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 11; William S. Lewis & Paul C. Phillips, eds., *The Journal of John Work* (Cleveland: The Arthur Clark Company, 1923), p. 131; Townsend, op. cit., 156-58; Williams, op. cit., 93-94.

40 John Ball, *The Autobiography of John Ball, 1794-1894* (1925, Glendale, Ca: The Arthur Clark Co.), p. 85.

41 Townsend, op. cit., 156.

42 Ibid., 157-58.

Fall of 1850 ≈ Description of spear fishing.[43]
Burnt R

> numbers of Indians engaged in spearing salmon. They are very expert at this work, and it is not very unusual for an Indian to spear three or four salmon, from twenty to thirty pounds in weight each, in the course of ten minutes.

1.C.3: Northern Tributaries - Boise River to Mann's Creek

This was also an area densely populated by Shoshone and Bannock speakers in historic times, and it was a location where the two populations were intermixed. On the east side of the Snake, most of the Bannock speakers lived along the lower reaches of its eastern tributaries while Shoshone speakers tended to live farther upstream towards the headwaters of the Boise, Payette, and Weiser Rivers.

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43 Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great-Salt-Lake City.* Volume 2 (London: W. Jeffs, 1861), p. 506.

1.C.31 - Boise River and Its Tributaries

The main river and its tributaries from their headwaters to the Snake were a popular location for the settlements of Shoshone and Bannock speaking peoples.[44]

Place Name 1958 Boise R	ß Name [Sø'hu`.dEc] [Sø'hu.ric] [Sø'ha`?.øgwEI?Ec] [Sø'hø`?.øgwa`itE], "cottonwood flow."[45]
11/22/1811 Boise R	Δ~π= A camp with dried salmon, dogs, and horses for trade. [46]
8/16/1812 Boise R	Δ ≈ The location of camps where immense amounts salmon were taken.[47]

> the most renowned Fishing place in this Country It is consequently the resort of the majority of Snakes where immense numbers of Salmon are taken.

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44 cf., Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, Anahuac and Rocky Mountains and in the Oregon Territory* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1843), pp. 139-40; Wilson Price Hunt, "Diary of His Overland Trip Westward to Astoria 1811-12," *Narratives. The Discovery of the Oregon Trail.* Philip Aston Rollins, ed. (New York: Edward Eberstadt & Sons, 1935), p. 296; Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, eds., *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont. Vol. 1, Travels from 1838 to 1844* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. 538-39; Joel Palmer, "Journal of Travels Over the Oregon Trail in 1845-1846," in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels. Volume XXX* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), p. 98; Robert Stuart, "Robert Stuart's Narratives of His Overland Trip Eastward From Astoria in 1812-13," *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail*, Phillip Ashton Rollins, ed. (New York: Eberstadt & Sons, 1935), p. 83; Haines, op. cit., 17; Irving, op. cit., 228, 337-38; Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 91, 132; Ross, op. cit., 150, 262-63; Townsend, op. cit., 44, 147-49, 152-53; Young, op. cit., 170-71.

45 Lizzie Edmo & Delia Pohipe, Sven Liljeblad Interviewer, Notebook 4 (1958), p. 6.

46 Hunt, op. cit., 296.

47 Stuart, op. cit., 83.

Fall of 1824
Boise R

≈= A fish trade where Ross reports he gave people good measure "to keep a good understanding with them."[48]

the Snakes became constant visitors at our camp but were not always so friendly as I could wish. We however occasionally bought a fine salmon from them, in order that they might become possessed of some useful and necessary articles; but especially to keep up a good understanding with them. A needle was given for a salmon, an awl for ten, and a knife for fifty! and they could have enriched themselves at that rate, had we been able to encourage the trade.

10/23/1825
Boise R

Δ≈ Small Camp of Shoshone busily collecting dead salmon.[49]

2/23/1826
Boise R

Δ≈ An abandoned campsite where large numbers of people gather in salmon season.[50]

there are no want of Indian Roads and from the number of old Huts no doubt in the Salmon season no scarcity of Indians but at present only a few starving wretches to be seen.

10/8/1827
Boise R

Δ≈ Shoshone dwelling with three men and their families. who have carp.[51]

visit loaded with small carp of a most indifferent kind but with which this river, spring and fall, swarms with, and when the salmon season is over afford food for the miserable snakes.

9/18/1830
Boise R

Δ≈© An encampment of Indians salmon fishing who were also breaking up beaver lodges.[52]

The men saw good marks of beaver but several Indians are encamped

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48 Ross, op. cit., 266.

49 Rich & Johnson, op. cit., 91.

50 Ibid., 132.

51 Williams, op. cit., 15.

52 Haines, op. cit., 17.

on the river fishing salmon and breaking up the beaver lodges with sticks which renders them so wild that it is difficult to kill them. It is a risk leaving the traps as the Indians would steal them.

6/02/1832
Meadow Creek

[Δ*√= An encounter with a small group of Shoshone who trade some skins].[53] *(Probably on upper reaches of Boise drainage near the Stanley Basin).*

8/19/1834
Boise R

®≈= Remark on the abundance of salmon in river, and the traders dependence on Indian fishing for food.[54]

It is literally *crowded* with salmon, which are springing from the water almost constantly. Our mouths are watering most abundantly for some of them, but we are not provided with suitable implements for taking any, and must therefore depend for a supply on the Indians, whom we hope soon to meet.

8/20/1834
Boise R

≈= Indians observed fishing; a trade conducted for three salmon.[55]

8/20/1834
Boise R

©≈ Description of salmon spears and knives in men's girdles.[56]

8/20/1834
Boise R

Δ~= An encampment where dried salmon are purchased.[57]

In a short time the Indians came to us in great numbers, with bundles of dried salmon in their arms, and a few recent ones. We commenced our trading immediately, giving them in exchange, fish-hooks, beads, knives, paint &c, and before evening had procured sufficient provision for the consumption of our party until we arrive at the falls of Snake river where we are told we shall meet the Bannecks from whom we can doubtless trade a supply, which will serve us until we reach Walla-walla.

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53 Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 160.

54 Ibid., 139.

55 Ibid., 141-43.

56 Ibid., 143.

57 Ibid., 145.

8/20/1834
Boise R

Δ≈= A trade for salmon at a local encampment.[58]

8/21/1834
Boise R

Δ≈= A salmon trade reported.[59]

8/22/1834
Boise R

Δ≈© A detailed description of racks for drying salmon.[60]

> Fish, recent and half dried, were scattered all over the ground...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.

8/22/1834
Boise R

Δ≈= Another brisk fish trade taking place with people bringing "bundles of salmon." Also, a description is given for the standard rates of exchange.[61]

> [In a short time the Indians came to us in great numbers, with bundles of dried salmon in their arms, and a few recent ones. We commenced our trading immediately, giving them in exchange, fish-hooks, beads, knives, paint, &c, and before evening, had procured sufficient provision for the consumption of our party] ...The price of a dried salmon is a straight awl, and a small fish hook, value about one cent; ten fish are given for a common butcher knife that costs eight cents.

8/23/1834
Boise R

Δ≈= A village of Bannocks who were fishing; there is an angry confrontation over trade.[62]

> 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

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58 Young, op. cit., 230.

59 Ibid.

60 Townsend, op. cit., 147-49.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid., 152-54. (His remarks are remarkably similar to one of Wyeth's journal entries for September 19, 1832. This could be another incident, but Townsend may be embellishing his journal too.)

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 tranquility 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 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 despatched 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 the neglected salmon. The Indians were evidently very much irritated.

8/23/1834
Boise River

Δ≈= A small village where salmon are traded.[63]

8/14-15/1836
M of Boise R

ΔΩ≈= Indian lodges noted on bank, and residents come with salmon and serviceberry cakes to trade.[64]

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63 Young, op. cit., 230.

64 Myra F. Eells, *1838 Diaries of Myra F. Eells.* Original manuscript (Portland: Oregon State Historical Society), August 14-15, 1838.

9/13/1839
Boise R

≈Δ= An encampment of fifty lodges, with whom the party had traded for sixty salmon the night before.[65]

10/8/1839
Boise R

≈ Describes fishing encampment and the terms of exchange for fish.[66]

> We descended the bluff, followed down the Boise three or four miles, and crossed the river into an encampment of Snake fisherman. They were employed in laying in their winter store of salmon. Many horses were feeding on the plain. We turned ours loose also for a bite of the fresh grass, while we bought fish, &c., and made other arrangements to improve digestion and our speed in traveling. Our business was transacted as follows: -- For one large fish-hook we bought one salmon; for one paper vermilion, six bunches of spawn; for one butcher-knife, one leathern fish rope. Carbo exchanged horses; disposed of one worth five shillings for one worth three, and gave a blanket and ten loads of ammunition to boot.

10/7/1843
Boise R

Δ~≈=π Several encampments observed and their residents brought dried and fresh fish to trade on horseback.[67]

> 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.

10/8/1843
Boise R

Δ≈¥ Encounters with Indians near fort for whom salmon purportedly their "only subsistence." Also description of insects eaten.[68]

> During the summer, the only subsistence of these people is derived from the salmon, of which they are not provident enough to lay up a

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65 Leroy Hafen and Ann Hafen, eds., *To The Rockies and Oregon, 1839-1842: with Diaries and Accounts by Sidney Smith, Amos Cook, Joseph Holman, E. Willard Smith, Francis Fletcher, Joseph Williams, Obadiah Oakley, Robert Shortess, T. J. Farnham* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1855), p. 86.

66 Farnham, op. cit., 139-40.

67 John Charles Frémont, *Narratives of Exploration and Adventure,* Allan Nevins, ed. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1969), p. 275; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 536-37.

68 Fremont, ibid., 276-77; Jackson & Spence, ibid., 538-39;

sufficient store for the winter, during which many of them die from absolute starvation.

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.

10/10/1843 — $\Delta\approx\surd$ Names of local groups "salmon," "grasshopper," and "ant" eaters.[69]
Boise R

9/22/1850 — $\approx=$ Salmon traded from local Shoshone-Bannocks.[70]
Boise R

The only White living there was a Scotchman, who was trading in peltries with the Indians. This man's food was almost entirely salmon, fresh and dried, and dried salmon-skins, which have a little of the flesh still remaining on the inside as they come from the Indian fisheries and which are boiled in milk.

2/18/1860 — $\approx\Omega$ Description of subsistence.[71]
Boise R

Bannocks of Fort Boise...Subsistence, Salmon fish, wild vegetable and roots.

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69 Charles Preuss, *Exploring with Fremont: The Private Diaries of Charles Preuss, Cartographer for John C. Fremont on His First, Second, and Fourth Expeditions to the Far West.* Edwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde, eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 92-93.

70 Remy & Brenchley, op. cit., 505.

71 Lander to CIA. 18 February 1860, M234: *Utah.*

8/1862
Upper Boise R

≈Δ Description of fish in camp at Boise Basin where the prospector steals the stores abandoned by the camps frightened inhabitants.[72]

The lodges, however, were well filled with salmon, both fresh and dried...[The prospector helped himself] to all the salmon I could carry," and returned to his camp.

10/10/1864
Boise R

≈ Provisions of unratified treaty with Boise people.[73]

right of equally sharing the fisheries of said [Boise] river with the citizens of the U. S.

6/16/1866
Boise R

~ Stores of fish laid up for winter and fear of Paiute.[74]

They are living in constant dread of the whites settled on the Owyhee and Boise Rivers, as well as a band of Pyuttes which sometimes makes raids upon them for the purpose of stealing their stock of roots and fish which they lay up in spring and summer for winter.

9/4/1866
Boise River

Δ≈¥Ω Description of subsistence.[75]

There are in the regions last indicated various roving bands, whose principal subsistence is upon the fish obtained from snake river and its tributaries, roots and crickets...[the Boise Indians] obtained a precarious subsistence by fishing, digging roots, gathering crickets, and performing menial service for white settlers.

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72 John Hailey, *The History of Idaho* (Boise, ID: Syms-York Company, 1910), p. 40.

73 ?

74 David W. Ballard, 16 June 1866, M234, *Idaho.*

75 David W. Ballard, 4 April 1866, RCIA 1866, 190.

6/27/1867
Boise R

≈ Treaty deliberation where local Shoshone-Bannock leaders responded that they wanted an area to hunt and fish.[76]

[Ballard] Q Would like to live on a reservation provided we build you houses, teach you to farm & c?

[Bannock headmen] A We want to hunt Buffalo and to fish.

7/06/ 1867
Boise R

@≈√ Relocation of camp to accommodate subsistence needs.[77]

although in removing them to the new camp, they are deprived of the pittance they were able to procure by menial service about the city of Boise, yet it is hoped the superior advantages of hunting and fishing at their new camp will fully compensate therefore...

7/15/ 1867
Boise R

≈√ Inadequate stores of food and fish.[78]

At present the Indians kill some game, but perhaps not enough to compensate for the scraps they were able to pick up by doing jobs, &c., at Boise City. When the waters recede their fishing will be more successful.

7/31/ 1867
Boise R

≈ Description of reliance on salmon.[79]

Salmon they have caught many, and my endeavor is to have them prepared for winter use. The Indians, however, have no care, and are slow to learn or be instructed; they have their own peculiar way of doing things, and think theirs is the best and most judicious.

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76 **find source**

77 David W. Ballard to Capt. Charles F. Powell, 6 July 1867, RCIA 1867.

78 Capt. Charles F. Powell to David W. Ballard , 15 July 1867, RCIA.

79 Capt. Charles F. Powell to Gov. David W. Ballard, 31 July 1867, RCIA.

8/15/1868
Boise R

≈Ω√ Account of moving Bruneau and Boise peoples to a place where they could engage in some subsistence activities.[80]

where they [the Boises and Bruneaus] could do some fishing and gather some roots and berries but the season was an unusually poor one for fishing, so they were unable to catch but few.

2/15/1873
Boise R

@≈Ω√ Agent describes annual travels and subsistence round off reservation afforded by the terms of the Fort Bridger treaty, including Boise River.[81]

Ethnography 1938
Boise R

@≈= The downstream movements of the upriver Shoshone-Bannocks to fish and trade on this river.[82]

Ethnography 1960
Boise R

@≈ The upriver Shoshone-Bannocks' use of local fisheries in the summertime.[83]

Ethnography 1960
Boise R

≈√ In fall, hunting and fishing took place simultaneously along the upper reaches of the river.[84]

Ethnography 1960
Boise R

≈ This river was richer in fish than those in Oregon and salmon could be caught upstream to the headwaiters. Many Northern Paiute crossed the Snake and fished this stream.[85]

Ethnography 1960
Boise R

@≈= Shoshone-Bannocks from the Upper Snake fished this river.[86]

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80 Capt. Charles F. Powell, 15 August 1868, RCIA.

81 Thomas Bennett to SI, 15 February 1873, M234: *Idaho*.

82 Steward, op. cit., 203.

83 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 328.

84 Ibid., 319.

85 Ibid., 318.

86 Murphy & Murphy (1960), op. cit., 318.

1.C.32 - Payette River

Settlements of both Shoshone and Bannock speakers dotted the Payette River from its headwaters to the Snake,[87] and encampments were also reported in historic sources for its tributaries, including Big Willow[88] and Little Willow Creeks.[89] Even after the Fort Hall Reservation was founded, many groups remained in this region especially in the vicinity of McCall and Smith's Ferry, Idaho, well into the twentieth century.[90]

Place Name 1958 South Fork	ßΔ Name of South Fork of Payette or Black Rock River [tu'piciahø'.uøßi] [tu'ph'ia(')ho'(.)nø(')ßi(')], which was also reported as a Bannock wintering ground.[91]
Place Name 1958 South Fork	ßΔ Name of people who lived around South Fork of Payette known as [tu'·psiwa'ndai ni?mE].[92]
Place Name 1958 Payette Lake	ßΔ Name of Lake [E'zga?aya'ßcya'r·n] and also identification of winter settlement on south side at

87 cf., for example: Haines, op. cit., 13; Irving, op. cit., 337-38; Jackson & Spence, op. cit., 543-44; Murphy & Murphy, ibid., 318-19; Steward, op. cit., 172; Williams, op. cit., 12-13.

88 Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 165.

89 Ibid., 166.

90 Josephine Thorpe, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 5 (1958), pp. 5-6, 16, 19.

91 Ibid., 6.

92 Ibid.

Smith's Ferry.[93]

Place Name 1958 — ßΩΔ Name of country near Emmet [pásigo?ahu'noßi^{c}] [94]

Camas Grounds — and the people were called [pásigo?o pá·aiti^{c}].[95]

Place Name 1962 — ßΩΔ Name of Round Valley [pásigø?øygø'uø?in·A] or

Camas Grounds — [ja'mba'ya'?I].[96]

9/9/1830 — Δ≈®π= Salmon, cords, and horses are traded. [97]

Payette R

Several Snake Indians visited us both from below and above our camp to trade salmon, cords, &c. they also changed some horses with the people.

10/12/66 — Δ≈ Joint fishing ground of Shoshone-Bannocks and Nez

S Fk of Payette — Perce.[98]

I saw much sign of them, where they had caught and dried large quantities of fish for next-winter, and since leaving there I learned that there has been a great number of Nez Perces and some Shoshones there fishing, both the Nez Perces and the Shoshones claim the south fork of the Payette as a fishing ground.

10/12/66 — [Δ Report of a Shoshone-Bannocks band of between 75

U Payette to — and 100 living in the mountains between the Payette and

to Salmon R — Salmon Rivers.][99]

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93 Ibid., 5, 36.

94 Ibid., 16.

95 Ibid., 19.

96 Ibid.

97 Haines, op. cit., 13.

98 Geo. C. Hough to David W. Ballard, 12 October 1866, M234: *Idaho.*

99 Ibid.

2/15/1873 Payette R	@≈Ω√ Agent describes annual travels and subsistence round off reservation afforded by the terms of the Fort Bridger Treaty, including Payette River.[100]
Ethnography 1938 Payette R	@≈= The downstream movements of the upriver Shoshone to fish and trade on this river are described.[101]
Ethnography 1938 Payette R	≈© A fish weir reported at this location.[102]
Ethnography 1938 Payette R	≈ Certain species entered river but did not pass beyond Snake.[103]
Oral History 1959 Payette R	[Δ First sight of white settlers at Smith's Ferry.][104]
Ethnography 1960 Payette R	≈√ In fall, hunting and fishing took place simultaneously in upper waters of the river.[105]

100 Thomas Bennett to SI, 15 February 1873, M234: *Idaho.*

101 Steward, op. cit., 203.

102 Steward (1938), op. cit., 172.

103 Ibid., 42.

104 Yanee Teton, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 1 (1959), p. 8.

105 Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 319.

1.C.33 - Weiser River

Settlements were described on the Weiser[106] and its tributaries[107] beginning at an early date. This was also an area where people remained and/or returned long after the establishment of a reservation at Fort Hall.

Place Name 1940 — ß Name [sixiuøk'i].[108]
Weiser R

Place Name 1951 — ß Name [si'hiwø.ki?I].[109]
Weiser R

Place Name 1960 — ß Name [SahawsiKi'?I].[110]
Weiser R

Place Name 1965 — ß Name [Sihiwø`:Ki?I].[111]
Weiser R

Place Name 1968 — ß Name [Si'iwøiKi?i].[112]
Weiser R

12/17/1811 — Δ~Ω= A camp of Shoshone with dried fish, some roots,

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106 cf., for example: Davies & Johnson, op. cit., 131; Hunt, op. cit., 299; Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 166; Murphy & Murphy, ibid., 318-19; Ross, op. cit., 178-79, 269; Steward, op. cit., 172.

107 Hunt, op. cit., 296.

108 Andrew Johnson, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 19 (1940), p. 1.

109 Irene Edmo & Jeanette Pocatello, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 3 (1951), p. 24.

110 Dora Pondso, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, (January 4, 1960), p. 2.

111 Jack and Elizabeth Quanda, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 2 (1965), p. 30.

112 Maggie Wewa, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 4 (October 8, 1968), p. 4.

Weiser R

and dried pulverized cherries for trade.[113]

Fall of 1824
Weiser R

Δ≈ Amaketsa's village described as a fishing camp.[114]

7/09/1827
Weiser R

ΔΩ©≈π Remains of a winter camp with fifty huts are found. Also there is a description of how wormwood is used to make fishing nets and ropes for horses.[115]

...they appear to have remained here the greater part of the winter for I observe for two miles beyond their Camp they had peel'd the Bark of the Worm Wood it is with this they manufacture their *scoop* Nets their lines and Ropes for their Horses and it answers well almost equal to those manufactured with Hemp...one of the Trappers discovered an Indian with his wife [but he would not come forth].

6/25/1832
Weiser R

*≈√π= Snake Indians arrive at Work's encampment to visit and trade dried salmon, horses, and peltries.[116]

A number of Snake Indians arrived accompanied by three of the chiefs, and passed the most of the day with us, and traded some forty beaver, some dry salmon, and changed several horses.

6/28/1832
Weiser R

*≈√π= Snake Indians come to Work's encampment further downstream to trade dried salmon and peltries. The entry also describes the assistance his party was given by the locals in getting their horses across stream.[117]

At the same time the horses were crossed, and much difficulty we had getting them into the water at different times, about twenty are still to cross, all the efforts of the people could not get them driven into the water though assisted by Snake Indians. Some of the people

113 Hunt, op. cit., 299.

114 Ross, op. cit., 269.

115 Davies and Johnson, op. cit., 131.

116 Lewis & Phillips, op. cit., 166.

117 Ibid., 167.

went to the Snake camp in the morning, and traded some and a few dried salmon. Several of the Indians came to the camp, and traded a few beaver and some other articles.

2/15/1873
Weiser R

@≈Ω√ Agent describes annual travels and subsistence round off reservation afforded by the terms of the Fort Bridger Treaty, including Weiser.[118]

4/13/1874
Weiser R

Δ≈√ Description of a "band" and their subsistence activities.[119]

One band of about one hundred and fifty Bannocks and Shoshones under a renegade chief called 'Eagle Eye' remain the year around in the Weiser Valley in the midst of the white settlements hunting, fishing, stealing and marauding to the great terror and danger of the inhabitants These Indians by kindred and by tribal relations properly belong to the Fort Hall Reservation. Several smaller and meaner bands are scattered along Snake and Bruneau rivers and like those under 'Eagle Eye' belong to Ft. Hall .

Ethnography 1938
Weiser R

@≈= The downstream movements of the upriver Shoshone-Bannocks to fish and trade on this river.[120]

Oral History 1958
U Weiser R

ß People who lived in Long Valley on upper Weiser and Payette were known as [si'hiwø].[121]

Ethnography 1960
Weiser R

@≈ The upriver Shoshone-Bannocks' use of local fisheries in the summertime.[122]

Ethnography 1960
Weiser R

©≈ Fish traps were made on lower reaches of river. [123]

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118 Thomas Bennett to SI, 15 February 1873, M234: *Idaho.*

119 Thomas Bennett to CIA. 13 April 1874, M234: *Idaho.*

120 Steward, op. cit., 203.

121 Josephine Thorpe, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 5 (1958), p. 9.

122 Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 328.

123 Ibid., 319.

Ethnography 1960
Weiser R

≈ This river was richer in fish than those in Oregon and salmon could be caught upstream to the headwaters. Many Northern Paiute crossed the Snake and fished this stream.[124]

Ethnography 1960
Weiser R

@≈= Upper Snake River Bannock fished these waters, and also traded in upper valley with Nez Perce.[125]

Ethnography 1960
Weiser R

©≈ Fish traps were made near Long Valley.[126]

History 1988
Weiser R

@≈= Area of Council Valley and Indian Valley were renowned fishing locations and gathering places for trade between various tribes in the region. [127]

The town, valley, and mountain are named for the councils held here, especially on the butte, for a great many years. Reportedly, Nez Perce, Coeur D'Alenes, Shoshonis, Umatillas, Sheepeaters, Lemhi, Bannocks, and Sioux met regularly for trade, games, and salmon fishing.

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124 Ibid., 318.

125 Ibid.

126 Ibid.

127 Lalia Boone, *Idaho Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1988), p. 94.

1.D: The Salmon River and Its Affluents

The Salmon River, from its the headwaters to its mouth, was and continues to be an important fishery for the Shoshone-Bannock peoples of Idaho. Although the first Shoshone-Bannock fisheries to be observed by European-Americans appeared in the 1805 journal entries of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, they were not well reported in subsequent decades. Largely isolated and removed from the heavy traffic of the trappers' routes and the emigrant trails, local Shoshone-Bannock settlements and fisheries were outside the range of most European-American observers. In the last half of the nineteenth century, however, a rich and largely uninterrupted body of reporting has emerged on the importance of Shoshone-Bannock fisheries along the Salmon and its various tributaries.

1.D.1: General Descriptions

Place Name 1957 — ß Name [ayáp.a.'hu.'ua'c].[1]
Salmon River

Place Name 1959 — ß Name [a`ya'ip.a'c].[2]
Salmon River

Place Name 1965 — ß Name [cycm.ba`.?A].[3]
Salmon River

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[1] Martha and Norman Tinno, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 6 (1957), p. 44.

[2] Lizzie Edmo, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 11 (1959), p. 20.

[3] Elizabeth and Jack Quanda, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 2 (1965), pp. 30-31.

Place Name 1972 — ß Name [?a´ya`imba`.?a'].[4]
Salmon River

2/18/1860 — Δ≈√π General description of people on Salmon River.[5]
Unspecified

Lodges 50: subsistence salmon and trout, elk, deer, and antelope, range on Salmon River and mountains north of it; horses small in number. A small band of Sheepeaters are very fierce and wild, rarely visiting whites.

10/12/1866 — [Δ Report of a Shoshone band who ranges between Payette and Salmon Rivers.][6]
Unspecified

Ethnography 1909 — ≈© Description of fishing devices and methods used on the Salmon River and its tributaries.[7]
Unspecified.

Ethnography 1938 — ≈© Description of fishing technologies in area.[8]
Unspecified.

Ethnography 1938 — ≈® Species of fish taken in the area.[9]
Unspecified.

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4 Albert and Lois Navo, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 3 (1972), p. 2.

5 Lander to Commisioner of Indian Affairs {Hereafter, CIA}, 18 February 1860, U.S. National Archives {Hereafter, USNA}, *Utah Superintendency,* Microcopy 234 {Hereafter, M234: *Utah* }.

6 Geo. C. Hough to David W. Ballard, 12 October 1866, USNA, *Idaho Superintendency,* Microcopy 234 {Hereafter, M234: *Idaho* }.

7 Robert H. Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (1909), Vol. 2(2), pp. 186-87.

8 Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970) [reprint of 1938 edition], p. 191; Julian Steward, "Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshoni," *UAnthropological Records* (1943), Vol. 8(3), pp. 167-70, 298.

9 Steward (1938), ibid., 190.

Ethnography 1938 Unspecified.	≈ Leadership in organizing cooperative fishing endeavors in the making of weirs and dams.[10]
Oral History 1950 Unspecified	≈© Salmon taken with spears.[11]
Oral History 1959 Unspecified	≈© Salmon taken with fish traps.[12]
Ethnography 1960 Unspecified.	≈© Salmon taken on the main river with harpoons.[13]
Ethnography 1960 Unspecified.	≈© Technologies and practices in fishing.[14]
Testimony 1970 Unspecified	≈ Salmon stored through freezing.[15]
Testimony 1970 Unspecified	≈© Use of greasewood in making spears; also reports hooks in fishing.[16]
Testimony 1970 Unspecified	≈© Expression [tygi] means both "to fish" and "to hunt."[17]

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10 Ibid., 194.

11 Albert Cawson, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 3 (March 18, 1950), p. 19.

12 Lizzie Edmo, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook II (June 7, 1959), p. 21.

13 Robert F. Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society," *Anthropological Records* (1960), Vol. 16(6), p. 323.

14 Ibid., 331.

15 Mrs. Jesse Taylor in *State of Idaho v. Gerald Cleo Tinno*, District Court of the Seventh Judicial District of the State of Idaho in and for the County of Custer, State of Idaho (April 1, 1970), 04-759. Court Transcript {Hereafter, *State of Idaho v. Tinno* }, p. 78; Arthur Tendoy in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, ibid., 145; Gerald Tinno in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, ibid., 179, 181.

16 Mrs. Jesse Taylor, ibid., 83-84.

17 Ibid., 84-86.

Testimony 1970 ≈© Use of spears and hooks in fishing.[18]
Unspecified

Testimony 1970 ≈© Use of spears in fishing.[19]
Unspecified

Testimony 1970 ≈= Salmon not sold commercially.[20]
Unspecified

Oral History 1997 ≈© Spear fishing, division of labor by gender.[21]
Unspecified

> There's a road and the Salmon's (the river) right down here. The Salmon kind of turns like this. The store's right here (at Ellis). The whole thing is just a steep slide of rock like that. And what they do, if I remember right, the men are in the water. They are standing in the water like that, right in the Salmon, that's clear right there. These ladies and the older men can't get down there. They can't do it no more. Like a lady, like you, if she's got a husband down there standing with a spear in that much water, then you watch.
>
> See there are salmon in there. This is the important part of the whole thing that people don't understanding. The salmon are in there. The salmon are all over. The men are all lined up down there. The women are sitting up there. Pretty soon one of them [salmon] start breeding right there, like in front of your husband or just above him somewhere. Then you just holler at him, get his attention. Then he'll throw that spear. When they get done, those fish, those salmon, get done with their work, then you have him throw his spear forward up there somewhere. You tell him, 'Roll it down, roll it down,' or something like that, and the spear will be coming down. And when that spear...say that salmon is right here...is falling down, you say, 'Now!'."
>
> They (the women) work up there, see. They do not...all the Lemhi Shoshones, I remember, do not spear salmon before they get their eggs in the water. It's after, right when they get done with their mating is when

18 Ibid., 81-3; Cora George, in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 93-4; Dr. Earl Swanson in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 108-09.

19 Arthur Tendoy in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 144-45; Russell Pokibro in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 158-59; Daso Napo in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 172-74; Gerald Tinno in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 178-79.

20 Cora George in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 95; Gerald Tinno in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 181.

21 Jonah Mink, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, July 2, 1997), pp. 50-51.

they do that. Like the fish, they will be laying right here, and they get done. Before they start floating too far, that's when they get'em. They don't get'em before they have their eggs.

Oral History 1997 ≈© Technology, division of labor by age and gender.[22]
Unspecified

What they did, they made, over this creek where the salmon spawn (There's only certain spots they do.) they built a...They pulled all these tall trees down, willows or whatever it is. They were moving them like this (gesture) right over that creek. That wide. I remember I was watching them. They kept putting some on until a man could lay on there, crosswise. There was enough room for one man to lay up there. Same thing, now....They had that thing woven. They pulled everything down like that so the man could climb up there, lay up there.

So this is when these salmon start again. This guy laying up there is a spotter. At that time, us kids and women, the salmon are there. The salmon was all over the creek. So they had us kids playing around close to the creek, or river, and listen. So once you start to hear that splashing, you run back to the camp and tell the people. The men are sitting there, their spears and everything sharp, and poles taped together. That's when one pair starts the whole thing, and spawning starts.

Everybody goes back down and hits that river and takes their places, wherever they sat. That guy climbs up there. So he lays up there and tells whoever is up there, there is a salmon next to him. They're spawning and that guy can see them. Or else, he can tell the other guy, " I can't see any. Tell me. So he tells him, 'Okay. Throw your spear up river and float it down.' Down, up, something like that. 'Now!' So they get two salmon. As soon as they get through spawning, before they get 'em, they've got to make sure that the eggs ae laid. I saw somewhere, in one of these creeks, that's what they did.

One time my playmates were sitting there watching them. Sometimes the older kids could drag the salmon. My grandfather or my father would kill a salmon and bring it up to the bank and give it to us kids. We had to drag it back to the house. The women were over there waiting. They got their fires going. They would cut'em open, dress'em up and put them against the fires and start roasting them. So that's our job, dragging them salmon, if we was big enough. Sometimes we was too small. The salmon are bigger than we are.

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22 Mink, op. cit.,8.

Oral History 1997 ≈© Fishing with dams.[23]
Unspecified

> Say if there's a small creek, two of 'em going like that (gesturing), maybe they'd go in back down here and cut the water off on one. If there's one creek coming down, all of sudden they'll take off, they'll separate. But they'll catch each other down here. Or else they just take off somewhere else. They'll block this one off. See, the water dries up and there's fish all over. They just go up there and pick them up. That's another way of catching. I remember that.

Oral History 1997 ≈ Use of sweat lodge by men before fishing.[24]
Unspecified

Oral History 1997 ≈® Types of fish taken.[25]
Unspecified

Oral History 1997 ≈ ® The role of women in fish work.[26]
Unspecified

1.D.2: North of Main Branch of Salmon River

While this was not a major area of settlement for the Shoshone-Bannocks, it is clear that they traveled and used this area on occasion.

8/1862 [* Bannock encountered at Elk City tells of gold
Elk City in Boise Basin.][27]

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23 Ibid., 52.

24 Ibid., 18-19.

25 Ibid., 2-15.

26 Ibid., 52.

27 John Hailey, *The History of Idaho* (Boise, ID: Syms-York Company, 1910), pp. 36-44.

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location.[28]
Boulder Creek

Ethnography (1993) ≈ Report of fishing location.[29]
Horse Creek

1.D.2: South of Main Branch of the Salmon River from Its Mouth to Middle Fork

Along the many waterways south of the main branch of the Salmon River, between its mouth and the Middle Fork, was the homeland of *Túkudeka* who traveled in small parties throughout the region and who were reported to have had encampments in the 1870s along Big Creek and the Middle Fork. This population was intermixed with Nez Perce, and its members were closely connected to Shoshone and Bannock speakers who resided on the upper waters of the Weiser and Payette Rivers. Because of the remoteness of this area, there were few reports about this population until the so-called "Sheepeater Campaign" of 1879.

1.D.21: Little Salmon River

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing locations on Little Salmon and its
Little Salmon R tributaries, Little Boulder Creek, Hard Creek and Hazard Creek.[30]

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28 Deward E. Walker, Jr., "Lemhi Shoshone-Bannock Reliance on Anadromous and Other Fish Resources," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* (1993) Vol. 27(2), p. 240.

29 Ibid., 241.

30 Walker, op. cit., 242.

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location for Andrew Johnson and his family. [31]
Little Salmon R

1.D.22: South Fork, Warren Creek, and Rapid River

8/02/1867 [Δ Location of territory of 100 Shoshone.][32]
Warren Creek

Towards the centre of the Territory, in the neighborhood of "Warrens," is a small band of about 100 friendly Shoshones.

8/07/1879 [Δ Passed several abandoned Shoshone-Bannock camps.][33]
South Fork

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location.[34]
Rapid River

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Fishing site for Lemhi-Shoshone.[35]
South Fork

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location.[36]
Trout Creek (between south fork and middle fork)

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location.[37]
South Fork/Johnson R

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31 Yellowstone Interview (Francis Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 12.

32 David W. Ballard, RCIA, 2 of August, 1867, 247.

33 Johnny Carrey and Cort Conley, *The Middle Fork & The Sheepeater War* (Cambridge, ID: Backeddy Books, 1980), p. 183.

34 Walker, op. cit., 243.

35 Ibid., 244.

36 Ibid., 243.

37 Emory Tendoy, Interviewer Jeannette Wolfley, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, September 24, 1997), p. 1.

1.D.3: Middle Fork and Its Affluents

This was also a major area of *Túkudeka* travel, subsistence, and settlement, and one which was disrupted by mining in the 1860s. Fishing locations and other subsistence sites have been reported by several elders of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes who lived in this region as children or whose parents and grandparents resided here. Julian Steward identified a major settlement areas at the mouth of the Middle Fork and near the "Three Rivers," both of which are confirmed by contemporary Shoshone-Bannock tribal elders.[38]

Place Name 1997 — ß Shoshone name [tohsapahsiwarai].[39]
Middle Fork

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Fishing location where William Nevada went.[40]
Middle Fork

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Fishing location.[41]
Middle Fork

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38 Steward, op. cit., 188.

39 Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo), Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Four, pp. 17, 21 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript Four}.

40 Yellowstone Interview (Emory Tendoy), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 6.

41 Emory Tendoy, Interviewer Jeannette Wolfley, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 26, 1997), pp. 8, 16, 44.

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location. [42]
Middle Fork

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location. [43]
Middle Fork

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location. [44]
Middle Fork

Oral History 1997 ≈ Location for gathering clam shells.[45]
Middle Fork

1.D.31: Mouth of Middle Fork

Place Name1938 [Δ Campsite near junction of Middle Fork and
M of Middle Fork Salmon called [bohodai].[46]

Place Name 1997 ß Shoshone name [pahsiwarai] "sandy little creeks."[47]
M of Middle Fork

Place Name 1997 ß Shoshone name [pahsiwallai]. [48]
M of Middle Fork

Testimony 1970 ≈ Fishing location reported here.[49]
M of Middle Fork to headwaters

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42 Salmon River, Transcript Four, op. cit., 15.

43 Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewers Patricia C. Albers & Jennifer Lowry, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Six, p. 12 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript Six}.

44 Ibid., 31.

45 Ibid., 33.

46 Steward (1938), op. cit., 188.

47 Salmon River, Transcript Four, 22.

48 Salmon River, Transcript Six, 31.

49 Cora George in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 90.

Oral History1997

M of Middle Fork ≈ Fishing location.[50]

1.D.32: Big, Brush, Papoose, and Soldier Creeks

7/28/1879 [^ Signs of Indians in area, eight miles south.][51]
Big Creek

8/17-18/1879 [Δ Capture of 2 women and children.][52]
Papoose Creek

8/18/1879 [^ Abandoned encampment of ten lodges.][53]
Big Creek

8/19/1879 [Δ Umatillas take plunder from a Shoshone-Bannock
Big Creek camp.][54]

8/19/1879 [* Indians open fire on military.][55]
Big Creek

8/21/1879 [^ Four Indians on ponies in canyon. Traces.
Big Creek of mules eaten by hostiles.][56]

8/23/1879 [Δ Abandoned encampment of six lodges.][57]

50 Salmon River, Transcript Six, 12.

51 Carrey & Conley, op. cit., 176.

52 Col. W. C. Brown, "The Sheepeater Campaign" in *Sheepeater Indian Campaign* (Grangeville, Idaho: Idaho County Free Press, 1968) [reprinted from Tenth Biennial Report, Idaho Historical Society, 1926], p. 23; Carrey & Conley, ibid., 118, 135, 190.

53 Brown, ibid., 16.

54 Carrey & Conley, op. cit., 189.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid., 190-91.

57 Ibid., 196; Brown, op. cit., 18.

Brush Creek

9/25/1879 — [* Meet Tananmo [War Jack] part Bannock & Nez Perce.][58]
Papoose Creek

9/26/1879 — [Δ Hostiles reported at mouth of Big Creek. Meets a
Papoose Creek — Weiser named Buoyer.][59]

10/01/1879 — [* Tananmo with another Weiser come into camp
Papoose Creek — with twenty-four squaws and children, later surrenders increase to fifty-one.].[60]

Ethnography 1993 — ≈ Report of fishing location.[61]
Big Creek

Ethnography 1993 — ≈ Report of fishing location.[62]
Papoose Creek

Ethnography 1993 — ≈ Report of fishing location.[63]
Soldier Creek

1.D.33: (Three Rivers) Camas Creek, Clear, and Yellow Jacket Creeks

Ethnography 1938
Three Rivers — [Δß [sohodai] Camp sites reported on upper Middle Fork, near Three Rivers: Camas, Indian, and Marble Creeks.][64]

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58 Ibid., 196; Brown, ibid., 24.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid., 24; Carrey & Conley, op. cit., 197.

61 Walker, op. cit., 243.

62 Ibid.

63 Walker, op. cit., 243.

64 Steward (1938), op. cit., 188. The location of Three Rivers identified in testimony of Cora George in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 90.

Place Name 1970 — ß Name [passioavai/ pasiwagai].[65]
Clear Creek

Place Name (1972) — ß Name [cohotai].[66]
Camas Creek

Place Name 1997 — ß Name [sohorai]-area behind [pidgi] mountain.[67]
Camas Creek

6/18/1879 — [^ Signs of Indians in area.][68]
Camas Creek

6/25/1879 — ≈®Δ Abandoned Indian camp with twelve lodges.
Camas Creek — in an area with lots of trout.[69]

Testimony 1970 — ≈ Fishing location reported here.[70]
Clear Creek

Testimony 1970 — ≈ Fishing location reported here.[71]
Camas Creek

Ethnography 1993 — ≈ Report of fishing location here and at Silver,
Camas Creek — South Fork, West Fork Silver, and Woodtick Elk Creeks.[72]

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65 Cora George, ibid., 91.

66 Albert and Lois Navo, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 3 (1972), p. 28. Note: similarity to Steward's [sohodai] and their later rendering [sohorai].

67 Salmon River, Transcript Five, 6; see also, Yellowstone Interview (Alfred & Lois Navo), Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook (October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 1.

68 Carrey & Conley, op. cit., 169.

69 Carrey & Conley, op. cit., 171.

70 Cora George in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 91.

71 Cora George in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 90.

72 Walker, op. cit., 243.

Oral History 1997 [Ω Report of subsistence activities in this area.][73]
Yellow Jacket Creek

1.D.34: Marble, Indian, Pistol, Elkhorn, and Sulphur Creeks

Testimony 1970 ≈ Fishing location reported here.[74]
Indian Creek

Testimony 1970 ≈ Fishing site reported here.[75]
Marble Creek

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing spot.[76]
Elkhorn Creek

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location.[77]
Indian Creek

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location here and at Dynamite and Trail Creeks.[78]
Marble Creek

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location.[79]
Pistol Creek

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location.[80]
Sulphur Creek

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73 Mink, op. cit., 30.

74 Cora George in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 90.

75 Ibid.

76 Walker, op. cit., 242.

77 Ibid., 241.

78 Ibid., 243.

79 Ibid., 242.

80 Ibid., 243.

1.D.35: Loon and Warm Creeks

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location.[81]
Little Loon Creek

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location here and at Cache,
Loon Creek Mayfield, and Rock Creeks.[82]

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location.[83]
Loon Creek

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing. [84]
Warm Springs Creek

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location.[85]
Warm Springs Creek

1.D.36: Bear Valley, Marsh, Beaver, and Eight Mile Creeks

Place Name 1997 ß Shoshone name [woda?a...] "bear valley."[86]
Bear Valley

Summer of 1862 ≈® Capt. John Stanley reports thousands of
Bear Valley Creek of salmon spawning in creek.[87]

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81 Ibid., 242.

82 Ibid., 243.

83 Yellowstone Interview (Emory Tendoy), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 6.

84 Walker, op. cit., 243.

85 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 29-30.

86 Ibid., 2

87 Carrey & Conley, op. cit., 2.

Photograph 1936 ≈ Photograph of Shoshone-Bannocks fishing.[88]
Bear Valley Creek

Testimony 1970 ≈ Fishing site reported here.[89]
Bear Valley Creek

Testimony 1970 ≈ Fishing site reported here.[90]
Beaver Creek

Testimony 1970 ≈ Fishing site reported here.[91]
Eight Mile Creek

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location here and at Elk Creek.[92]
Bear Valley Creek

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location here and at Dynamite,
Marsh Creek Trail, Beaver, Cape Horn, and Knapp Creeks.[93]

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location.[94]
Bear Valley Creek

1.D.37: Iron and Goat Creeks

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location.[95]
Goat Creek

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88 Carrey & Conley, op. cit.

89 Mrs. Jessie Taylor in *State of Idaho v Tinno*, op. cit., 81.

90 Cora George in *State of Idaho v Tinno*, op. cit., 92.

91 Ibid.

92 Walker, op. cit., 243.

93 Ibid., 242.

94 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 2, 3, 44; Emory Tendoy (September 24, 1997), op. cit., 1-2.

95 Walker, op. cit., 242.

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Report of fishing location.[96]
Iron Creek

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location.[97]
Iron Creek

1.D.4: Main Course of the Salmon From the Mouth of Middle Fork to North Fork

The area from the Middle Fork to the North Fork was also an area of *Túkudeka* occupation but one which was disrupted severely by mining in the 1860s. The area along the North Fork and along the main course of the Salmon to the Lemhi River was occupied simultaneously by people the Shoshone-Bannocks called *Túkudeka, Agaideka,* and *Kútsundeka.* The first Shoshone-Bannock group Lewis and Clark encountered on Horse Prairie Creek in Montana were *Kútsundeka,* while many of the larger encampments along the North Creek and south to the Lemhi River were probably those of the *Agaideka.*

1.D.41: Kitchen and Moose Creeks

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Fishing sites.[98]
Kitchen Creek

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Fishing sites.[99]
Moose Creek

96 Ibid., 241.

97 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 2, 6.

98 Walker, op. cit., 242.

99 Ibid., 243.

1.D.42: Panther, Corn, and Roaring Creeks

Oral History 1957 — [Δ Several of the largest villages of *Túkudeka* located near mining town of Leesburg.][100]
Panther Creek

Testimony 1970 — ≈® Prehistoric salmon remains.[101]
Salmon R near Shoup

Testimony 1970 — ≈© Location of prehistoric harpoon point.[102]
Panther Creek

Ethnography 1993 — ≈ Fishing sites.[103]
Panther Creek

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Report of fishing location.[104]
Roaring Creek

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Historic camping and fishing location of *Túkudeka* [105]
Corn Creek

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Fishing sites.[106]
Panther Creek

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100 Sven Liljeblad, "Indian Peoples of Idaho" (Unpublished mimeograph, 1957), pp. 100-01.

101 Dr. Earl Swanson, in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 109, 119.

102 Ibid., 109.

103 Walker, op. cit., 243.

104 Ibid.

105 Salmon River, Transcript Four, 6.

106 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 16.

1.D.43: North Fork aka Fish Creek to Lemhi River

Numerous subsistence sites and camp locations were identified by the Lewis and Clark party from the North Fork to the Lemhi River, and in later years, this would be reported as an area for settlement and fishing as well.

Place Name 1997
North Fork[107]

ß Shoshone name [hunehgah honohave] "straight, smooth timber."[108]

8/21/1805
North Fork

Δ≈= Report of a settlement and an exchange of salmon.[109]

> The man who had remained behind at the first village and the other who had gone with the Indians to their fishing place both joined us here. The Indians gave them five salmon to bring to us and he that had stayed for a horse, brought one with him.

8/22/1805
Fourth of July Ck

Δ~Ω Description of encampment where fish and berries dried on scaffolds. [110]

> arrived at the entrance of a small river where some Indian families resided. they had some scaffolds of fish and berries exposed to dry. ...offered us every thing they had, which was but little, they offered us cooars of elks tusks which their children woar, Salmon beries & c we eat some of their fish and buries.

107 According to Moulton, "Fish Creek" on Lewis & Clark's map refers to the North Fork of the Salmon River, cf: Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, Gary E. Moulton, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), Vol. 5, p. 147 ff#10 {Hereafter, Lewis & Clark M}.

108 Salmon River, Transcript Four, 6.

109 Patrick Gass, *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery*, Carol Lynn MacGregor, ed. (Pittsburgh: David M'Keehan Publisher, 1807), p. 107.

110 Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D, ed. (New York: Arno Press, 1969), Vol. 2, p. 371, 379; Vol. 3, p. 15 {hereafter Lewis & Clark T}; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, p. 147.

8/22/1805
North Fork

Δ~Ω= Description of fish and berries drying on scaffolds, and gifts of elk teeth, salmon, berries, and other plant foods.[111]

Streams on the right and a Small river at the mouth of which Several families of Indians were encamped and had Scaffolds of fish & buries drying we alarmed them verry much as they knew nothing of a white man being in their Countrey, and at the time we approached their lodges which was in a thick place of bushes my guides were behind. They offered every thing they possessed (which was very little) to us, Some run off and hid in the bushes The first offer of theirs were Elks rushes from around their children necks, Sammon &c. my guide attempted [to] passify those people and they Set before me berri[e]s, & fish to eate.

8/22/1805
North Fork

[Ω Description of women gathering berries.][112]

I continued my rout along the steep side of a mountain for about 3 miles and arrived at the river near a small Island on the lower point of which we encamped, in the evening we attempted to gig fish but were unsucessfull only obtaining one small salmon The last Creek or Small river is on the right Side and "a road passes up it & over to the Missouri"...in this day passed Several womin and Children gathering and drying buries of which they were very kind and gave us part.

8/22/1805
North Fork

Δ~Ω= Comparative discussion of standard of living between the small parties and larger gatherings of people. Also description of dependence on fish and various plant foods. A trade in fish is reported too.[113]

we came to a large creek, where there is a small bottom and 3 lodges of Indians...and gave us berries and fish to eat....Those of the natives who are detached in small parties appear to live better, and to have a

111 Ibid., 16.

112 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3, pp. 15, 17 ; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, pp. 145-46. This may be the road commonly traveled by Shoshone-Bannocks, Flathead, and Nez Perce between Gibbonsville, Idaho, and Wisdom, Montana. cf., Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, p. 147 (note 12).

113 Gass, op. cit., 107.

larger supply of provisions, than those who live in large villages. The people of these three lodges have gathered a quantity of sun-flower seed, and also of the lambs-quarter [Chenopodium], which they pound and mix with service berries, and make of the composition a kind of bread, which appears capable of sustaining life for some time. On this bread and the fish they take out of the river, these people, who appear to be the most wretched of the human species, chiefly subsist. They gave us some dried salmon, and we proceeded down the river.

8/23/1805
Indian Creek[114]

@≈ Description of use of Salmon River for fishing and its shared use with tribes to the north.[115]

a plain Indian road led up this creek which the guide informed him led to a large river that ran to the North, and was frequented by another nation who occasionally visited this river for the purpose of taking fish. at this place he saw some late appearance of Indians having been encamped and the tracks of a number of horses. Capt. C. halted here about 2 hours, caught some small fish, on which, with the addition of some berries, they dined.

8/23/1805
Indian Creek

@≈< Report on shared use of this branch of the Salmon with the Flatheads.[116]

we proceeded on a well beaten Indian path up this creak (*Berry Creek*) about 6 miles and passed over a ridge 1 mile to the river in a Small valley through which we passed and assended a Spur of the Mountain from which place my guide Show[ed] me the river for about 20 miles lower and pointed out the difficulti. (There my guide Showed me a road from the N Which came into the one I was in which he Said went to a large river which run to the north on which was a nation he called Tushapaws...Who have no salmon in their river, came by these roads to the fish weirs on Lewis's river. He had himself been among these Tushapaws, and having once accompanied them on a fishing party to another river he had there seen Indians who had come across the rocky mountains.

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114 Known as Berry Creek on Lewis & Clark's map.

115 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3, p. 22; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, pp. 152-53.

116 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3, p. 27; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, p. 156.

8/23/1805 ®≈ Description of decline in presence of salmon on the river.[117]
Salmon R

> the salmon have so far declined that they are themselves haistening from the country and not an animal of any description is to be seen in this difficult part of the river.

8/23/1805 ®≈= Mention of a gift of salmon from previous day.[118]
Salmon R

> no provisions as the 5 Sammon given us yesterday by the Indians were eaten last night , delayd. 2 hours to fish, Caught Some Small fish on which we dined.

8/25/1805 Δ~= Description of encampment where fish traded.[119]
J of North Fork & Salmon

> this morning and continued his rout to the indian camp at the entrance of fish Creek; here he halted about an hour; the indians gave himself and party some boiled salmon and berries.(tho' not half Sufficient &c) ... these people appeared extremely hospitable tho poor and dirty in the extreem. Indians passed by on their way down the river, consisting of a man a woman and several boys; from these people the guide obtained 2 salmon which together with some small fish they caught."

8/25/1805 Δ~= Description of encampment where more fish traded.[120]
North Fork

> N. 45* W. 10. With the general cou[r]se of the river; passing over the spurs of four mountains, almost inaccessible, and two small runs from the wright, to some Indian lodges at the entrance of fish creek which discharges itself on the N. Side a large Indian road passes up this creek.

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117 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3, p. 23; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, p. 153. This is a location probably three miles above the present day town of Shoup. cf. Atlas, map 67.

118 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3, p. 25.

119 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3, p. 36; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, p. 167.

120 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3, p. 37.

8/25/1805
North Fork

Δ~= Description of encampment where fish shared.[121]

Set out very early and halted one hour at the Indian. Fish Creek Camp, they were kind and gave us all a little boiled Sammon & dried buries to eate, abt. half as much as I could eate, those people are kind with what they have but excessive poor....Caught Several Small fish, a party of Squars & one man with Several boys going down to guathe[r] berries below, my guide got two Sammon from this party which made about half a Supper for the party.

8/25/1805
North Fork

Δ~= Description of encampment where fish shared.[122]

We soon caught as many small fish as made, with two salmon our guide got from some Indians, a comfortable supper.

8/26/1805
North Fork

Δ~= Another exchange of fish and visit to local village.[123]

So we went up to a small village of the natives, got some fish from them, and lodged there all night

8/31/1805
Tower Creek

[Δ Description of encampment.][124]

the inhabitants of the Lodges indisceved him, we proceeded on the road on which I had descended as far as the 1st run [Tower Cr.] below & left the road & Proceeded up the Run in a tolerable road 4 miles & Encamped in Some old lodges at the place the road.

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121 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3, p. 38.

122 Gass, op. cit., 108.

123 Ibid., 108-09.

124 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3, pp. 48-49; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, p. 79.

9/01/1805 Δ~= Mention of a trade in fish.[125]
Hull Creek

> despatched 2 men to the mouth of the Creek to purchase fish of the Indians at that place, they returned with Some dried, we giged 4 Sammon & killed one Deer to Day.

Testimony 1970 ≈ Fishing location reported here.[126]
J of North Fork & Salmon

Oral History 1997 ≈ ® Fishing location and fish species identified.[127]
J of North Fork & Salmon

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location.[128]
North Fork

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location where some of it includes joint use
North Fork with Flathead "friends."[129]

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125 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3, pp. 49-50; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, p. 183.

126 Cora George in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 90.

127 Mink, op. cit., 4-6.

128 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 8, 16, 44.

129 Mink, op. cit., 14.

1.D.5: Lemhi River

From the time of Lewis & Clark and well into the twentieth century, this was a major area of Shoshone-Bannock settlement and subsistence, especially fishing. One of its major settlement areas, before the establishment of the Lemhi Reservation, was [Pa:dai], "a water gathering place," at the confluence of the Lemhi and Salmon Rivers.[130] Some of the largest concentrations of *Agaideka* and *Kútsundeka* were reported in 1805 along the Lemhi River, and then again in the 1850s when an LDS mission was established in the area.

1.D.52: Confluence of Lemhi and Salmon Rivers

Place Name 1997 ß Name [aga?i pa], [tobahdi], or [pa?di].[131]
C of Salmon & Lemhi R

Place Name 1997 ß Name [pa?rai].[132]
C of Salmon & Lemhi R

Oral History 1997 ≈ Steelhead fishing location.[133]
C of Salmon & Lemhi R

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130 Steward (1938), op. cit., 188; Lasalle and Louella Pocatello, Russell Pokibro and Daisy St. Clair, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History Interview (Fort Hall, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, January 16, 1980), p. 25.

131 Salmon River Group Interview (Van #1: Lydia Stone, Princess Stone, Francis Navo, Layton Littlejohn, Walter Nevada, Cina Kaiyou, Ida Bronco, & Minnie Phelps), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript One, p. 15 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript One}.

132 Salmon River, Transcript Four, p. 1.

133 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 8.

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location on property of Charlie Snooks.[134]
Salmon R near Salmon, Id.

1.D.53: The Lemhi and Its Affluents

8/13/1805 ≈ Fresh salmon served to Lewis & Clark party.[135]
McNeal's Creek

> on my return to my lodge an indian called me in to his bower and gave me a small morsel of the flesh of an antelope boiled, and a piece of a fresh salmon roasted; both which I eat with a very good relish. this was the first salmon I had seen and perfectly convinced me that we were on the waters of the Pacific Ocean. (T)
>
> *on my return to my lodge an indian called me in to his McNeal's Creek bower and gave me a small morsel of the flesh of an antelope boiled, and a piece of a fresh salmon roasted; both which I eat with a very good relish. this was the first salmon I had seen and perfectly convinced me that we were on the waters of the Pacific Ocean.* (M)

8/19/1805 ≈ Lewis and Clark's men catch trout and suckers.[136]
Lemhi R

> we took up the net this morning but caught no fish...this evening I made a few of the men construct a sein of willow brush which we hauled and caught a large number of fine trout and a kind of mullet about 16 Inches long which I had not seen before....it is by no means as good as the trout.

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134 Yellowstone Interview (Emory Tendoy), Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, Fieldnotes (October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 1.

135 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 2, p. 343 ; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, p. 83.

136 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 2, pp. 369-70.

8/19/1805 ≈Ω√π Description of division of labor by gender.[137]
Lemhi R

the women: "they collect the wild fruits and roots, attend to the horses or assist in that duty, cook, dress the skins and make all their apparel, collect wood and make their fires, arrange and form their lodges, and when they travel pack the horses and take charge of all the baggage; in short the men dose little else except attend his horses hunt and fish.

8/19/1805 ≈© Description of fishing technology.[138]
Lemhi R

in fishing they employ wairs, gigs, and fishing hooks. the salmon is the principal object of their pursuit.

8/19/1805 Δ≈√ Description of residence, hunting, and the
Lemhi R seasonality of the fish harvests.[139]

from the middle of May to the first of September these people reside on the waters of the Columbia where they consider themselves in perfect security from their enemies as they have not as yet ever found their way to this retreat; during this season the salmon furnish the principal part of their subsistence and as this fish either perishes or returns about the 1st of September they are compelled at this season in surch of subsistence to resort to the Missouri, in the vallies of which, there is more game even within the mountains.

8/20/1805 Δ~Ω Gift of salmon and pemmican.[140]
Lemhi R

here they gave him one salmon and some cakes of dryed berries.

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137 Ibid., 371.

138 Ibid., 373.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid., 379.

8/20/1805 Δ~ A gift of salmon.[141]
Lemhi R

on his way he met a rispectable looking indian who returned and continued with him all night; this indian gave them three salmon. *(Lewis is talking about Clark whose been on the Salmon River).*

8/20/1805 ≈Ω√ Description of fishing, gathering, and hunting. [142]
Lemhi R

Those pore people Could only raise a Sammon & a little dried Choke Cherries for us half the men of the tribe with the Chief turned out to hunt the antilopes.

8/20/1805 ≈π Exchange of salmon and horses.[143]
Lemhi R

I left one man to purchase a horse and overtake me and proceeded on thru a wide rich bottom on a beaten Road 8 miles Crossed the river and encamped on a Small run, this evening passed a number of old lodges, and met a number of men women children & horses, met a man who appeared of Some Consideration who turned back with us ...he halted a woman & gave us 3 Small Sammon... Those Indians are very attentive to Strangers.

8/21/1805 ~© Description of necklace made from fish bones.[144]
Lemhi R

also a collar of round bones which look like the joints of a fishes back

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141 Ibid., 384.

142 Ibid., 385.

143 Ibid., 386; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, pp. 130-31; This camp is described as four miles north of Tendoy at the juncture of Kenny Creek. cf. Atlas map 67, Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, p. 132 (footnote 12).

144 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3, p. 6.

8/21/1805
Lemhi R

Δ≈©Ω= Description of camp, fish weir, and a trade in food.[145]

This morning early Capt. C. resumed his march; at the distance of five miles he arrived at some brush lodges of the Shoshones inhabited by about seven families. here he halted and was very friendly received by these people, who gave himself and party as much boiled salmon as they could eat; they also gave him several dryed salmon and a considerable quantity of dryed chokecherries. after smoking with them he visited their fish wear [weir] which was about 200 yds. distant. he found the wear extended across four channels of the river which was here divided by three small islands. three of these channels were narrow, and were stoped by means of trees fallen across, supported by which stakes of willow were driven down sufficiently near each other to prevent the salmon from passing. about the center of each a cilindric basket of eighteen or 20 feet in length terminating in a conic shape at its lower extremity, formed of willows, was opposed to a small aperture in the wear with it's mouth up stream to receive the fish. the main channel of the water was conducted to this basket, which was so narrow at it's lower extremity that the fish when once in could not turn itself about, and were taken out by untying the small ends of the longitudinal willow which form the hull of the basket. the wear in the main channel was somewhat differently contrived. there were two distinct wears formed of poles and willow sticks, quite across the river, at no great distance from each other. each of these, were furnished with two baskets; the one wear to take them ascending and the other in which descending.

8/21/1805
Lemhi R

Δ≈©= Another description of a fish weir, and a trade in salmon.[146]

in constructing these wears, poles were first tyed together in parcels of three near the smaller extremity; these were set on end, and spread in a T-triangular form at the base, in such manner, that two of the three poles ranged in the direction of the intended work, and the third down the stream. two ranges of horizontal poles were next lashed with willow bark and wythes to the ranging poles, and on those willow sticks were placed perpendicularly, reaching from the bottom of the river to about 3 or four feet above it's surface; and placed so near each other, as not to permit the passage of the fish, and even so thick in some parts as with the help of gravel and stone to give a direction to the water which they wished. the baskets were the same in form of the others. this is the form of the work, and disposition of

145 Ibid., 6-7.

146 Ibid., 7-8; Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, pp. 137-38. Moulton locates this weir on map 67, a few miles southeast of present day Salmon, Idaho. Vol. 5, p. 141.

the baskets....After examining the wears Capt. C. returned to the lodges, and shortly continued his rout and passed the river to the Lard. side a little distance below the wears....he was joined this evening by Cruzatte and Collins who brought with them five fresh salmon which had been given them by the Indians at the forks. the forks of this river is famous as a gig fishery and is much resorted [to] by the natives.

8/21/1805
Lemhi R

Δ≈© Description of a camp and another weir. Also the receipt of food.[147]

I entered a lodge and after smokeing with all who Came about me I went to see the place those people take the fish, a wear across the Creek in which there is Stuk baskets Set in different derections So as to take the fish either decending or assending on my return to the Camp which was 200 yards only the different lodges....brought in to the lodge I was introduced into, Sammon boiled, and dried Choke Chers.

8/21/1805
J of Salmon R

Δ≈© A description of spear fishing.[148]

those two men joined me at my Camp on the right Side below the 1st Clift with 5 Sammon which the Indians gave them at the forks, the place they gig fish at this season. Their method of takeing fish with a gig or bone is with a long pole, about a foot from one End is a Strong String attached to the pole, this String is a little more than a foot long and is tied to the middle of a bone from 4 to 6 inches long, one end Sharp the other with a whole to fasten on the end of the pole with a bearb [i.e. barb] to the large end, the[y] fasten this bone on one end & with the other, feel for the fish & turn and Strike them So hard that the bone passes through and Catches on the opposite Side, Slips off the End of the pole and holds the Center of the bone...ornements of the back bones of fish Strung.

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147 Ibid., 9.

148 Ibid., 9-10. Actually, Clark is south of the junction near Carmen Creek. Lewis & Clark M, p. 141 (footnote 9).

8/22/1805 Δ≈© Trout fishing by the Lewis & Clark party. [149]
J of Salmon R

late in the evening I made the men form a bush drag, and with it in about 2 hours they caught 528 very good fish, most of them large trout. among them I now for the first time saw ten or a douzen of a white species of trout. they are of a silvery colour except on the back and head, where they are of a bluish cast.

8/25/1805 Δ≈© Description of camps and fish weir.[150]
J of Salmon R

N.W. 18 miles from the Indian Camp to the forks [Of Salmon R] crossed the [Lemhi] river twice, passed Several [Aug 20] old camps on the East Side and a Camp of Several lodges at a were [weir] on the west Side, passed a roade on [Aug 21] the left leading up the main West fork [i.e. Salmon above the Lemhi] below the last Camp, Several Small branches falls in on each Side[of Lemhi], a high mountain each side [of Salmon andLemhi together]...[Aug 22] and two Small runs on the right to Some Indian Camps at the mouth of a Small river [Fish cr .] on the right up which a road passes.

8/26/1805 Δ≈©= Description of fish weir and gift of salmon.[151]
J of Salmon R

and proceeded on by way of the forks to the Indian Camps at the first were [weir] not one mouthfull to eate untill night as our hunters could kill nothing and I could See & catch no fish except a few Small ones. The Indians gave us 2 Sammon boiled which I gave to the men.

8/27/1805 Δ≈= The importance of fish in local diets is reported. A
J of Salmon R gift and trade in salmon is also mentioned. [152]

one man killed a Small Sammon, and the Indians gave me another which afforded us a Sleight breakfast. Those Pore people are here depending on what fish they can catch, without anything else to depend on; and appere contented, my party hourly Complaining of their retched Situation and... doubts of Starveing in a Country where no game of any

149 Ibid., 14.

150 Ibid., 39.

151 Ibid., 44. Lewis & Clark M, vol. 5, p. 174 (footnote 5).

152 Ibid., 45.

kind except a fiew fish can be found, and Indian brough[t] in to Camp 5 Sammon, two of which I purchased which afforded us a Supper

8/27/1805 ≈= A trade in fish.[153]
J of Salmon R

In the evening we all came in again and had killed nothing but a fish. We got some more from the natives, which we subsisted on.

8/28/1805 Δ≈=© Report of fish traps and a trade in salmon.[154]
J of Salmon R

The Inds. Caught out of their traps Several Sammon and gave us two I purchased two others which we made to last us to day.

8/28/1805 Δ≈= Spear fishing and a trade in salmon.[155]
J of Salmon R

I purchased Some fish roe of those pore but kind people with whome I am Encamped for which I gave three Small fish hooks, the use of which they readily proseved; one Indian out all day & killed only one Sammon with his gig; My hunters killed nothing.

8/29/1805 ≈ Description of a soup made from fish roe.[156]
J of Salmon R

The fish they take in this river are of excellent kinds, especially the salmon, the roes of which when dried and pounded make the best soup.

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153 Gass, op. cit., 109.

154 Lewis & Clark T, Vol. 3, p. 45.

155 Ibid., 46. Lewis & Clark M, Vol. 5, p. 177.

156 Gass, op. cit., 109.

8/28/1832
Lemhi R

Δ≈ Ferris party in Lemhi Valley where a Shoshone-Bannock encampment had been abandoned only three or four days before. Lots of salmon reported in the area too.[157]

7/02/1855
Lemhi R

≈© Description of salmon and a fishing weir. [158]

> The Salmon are commencing to run up this river quite lively they are fine looking chaps....The Indians are making a trap to catch them in as they pass up the river. this is done by putting a kind of frame across the river in two places about 2 or 3 rods apart and leaving small doorways in the small willow work of the tower frame to allow the fish to pass the small willows are placed against two poles that is lashed on the upper side of the frame, so that the big end of them sits on the bottom of the river. those small willows are firstly woven together with bark and then set along in rocks. the upper frame work and willows are aimed to be so tight that the fish cannot get through. at the same time giving ample room for the water to pass between the willows. The willows of the upper rack are but shorter than those of the Lower Rack and stand sloping down stream, which allows the salmon to leap over the top of them, and fall into a basket when they are about sure to remain.

7/4/1855
Lemhi R

≈ Salmon taken in large quantities by Indians.[159]

> the Salmon are running up in large quantities and are taken in Great Numbers by the Indians.

7/5/1855
Lemhi R

≈ Report of fish traps and drying salmon in shade.[160]

> The Indians have all moved up to their fish traps and are enjoying themselves finely. They cut the salmon into thin slices and then hang them up in a Shade (made for the purpose) where they are dried.

157 Warren Angus Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, Leroy R. Hafen, ed., (Denver: Fred A. Rosenstock The Old West Publishing Company, 1983), p. 228.

158 Salmon River Mission Journals 1855-1858. Unpublished manuscript. (Salt Lake City, LDS Church Archives), p. 35. {Hereafter, Salmon River Mission}.

159 Ibid., 36.

160 Ibid.

7/15/1855 Δ≈√ Fish declining and Shoshone-Bannocks preparing for buffalo hunt, although a few families intend to stay.[161]
Lemhi R

The Indians are not so thick this morning as usual, the most of them having left for the Buffalo Country where they expect to remain until the first snows in the fall...four or five families are intending to remain about this country during the rest of the summer.

7/21/1855 ≈= Trade of salmon for bread.[162]
Lemhi R

Quite a number of Indians coming in wishing to trade salmon for bread.

Spring of 1856 ≈© Description of a fishing weir and salmon trade.[163]
Lemhi R

aided the indians to put in a fish trap to catch Salmon, consisting of two sets of triangle posts 3 posts lashed together reaching across the river and two posts lashed to each set and Small willows tied together with the peeled bark, set from the upper side against the poles and rock placed against the parts standing in the water and the upper set such that they are so close that the fish cannot(?). And holes placed across on each side of the upper holes so that when the fish try to jump over they are caught between the poles

The lower line is such that the fish pass through round openings of willows like baskets, move past way down and the unwoven part all coming to a point, Such that they open to let the fish through, but close to prevent them from going back down the Stream except that they are closed at the point and the fish starting to go down Stream are caught in those baskets. Some of which are made several feet long and can be detached with the fish caught after the bull pen, as we call the place between the two dams, has been cleaned of fish.

Indians catch with spears or harpoons those in the bull pen when it is cleaned those caught in the rack of the upper dam are divided by the chief those caught in the lower baskets belong to those who prepare the baskets and each one has those who catches in the pen and each morning the catching game goes on during the Salmon Season.

Some of the fish are so large that when tied together at the gill or

161 Ibid., 38-39.

162 Ibid., 46.

163 Jacob Miller. Salmon River Mission Journal of Jacob Miller, Unpublished manuscript. (Salt Lake City, LDS Church Archives, 1857), pp. 62-63.

neck and thrown across ponies their tails will drag the ground.

We buy the Salmon so cheap with our Indian trade we don't do any catching. They dress from 20 to 40 lbs.

6/12/1856 ≈ Report of Indians coming into valley to fish.[164]
Lemhi R

Indians coming in preparatory for their fishing season. Some salmon bought today the first of the season.

6/14/1856 ≈ Shoshone-Bannocks catching fish.[165]
Lemhi R

Salmon is being caught by the Natives.

7/12/1856 ≈ Shoshone-Bannocks caught large quantities of salmon
Lemhi R and are preparing to leave for buffalo country.[166]

The natives are moving off now for their Buffalo hunt, they have caught a great number of salmon this season.

3/24/1857 ≈ Report of a salmon being caught.[167]
Lemhi R

First spring salmon was caught by Tetobar an Indian.

6/18/1857 ≈© Salmon running and the building of a trap.[168]
Lemhi R

the salmon are beginning to come up the river one was brought into the fort for the first time this year on the 11th inst. a trap has been put into the river by the brethren and the natives for the purpose of catching them.

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164 Salmon River Mission, op. cit., 117.

165 Ibid., 92.

166 Ibid., 96.

167 Milton D. Hammond, "A Journal Kept by Milton D. Hammond with a Short Sketch of my Life Previous to Date of Journal 1856-1858" Unpublished manuscript (Salt Lake City, LDS Church Archives), p. 18.

168 Jacob Miller, op. cit., Thurs., June 18, 1857

6/27/1857 ≈= 180 salmon traded.[169]
Lemhi R

to day there has been over 180 salmon traded for in the fort which will weigh at least 15 lbs each(?)

6/27/1857 ≈= Fish traded.[170]
Lemhi R

many fish were brought to the fort and traded.

8/03/1857 ≈ Indian Snag left for buffalo country.[171]
Lemhi R

Indian Snagg and some others left this place for the Buffalo Country.

10/21/1857 °≈ Description of territory and fishing habitat.[172]
Lemhi R

A band of Shoshonies called sheep eaters inhabit the nearer surrounding country though it is claimed by the bannacks who with other Shoshonies resort here in the summer for their supplies of fish.

10/27/1857 ≈= Dried salmon transported in wagon loads to
Lemhi R Salt Lake City.[173]

left the fort for home took with them 8 wagons & 10 or 12 yoke of oxen having the wagons well loaded with fish.

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169 Ibid., Sat., June 27, 1857

170 Ibid., Thurs., July 2, 1857

171 Ibid., Mon., Aug. 3, 1857.

172 James Thadeus Miller, Journal 1857-1858. Unpublished manuscript. (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Marriott Library, Manuscripts Division), Oct. 21, 1857.

173 Jacob Miller, op. cit., Tues., Oct. 27, 1857.

1857 ≈√ Fishing and hunting locations.[174]

Lemhi R

Washakie said... 'After the buffalo get fat and we get what meat we want for our winter use, we will go west, a long way off, to winter where no buffalo run, but where there are plenty of deer and antelope and fine fishing.' He said that some of those fish were as long as I was.

Spring of 1858 @Δ≈√ Fishing and settlement site.[175]

Lemhi R

Spring came at last. We moved down the river about fifteen miles where we could get better grass for our horses. Here were plenty of white tailed deer and antelope, some elk, and a few mountain sheep; ducks and geese were plentiful. We stayed here until about the middle of May. The big fish that they told me about began to come up the river, and they were big, too. Two of them were all I could carry. They must have weighed at least thirty or thirty-five pounds each. Mother and Hanabi dried about two hundred pounds of these fish, which I afterwards learned were salmon. The first that came up were fat and very good, but they kept coming thicker and thicker until they were so poor they were not fit to eat.

1855-1858 ≈ Description of spear fishing.[176]

Lemhi R

Each unerring dash with his spear resulted in a struggle and successful capture of a fine salmon, and in a very short time Long Tom was the proud possessor of a dozen fish, each weighing from thirty-five to forty pounds....they [Shoshone-Bannocks] are almost like fish themselves; he came out all right, tightly clinging to the fishing pole and successfully captured his victim.

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174 Elijah Nicolas Wilson, *Among the Shoshones* (1969, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc.), pp. 66-67.

175 Ibid., 89-90.

176 Elder Day. A clipping of the article containing Day's reminiscences is pasted in his original journal held by the LDS Church Archives, *Deseret Semi-Weekly News* (14 April 1891), p. 35.

1867 ≈ Report of fishing location.[177]
Salmon R

On our way down the river we came upon one of the Indians fishing.

9/3/1867 ≈ Dependence of native population on fishing and their complaints about competition from non-Indian fishers. Also cites territorial law which forbids traps extending over one-half the width of any stream.[178]
Lemhi R

depend upon these fisheries for their support... [*Indians complaining*] with just cause.

n.d./1867 ≈ Competition from non-Indian traps. Sheriff orders the traps removed.[179]
Lemhi R

[*sheriff reports on his efforts to remove non-Indian traps which*] entirely prevent the fish from ascending the river, thus preventing the Indians from obtaining fish, which is their only dependence for subsistence.

12/1/1870 ≈ Competition from non-Indian fishing and impact on food supply.[180]
Lemhi R

They were prevented this year from catching their customary amount of salmon for winter's use from the fact of certain white men obstructing the mouth of Lemhi creek [river] with fish traps thereby preventing the salmon from running up to the Indian fisheries.

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177 Wilson, op. cit., 234.

178 S. R. Howlett to John S. Ramey, 3 September 1867, M234: *Idaho.* 338/50.

179 John S. Ramey to S. R. Howlett, n.d., 1867, M234: *Idaho.* 338/51-52.

180 A. J. Simmons to J. A. Viall, 1 December 1867, M234: *Idaho.* 490/824-30.

12/1/1870 ≈ Competition from non-Indian fishing and impact
Lemhi R on food supply.[181]

They were prevented this year from catching their customary amount of salmon.

9/01/1871 ≈ Description of large quantity of salmon caught.[182]
Unspecified

They have this season caught and dried about 30,000 pounds, which I have carefully stored away.

9/15/1871 ·≈√ General description of territory and subsistence
Unspecified round.[183]

Mixed Bannacks, Shoshones, and Sheepeaters...In the spring and summer they caught fish from Salmon River, and in the fall and winter, such as had horses, were in the habit of hunting buffalo in the Yellowstone country....In addition to the crop raised [at Lemhi farm], upwards of 3,000 pounds [the Lemhi agent reported the correct amount 30,000 lbs.] of salmon have been caught, dried, and stored away for winter use, and the Indians are still engaged in the same work.

9/25/1872 ≈ Report on enormous quantities of fish caught
Lemhi R and problems with competition from non-Indians.[184]

The salmon, though very abundant in the Columbia River during the past season, has been very scarce at the fishing-places of these tribes, both on Salmon River and the Lemhi Fork. This is, in my opinion, owing to the immense quantities caught, and the obstructions erected by the several fisheries on the Columbia River. The failure is of vast importance to these people, as they have been in the habit of curing and storing large quantities for winter use. The entire amount caught by them this season does not exceed 10,000 pounds; while in past years the amount has been from 30,000 to 60,000 pounds.

181 Ibid.

182 A. I. Smith, 1 September 1871, *Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* {Hereafter, RCIA}, 1871, p. 432

183 J. A. Viall, 15 September 1871, RCIA 1871, 415-16.

184 J. C. Rainsford, 25 September 1872, RCIA 1872, 282.

9/17/1874
Lemhi R

°≈√ Report on subsistence and territorial range and problems with competition from non-Indians.[185]

These Indians formed a confederacy many years ago, and have since been separated from other tribes, making their headquarters in this valley, (Lemhi,) subsisting mainly on salmon fish and mountain sheep, sometimes venturing on buffalo-hunting expeditions in the countries claimed by the Sioux and Crows. These Indians were in the minority, their neighbors strong, and generally hostile, sometimes taking all their stock, and subjecting them to great hardship.

12/4/1874
Lemhi R

≈√ Account that Tendoy refuses to go to Fort Hall because of its scarcity of wood, fish, and game.[186]

when there is such a scarcity of wood and no fish or game.

8/21/1876
Lemhi R

≈√= Area is a center of trade and fishing for different tribes; also agent issues passes for off reservation subsistence activity.[187]

Our situation is rather embarrassing; we seem to be the head-center for roaming bands of Indians to congregate. The Umatilla and Nez Percé Indians come this way to trade and sell horses; the Flathead Indians come here for salmon fish; the Bannocks and Shoshones, from Fort Hall reserve, come this way on their route to the buffalo country....these straggling bands help use up our supplies to such an extent that oftentimes I am forced reluctantly to issue our people passes to go to the mountains and surrounding country in pursuit of game.

4/30/1878
Lemhi R

≈© Tendoy complains about fish trap on river which blocks the run to the reservation.[188]

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185 Harrison Fuller, 17 September 1874, RCIA 1874.

186 Harrison Fuller, 4 December 1874, M234: *Idaho.*

187 Harrison Fuller, 21 August 1876, RCIA 1876, 44.

188 Capt. Ed. Ball to AAG Dist. of Montana, 30 April 1878, M234: *Idaho.*

8/19/1878 ≈© Agent requests instructions concerning non-Indian
Lemhi R fish trap which obstructs passage of salmon.[189]

preventing any fish from ascending the Lemhi or its tributaries and effectually cutting off the supply of Salmon to which the Indians on the Reservation have been accustomed for years past.

9/26/1878 ≈© Agent responds to a letter of CIA and argues that
Lemhi R fish trap interferes with "privileges" of tribe.[190]

The Indians are very much interested in this matter as the trap... interferes with a privelege long enjoyed by them.

9/26/1878 ≈© Agent requests opinion to proceed against
Lemhi R non-Indian fish traps.[191]

thereby interfering with the fishing priveleges of the Indians under my care... [by obstructing the runs of] salmon and salmon trout.

11/06/1878 ≈ Agent describes long-term dependence of local
Lemhi R Shoshone-Bannocks on fish.[192]

The Indians have been in the habit of catching these fish for years past on the Lemhi and such of its tributaries as pass through this reservation. [McGarvey's trap blocks the run of] salmon, salmon-trout and white fish.

7/18/1879 ≈© Agent describes how non-Indian fish trap washed
Lemhi R away by the river and the positive impact this has had on the catches of local Shoshone-Bannocks.[193]

in consequence of the fish-trap at Salmon City being washed away by

189 John A. Wright to CIA, 19 August 1878, M234: *Idaho.*

190 John A. Wright to CIA, 26 September 1878, M234: *Idaho.*

191 John A. Wright to CIA, 26 September 1878, M234: *Idaho.*

192 John A. Wright to CIA, 6 November 1878, M234: *Idaho.*

193 John A. Wright to CIA, 18 July 1879, M234: *Idaho.*

a large freshet in the Lemhi River, the Indians are now catching an abundant supply of Salmon fish and there is no necessity for the issue of beef until the fish become less plentiful.

4/23/1885 ≈© Description of salmon fishing and a weir.[194]
Lemhi R

Ethnography 1938 ≈© Description of weir construction.[195]
Lemhi R

Construction of fish weirs involved several families. Weirs were built on the Lemhi River and other tributaries but not in the Salmon River. Usually three or four families cooperated. For construction of more ambitious weirs, especially on Lemhi river 20 families coopeated, erecting their tipis on the bank at each end of it. A man was stationed at each end of the weir to watch for the fish *while the people danced.* When the fish came he requested a number of men to go along the weir and help him remove the fish. They strung the fish on willows and carried them to shore, distributing them among the families. *There was no shamanism or ceremony connected with fishing* (italics ours).

Ethnography 1938 ≈ Salmon taken on the river in the spring and summer.[196]
Lemhi R

In early spring and summer salmon could be had from the [Lemhi] river.

Ethnography 1960 ≈© Salmon taken on the river in the spring and summer.[197]
Lemhi R

When winter ended, the Lemhi population did not move far afield in search of subsistence but hunted and awaited the spring salmon run in April. The Indians fished with harpoons, set basketry traps and made fish wiers. Most fishing was done in the Lemhi River but some families fished in the Pahsimeroi River, an affluent of the Salmon River which flowed west of and parallel to the Lemhi. Some fishing took place on the main stream of the Salmon River below the confluence with the Lemhi but only harpooning was effective owing to

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194 Robert Woodbridge to CIA, 23 March 1885, M234: *Idaho.*

195 Steward (1938), op. cit., pp. 190-91.

196 Ibid., 192.

197 Murphy & Murphy, op. cit., 331.

the depth of the water.

Ethnography 1960 ≈√ Seasonal move between fishing sites and buffalo grounds.[198]
Lemhi R

Testimony 1970 _≈® Prehistoric sites located.[199]
Lemhi R

Oral History 1997 _≈ Location of fishing sites.[200]
Lemhi R

Oral History 1997 _≈ Fishing location.[201]
Lemhi R

Oral History 1997 _≈© Basket traps on Lemhi.[202]
Lemhi R

198 Ibid., 331.

199 Dr. Earl Swanson, *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 119-21.

200 Mink, op. cit., 10.

201 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 2, 4-5,14; Emory Tendoy (Sepember 14, 1997), op. cit., 3.

202 Ibid. (Sepember 14, 1997), 3.

1.D.7: Main Course of Salmon From the Lemhi to Pahsimeroi River

According to Shoshone-Bannock tribal elders, important salmon and eel fishing areas were located north of Ellis, and major settlements and fishing sites occupied the Pahsimeroi area as well.[203]

1.D.71: North of Ellis

Place Name 1997 — ß Name [puyahwakahti].[204]
Hot Sprgs near Ellis

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Favored site for spearing salmon and location for catching lamprey.[205]
north of Ellis

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Spear fishing location.[206]
Salmon R near Ellis

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Popular fishing area near the rapids.[207]
McKim Creek

1.D.72: Williams Lake

Place Name 1972 — ß Name of lake [pE'zwaßaya`ri'].[208]
Williams Lake

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203 Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Jennifer Lowry (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), p. 2 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript Two}; Mink, op. cit., 9-10.

204 Ibid., 52.

205 Ibid., 6-8; Mink, op. cit., 6.

206 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 38.

207 Salmon River, Transcript Two, p. 38.

208 Albert & Lois Navo, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 3 (1972), p. 2.

1.D.73: Pahsimeroi River

This was a favorite fishing and settlement area for the Shoshone-Bannocks well into the twentieth century.[209] Early in the nineteenth century, it was a popular trail between the buffalo hunting grounds of upper Snake and the fisheries on the middle Snake. One camping area identified by Steward as [Pasimadai] was located here.[210]

Place Name 1997 — ß Name [pohnowoguyei].[211]
Greasewood H Sprg

Place Name 1997 — ß Name [pahsimadai] is another way of saying
Pahsimeroi R — Pahsimeroi.[212]

Place Name 1997 — ß Name [pahsimeroi] means thin leaves, taller than cedar
Pahsimeroi R — like spruce.[213]

Ethnography 1960 — ≈© Salmon taken on the river.[214]
Pahsimeroi R.

> Most fishing was done in the Lemhi River but some families fished in the Pahsimeroi River, an affluent of the Salmon River which flowed west and parallel to the Lemhi.

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209 Cora George, *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 100.

210 Steward (1938), op. cit., 188. Steward claims this location is further west; however, elders from the Shoshone-Bannock tribe locate it in the lower Pahsimeroi valley. Salmon River, Transcript 4, p. 31.

211 Salmon River, Transcript One, p. 22.

212 Salmon River, Transcript Four, p. 31; Salmon River, Transcript Six, p. 22.

213 Salmon River, Transcript Two, p. 23.

214 Murphy & Murphy, p. 331.

Testimony 1970 — [Δ Origin of mother's family near May.][215]
Pahsimeroi

Testimony 1970 — ≈® Prehistoric sites located.[216]
Pahsimeroi

Ethnography 1993 — ≈ Fishing site for Lemhi-Shoshone.[217]
Pahsimeroi R & Its Tributaries

Oral History 1997 — ® Locations of hot springs along Pahsimeroi.[218]
Pahsimeroi Hot Sprg

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Fishing location.[219]
Pahsimeroi R

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Fishing sites near May, Idaho, for salmon
Pahsimeroi R — and unspecified small fish.[220]

Oral History 1997 — ≈Δ Camping and fishing places where Shoshone-Bannocks
Pahsimeroi R — used land and waterways on white owned ranches.[221]

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Types of salmon caught in May, Idaho, area.[222]
Pahsimeroi R

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215 Cora George, in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 100.

216 Dr. Earl Swanson, in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 119-21.

217 Walker, op. cit., 243.

218 Ibid., 32; Salmon River Group Interview (Van #1: Lydia and Princess Stone) Interviewer Esther Boyer, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript Three, p. 12 {Hereafter, Salmon River, Transcript Three}.

219 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 2, 7, 38.

220 Salmon River, Transcript Two, pp. 24-26.

221 Ibid., 27-30.

222 Ibid., 30-1.

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing sites and names of different salmon caught on
Pahsimeroi R Pahsimeroi.[223]

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing Platform located near May.[224]
Pahsimeroi

1.D.8: Main Course of Salmon from the Mouth of the Pahsimeroi to McKay Creek

The area around Challis was a popular settlement and subsistence area, and fishing took place there and along watercourses that fed the main Salmon near this point, including the East Fork and the Yankee Fork.[225]

1.D.81: Challis and Areas North on Main Salmon to Pahsimeroi

Place Name 1997 ß Name [puwee].[226]
Challis Basin area

Place Name 1997 ß Name [pooghi].[227]
Hot Spr-Challis Basin area

Oral History(1997) √≈Δ Popular location for sage hen hunting, fishing, and
Salmon R at Challis for settlement.[228]

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223 Mink, op. cit., 3, 5-6, 9.

224 Mink, op. cit., 9-10.

225 Salmon River, Transcript Five, pp. 2, 5-6; Mink, op. cit., 15.

226 Ibid., 1.

227 Ibid., 1.

228 Mink, op. cit., 15

Oral History 1997 ≈ Ice fishing location.[229]
Salmon R near Challis

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location.[230]
Salmon R near Challis

1.D.82: East Fork

This was a popular settlement area in historic times and also a location where groups crossed the mountains to reach the Big Wood River and the Camas Prairie near Fairfield, Idaho. It has remained an important fishing area for the Shoshone-Bannocks until the present day.

Place Name 1997 ß Name [shimwudahhono].[231]
East Fork

Place Name 1997 ß Name of East Fork [Simangwe tahono].[232]
East Fork

Place Name 1997 ß Name [ptinahsigahboi].[233]
East Fork

Place Name 1997 ß Name [pwahnahnahwahziwahna].[234]
Willow Crk (towards Sun Valley)

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229 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 3-4; Emory Tendoy (Sepember 24, 1997), op. cit., 3.

230 Ibid. (September 24, 1997), 3.

231 Salmon River, Transcript One, pp. 18-19.

232 Mink, op. cit., 3-4, 9-10, 15.

233 Salmon River, Transcript Five, p. 22.

234 Ibid., 14.

Testimony 1970 ≈ Fishing location reported here.[235]
East Fork

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Fishing sites on Germania and Herd Creek. [236]
East Fork & Its
Tributaries

Oral History 1997 ≈ Popular fishing spot.[237]
East Fork

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing area.[238]
East Fork

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location.[239]
East Fork

Oral History 1997 ≈ Location for fishing steelhead and trout.[240]
Lake Creek

1.D.83: Kinnekinic, Yankee Fork, Five Mile, and Fourth of July Creeks

From prehistoric times until the early part of the twentieth century, this was an important area for *Túkadeka* settlement until the locals were forced out of the area by mining and the Boy Scouts.[241] Today, this region still holds popular fishing spots for the Shoshone-Bannocks.

235 Mrs. Jessie Taylor in *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 82.

236 Walker, op. cit., 241.

237 Mink, op. cit., 3-4, 9-10, 15.

238 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 3.

239 Salmon River , Transcript Three, pp. 9-11.

240 Salmon River, Transcript Two, p. 42.

241 Salmon River, Transcript Four, p. 28.

Place Name 1997 Pahsagwanah	ß Name possibly of hot springs at Sunbeam.[242]
Place Name 1997 Pahsagwanah	Δ Possibly hot springs at Sunbeam where Indians lived but were "scared out of there."[243]
Place Name 1997 Yankee Fork	ß Name [nowahndiyugwe].[244]
Ethnography 1938 Kinnikinnic Crk	Δ≈ Location of a settlement called [Pasasigwana]. The villagers were reported to gather, hunt small game, and fish salmon here and towards the headwaters of the Salmon River.[245]
Ethnography 1938 Kinnikinnic Crk	≈ *Pasasigwana* villagers reported to have a fish boss or [pangwidagwani] here.[246]
Testimony 1970 on Salmon by Clayton	≈® Large number of prehistoric sites located in this area.[247]
Testimony 1970 Yankee Fork	≈ Fishing location reported here.[248]
Testimony 1970 Yankee Fork	[Δ Location where grandfather came from.][249]

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242 Salmon River, Transcript Six, p. 23.

243 Salmon River, Transcript Four, p. 28.

244 Salmon River, Transcript Five, p. 7.

245 Steward (1938), op. cit., 187.

246 Steward (1938), ibid.

247 Dr. Earl Swanson, *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 119-22.

248 Arthur Tendoy, *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 144.

249 Cora George, *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 97-8.

Testimony 1970 ≈ Fishing site located here.[250]
Five Mile Creek

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Fishing location reported here.[251]
Five Mile Creek

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Fishing site reported here.[252]
Fourth of July Crk

Ethnography 1993 ≈ Fishing sites reported here.[253]
Yankee Fork & Its Tributary

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location.[254]
Yankee Fork

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing place.[255]
Yankee Fork

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing spot.[256]
Yankee Fork

Oral History 1997 ≈ Location for fishing Dolly Varden trout.[257]
Yankee Fork

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250 Russell Pokibro, *State of Idaho v. Tinno*, op. cit., 82.

251 Walker, op. cit., 241.

252 Ibid.

253 Ibid., 242.

254 Salmon River, Transcript Three, p. 9.

255 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 2-3, 5-7.

256 Ibid., 2-3, 5-7.

257 Yellowstone Interview (Emory Tendoy), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, Fieldnotes (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 1.

1.D.9: Main Course of Salmon: McKay Creek to Headwaters

This was another area of *Túkadeka* settlement and subsistence.[258] It also remains a popular location for Shoshone-Bannock fishing.

Place Name 1997
Redfish lake

ß Shoshone name [inga aga?i] "red salmon."[259]

7/13/1831
Stanley Basin

Δ≈Ω√ A party of Shoshone who subsist on salmon, bighorns, deer, elk, and roots are located here.[260]

> They subsist upon the flesh of elk, deer, and bighorns, and upon salmon which ascend to the fountain sources of this river, and are taken in great numbers....We found them extremely anxious to exchange Salmon for buffalo meat, of which they are very fond, and which they never procure in this country unless by purchase from their friends who occassionaly come from the plains to trade with them.

Ethnography 1993
West Fork

≈ Report of fishing.[261]

Oral History 1997
Redfish Lakes

≈© Report of spear fishing.[262]

Oral History 1997
Stanley Basin

≈ Fishing location. [263]

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258 Salmon River, Transcript Four, p. 28.

259 Salmon River, Transcript Four, p. 23.

260 Ferris, op. cit., 171.

261 Walker, op. cit., 243.

262 Brandelle Whitworth, Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, July 2, 1997), p. 1.

263 Salmon River, Transcript Four, op. cit., 15.

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing site. [264]
Stanley Basin

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing place. [265]
Stanley Basin

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing spot.[266]
West Fork

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264 Mink, op. cit., 15.

265 Salmon River, Transcript Six, p. 12.

266 Emory Tendoy (August 26, 1997), op. cit., 2, 6.

2: OTHER TRIBUTARY WATERS OF COLUMBIA DRAINAGE

Below the mouth of the Salmon River, there are several major river systems from the Grand Ronde to the Deschutes whose tributary waterways were reported to have been used by Shoshone and Northern Paiute speaking peoples including the predecessors of some of the peoples resettled at Fort Hall. Usually identified as "Snakes" in early historical writings, the Northern Paiute speakers of interior Oregon were lumped together with the closely related Shoshone speaking peoples. In spite of the fact that early European-American observers did not often discriminate among the various branches of Numic speakers living along the Columbia River drainage system, we include some of the early reports on Oregon here because of the ancestral ties that many of the Shoshone-Bannock of Fort Hall have to this area.

2.A: Clearwater River

9/22/1805 @≈ Report of Shoshone-Bannock fishing area on the Snake
N Fk of Clearwater farther south.[1]

> from the 1st fork which is a few miles below, to the large fork on which the So So ne or Snake Indians fish, is South 2 Sleeps...at the

[1] Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D, ed. (New York: Arno Press, 1969), Vol. 2, pp. 371, 379; Vol. 3, p. 85; Meriwether Lewis and William Clark,*The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, Gary E. Moulton, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), Vol. 5, p. 231. Moulton's Note 6 identifies this as The North Fork Clearwater, the Chpunnish River on Atlas map 71, and his Note 7 suggests that the fisheries being reported were on the Snake River.

falls he places Establishments of white people &c. and informs that great numbers of Indians reside on all those fo[r]ks as well as the main river.

Oral History (1963) Clearwater — @≈Ω√ Delia Pohipe describes her family visiting Nez Perce Reservation and engaging in various various kinds of subsistence there.[2]

We used to travel around to the Nez Perce Reservation and all through there. We travelled with the Nez Perce. Going to the mountains and gathering different things for the winter. That was everything that they could live on--Indian Carrot. The men folks went out and hunt for diferent kinds of game. They camped there for a while while they got their winter supplies. That's what they do day after day. The men folks they went out and got the fish and deer and anything that they could get.

Oral History 1997 Clearwater R — ≈ Fishing location where Charles Bronco used to go.[3]

2.B: Crooked River

7/2/1829 Crooked R. — Δ≈= A camp of 50 men with families fishing for salmon. Fish are also traded.[4]

Snake Camp of fifty men with their families all busily employed with their salmon fisheries We had not been long arrived before upward of two hundred half dried were traded, but at an extravagant rate these Indians having almost daily intercourse with Fort Nez Percez tribes beg full value on all they have. *(near junction of John Day and Silvias Rivers)*

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2 Delia Pohipe, Lizzie Edmo Translating, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Unpublished Field Notebooks (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library) [Originals located at Reno: University of Nevada Library-Manuscripts Division]. Notebook 9 (March 24, 1963), p. 1 {Hereafter, Sven Liljeblad, Notebook}.

3 Yellowstone Interview (Alfred Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 10.

4 Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1827-1828 and 1828-1829, Vol. XXVIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971), p. 164.

2. C: John Day River

1/20/1826
John Day R

≈√ Beaver wild owing to the Snake Indians breaking the dams and lodges.[5]

7/19-20/1831
John Day R

Δ≈=π A camp of Snake who have dammed the river to catch salmon. No roots to trade but three dogs are exchanged. Two horses stolen from his men the previous spring recovered. There is also an interesting ledger of number of horses stolen over the year including the twenty-two taken by Snake from the A. Carson party.[6]

7/7/1832
Fk of John Day R

Δ©≈√= An encampment of "mountain Snakes" fishing with spears. The party trades a fresh salmon and beaver. Also noted is the fact that the Indians have their own traps.[7]

Found a family of mountain Snakes, three men and their wives and six children, and had a few fresh salmon from them and two beaver. They spear the salmon along the river. Some of the men out with the traps. There has been a chance of beaver but the Indians have traps and have been taking them.

7/16/1832
John Day R

*≈ © Indians visit his camp from the place they have a weir and tell him they are no longer taking salmon.[8]

Did not raise camp in order to send five men to the southern fork, where the Snakes have a Wear, to see if they could get information of Soteaux....Two of the Indians came to the camp in the evening. They are taking no salmon now, Pichette caught two beaver.

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5 E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, eds., *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1824 -1825 and 1825-1826, Vol. XIII* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society,1950), p. 117.

6 Francis D. Haines, Jr., ed., *The Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831: John Work's Field Journal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 135-39.

7 William S. Lewis & Paul C. Phillips, eds., *The Journal of John Work* (Cleveland: The Arthur Clark Company, 1923), p. 170.

8 Ibid., 173.

3: MISSOURI RIVER DRAINAGE

3.A: Waterways West of Yellowstone Park

Shoshone and Bannock speakers who wintered on the upper Snake and Lemhi River spent much of the year traveling the watercourses of southwestern Montana to and from their buffalo hunting grounds on the Yellowstone River. After the 1850s, many of them remained in the area. In addition, there were small groups of *Túkudeka* who lived permanently or who spent a good portion of their year in the mountains and river valleys of this section of Montana. This area continues to be a popular location for fishing among the Shoshone-Bannocks.

3.A.1: General Descriptions

Spring of 1857 — @√≈ Description of travels and abundant fish
Multiple R — on streams east of the Teton Peaks.[9]

> We went east nearly to the Teton Peaks, where we found all kinds of game plentiful and streams full of trout.

8/20/1869 — √≈ Report on the hunting and fishing of groups
Multiple R — who travel this area.[10]

> They hunt on the Madison, Jefferson, and Big Hole Rivers and their numerous branches, with perhaps a semi-annual sojourn on the

[9] Elijah Nicholas Wilson, *Among the Shoshones* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1969), p. 65.

[10] James Tufts to Col. L. M. Black, 20 August 1869, U.S. National Archives {Hereafter, USNA}, *Montana Superintendency,* Microcopy M234 {Hereafter, M234: *Montana* }.

Salmon river for the purpose of fishing.

3.A.2: Beaverhead, Big Hole, and Jefferson Rivers

Place Name 1997 ß Name [nahye paha].[11]
Beaverhead

Place Name 1997 ß Name [Harakapahgadeh].[12]
Enis Lake

Place Name 1857 ß Name [Paitapa].[13]
Jefferson River

Winter of 1857 Δ√≈ Description of camp and winter fishing.[14]
Jefferson R

> We had a fishing hole close to the camp where the squaws and kids would fish. Mother and I had been down there with a lot of others fishing through the ice, and had caught quite a nice lot of fish when mother took what we had to the wickiup.

Summer of 1858 @Δ√≈ Description of travels, camp and fishing.[15]
Jefferson R

> we moved down the Big Hole River where the town of Melrose is now. Plenty of game was to be seen everywhere. The bitter weeping had ceased, except that of the poor mother, whose mourning could be heard for a mile. We stayed here about two weeks, then went down the Big Hole River until it emptied into the Beaverhead River, and formed the Jefferson River. We did not do anything here but fish, for

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11 Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo, Francis Navo), Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 15, 1997), Transcript Four, p. 50.

12 Yellowstone Group Interview, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22 1997), Transcript One, p. 4.

13 Wilson, op. cit., 37-38.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid., 92-93.

the buffalo were not fat enough to kill, and besides we had all the dried elk and deer meat we wanted.

Summer of 1858 — √≈ Description of camp, hide tanning, and fishing.[16]
Big Hole R

From this place we went down to the forks of the river, and I think we stayed there two or three weeks to give the women time to tan the deer skins. It was fine fishing in the Big Hole River.

Summer of 1858 — @Δ√≈ Description of travels, camp and fishing.[17]
Jefferson R

Oral History (1997) — ≈ Report of trout fishing.[18]
Beaverhead

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Fishing location near Dillon, Montana.[19]
Beaverhead

Oral History 1997 — ≈ Fishing location near Melrose, Montana.[20]
Big Hole

3.A.3: Red Rock Creek and Lake

Place Name 1857 — ß Name [Angatipa].[21]
Red Rock Creek

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16 Ibid., 91.

17 Ibid., 92-93.

18 Jonah Mink, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, July 2, 1997), p. 13.

19 Emory Tendoy, Interviewer Jeannette Wolfley, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 26, 1997), p. 9

20 Ibid.

21 Wilson, op. cit., 37-38.

Fall of 1857 @≈ Description of travels and fishing.[22]
Red Rock Ck

> We went down the Tobitapa (Portneuf) to the Piupa (Snake River), then up the Piupa, and then over the divide on to the headwaters of Angatipa (Rock Creek). At this place, we stayed six days...The next day we came to a beautiful stream. It was not very large, but it was fairly alive with trout. We went down this stream two days' travel, and there were stayed for about a month I think.

Winter of 1857 √≈ Description of hunting and fishing.[23]
Red Rock Ck

> ...then we passed the rest of the winter in fishing and hunting for chickens and rabbits. Sometimes we would go for antelope, but when we went for them some of the older Indians would go along with us to keep us from killing too many.

Oral History 1997 ≈ Fishing location near Spencer, Idaho.[24]
Red Rock Creek

3.A.4: Waters of Yellowstone (Yellowstone & Madison Rivers)

Place Name 1997 ß Name [Pengwiwehnah]. [25]
Yellowstone area

Place Name 1997 ß Name [Pengwih?ua] refers to most of the rivers and waters around Yellowstone Park includes Madison River.[26]
Yellowstone area

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22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., 88-89.

24 Tendoy, op. cit., 12, 33.

25 Yellowstone, Transcript One, op. cit., 4.

26 Yellowstone Interview (Alfred Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 7.

Place Name 1997 ß Name [Pahngwigahnipuwah].[27]
Yellowstone Lake

Place Name 1997 ß Name [Pahngwiahnahpagahnowanedh].[28]
Yellowstone River

Place Name 1997 ß Name [Pahngwiwhenuhn Oohngbaghanwan]. [29]
Old Faithful

Oral History 1951 ≈√Ω Describes subsistence in this area.[30]
Yellowstone Park

> There were seven different camps when he [Wihii] made the trip to Yellowstone. He is the only one living now. There were plenty of animals and fish, but the only things gone now are the roots that they used to eat.

6.B: Tributaries East of Yellowstone Park

Many different Shoshone-Bannock populations traveled and lived along tributaries of the Missouri east of the Continental Divide. There were small groups of *Túkudeka* living in the higher elevation river basins of Yellowstone Park and in regions of the Wind River Mountains. There was a large population of Shoshone speaking people, known commonly as the Eastern Shoshone, who resided most of the year along the southern flanks of the Wind River Mountains in areas which extended between the Green River in the west and the Sweetwater in the east. After the 1840s,

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27 Yellowstone, Transcript One, p. 5.

28 Ibid., 6.

29 Ibid.

30 Wihii, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 2 (1951), p. 12.

when buffalo disappeared from eastern Idaho, these Shoshone speakers were joined increasingly by Shoshone-Bannocks who wintered along the Bear, Portneuf and upper Snake Rivers. And after the 1850s, many them from the Lemhi and upper Snake River areas hunted buffalo along the Yellowstone River between Big Timber and Billings, Montana. In the eighteenth century, some of the predecessors of these Shoshone-Bannocks occupied a vast stretch of country in central Montana extending as far north as the Sweet Grass Hills on the Canadian border.

The importance of fishing to populations in the Wind River area is described in some detail in a few historical and ethnographic sources. No sources referring to fishing along the Yellowstone have been uncovered, however. And although there are several early historical references to *Túkudeka* in locations with streams and lakes rich in fish, especially in the Yellowstone area, no eyewitness accounts of their fishing have been uncovered as yet.

6.B.1: Wind River

Place Name 1947
Wyoming Region

ß The ascriptions for many different rivers and creeks in Wyoming as named by the Wind River Shoshone are found in Shimkin.[31]

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[31] Demitri B. Shimkin, "Wind River Shoshone Ethnogeography," *Anthropological Records* (1947), Vol. 5(4), p. 252.

Place Name 1997 ß Name for area around Dubois, Wyoming [sohodai].[32]
Wind River

Place Name 1997 ß Name [sinahuwai].[33]
Waterway in Wind River Area

July 1876 ≈© Description of eastern Shoshone-Bannock reliance on fish and the methods and technology used in harvesting them.[34]
Wind River

> The Shoshones were expert fishermen, and it was always a matter of interest to me to spend my spare moments among them, watching their way of doing things. Their war lodges were entirely unlike those of the Apaches, with which I had become familiar. The Shoshones would take half a dozen willow branches and insert them in the earth, so as to make a semi-cylindrical framework, over which would be spread a sufficiency of blankets to afford the requisite shelter. They differed also from the Apaches in being very fond of fish; the Apaches could not be persuaded to touch anything with scale upon it, or any bird which lived upon fish; but the Shoshones had more sense and made the most of their opportunity to fill themselves with the delicious trout of the mountain streams. They did not bother much about hooks and lines, flies, casts, and appliances and tricks of that kind, but set to work methodically to get the biggest mess the streams would yield. They made a dam of rocks and wattle-work of willow, through which the water could pass without much impediment, but which would retain all solids. Two or three young men would stay by this dam or framework as guards to repair accidents. The others of the party, mounting their ponies, would start down-stram to a favorable location and there enter and begin the ascent of the stream current, keeping their ponies in touch, lashing the surface of the stream in their front with long poles, and all the while joining in a wild medicine song. The frightened trout, having no other mode of escape, would dart up-stream only to be held in the dam, from which the Indians would calmly proceed to take them out in gunny sacks. It was not very sportsmanlike, but it was

32 Yellowstone Interview (Alfred & Lois Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Patricia C. Albers, Notebook (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, October 21 & 22, 1997), p. 1.

33 Salmon River Group Interview (Van #2: Alton Bear, Alfred & Lois Navo; Bill & Audine Navo; Lois & Alfred Navo), Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Oral History, Interviewer Jennifer Lowry, (Fort Hall: Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Library, August 14, 1997), Transcript Two, p. 13.

34 John G. Bourke, *On the Border With Crook* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), pp. 340-41.

business.

Ethnography 1947 ≈© Description of devices used in fishing and seasonal harvests.[35]
Wind River

> Fish played, and continue to play, an important role in Wind River economy. Methods of taking fish were relatively efficient: weirs, dams, and fishtraps were the major devices. The fish were dried or smoked on a large scale. In general, fish were principally taken in the spring, when the stores of bison meat were running low. At other times, they were regarded as an auxillary food, eaten when other supplies were lacking. In such instances less efficient techniques came into play, such as fishing through a hole in the ice, angling, spearing, etc. The yield then would not have been very great.

History 1991 ≈© Overview of historical sources on fishing.[36]
Wind River

6.B.22 Yellowstone River

6/23/1869 ≈√ Report on condition of Tendoy group with a note on hunting and fishing. [37]
Yellowstone R

> They met me at Fort Ellis and Begged me to allow them to accompany me to the Yellowstone country. They were in a deplorable condition, half starved, many of them without lodges, and what few they had were miserable cotton affairs, which could hardly stand the wind. They staid with me a few days on the Yellowstone, where they picked picked up amazingly on the game and fish that abound in that region.

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35 Shimkin, op. cit., 268.

36 Omer Stewart, "Fishing and the Wind River Shoshone Indians," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* (1991), Vol. 25(1), pp. 13-30.

37 Gen. Alfred Sully, 23 September 1869, *Annual Reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* {Hereafter, RCIA}1869, 289-93.

4: Colorado River Drainage

Much of what was reported for the Wind River area applies equally to the rivers flowing into the Green River, and probably even more so during the years before 1860, when the headwaters of this river and its tributaries would have been the principal fishing areas for the Shoshone-Bannocks. The regions on the northern flanks of the Wind River Mountains would have been dangerous grounds given the hostilities between them and their Crow neighbors to the northeast.

4.A.1: Green River

2/18/1860 ≈Ω√ Description of importance of fishing and root
Green R gathering and game.[38]

> their principal subsistence is the roots and seeds of wild vegetables of the region they inhabit, the mountain trout, with which all the streams in the country are abundantly supplied; and wild game.

Prior & After 1863 @=√≈ Description of summer travels, camping,
Green R fishing, and hunting.[39]

> Prior to the adoption of the Treaty, as well as afterwards, it was the custom of the tribe to spend most of the year in the Wind River region, but about the 1st of June, the whole tribe, men women, and children, with all their belongings, ponies, tents, camp equipment, etc., would start on a trip to the Uintah Mountains in northeastern Utah, where they remained during the summer, returning about the

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38 Lander to Commissioner of Indian Affairs {CIA}, 18 February 1860, op. cit., USNA, *Utah Superintendency,* Microcopy M234 {Hereafter, M234: *Utah* }.

39 P. I. Williams, "Personal Recollections of Wash-a-kie, Chief of the Shoshones," *Utah Historical Quarterly* (October, 1928), Vol. 1(4), p. 104.

latter part of September. There was at that time a great abundance of game and fishing in these mountains, and so was an attractive place for the summer location of these Indians. The journey to and from this hunting and fishing ground was made by way of South Pass City, over the "South Pass" of the mountain divide, across the broad valley of the Green River and by Fort Bridger.

8/17/1865
Green R

=√≈ Trade of skins for fishing line.[40]

Here we also saw some Snake Indians whose village is said to be nearby and where in the suttler's store trading dressed elk, deer, buffalo and beaver skins for various items including fishing lines. They always swap even for one article, notwithstanding the discrepancy in prices.

10/11/1870
Green R

√≈ Trouble with enemies has caused Eastern Shoshone to travel to Bear River and Fort Bridger for subsistence.[41]

Fear of the Sioux and other hostile tribes, the scarcity of game and fish, on which they are dependent, and a distrust of the intention of the Government, has made them leave the reservation during the summer months and go south to Fort Bridger, and west to Bear River, where they subsist on small game, and the fish which are so abundant in that river.

July 1876
Green River

≈© Description of eastern Shoshone-Bannock reliance on fish and the methods and technology used in harvesting.[42]

see quote above under "Wind River"

Ethnography 1947
Green River

≈© Description of devices used in fishing and seasonal harvests. [43]

see quote above under "Wind River"

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[40] William F. Settle & Mary Lund, *Overland Days to Montana in 1865* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1971), p. 208.

[41] J. A. Campbell, 11 October 1870, RCIA 1870: 174-75.

[42] Bourke, op. cit., 340-41.

[43] Shimkin, op. cit., 268.

5: Eastern Great Basin Drainage

This is a vast area of Shoshone-Bannock occupation in historic times. The predecessors of many Shoshone-Bannock tribal members traveled and in lived in this region during the early nineteenth century, particularly in locations in the vicinity of the Bear River in southeastern Idaho and adjoining areas of Utah. The Shoshone-Bannocks who lived farther west in a region which extended to the Owyhee River traveled back and forth between the Great Basin and Snake River drainage systems.

There are a number of historic and ethnographic references to Shoshone-Bannock fishing locations and practices in this vast area. Even though some of these have been identified and included here, the search of sources in this general area has been by no means exhaustive.

5.A: Great Salt Lake Drainage

5.A.1: Bear Lake and Bear River

Place Name 1938 — ß Name for [wudaogwai].[44]
Bear River

3/17-18/1829 — *≈ Good description of a small fish catch and the*
Bear River/ — *the drying of the fish by the women of a fur*
Clarkston Crk. — *brigade.*[45]

[44] Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970 [reprint of 1938 edition]), p. 218.

[45] Williams, Glendyr, op. cit., 134.

The river will prove a valuable one to us, as our stock of provisions to reach...Unknown River is rather slender, from the quantity of small fish it contains --upwards of seven hundred were taken. Fortunately, we have two nets. Fresh they are good, how they will be dry I cannot say, but no doubt better than nothing. Our nets are doing good, women splitting and drying.

Fall 1832
Bear R

@Δ≈√ Description of "Shoshone" population on yearly migration who change location according to the productivity of fish and game resources.[46]

...shift their encampments from place to place as fish and game abound.

9/30/1855
Bear R

≈ Report of Eastern Shoshone fishing on the mouth of the Bear River.[47]

Shoshonees, or Snakes proper from the Green River country," [while encamped on Willow Creek] on July 17 or 18,1855 [had]come over to the mouth of Bear River to fish and hearing we were in the neighborhood, said they supposed we had come to give them presents.

10/11/1870
Bear R

√≈ Trouble with enemies has caused Eastern Shoshone to travel to Bear River and Fort Bridger for their subsistence.[48]

Fear of the Sioux and other hostile tribes, the scarcity of game and fish, on which they are dependent, and a distrust of the intention of the Government, has made them leave the reservation during the summer months and go south to Fort Bridger, and west to Bear River, where they subsist on small game, and the fish which are so abundant in that river.

---

[46] Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, Edgeley W. Todd, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 74.

[47] Garland Hurt, 30 September 1855, RCIA 1855, 197-98.

[48] J. A. Campbell, 11 October 1870, RCIA 1870: 174-75.

Ethnography 1924 ≈© Report on fishing and fishing technology.[49]
Bear R

Ethnography 1938 ≈®© Account of fishing in the region, with a note that
Bear R & L area used by groups from Wyoming; also description of fishing practices and species of fish taken.[50]

Ethnography 1938 ≈®© Description of devices and techniques used for
Bear R & L fishing in this area.[51]

Ethnography 1960 @≈ Report on upriver Shoshone-Bannock's travels
Bear R & L to this area for chub fishing during the spring.[52]

Ethnography 1960 ≈ Description of spear fishing.[53]
Bear L

> I can't understand how the hell they could see in that deep Bear L water, they teamed up two and two. Teamwork. One fellow stood high up on the shore. He pointed with his spear. The other was in the water up to his waist. He speared the fish. They counted the speed of the fish and the direction he was going.

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49 Robert H. Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (1924), Vol. 20(3), p. 200.

50 Steward, op. cit., 219.

51 Julian Steward, "Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshoni," *Anthropological Records* (1943), Vol. 8 (3), pp. 270, 298.

52 Robert F. Murphy and Yolanda Murphy, "Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society," *Anthropological Records* (1960), Vol. 16 (6), p. 328.

53 Wihii, Interviewer Sven Liljeblad, Notebook 4 (May 6 1952), p. 16.

5.A.2: Malad River

9/1/1843
Reed Creek

Δ≈©Ω= Description of weirs built among rushes for catching fish. Traded for some roots.[54]

> As we were stealing quietly down the stream, trying in vain to get a shot at a strange large bird that was numerous among the willows, but very shy, we came unexpectedly upon several families of *Root Diggers*, who were encamped among the rushes on the shore and appeared very busy about several weirs or nets which had been rudely made of canes and rushes for the purposes of catching fish.

5.A.3: Deep Creek, Dove Creek, and Grouse Creek

3/29/1829
Deep Creek

@Δ≈Ω General description of subsistence practices in area.[55]

> ...need not apprehend any danger from the Black-feet this season and little from the Snake Indians as the latter are now scattered in the small rivers in quest of fish and roots.

8/24/1832
Dove Creek

Δ≈√ A description of subsistence cycle which alternates between fish, small game and buffalo.[56]

> On Fourth day of our journey we arrived at the huts of some Bawnack Indians. These Indians appear to live very poor and in the most forlorn condition. They generally make but one visit to the buffalo country during the year, where they remain until they jirk as much meat as their females can lug home on their backs. They then quit the mountains and return to the plains, where they subsist on fish and small game the remainder of the year. They keep no horses are always an easy prey for other Indians provided with guns and horses.

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54 Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, eds., *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont. Vol. 1, Travels from 1838 to 1844* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. 496-97.

55 Williams, Glendyr, op. cit., 136-37.

56 John C. Ewers, ed., *Adventures of Zenas Leonard Fur Trader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), pp. 65-66.

9/20/1870 @≈√ General description of subsistence.[57]
Unspecified

> The northwestern Shoshones inhabit the northwestern portion of this Territory. They have no permanent place of abode, but rove among the mountains and valleys wherever they find the best hunting and fishing.

Ethnography 1938 ≈ Trout present in local diet but not significant.[58]
Grouse Creek

5.A.4: Utah Lake

1849 Δ≈ Description of settlements and fishing.[59]
Utah Lake

> The Mormon settlement in the Salt lake Valley has not only greatly diminished their (Shoshones and Bannocks) formerly very great resource of obtaining fish out of the Utah lake and its sources, which to them was an important resource, but their settlement, with the great emigration there and to California, has already nearly driven away all the game, and will, unquestionably, soon deprive them almost entirely of the only chances they have for food.

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57 J. E. Tourtellotte, 20 September 1870, RCIA 1870, 141-44.

58 Steward (1938), op. cit., 176.

59 John Wilson to Thomas Ewing, Black Fork of Green or Colorado River, August 22, 1849: quoted in Dale L. Morgan, "Washakie and the Shoshoni: A Selection of Documents from the Records of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Part 1: 1849-1852," *Annals of Wyoming* (1955), Vol. 25(2), pp. 145-47.

5.B: Humboldt River and Its Tributaries

4/9/1829
Soldier Creek

Δ≈ Description of a settlement fishing for salmon trout.[60]

> thirty Indians employed in fishing salmon trout, about eight inches in length, remarkably fine. They gave us all they had, about fifteen.

9/25/1852
Humboldt R.

≈√ Hostilities with non-Indians on the river are making it difficult for Shoshone-Bannocks to hunt and fish.[61]

> They said they had no wish to be at war with the whites, but that the whites were always at war with them; that they could not hunt or fish on the river but the whites were shooting them; that whites would persuade them into their camps, profesing great friendship, and without any cause or offence on their part, would shoot them down.

9/30/1855
Humboldt R

≈ Difficulty meeting with Shoshone-Bannocks because they are150 miles west fishing.[62]

> ...they said a great many of them had gone south to hunt, but that Nim-ah-tu-cah and most of his band were about one hundred and fifty miles west, fishing.

6/30/61
Ruby R

≈√ Description of riparian environments in Ruby Valley.[63]

> Two or three flocks of mallard duck, which we scared up from some of the warm sulphur springs, and a few rabbits, were all the game we saw during the whole journey. . . .At some of these springs were immense quantities of dark-colored fish, called 'the chub,' about four inches in length, which the Indians used to eat in winter, but the overland California mail company has built stations for their convenience and located men and quartered stock about these spots,

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60 Williams, Glendyr, op. cit., 140.

61 Jacob Holeman, 25 September 1852, RCIA 1852, 151.

62 Garland Hurt, 30 September 1855, RCIA 1855, 198.

63 Benjamin Davies, 30 June 1861, RCIA 1861, 130.

and the Indians no longer visit them.

Ethnography 1938 ≈© Description of fishing practices and technology.[64]
Humboldt R

Ethnography 1941 ≈© Description of fishing practices and technology.[65]
Humboldt R

Ethnography 1943 ≈© Description of fishing practices and technology.[66]
Humboldt R

6: Western Great Basin

Some of the Shoshone-Bannocks with connections to locations in central Oregon ended up being settled at Fort Hall where their descendants are now members of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, and therefore, it is important to include reports on their fishing and waterways as well.

6/31/1829 ®≈Ω√ Good description of wildlife along river and
Donner&Blitzen R. divisions between different Snake populations. Also, description of carp fishing, rush use, and rabbit hunting. The country, however, does not yield roots.[67]

> As far as I could observe their sole subsistence, particularly those in the upper quarter, appears to be fish of a small kind, strongly resembling carp; they also collect a quantity of water rushes which they dry and lay by for winter. To this may be added a few hares; the

64 Steward (1938), op. cit., 159.

65. Julian Steward, "Culture Element Distribution: XIII, Nevada Shoshone," *Anthropological Records* (1941), Vol. 4(2), pp. 226-27, 276.

66 Steward (1943), op. cit., 269.

67 Williams, Glendyr, op. cit., 156.

latter appars scarce. The above forms their total support; as for roots the country does not yield any. *(from the surrounding descriptions, this location seems to be the most obvious).*

n.d. 1854 ¥Ω√ Description of subsistence.[68]
Unspecified

With the exception of the immediate margin of the streams, their country is a barren waste, affording very little vegetation, save artemsia, or wild sage. They subsist upon roots and almost every living thing within their reach, not excepting reptiles, c r i c k e t s , ants, & c.

8/01/1864 ≈√π Describes amenities of valley in terms of hunting, fishing, and horse grazing.[69]
Pueblo R

It contains three beautiful lakes, into which the numerous streams flowing from the mountains on either side of the valley find their outlet. From both the lakes and the streams large quantities of fish are taken. Heretofore, during the spring, summer, and autumn months, the Indians resorted for the purposes of grazing their horses, hunting, and catching fish.

Ethnography 1941 ≈© Description of fishing devices and practices. [70]
Unspecified

Ethnography 1986 ≈© Description of fishing devices and practices.[71]
Unspecified

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[68] Robert R. Thompson, n.d. 1854, RCIA 1854, 283.

[69] James C. Burche, 1 August 1864, RCIA 1864, 147.

[70] Omer Stewart, "Cultural Element Distributions: XIV," *Anthropological Records* (1941), Vol. 4(3), pp. 424-26.

[71] Catherine Fowler and Sven Liljeblad, "Northern Paiute," in Warren D'Azevado, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians: Vol. 11, Great Basin* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), p. 453.

APPENDIX B

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1		A. Johnson	A. Watson	W. Tendoy	R. Lavatta	L.Edmo
2		[Shoshone]	[Lemhi Sho]	[Shoshone]	[Shoshone]	[Shoshone]
3	Fish			ku'i-yuhi		pɛ' z·g·nɛi
4	Dried Fish					
5	Dried Fish					
6	Fish Eggs					
7	Fish Bones					
8	Fish Trap					
9	Fish Shaman				pëg g·ül puragant	
10						
11	Salmon					
12	Wood Salmon					
13	Spring Salmon					
14	Summer Salmon					
15	Fall Salmon					
16	Big Salmon Month					
17	Red Salmon					a ca ʼa'ya i c
18	White Salmon					
19	Salmon Eggs					
20	Salmon Smolts					
21	Salmon Glue	ca'go				
22	Dried Salmon	ayay-inap				
23	Salmon River		cycim-ba'-ʔA			
24	Cottonwood Stream/					
25	Salmon Eaters	soxɔ-akay-deka		šo'xo-aɣay-tëka		
26	Summer Salmon Eaters					
27	Big Salmon Eaters	Bia'aradika				
28	Rotten Fish Eaters					
29	RFE					
30	Lemhi Salmon Eaters					
31	Little Salmon Eaters		Bi'a·aɣa'ɟdëka	<=Big Salmon Eaters]		
32			ṭidëBihua	<=""those who cannot roam""]		
33			qö'aaɣay-dëka			
34	Trout					
35	Mountain Trout					
36	Dolly Varden Trout					
37	Salmon Trout					
38						
39	Whitefish					
40	Sucker			(š)mu'ṛavɛ		
41	Goldfish/Carp					
42	Lamprey Eel					
43	Sturgeon					
44	Chub					
45	Squawfish					
46	Perch					
47	Pickering					
48	Minnows					
49	References by entry	Book 14, 1940:28	Book 2, 1965:31	Book 6, 1941:13	Book 5, 1941:n.p.	Book 11, 1959:22
50		Book 14, 1940:28	Book 3, 1941	Book 6, 1941:n.p.		
51		Book 11, 1940:9		Book 6, 1941:13		
52		Book 11, 1940:9				
53						
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55						
56	* Liljeblad notebooks =					
57	Book ##, year:page					
58	See bibiography for					
59	Reference information					
60						

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	H	I	J	K	L	M
1		Mrs. Edmo	A. Cawson	W. Martin	Norman Tinno	J. Thorpe
2			[Shoshone]	[Sho]	[Shoshone]	[Shoshone]
3	Fish	pæ z·gwɪ			pɛ z·gwɪ or bɛ z·gwɪ	
4	Dried Fish					
5	Dried Fish					
6	Fish Eggs					
7	Fish Bones					
8	Fish Trap					
9	Fish Shaman					
10						
11	Salmon					
12	Wood Salmon					
13	Spring Salmon					ta ma'aya'ic
14	Summer Salmon					ta'za'aya ɻc
15	Fall Salmon					jɪ' Ba'aya'ɻc
16	Big Salmon Month					
17	Red Salmon					
18	White Salmon					
19	Salmon Eggs					
20	Salmon Smolts					
21	Salmon Glue					
22	Dried Salmon					
23	Salmon River				aya'ɻ p·a · hu · ɻa'c	
24	Cottonwood Stream/					
25	Salmon Eaters		a'Yɻdɪk·a'A			
26	Summer Salmon Eaters		ta'za'aya'ɻdɪK'a'?A			
27	Big Salmon Eaters					
28	Rotten Fish Eaters					
29	RFE					
30	Lemhi Salmon Eaters		a'ya'ɱbac·'?A			
31	Little Salmon Eaters					
32						
33						
34	Trout				ca ·pɛ zgwɪ	
35	Mountain Trout		ɒ'ɻa·bæz·gw·ɪ			
36	Dolly Varden Trout					
37	Salmon Trout					
38						
39	Whitefish		mu'iwɪhju			
40	Sucker			mu'yaɳi?E		
41	Goldfish/Carp					
42	Lamprey Eel					
43	Sturgeon					
44	Chub					
45	Squawfish					
46	Perch					
47	Pickering					
48	Minnows					
49	References by entry	Book 6, 1952:28	Book 3, 1950:38	Book 13, 1950:4	Book 6, 1957:27	Book 5, 1958:14
50			Book 3, 1950:19		Book 6, 1957:44	Book 5, 1958:14
51			Book 3, 1950:38		Book 6, 1957:28	Book 5, 1958:14
52			Book 3, 1950:35			
53			Book 3, 1950:35			
54						
55						
56	* Liljeblad notebooks =					
57	Book ##, year:page					
58	See bibiography for					
59	Reference information					
60						

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	N	O	P	Q	R
1		D. Podso&W. Eagle	J &E Quanda	L. Pocatello	E. Boyer
2		[Shoshone]	[Lemhi Shoshone]	[Shoshone]	[Sho]
3	Fish				
4	Dried Fish				
5	Dried Fish				
6	Fish Eggs				
7	Fish Bones				
8	Fish Trap				
9	Fish Shaman				
10					
11	Salmon				
12	Wood Salmon				
13	Spring Salmon				
14	Summer Salmon				
15	Fall Salmon				
16	Big Salmon Month				
17	Red Salmon				
18	White Salmon				
19	Salmon Eggs				
20	Salmon Smolts				
21	Salmon Glue				
22	Dried Salmon				
23	Salmon River		cycim-ba''?A		
24	Cottonwood Stream/				
25	Salmon Eaters				
26	Summer Salmon Eaters			taz(a)yaid(i)Ka?A	
27	Big Salmon Eaters				
28	Rotten Fish Eaters			pi'ş·lpeygwidiKa?A	pi'ş·ißezgav(i)diKa'?A
29	RFE			pi'z·pezgwidiKa?A	ja'handiKa'?A
30	Lemhi Salmon Eaters	araidikc''?A			
31	Little Salmon Eaters				
32					
33					
34	Trout				
35	Mountain Trout				
36	Dolly Varden Trout				
37	Salmon Trout				
38					
39	Whitefish				
40	Sucker				
41	Goldfish/Carp				
42	Lamprey Eel				
43	Sturgeon				
44	Chub				
45	Squawfish				
46	Perch				
47	Pickering				
48	Minnows				
49	References by entry	Book 1, 1960:2	Book 2, 1965:31	Book 3, 1966:4	Book 2, 1968:1
50				Book 3, 1966:5	
51					
52					
53					
54					
55					
56	* Liljeblad notebooks =				
57	Book ##, year:page				
58	See bibiography for				
59	Reference information				
60					

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	S	T	U	V	W	X
1		A & L Navo	L. Valley	D. Lewis	Wihii	W. Edmo
2		[Sho]	[Sho]	[Sho/Ba]	[Sho/Ba]	[Sho/Ba]
3	Fish					
4	Dried Fish					pakwi n̥c ʔi̥ (-)napi c
5	Dried Fish					pakwi n̥-c ʔi̥ (-)n̥ac n-a c
6	Fish Eggs					pakwi n-c ɲc c
7	Fish Bones					pakwi ɾc ɲc c
8	Fish Trap					
9	Fish Shaman					
10						
11	Salmon		a yḁ			
12	Wood Salmon					
13	Spring Salmon					
14	Summer Salmon					
15	Fall Salmon					
16	Big Salmon Month				pi·a?ayḁmëha	pi·a?ayḁmëha
17	Red Salmon					
18	White Salmon					
19	Salmon Eggs					
20	Salmon Smolts					
21	Salmon Glue					
22	Dried Salmon					
23	Salmon River	ʔa yḁmba · ʔa				
24	Cottonwood Stream/					
25	Salmon Eaters					
26	Summer Salmon Eaters					
27	Big Salmon Eaters					
28	Rotten Fish Eaters					
29	RFE					
30	Lemhi Salmon Eaters					
31	Little Salmon Eaters					
32						
33						
34	Trout					
35	Mountain Trout					
36	Dolly Varden Trout					
37	Salmon Trout					
38						
39	Whitefish					
40	Sucker			ha ʔwa gu		
41	Goldfish/Carp			ɔ hapaK-wi		
42	Lamprey Eel					
43	Sturgeon					
44	Chub					
45	Squawfish					
46	Perch					
47	Pickering					
48	Minnows					
49	References by entry	Book 3, 1972:2	Book 4, 1972:2	Book 18, 1952:74	Book 1, 1950:74	Book 11, 1959:61, 63
50						Book 11, 1959:63
51						Book 11, 1959:61
52						Book 11, 1959:61
53						Book 1, 1950:74
54						
55						
56	* Liljeblad notebooks =					
57	Book ##, year:page					
58	See bibiography for					
59	Reference information					
60						

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	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD
1		Lizzie Edmo	B. Judson	N. Teton	W. Martin	N. Tinno&Martha
2		[Bannock]	[Bannock]	[Bannock]	[Ba]	[Bannock]
3	Fish	pa kʔwɪ	pa kʔwɪ			pa K·wɪ
4	Dried Fish					
5	Dried Fish					
6	Fish Eggs					
7	Fish Bones					
8	Fish Trap	pa kwina wa ma p·ɪc				
9	Fish Shaman					
10						
11	Salmon		a ẏaɻc			a ẏa ɻc
12	Wood Salmon					
13	Spring Salmon					
14	Summer Salmon	ta za ʔa ẏ aɻc				
15	Fall Salmon					
16	Big Salmon Month					
17	Red Salmon	ɻi βi zɪ a ẏa ɻc				
18	White Salmon	ɻɔ ha ʔaẏaɻ c				
19	Salmon Eggs					
20	Salmon Smolts					
21	Salmon Glue			a ẏa ɻc ʔa gißA		
22	Dried Salmon					
23	Salmon River	a ẏa ɻp·a c				
24	Cottonwood Stream/					
25	Salmon Eaters					
26	Summer Salmon Eaters					
27	Big Salmon Eaters					
28	Rotten Fish Eaters					
29	RFE					
30	Lemhi Salmon Eaters					
31	Little Salmon Eaters					
32						
33						
34	Trout	pɪs a·ʔpak· wɪ				bɪ'ṣa p·a'K·wɪ c
35	Mountain Trout	Ḳa ɻßa ßa'Kwɪ c				
36	Dolly Varden Trout					
37	Salmon Trout					
38						
39	Whitefish	mu'g u zu ʔu'	mu'gu'c·uʔu			
40	Sucker	a'ʔwa'gɔ c	a ʔwa'gu'c		aẏwa'gU	
41	Goldfish/Carp					
42	Lamprey Eel					
43	Sturgeon					
44	Chub					
45	Squawfish					
46	Perch					
47	Pickering					
48	Minnows					
49	References by entry	Book 11, 1959:21	Book 6, 1951:48	Book 8, 1949:3	Book 13, 1950:4	Book 6, 1957:27
50		Book 11, 1959:21	Book 4, 1951:63, 67, 81			Book 6, 1957:28
51		Book 11, 1959:22	Book 4, 1951:81			
52		Book 11, 1958:20				
53		Book 11, 1959:20				
54		Book 6, 1949:67;Book 20, 1952:33;Book 13, 1959:2				
55		Book 11, 1959:20				
56	* Liljeblad notebooks =	Book 10, 1952:33				
57	Book ##, year:page	Book 10, 1952:33				
58	See bibiography for					
59	Reference information					
60						

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	AE	AF	AG	AH	AI
1		Julia Ballard	L. Davis	Judy Jack	Bridget Harry
2		[Bannock]	Paiute	Paiute	Paiute
3	Fish		pa gwɪ	pa ˈz·K·cwɪ	pa g·wɪ ˈc
4	Dried Fish				
5	Dried Fish				
6	Fish Eggs				pag·wɪ n·ɔ hɔ"c
7	Fish Bones				
8	Fish Trap				
9	Fish Shaman				
10					
11	Salmon		wɔ·pɪ a ẏa'ɪ̨		
12	Wood Salmon				
13	Spring Salmon		ṭa m ˈẏa ẏa'ɪ̨		
14	Summer Salmon	ta ˈza ˈẏ a ẏ aɪ̨c			
15	Fall Salmon				
16	Big Salmon Month				
17	Red Salmon	ṭɪ ʙɪ ˈzɪ a' ẏa ɪ̨ c			
18	White Salmon				
19	Salmon Eggs				
20	Salmon Smolts				
21	Salmon Glue				
22	Dried Salmon				
23	Salmon River				
24	Cottonwood Stream/				
25	Salmon Eaters				
26	Summer Salmon Eaters				
27	Big Salmon Eaters				
28	Rotten Fish Eaters				
29	RFE				
30	Lemhi Salmon Eaters				
31	Little Salmon Eaters				
32					
33					
34	Trout				aẏa ɪ̨c
35	Mountain Trout		ka ɪ̨pa a ẏa'ɪ̨		
36	Dolly Varden Trout				
37	Salmon Trout				
38					
39	Whitefish				
40	Sucker				
41	Goldfish/Carp				
42	Lamprey Eel				
43	Sturgeon				
44	Chub				
45	Squawfish				
46	Perch				
47	Pickering				
48	Minnows				
49	References by entry	Book 11, 1959:43	Book 41, 1952:11	Book 27, 1952:4	Book 7, 1953:80
50		Book 11, 1959:43	Book 41, 1952:11		Book 7, 1953:80
51			Book 41, 1952:11		Book 7, 1953:80
52			Book 41, 1952:11		
53					
54					
55					
56	* Liljeblad notebooks =				
57	Book ##, year:page				
58	See bibiography for				
59	Reference information				
60					

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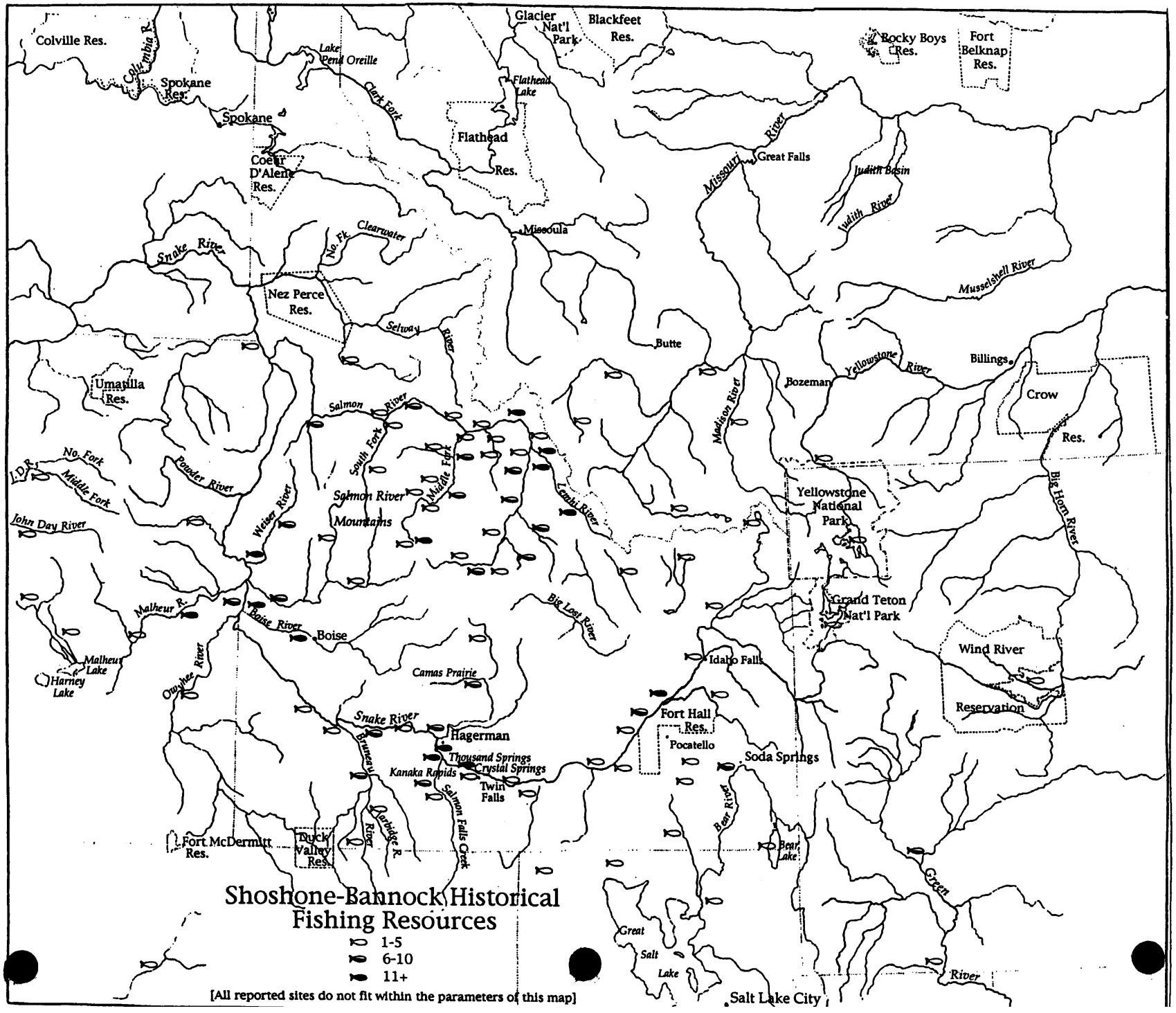
	AJ	AK	AL	AM	AN	AO
1		Julia Williams	Maggie Wewa	C & D Little	Ed Buffalo	Holmer et al.
2		Paiute	(Oregon Paiute)	[Sho/Pai-Owyhee	Paiute-Pyramid Lake	[Shoshone]
3	Fish	pa·g·wɪ· c			pa'ckwɪ	bai'ngwɪ
4	Dried Fish					
5	Dried Fish					
6	Fish Eggs	pag·wɪ· n-ɔ hɔ"c				
7	Fish Bones					
8	Fish Trap			Ḳɔa·		
9	Fish Shaman					
10						
11	Salmon					agai
12	Wood Salmon					wovi agai
13	Spring Salmon					tahwa agai
14	Summer Salmon					
15	Fall Salmon					
16	Big Salmon Month					
17	Red Salmon					
18	White Salmon					
19	Salmon Eggs					agai noyu
20	Salmon Smolts					agai tudua
21	Salmon Glue					
22	Dried Salmon					
23	Salmon River					
24	Cottonwood Stream/					
25	Salmon Eaters					
26	Summer Salmon Eaters					
27	Big Salmon Eaters					
28	Rotten Fish Eaters					
29	RFE					
30	Lemhi Salmon Eaters		ávaidiKc'ru·			
31	Little Salmon Eaters					
32						
33						
34	Trout	ava ḳc				tsapaingwi
35	Mountain Trout					
36	Dolly Varden Trout					ingasayewe'e
37	Salmon Trout				ku'·jui i	
38						
39	Whitefish					musi wihu
40	Sucker					mugade'e
41	Goldfish/Carp					
42	Lamprey Eel					
43	Sturgeon					
44	Chub					
45	Squawfish					
46	Perch					
47	Pickering					
48	Minnows					
49	References by entry	Book 7, 1953:80	Book 4, 1968:4	Book 1, 1973:1	Book 43, 1952:16	
50		Book 7, 1953:80			Book 43, 1952:17	
51		Book 7, 1953:80				
52						
53						
54						
55						
56	* Liljeblad notebooks =					
57	Book ##, year:page					
58	See bibiography for					
59	Reference information					
60						

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	AP	AQ	AR	AS	AT	AU
1		Shimkin	Steward.	Craigie	Gatschett	Miller, Wick
2		[E. Shoshone]	Varied Sho./Ban.	Bannock-Ft. Hall	Bannock-Ft. Hall	Shoshone Dictionary
3	Fish			pack-gui	be'ngui	painkwi or akai
4	Dried Fish					
5	Dried Fish					
6	Fish Eggs					
7	Fish Bones					
8	Fish Trap					
9	Fish Shaman					
10						
11	Salmon	a'gai	agai	a-cay	agai	akai
12	Wood Salmon		wo:vi agai			
13	Spring Salmon		tahma agai			
14	Summer Salmon		taza agai			
15	Fall Salmon					
16	Big Salmon Month					
17	Red Salmon		aŋga agai			
18	White Salmon					
19	Salmon Eggs					
20	Salmon Smolts					
21	Salmon Glue					
22	Dried Salmon					
23	Salmon River					
24	Cottonwood Stream/					
25	Salmon Eaters					
26	Summer Salmon Eaters					
27	Big Salmon Eaters					
28	Rotten Fish Eaters					
29	RFE					
30	Lemhi Salmon Eaters					
31	Little Salmon Eaters					
32						
33						
34	Trout		sapaŋwi OR		sa'-apengui	
35	Mountain Trout		toyapaŋwi			
36	Dolly Varden Trout					
37	Salmon Trout					
38						
39	Whitefish	mĕ ẓĕwi a				
40	Sucker	a: wuk			ku'yui	
41	Goldfish/Carp					
42	Lamprey Eel	pa'sunuwiyo	padoga OR pado'oa		pa'rogoa	pasintokon or pasinkokon
43	Sturgeon			A-pab-bey	mba'wi	
44	Chub					
45	Squawfish					
46	Perch		wizabankwi			
47	Pickering					
48	Minnows					witsapainkwi
49	References by entry	Page 278	Page 274-283	No Page Numbers	Page 19	Page 106, 126
50			Page 40-44		Page 19	Page 106
51			Page 40-44		Page 19	Page 124, 128
52			Page 40-44		No Page Number	Page 126
53			Page 40-44		No Page Number	
54			Page 40-44		Page 19	
55			Page 40-44			
56	* Liljeblad notebooks =		Page 40-44			
57	Book ##, year:page		Page 40-44			
58	See bibiography for		Page 40-44			
59	Reference information		Page 40-44			
60			Page 40-44			

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	AV	AW	AX
1		Drusilla Gould	Zelphia Towersap
2		Shoshone Dictionar	Bannock Dictionary
3	Fish	BAI?NGWI	PAKWI
4	Dried Fish		
5	Dried Fish		
6	Fish Eggs		
7	Fish Bones		
8	Fish Trap		
9	Fish Shaman		
10			
11	Salmon	AGAI?I	AGAI?I
12	Wood Salmon		
13	Spring Salmon		
14	Summer Salmon		
15	Fall Salmon		
16	Big Salmon Month		
17	Red Salmon		
18	White Salmon		
19	Salmon Eggs		
20	Salmon Smolts		
21	Salmon Glue		
22	Dried Salmon		
23	Salmon River		
24	Cottonwood Stream/		
25	Salmon Eaters		
26	Summer Salmon Eaters		
27	Big Salmon Eaters		
28	Rotten Fish Eaters		
29	RFE		
30	Lemhi Salmon Eaters		
31	Little Salmon Eaters		
32			
33			
34	Trout	TSAPAI?NGWI	PISHAPAKWI
35	Mountain Trout		
36	Dolly Varden Trout		
37	Salmon Trout		
38			
39	Whitefish		
40	Sucker	MUGADE?E	
41	Goldfish/Carp		
42	Lamprey Eel	DO?GOA BAI?NGWI	
43	Sturgeon		
44	Chub		
45	Squawfish		
46	Perch		
47	Pickering		
48	Minnows		
49	References by entry	Page 24	Page 16
50		Page 48	Page 27
51		Page 56	Page 31
52		Page 53	
53		Page 21	
54			
55			
56	* Liljeblad notebooks =		
57	Book ##, year:page		
58	See bibiography for		
59	Reference information		
60			



Shoshone-Bannock Historical Fishing Resources

1-5
6-10
11+

[All reported sites do not fit within the parameters of this map]