

SHADOWS IN THE WILDERNESS

The Story of the Northern Shoshoni Band, The Tukudika,
In The Frank Church--River of No Return Wilderness
And The Payette National Forest

By
Sheila D. Reddy



Heritage Program
Payette National Forest
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PREFACE

The following story about the Northern Shoshoni band of Indians, of whom in historic times were known as the Tukudika (Sheepeaters), derived their name from one of their primary foods, the bighorn sheep. The Tukudika were a small population of hunters and gatherers who occupied a large geographic area of the Northern Rocky Mountains. They were adapted to exploiting the animal, plant, obsidian and stone resources from the mountainous ridges to the valley floors and rivers. Tukudika territory included, northwestern Wyoming, the Teton Range, Yellowstone Plateau, southwestern Montana, and what is today known as the Frank Church-River Of No Return Wilderness, in central Idaho.

The following history of the Tukudika is the first synthesis of it's kind. The author, Sheila D. Reddy, an Idaho writer, hiked the extra mile in her effort to find every fragment of history that pertained to the Tukudika. She spoke to Northern Shoshoni Indians, referenced the earliest written sources that included newspapers, the territorial files and census records of the late 19th century. Sheila referenced the unpublished manuscripts and reports no longer in print, along with contemporary anthropological publications. This history gives the reader everything that is presently known about the Tukudika people. There is not another history available about the Tukudika, that is so informative nor as complete.

This public product, created by the Heritage Program on the Payette National Forest, was produced in honoring the intent of the Central Idaho Wilderness Act, Public Law 96-312. Within the Act, it is stated that the public is to have interpretation about the history and cultural resources found within the Frank Church-River Of No Return Wilderness. This history partially fulfills our obligation.

Lawrence A. Kingsbury
Heritage Resources Program Manager
USDA Payette National Forest
McCall, Idaho

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March 15, 1823. The cold morning sun was just rising over the pines along the snowy ridges of the Bitterroot Range at the headwaters of the North Fork of the Salmon River, when Alexander Ross and his Hudson's Bay trappers heard,

"Indians! Indians!" When we beheld, crossing from the woods, five solitary wretches on snowshoes coming towards our camp. On their arrival I was rejoiced to find they were Snakes [Northern Shoshoni], as I expected to get some interesting information from them respecting the mountain passes and other matters. They were anything but intelligent; we could neither understand them nor they us, consequently we could learn nothing from them.

These strangers were the very picture of wretchedness, and had a singularly odd appearance. They were wrapped up in buffalo hides with the hair next to their skin and caps of wolfskin, with the ears of that animal as erect as if alive. They resembled rather walking ghosts than live men! Their condition however excited compassion. They belonged, if we could judge from their jargon they spoke, to the mountain Snakes [Tukudika, or Sheepeater Band]. Yet with all their ignorance, I intended attaching them to our party had not unforeseen circumstances prevented it.

The day after the five Snakes arrived, two of the hunters came running into camp almost breathless, calling out, "A war party, a war party!" This announcement rather surprised me to think where a war party could come from at the season of the year, and in such a part of the country as we were in, as Indians seldom go on war expeditions during the winter. We however got our big gun ready, match lighted, and all hands armed in a few minutes, when I observed at a short distance, a large body of Indians coming down the slope of a hill, having the appearance of a war party. On their approaching our camp, not knowing what might happen, I immediately ordered the Snakes off to the woods; but told them to join us again as soon as the storm passed over; but we never saw them afterwards (Ross 1956:219-220).

The "war party" turned out to be eighty-four friendly Nez Perce warriors. Ross goes on to add:

On this occasion, the head chief told me that since we had passed Hell's Gate the Blackfeet had stolen at two different times 135 of the Nez Perces and Flathead horses. He also informed me that five of the Snakes had been at the camp of

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the former on an embassy of peace, succeeded in the object of their mission, and returned loaded with presents. It was not likely however that the five wretches we had seen were the delegates spoken of (Ross 1956:221)!

Ross's 1823 diary entry appears to be the earliest account documenting and naming a band of Northern Shoshoni Indians known as the Tukudika, Sheepeaters, or Mountain Snakes. Although these mountain hunters ranged over a broad area they would become identified with the mountain sheep they hunted in the rugged Salmon River country of Central Idaho, in what would become known as the Frank Church--River of No Return Wilderness.

ORIGINS

The Northern Shoshoni, part of a larger group identified by their related languages, belong to the central branch of the Numic subfamily of the Uto-Aztecan family of American Indian languages. According to linguists Crum and Dayley, "The Numic subfamily of Uto-Aztecan has a time depth of over 2000 years and is divided into three branches (central, western and southern), each containing two or three closely related languages which probably split up about 1000 years ago" (1993:xi).

In an area where archaeology has yet to trace ancestral lines and migratory routes, the language of the Shoshoni, when studied, reveals clues to their ancestry and origin. Anthropologist Sven Lilijsblad noted:

Certain languages are historically related, being derivations of a common parent language of long ago. Other languages show a different ancestral line. Linguistic classification, therefore, offers the best means for tracing the origin and historic relationship of various groups of people (1957:17).

The linguistic relationship of speakers of Uto-Aztecan dialects may indicate some distant connection to the ancient Aztecs, for the Uto-Aztecan language, according to linguists, has a time depth of over 5,000 years (Crum & Dayley 1993:xi).

One can only speculate about the Shoshoni link to the Aztecs, who originally were adventurous traders, often traveling long distances on trading ventures. From their ancient past Aztec legends recount how, as a people, they left their unknown and fabled homeland, "the place of the herons" and began a trek, searching for a new home; finally stopping in the area of what is now Mexico City (McDowell 1980:720-22).

No legends, however, have been handed down to explain why bands of Numic speakers, including ancestors of the Northern Shoshoni, began migrating northward. Groups settled in areas of Arizona, along the Colorado Plateau, and west in California. Other bands continued north out of the southwest corner of the Great Basin, migrating into Nevada, Oregon, and Idaho. The Comanche, relatives of the Shoshoni, "broke off from the main group, and completely adopted a Great Plains lifeway" (Crum & Dayley 1993:xi).

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Liljeblad noted similarities in the language spoken by the Indians of southern Idaho and the languages spoken by other peoples of the Great Basin, saying:

It is postulated that in this region [the southwest corner of the Great Basin] the common parent language once was spoken. The northward and eastward spread of the Shoshoneans, differentiated into their present linguistic divisions, may have taken place rather recently, perhaps in the last thousand years. There was, then, not the time for development of deep-reaching dialect differences either in Shoshoni or in Northern Paiute, the process being retarded by the movability of the seminomadic groups keeping in constant contact with one another. Still today, a Shoshoni-speaking person from Wyoming can make himself understood in his native tongue when visiting friends at reservations in Idaho, Utah, and Nevada (Liljeblad 1957:21).

Numic speakers traveling into a new country apparently killed, displaced or absorbed peoples living in those areas; replacing existing systems and establishing new ones. One theory explains their success by noting the newcomers utilized not only large and small game animals for food, but had the knowledge and the technical skill to make use of and process all types of plants for food (Bettinger and Baumoff 1982).

The archaeological record indicates the newcomers brought into newly settled areas techniques and tools to harvest plant foods. Although that innovation may at first appear insignificant and tends to be overlooked, it might have been enough to tip the balance in favor of the migrating Numic speakers.

According to anthropologists Bettinger and Baumoff, "The twined, paddle-shaped seed beaters and deep, twined, triangular winnowing trays that together are the hallmarks of the Numic seed harvesting complex...are entirely absent in the [earlier] Prenumic basketry complex, which evidently lacked seedbeaters altogether" (1982:496). In any case, the successful adaptive skills of the newcomers resulted in population growth and spread.

THE NORTHERN SHOSHONI AND THE LAND

Archaeological data indicates Indian peoples have been living in what is now Idaho for nearly 15,000 years (Gruhn 1961). The broad open plain along the Snake River offered not only successful living environments, but became an easily traveled route connecting the eastern Plains to the northwest and the Pacific coast. In addition to the east-west route, a network of Indian trails fanned out from the Snake River into the mountains of the north and the deserts to the south.

When the Shoshoni arrived on the Snake River Plain approximately one thousand years ago, they carried with them a vast knowledge base of technical skills. Technology that included hunting and fishing skills, stone tool manufacture, an understanding of plant uses, a knowledge of pottery making, a cultural and spiritual

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tradition, and other data vital for tribal survival. They had to be a people sensitive to every nuance of their surroundings. As the new landscape was explored, the old knowledge was adapted to the new environment, then recounted into tribal memory.

Although much work remains to be done in Idaho, archaeologists believe the appearance of Desert side-notched projectile points and Shoshoni ware pottery marks the appearance of the Northern Shoshoni on the Snake River Plain.

THE TUKUDIKA

Although bands of Northern Shoshoni returned each winter to camps along the Snake River, some members of the tribe remained in the northern canyons of the Salmon River. After snow melted from the high passes, the mountain bands followed the trails, often extending their seasonal rounds as far north as the headwaters of the Missouri River in Montana and Wyoming.

Those that remained along the Snake River retained their Basin economy, while those choosing the mountain regions "became expert hunters of the bighorns [sheep], and as such were nicknamed by other Shoshoneans who called them 'mountain sheep eaters'" (Liljeblad 1957:25),

The mountain dwellers to the north were called tukudeka, a word which in literature frequently occurs in the corrupt form "Tukuarika." The general meaning of tuku in both Shoshoni and Bannock is "flesh" or "meat"; but since to the northernmost Shoshoni meat was, for all practical purposes, that of mountain sheep, they applied the word tuku to their most important game in the same sense that English-speaking people use the word "veal" for calf meat. consequently, tukudeka means "mountain sheep eaters" (ibid 1957:55).

The reference points out an important resource within a locality. As bands, or small groups, moved from place to place in search of food, one could say they assumed a relationship and "became" the food in the area where they were harvesting, fishing, hunting, etc.

Band names, such as Tukudika, the "eaters of mountain sheep," were fluid, relative terms. For example, in the pre-horse era, when the group later identified as the Lemhi Shoshoni camped along tributaries of the Salmon River, fishing and eating salmon, they were called "agaideka or salmon eaters." Later, however, after they became mounted buffalo hunters, they were referred to, and referred to themselves, as the "kutsundeka, or buffalo eaters." It follows that groups of Shoshoni fishing below Shoshone Falls could also have been referred to as "agaideka or salmon eaters."

The first written record of these tribal subdivisions came from Alexander Ross as he attempted to align the Shoshoni/Bannock tribes into definite groupings and sub-groupings. His attempt to systematize or divide people by category should be viewed as a method of organization familiar to and utilized by Europeans, but invalid within the fluid tribal concept where tribal members moved freely from place to place, and group to group. In 1823, Ross wrote:

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The great Snake nation may be divided into three divisions, namely the Sherry-dikas, or Dog-eaters, the War-are-ree-kas, or Fish-eaters and the Ban-at-tees or Robbers. But as a nation, they all go by the general appellation of Sho-sho-nes, or Snakes...The Snakes on the west side of the Rocky Mountains are what the Sioux nation is on the east side, the most numerous and the most powerful in the country. The Sherry-dikas are the Sho-sho-nes, and live in the plains hunting the buffalo. They are generally slender but tall, well made, rich in horses, good warriors, dressed well, clean in their camps and in their personal appearance, bold and independent.

The War-are-ree-kas are very numerous; but neither united nor formidable. They live chiefly by fishing and are to be found along all the rivers, lakes and water pools throughout the country (Ross 1956:166).

(Ross's naming of the Ban-at-tees apparently refers to the Bannock Indians, an aggressive, mounted Northern Paiute band who, after acquiring the horse, aligned themselves with mounted Northern Shoshoni bands, particularly those living in southeastern Idaho. These alliances were very important in creating a large body of defense against invading and warring tribes like the Blackfeet, who continually raided across the Snake River Plains, stealing horses and taking slaves.)

The availability, or the lack, of food resources may have been reasons why the Tukudika and the Lemhi Shoshoni migrated to the mountain areas north, away from the Snake River. At one time the Lemhi Shoshoni and the Tukudika may have been a single walking band that relied heavily on seasonal fish runs in the Salmon River and its tributaries, and hunted large game animals in the surrounding mountains.

Walking bands might come together at various times of the year to construct fish weirs and traps, or build animal drive lanes and game traps. For the most part, however, bands looking for food during the summer stayed small, one or two families.

In later years, the Lemhi Shoshoni choose to be mounted, and acquired horses for hunting and traveling. Horses needed winter forage on which to range, so the Lemhi looked for winter camps in grassy valleys, returning often to winter near the Lemhi River. Use of the horse quickly modified old hunting methods, changing seasonal patterns and rhythms.

Traveling and hunting in large groups became complicated affairs responding to leaders with organizational skills capable of guiding, supervising and fighting. The mounted warrior with defensive skills became vital for tribal security on the trail.

Cultural changes began taking place after the Northern Shoshoni began meeting, trading, hunting and warring with other mounted tribes on the Plains. They adopted, among other things, more tailored clothing, and because of the horse they began to construct

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and carry with them leather lodges, or tipis, and the finest war weapons they could design or trade for.

The Tukudika benefitted from these changes for they were expert hunters and furriers; often trapping and tanning exotic, scarce animals for their skins. Their quality dressed furs, skins, and tailored garments were in demand for trading, as were their highly crafted mountain sheep horn bows (Liljeblad 1957:96-7).

A reclusive mountain nature, combined with their exacting skills as artisans, created for the Tukudika an aura of eccentricity. They enhanced this uniqueness by retaining their ancient lifestyle as "walkers," only occasionally using horses in their mountains.

One of the earliest anthropological studies describing winter encampments of Tukudika bands living along the Middle Fork of the Salmon River in Central Idaho comes from Julian H. Steward (1938). Steward noted locations and named Tukudika bands, including numbers and headmen:

Sohodai (sohovi, cottonwood + dai, place). On the upper Middle Fork of the Salmon River, near Three Rivers. About six families. Tungwusu, headman.

Bohodai (bohovi, sagebrush). Near the junction of Middle Forks and Salmon River. About 20 families. Gusawat (gus, "pants" + awat, gone), headman.

A site on the upper Salmon River where a few families from Sohodai sometimes wintered (Steward 1938:188).

Information obtained later by Liljeblad from Shoshoni informants provides additional data about the Tukudika:

In groups of two or three families under the leadership of an old and experienced man they moved about from place to place wherever the hunting was good. Such a group usually spent the winter in one of the villages at the fishing places on the rivers. A few such villages, each under a headman, attracted a large number of families, twenty or more, who traditionally wintered together. There was some fluctuation from year to year in the size of the population in these winter encampments, since families sometimes joined the camps closest to where winter happened to be when winter came upon them (1957:100).

Archaeologist Earl H. Swanson Jr., surveyed the Middle Fork of the Salmon River in 1958, locating cultural features along the river. The survey recorded sites in the area between Indian Creek and the mouth of the Middle Fork of the Salmon River. He noted:

Along the Middle Fork of the Salmon River are numerous prehistoric camps and villages occupied by people whose relations are uncertain. Many of these [sites] occur in overhangs and are marked by paintings on cliff walls. Others are marked by round rings of stones which once weighed down

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the edges of tipis. Still others are marked by circular depressions in the ground, some of them up to 25-30 feet in diameter. One or more of these features may occur together in a single location and some sites have 30 or more prehistoric dwellings.

In the 19th century the valley of the Middle Fork was occupied by mountain sheep eater Indians called "Tukudeka," one of a series of groups in eastern Idaho who together formed the Northern Shoshoni...The "Tukudeka" may have numbered 600 people...In historic times they used buffalo hide tipis but in earlier times may have used grass houses. These houses of rye grass were set over shallow depressions...Although none of these sites is as it was when native people lived along the Middle Fork, most are in excellent condition for study and interpretation. In a few places some of the camps look as if the ancient inhabitants left only yesterday. In others the toll of increasing travelers can be seen...Tipi rings [stones] have been collected to build modern fireplaces so that in one locality 32 such rock rings have disappeared all together. Some paintings have been covered by carbon from smoke of modern camp fires and some have been deliberately chipped away by collectors (Swanson 1972:29).

In 1971 and 1972, Max Pavesic recorded sites on the Middle Fork of the Salmon River between Dagger Falls and Indian Creek. In 1972, Max Dahlstrom and John Alden surveyed and recorded sites on the Middle Fork of the Salmon River between Brush Creek and Waterfall Creek, along with survey along Big Creek (Dahlstrom 1972). In 1977 Pavesic returned to spot survey between Indian Creek and the Main confluence of the Salmon River (Pavesic 1978), observing:

One of the most outstanding archaeological features of the Middle Fork is the presence of Plateau-like house depressions, referred to as "house-pits" in archaeological parlance. The original construction of the houses consisted of a pit excavated one to four [feet] below the surface of the ground and covered with a pole frame structure overlaid with mats or sod. Today, the surface configuration is one of circular or oval depressions varying from three to seven meters in diameter...Researchers should be aware the depressions could record the presence of sweat lodges, storage pits, earth ovens, menstrual huts and the fact that house construction may not be consistent through time (Pavesic 1978:19).

Pavesic noted 19 recorded housepit village locations, 38 recorded caves, rockshelters, and overhang sites, and 14 recorded tipi ring sites had been found during surveys on and adjacent to Middle Fork of the Salmon River (Pavesic 1978:19-22). He added:

Another outstanding feature of Middle Fork archaeology is the nature of the rock art sites. The remains are pictographs where design elements have been applied directly to a rock

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face through the use of red ocher (hematite) paints...[35 site numbers are listed]...The rock art sites offer an incredible array of motifs and coloration [blue, white, black or red] although a detailed study of the art is lacking. The majority of the panels are associated with rockshelters and caves (Pavesic 1978:22-23).

The pictographs cannot be traced directly to the Tukudika, for as writer P.S. Barry points out,

...most native North Americans are skillful and subtle rhetoricians, preferring to speak obliquely of sacred matters. They would rather say that the petroglyphs and pictographs are the work of spirits, even the bluebirds that live in the rocky holes. In speaking thus they speak truly, for in symbolic language birds and spirits are the same. Both metaphors for the human spirit, and as such equivalent to the artist in his mystical transformation (Barry 1991:23).

A major site category noted by archaeologists included large boulder circles, small rock circles, hunting blinds or pits in talus slopes, undetermined and a generalized camp designation. Pavesic listed 13 such site recordings. He also notes 11 unclassifiable sites, or those where more testing is needed to determine classification (Ibid.:23-24).

By looking at these data on the Middle Fork of the Salmon River alone, without taking into consideration village campsites on other tributaries of the Salmon River, it is possible to speculate the Tukadika were successfully living in the mountain regions and able to maintain or increase populations before the appearance of white Euro-Americans, however, population numbers are difficult to estimate.

The first Indian Census taken at the Lemhi Reservation in 1885 combines the Lemhi and Tukudika with the Bannock, eliminating an accurate count of Tukudika. Steward ventures an estimate of Tukudika and Lemhi Shoshoni populations at about 1,200 persons (Steward 1938:189).

TRIBAL KNOWLEDGE, TRIBAL LIFE

In a life of seasonal rhythms the Tukudika accumulated a mental encyclopedia of tribal knowledge of local and regional resources. Seasonal rounds and locations of food resources were not guesses, but well established patterns reflecting skill and an understanding of a technology that was flexible within margins of variability. Bands might chose to go east one year, west the next depending on factors such as band strength, the weather, and etc., in order to maximize resources.

As the weather warmed some might gather camas in the meadows at Camas Creek (in eastern Idaho) as they traveled east toward the Yellowstone River; or a family might travel to the Camas Prairie just north of the Snake River. In a dry winter they might cross the mountain trails to western valleys to gather camas in the meadows

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along the Payette and Weiser Rivers; or in a dry year they might travel to the meadows along the Little Salmon River to gather camas, squaw grass and wet meadow plants.

From camas digging the Tukudika might join other bands and tribes meeting at the large trading fairs held each summer at various sites on the Boise, Payette or Weiser Rivers. Once at the trading site they were on "safe ground," and could relax, enjoy themselves, and trade for goods unavaialbe in their mountain country. Leaving with their traded goods they were again exposed to warring bands. Its easy to imagine them drifting into the night shadows, traveling little known trails into the back country.

Fishing weirs and traps were built and rebuilt year after year in locations along the tributaries of the rivers, including the Salmon, Weiser, Payette and Yellowstone. Various runs of trout and salmon were caught and dried for winter food.

Winter camps were generally located on protected, low elevation river terraces with an easy access to wood for campfires; dry river driftwood was gathered and stacked near lodges. Food was often cached in the sand floors of pit houses, in trees and caves, or buried nearby. Dried plants often hung from interior poles inside lodges. Bags of dried fish and meat, pemmican, berries, roots, etc., provided food through the winter as the Tukudika made new tools, repaired and made clothes, wove baskets, and generally prepared for the coming spring.

The tribe amassed a technical knowledge base so vast it is difficult to imagine, and impossible to recreate. It was a knowledge elders passed, and still pass, to succeeding generations.

Shoshoni woman, Albina Redner told about their life, saying:

Indians lived by the seasons, and each season they looked to different signs, like the squirrels do. They gathered food for the winter, and dried berries and things. One who lived that way so much I noticed was my Uncle Charlie. He lived for the seasons: "Now, this is the time to go start looking for that delicacy," or "You start looking for that grass," and then, "Sego lilies are going to be coming through between April and May." We were out there for that reason and that reason only. This was a special thing to do (Redner 1990:41).

Surveys in the Frank Church--River of No Return Wilderness and the Payette National Forest have located a food resource commonly utilized by Indians: ponderosa pines with large oval sections of bark removed from the trunk have been found. In the early spring cuts were made through the bark and large chunks were pried and peeled from the tree so the thin, nutritious inner cambium layer could be removed and eaten as food. Many trees have been noted, but an example of extensive use of this resource was found on the South Fork of the Salmon River where a grove of approximately forty peeled trees were located (Reddy 1993).

Tukudika bands were often referred to by white Europeans as "poor Mountain Snakes," however, Josephine Thorpe's people identified themselves as Tukudika, but did not view themselves or

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their lives as being poor. She spoke of her family saying:

Thus, today when they asked me how we lived, how Shoshone people used to live a long time ago, I thought it was good and perhaps people should hear about it; it's wonderful. Thus, I will talk right now about what I remember of long ago. Already I am really just an old lady. Thus, I remember all about how we lived, about how our (maternal) grandmothers, our mothers, our uncles, our (maternal) grandfathers, lived. I will tell right now about how they lived long ago.

Long ago they didn't ever buy anything. What they themselves ate, what they lived on, they themselves knew how to fix for themselves. They themselves, then, used to hang up and dry the food they gathered that they would eat in the winter. They used to live that way long ago and I feel good about it. I remember it well, that way. I then should tell right now one at a time about what my grandparents used to kill for me, what they used to hang-dry for me, the meat of the deer that they killed.

Josephine Thorpe tells of the food eaten by her people, saying:

...I should tell about what they used to fix and what happened at the wild carrots, the wild carrots that we used to dig, that we used to dry. They really used to eat these things too: some Indian breadroot and that parsnip. Those things did not grow well here on our land. It was only wild carrots that grew here. There were some berries too. Again, we also used to dry many berries. We used to dry them and mix them up. Thus, we-- they used to fix that kind of eatable long ago too. We used to make pudding out of them and eat them in winter. We then lived that way, that kind of (people) lived that way (Dayley 1986:8).

Fish constituted an important part of the Sheepeater's diet. The Tukudika and the Lemhi Shoshoni fished the Salmon River and its tributaries using spears, gigs, and weirs. Descriptions of fishing methods used by the Shoshoni were first given in the journals of Lewis and Clark.

On August 13, 1805, Lewis, following an Indian road near the Continental Divide, met members of the Lemhi Shoshoni band near what would become Salmon, Idaho. When the explorers set down to council with the Indians, the famous reunion between Sacagawea, her brother Cameahwait and her Shoshoni people took place (Thwaites 1959: v.2, p. 361).

The relationship between the Tukudika and the Lemhi Shoshoni was close, so we can be certain the explorer's description of fishing on August 21, 1805, describes methods used by the Tukudika as well. Lewis recounts:

This morning early Capt. C [Clark]...arrived at some brush lodges of the Shoshones inhabited by about seven families. here he halted and was very friendly received by these people,

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who gave himself and party as much boiled salmon as they could eat; they also gave him several dried salmon and a considerable quantity of dried chokecherries. after smoking with them he visited their fish wear [weir] which was 200 yards 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 stop[p]ed by means of trees fallen across, supported by which stakes of willow were driven down sufficiently near each other to prevent salmon from passing. about the center of each a cylindric basket of eighteen or 20 feet in length terminating in a conic shape at it's lower extremity, formed of willows, was opposed to a small aperture in the wear with its mouth up stream to receive the fish... (Thwaites 1959:v.3, p. 6).

A second weir was placed downstream; the combination catching fish going up or down stream. Clark added in his journal on August 22, 1805:

...they gig fish at this season. Their method of takeing fish with a gig or bone is 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 [hole] to fasten on the end of the pole with a beard [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 opposit Side, Slips off the End of the pole and holds the Center of the bone (Thwaites 1959:v.3, p. 9).

Clark goes on to add later:

...the mountains are so steep that it is almost incredible to mention that horses had passed them. our road in many places lay over the sharp fragments of rocks which had fallen from the mountains and lay in confused heaps for miles; yet not withstanding our horse[s] traveled barefoot [i.e., unshod] over them as fast as we could and did not detain us. passed two bold running streams, and arrived at the entrance of a small river where some Indian families reside. they had some scaffoalds of fish and burries [berries] exposed to dry. they were not acquainted with the circumstance of any white men being in their country and were therefore much alarmed on our approach several of the women and children fled in the woods for shelter. the guide was behind and the wood thick in which their lodges were situated (ibid.: p. 14-15).

WICKIUPS

Clark's description of the Shoshoni's lodges being situated in the "thick wood" may indicate the Indians were living in the conical timber lodges referred to as "wickiups."

Use of the wickiup was noted by Robert Stuart when he met six Snake Indians on the Green River in the Wind River Mountains in

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1812, they brought him to their four huts, "made principally of Pine branches" (Rollins 1935: 160-61).

A later report by David Folsom of the Cook party, traveling near the headwaters of the Yellowstone River in September of 1869 describes two encounters with Sheepeaters, including a description of a wickiup:

At the upper end of the valley the river received a small tributary from the west and upon arriving we discovered three ponies on the creek bottom and smoke rising from the willows on its banks. Here we found a wickiup inhabited by two old squaws who were engaged in gathering and drying chokecherries. They were seated on the ground with a smooth flat stone between them upon which one would place the cherries while the other crushed them with a boulder; they had two or three bushels drying in the sun spread out on old rags and bits of hide. Everything around them indicated abject poverty. The wickiup was formed of a few poles placed in a circle of not more than eight feet in diameter with the tops interlaced in the usual manner; these were thatched with grass two or three feet from the ground but were open at the top. They had no bedding except the rags upon which the cherries were spread, not a single utensil for cooking was anywhere to be seen and, and so far as we could discover the cherries were their only means of subsistence. We rode up and saluted them with the customary "How," to which they made no answer and manifest no surprise at our presence, but after a prolonged stare resumed their occupation. As we turned to leave the oldest came out and commenced talking in gibberish that was unintelligible to us. She seemed desirous to communicate some intelligence, for she repeated the same words several times, pointed up the river and counted thirty by opening and closing both hands three times. The only word we could understand was "tonkey," which, in Bannock language, means mountain sheep and is the name of a band of that tribe called by the Whites "Sheepeaters" (Cook, Folsom, & Peterson 1965:16-17).

Two days later the party noticed a band of Indians riding down the ridge towards them. The men debated about shooting at the Indians, but according to Folsom, decided to wait:

In a few minutes two of them came dashing over the prairie and, on coming up, proved to be Tonkeys, or Sheepeaters, and friendly. This relieved our minds of some apprehension and we interchanged the compliments of the season and made such inquiries as their limited stock of English and our knowledge of pantomime would permit. It was curious to notice how quickly each of our party betrayed his ruling passion. The captain [Cook] who has the reputation among his friends of being a ladies man inquired if they had any squaws at their wickiup. B [Peterson] is of a speculative turn of mind and wanted to "swap" something...They informed us that there was a party of thirty lodges of Sheepeaters eight days ahead; so

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that was the piece of intelligence the old squaw tried to convey to us day before yesterday...As we descended the plateau we struck a trail which had recently been traveled by a large party of Indians... (ibid.:20-21).

The descriptions of the wickiups follows those noted by other early journal writers, and later, those recorded by archaeologists. In southwestern Montana, just east of the Continental Divide between Idaho and Montana, the remains of several wickiups were discovered. The wickiup is described "as a dwelling, conical in shape, with an oval base, having a frame of poles covered with branches, bark and brush" (Kingsbury 1986:5). Wickiups are generally found in dense stands of conifers, near springs or other water sources.

Kingsbury made the following observations regarding the wickiups found in southwestern Montana:

...the surviving conical timber dwellings are situated in the high mountainous country between 7400' and 8705' above sea level (a.s.l.). These habitations were constructed of the locally available forest materials consisting of deadfall poles and branches covered with strips of partially decomposed wood and bark to face the poles and provide a secure wind and water repellent shelter...Proximity to water appears to have been an important resource to the native American inhabitants of these wickiups...stone artifacts were found at four sites and one...produced perishable organic items, historic metal parts and stone tools...Hearths were observed at four sites... (Kingsbury 1986:14-15).

One wickiup recorded during Kingsbury's survey, had been built inside a dry limestone cave (24BE-601) where the structure was hidden from view and protected by a mature stand of Douglas fir.

A description of "wickiup cave" (Davis 1975), follows:

The wickiup is located in the southwestern corner of the cave. The structure is built of timbers, shorter sticks, pine boughs, and rocks. It relies for support on a 23-ft. long pole that is braced against several boulders on the back wall of the cave. The other end of the brace pole rests, together with a second pole, in the crotch of a forked pole, providing a tripod base for the structure. Fifteen main poles, consistently 17 ft. in length and between 3 and 6 in. in diameter, were added to form a conical structure interlocking at the apex. An additional seventeen poles of varying shapes and sizes provide more support and a covering for the structure. A thatchwork of smaller branches and pine boughs, part of which is still intact, was woven among the pole[s]. Many of the pole[s] have burned ends, probably indicating that the poles were gathered by burning rather than by cutting. The diameter of the wickiup is 17 ft. Interior height is 10 ft. Though the structure has been modified somewhat by age and modern visitors, it is very well preserved.

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Davis goes on to add that a two foot high rock wall circled the base of the wickiup. The door was a:

...well-defined, inverted V-shaped gap on the east side of the wickiup, 6-1/2 ft. high at the apex; it is also marked by a break in the stone wall. Apparently the rock wall served as a base for the thatchwork covering of the structure (Davis 1975: 297-299).

The Shoshoni's use of the wickiup has been recorded as far south as the Bustos Wickiup site (26WP-1742) near Ely, Nevada, on the Humboldt National Forest, where the remains of five juniper log structures were found in an area "with high densities of chipped stone debris and temporally late diagnostic artifacts." The Nevada wickiups exhibited charred stumps and cut marks from stone axes. "In a romantic sense, the only things missing are the people, presumably the Shoshoni," noted Steven Simms (1989:2).

GAME TRAPS AND HUNTING BLINDS

Another structural feature attributed to the Tukudika is the game trap used for group hunting. Writer Keith Barrette described game traps he had seen, saying:

Sheepeater's traps were widely distributed over their range. I have found remnants of them above the North Fork of the Salmon River in Idaho, within two miles of U.S. Highway 93, and others deep in the Primitive area of the Middle Fork of the same river [Frank Church-River of No Return Wilderness]. Others are to be found in an excellent state of preservation in the Wind River Mountains.

Using rocks and odds and ends of timber, a rock wall was constructed some 200 feet or more in length for a wing. The trap was about 8 x 16 feet, utilizing in its construction a feature of the landscape--the side of a deep draw, or the face of a cliff. The sheep [or other animals] were driven between the rock wings, over the edge of the bluff and into the pit, where the meat and hides were harvested for food, clothing and shelter (Barrette 1963:32).

Several game traps have been recognized and recorded in areas used traditionally by Sheepeater bands during group hunts. An example is the LaMarche game trap (24 BE-1011) in southwestern Montana, found by the University of Montana Statewide Archaeological Survey party in 1973:

This complex, high altitude [8000 feet] game trap is...on the heavily timbered north slope just over the crest of the high steep ridge....The trap blocks a natural game trail that crosses the ridge through an indistinct saddle....The trap consists of a wooden pole corral and an extensive system of wings that served to channel the animals into the corral. The 7 by 22 foot corral is of cribbed log construction, the logs

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averaging 6 inches in diameter. More than 150 logs are stacked between five trees to form a rectangular structure that is smaller in perimeter at the top than at the base. There are no notches, or other modifications of the logs, designed to stabilize the structure. The corral is entered via a 10-foot long, gently sloping ramp construction of burned logs, stones, earth, and other debris. Large logs brace the rear corners of the trap....Some of the poles used in construction of the trap have charred ends. This may be the result of their having been felled by fire, since there has been no major forest fire in this area in the last 300 years (Keyser 1976:173).

Dominick adds the following information about the traps:

To make use of these traps the Sheepeaters must have hunted in groups, but the size of the group would not necessarily have exceeded the size of one or two nuclear families....One other type of trap was described by C.G. [informant whose father was Tukudika]. she claimed that her father's people had once firmly implanted sharpened sticks in the ground. Deer were driven towards the sticks and some impaled themselves as they tried to jump (Dominick 1964: 160).

Another hunting feature utilized by the mountain Shoshoni are hunting blinds:

Throughout the mountains are also man-made structures which were apparently used as blinds by solitary hunters. Some...are built wholly above ground and are made of rocks piled four feet high in a semicircle five feet across. Miles of open, upland plateau country can be seen from these blinds. Another type consists of a small pit dug out level with the ground. The pit has been nearly covered with logs and rocks. These blinds are located close to cliffs. Mountain sheep, in order to see below them, are in the habit of walking along the edges of these cliffs. In the blinds the hunter merely waited for passing game (Dominick 1964:160-161).

A broader explanation of hunting blinds found on talus slopes comes from Lawrence Kingsbury, Payette National Forest Archaeologist. Kingsbury noted that talus slopes in Idaho's central mountains, formed primarily as a result of frost wedging, "tumble downhill and accumulate at the toe of the mountain slope." Indian hunters often chose this toe at the base of the hill to build cone-shaped depressions identified as hunting blinds (1995:1).

Five criteria outlined by Kingsbury are associated with the natural landscape, and can help to identify these depressions as cultural features:

First, talus depressions were usually found within 10 meters up the slope from the terminus of the talus slope. Second, a water source in the form of a spring or stream was found adjacent in association with four of the five studied sites. Third, modern-day big-game trails were found adjacent to the

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depressions at five sites, with game trails passing below and in front of the depressions. Fourth, the location of one talus depression frequently indicated the existence of other talus depressions in the surrounding landscape. Finally, the size of the talus depressions are similar to one another and appeared to be capable of hiding a single man...Also, the observed lichen growth on the rocks of the hunting blind suggested antiquity and not a recent cultural manifestation (Kingsbury 1995:1).

Kingsbury and others (Epperson 1977:29) noted remains of sagebrush fragments in the blinds, suggesting sage was not only used to screen, but, for its odor to mask the personal scent of the hunter behind the stacked rock walls.

HORSES, BUFFALO AND DOGS

Although the Tukurika maintained a close and fluid relationship with the larger tribe of Northern Shoshoni, at the time of contact they were closely aligned with the horse mounted Lemhi Shoshoni.

The Northern Shoshoni had acquired horses by the late 1600's or early 1700's (Haines 1938). Patrick Gass, a carpenter traveling with Lewis and Clark, recorded the following information about the Shoshoni while in Nez Perce country in 1805:

Monday [June] 2nd. The morning was cloudy, and six of the men went out to hunt. About noon three men, who had gone over to Lewis's River [Snake River], about two and an half days' journey distant, to get some fish, returned with a few very good salmon and some roots they bought at the different villages of the natives [Nez Perce], which they passed. One of these men got two Spanish dollars from an Indian for an old razor. They said they got the dollars from about a Snake Indian's neck they had killed some time ago. There are several dollars among these people which they get in some way. We suppose the Snake Indians, some of whom do not live very far from New Mexico get them from the Spaniards in that quarter. The Snake Indians also get horses from the Spaniards (Gass 1958:267).

Peter Skene Ogden, a trapper/trader with Hudson's Bay Company, traveled with his band of trappers through Idaho in 1824-1826. He added the following data to his letters and journals (Ogden 1950):

Indian residents in the Snake Country are known by the name of Baniques [Bannocks] or Lower Snakes in number about 1500 men headed by 4 Chiefs, and the plain Snakes [Shoshoni], headed by 6 Chiefs, about 2000 in number. The first in the Fall resort to [hunting] Buffalo, and in the Spring descend the South Branch [Salmon River] and support themselves on Roots and Salmon...They live in a constant state of dread and apprehension of being attacked by the Saskatchewan Tribes, and many are killed by them. The plain Indians [Shoshoni] in their conduct towards us have so far comported themselves with propriety. They reside entirely in the Buffalo Country--both

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tribes however annually resort to the Spanish Settlement called "Toas" [Taos] more with the view of stealing Horses than trade, Leather and Buffaloe Hides are occasionally bartered with the Spanish (Ogden 1950:263).

While camped near Bear Lake (in southeastern Idaho), Ogden noted, "...we are now 15 days march from the Spanish Village (Taos, New Mexico, the southern outfitting center for the fur trade of the Southern Rocky Mountain region)" (Ogden 1950:49).

Owning horses was not without its difficulties. On March 31, 1826, Ogden's men were trapping near the Portneuf River when he noted:

We this day near at hand saw the winter encampment of the Snake Camp[.] we counted no less than 40 Horses that died during the Winter in this quarter[,] for even at present in the low grounds there is still snow remaining[.] the snakes informed me they had four feet of snow here which was the cause of the death of their Horses (Ogden 1950:150).

Josephine Thorpe's grandfather was Eagle Eye, the leader of the Weiser band of Sheepeaters. She said of her people:

Also they had many horses too. They used to travel around all over on their horses, which used to starve at times because they didn't cut grass for them. Around there it didn't really snow very much on them, around there where they lived. Their horses would eat the bunch grass that grew high around there. They would also graze on that special kind of green grass that grew along the water's edge. Then, we didn't used to cut grass. I never saw them cutting grass. That was the way their horses used to eat (Dayley 1986:9).

Using horses for riding, or as pack animals on steep mountain trails in central Idaho, could be a problem. Private Edgar Hoffner who served in the Sheepeater Campaign, a war waged against the Tukudika in their mountain country, noted in his 1879 journal:

August 10th: Four mules were lost yesterday by falling over a precipice.

August 17th: A pack mule with load overballanced [sic], went end over end down the mountain side like a shot, bringing up on the creek bed with a broken neck, after a fall of three hundred feet (Hoffner 1977:186-187).

In analyzing the Sheepeater campaign, Col. W.C. Brown noted that the soldiers were in the field for three months in pursuit of the Sheepeater Indians, and had lost 45 pack mules and 18 horses in the rugged, central Idaho mountains (Brown 1926:21).

It has often been stated that the Tukudika did not use the horse in their mountain country, putting them in a negative position. However, a closer look at the records indicate the Tukudika did use horses occasionally, but did not rely on them in steep mountainous

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terrain in the same way Indians in less rugged areas did.

During the Sheepeater Campaign in 1879, Col. Brown recorded the use of horses by the Tukudika. On August 13, 1879, when Brown reached the headwaters of Big Creek he found:

There was a dim Indian trail down this creek over which two horsemen had evidently passed about the previous February (Brown 1926:15).

On August 19th he adds;

...proceeding only three miles when fired on from the rocks by ten or fifteen dismounted hostiles (ibid.:p.16).

On August 20th he goes, adding:

...[Lt.] Farrow, whose scouts, in hunting their ponies the next day (20th) found twenty-nine horses and mules abandoned by the hostiles...Several caches were found with saddles and a much needed one hundred pounds of flour (ibid.:p.18).

Ogden's earlier reference to "Buffaloe Country" could have applied to southern and central Idaho until the late 1830's. William Kittson, traveling with Ogden, crossed the Continental Divide and reached the Lemhi Valley near Salmon, Idaho on February 11, 1824. On the east side of the divide Ogden's band of trappers had suffered deep winter snows. After crossing over to the west side Kittson noted:

Resumed our march early in order to cross a defile, which divides [sic] the head waters of the Missouri from the Salmon River, the same which Lewis and Clark descended to the Columbia. On our way several Bulls were killed, but scarcely any meat taken from them. This defile is of no magnitude and we soon fell on a level plain[.] in this we took a south Course for about 4 miles and fell on the North Fork of Salmon River crossed over and put up on dry ground, a beautiful river and country in view, the river as in summer, Buffaloe and wild fowl plenty (Kittson 1950:217).

Ogden added to Kittson's description of the Salmon River county:

...here we are now on the Waters of the Columbia Commonly Called Salmon River but it is merely a Small Fork of the South Branch of the Columbia & it was I am of opinion this Fork that Capts. Louis [Lewis] & Clarke followed when they crossed over from the Missouri on their way to the Columbia[.] it from appearance runs North & West, on leaving the Defile we reached a fine plain[,] crossed over in westerly direction & encamped in a fine spot[.] Buffalo by hundreds indeed as far as the eye can reach the plains appear to be covered with them. Coarse grass for our horses and wood in abundance[.] we had 2-1/2 feet of Snow in the mountain but here we have none nor has there been any this winter (Ogden 1950:21).

One of Liljeblad's Indian informants, a man identified as AJ, was born about 1860 in central Idaho. AJ's mother was Tukudika and his father Bannock. He related to Liljeblad his memories of hunting

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buffalo, with and without horses:

The oldest method of buffalo hunting that is remembered is buffalo chasing in winter in deep snow. The hunting party consisted of a group of about four or five men on snowshoes. They chased the animals toward deeper snow where they killed them with bows and arrows. A participating hunter could kill one or two animals on a single hunt. The slow fellows would go along just for packing the meat--for having a share of the meat. In those days, the buffaloes went as far to the south and west as the Camas Prairie [near Fairfield, Idaho].

They used to ambush the buffaloes when they were grazing, usually on places where they were going for water, and shoot them with arrows. Or they ambushed them along the trail going near a steep grade and drove them over the edge.

During winter they chased the buffaloes on snowshoes driving them over the cliffs. Later, when they hunted from horseback, they also drove the buffaloes over the cliffs. When a buffalo was running, and just when he was about to jump off from the edge of the grade, he lifted his tail. This was a good sign for the pursuer to stop when hunting on horse back.

...Whenever a person was owning a good horse, it was quite an honor, for the horses were scarce at that time. In one camp they might have three good horses. A person from another camp will be nice to that people, because he could have some [meat] from them after a buffalo hunt. He would go over and help them skin for taking a share in the game. Regardless of what they had, they were all equal. They considered everybody to be equal (Butler 1971:10).

The Tukudika apparently found dogs carrying a pack more successful on the narrow trails in the steep rugged country where the Tukudika ranged. On August 28, 1834, trapper Osborne Russell recorded meeting a group of Tukudika using pack dogs while traveling through the Lamar Valley in the Yellowstone country:

The banks of the stream in the valley were low and skirted in many places with beautiful Cotton wood groves. Here we found a few Snake Indians comprising of 6 men 7 women and 8 or 10 children who were the only inhabitants of this lonely and secluded spot. They were all neatly clothed in dressed deer and Sheep skins of the best quality and seemed to be perfectly contented and happy. They were rather surprised at our approach and retreated to the heights where they might have a view of us without apprehending any danger, but having persuaded them to our pacific intentions we then succeeded in getting them to encamp with us. Their personal property consisted of one old butcher Knife nearly worn to the back[,] two old shattered fusees [guns] which had long since become useless for want of ammunition[,] a Small Stone pot and about 30

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dogs on which they carried their skins, clothing, provisions etc. on their hunting excursions. They were well armed with bows and arrows pointed with obsidian[.] The bows were beautifully wrought from Sheep, Buffalo and Elk horn secured with Deer and Elk Sinews and ornamented with porcupine quills and generally about 3 feet long. We obtained a large number of Elk[,] Deer and Sheep skins from them of the finest quality and three large neatly dressed Panther skins in return for awls[,] axes[,] kettles[,] tobacco[,] ammunition etc. They would throw the skins at our feet and say "give us whatever you please for them and we are satisfied[.] We can get plenty of Skins but we do not often see the Tibuboes" (or People of the Sun). They said there had been a great many beaver on the branches of this stream but they had killed nearly all of them and being ignorant of the value of the fur had singed it off with fire in order to drip the meat more conveniently. They had seen some whites some years previous who had passed thro. the valley and left a horse behind but he had died during the first winter. They are never at a loss for fire which they produce by the friction of two pieces of wood which are rubbed together with a quick and steady motion[.] One of them drew a map of the country around us on a white Elk Skin with a piece of Charcoal after which he explained the direction of the different passes, streams etc[.] From them we discovered that it was about one days travel in a SW direction to the direction of the outlet or northern extremity of Yellow Stone Lake (Russell 1955:26-27).

Modern researchers have helped to answer another question. Was it more feasible for the dogs used by the Tukudika to pull a travois to carry goods in the mountains, or carry packs? A study published in 1994, points out the poles of the travois forming the "A" frame legs, span an average 115 centimeters, or 45 inches, at the base where they touch ground (Henderson 1994:149). Mountain trails in the rugged terrain of the Wilderness are generally narrow, uneven, and rocky, making travois travel impossible, particularly on steep hillsides.

The Henderson study indicated a load of 50 pounds was a reasonable packload for a dog to carry on his back (ibid.:151). This is an important factor when considering the loads the Tukudika might have transported such as: dried fish; meat from large animal kills such as buffalo, deer, elk or mountain sheep; dried and dressed skins; plant foods such as dried camas or pine nuts; personal and household goods, such as leather coverings for lodges or wickiup; or trade goods. The thirty dogs mentioned by Russell becomes a reasonable number.

It is reasonable to assume the Tukudika traded for horses if they planned long journeys, or joined with the Lemhi Shoshoni in excursions to "buffalo country" to the east, for by the late 1830's, the great herds of buffalo were no longer in Idaho. Haines,

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in his book, The Buffalo, explains the change in circumstances: After the Crows secured horses and guns, their hunting in the Yellowstone Valley increased. At the same time Blackfeet coming up the Missouri to Three Forks, and the Columbia Basin tribes moving across from Clarks Fork pushed more and more animals south into Idaho, replacing the buffalo there as fast as they were being killed by the mounted Shoshoni and Bannocks. But after the smallpox epidemic of 1837 the Blackfeet stopped coming. The Crows could hunt more to the north. The new herds no longer came across the Bozeman Pass..In a few years the buffalo had all been cleared from the country west of the [Continental] divide, and the Shoshoni and Bannocks had to travel far to hunt (Haines 1970:157).

THE LAST FREE MOUNTAIN DAYS

On April 2, 1825, in his journals Ogden mentioned the Tukudika and their mountains one last time as he prepares to move south onto the Snake River Plain:

...we shall now leave the mountains to our right as they here make a bend to the west & which I do not regret for since our departure from the Flat Heads we have been Surrounded by them on all sides[.] in fact Nature has been most provident in affording Shelter to the poor Mountain Snakes[.] if it were not so, long since the War Tribes would have destroyed them all (Ogden 1950:32).

The "War Tribes" were not the only threat to Idaho Indians. By the early 1860's, the first flush of miners surged into Idaho. They pushed past the Indians in a rush to discover gold in the streams, the same streams and rivers where tribes fished and trapped. Mining camps sprung up on winter camp sites. Miners burned lodge poles for firewood and pitched tents over ancestral burial grounds.

After the discovery of gold north of the Salmon River in 1860, the rush was unstoppable. In 1862, gold was discovered in Warren in central Idaho and in the Boise Basin (later called Idaho City).

Liljeblad explains the impact on the Tukudika:

Shortly thereafter, gold was also found on the Yankee Fork of the Salmon River, the principal spawning ground of the Columbia River salmon and a center of tukudeka winter camps. In 1866, prospectors from Montana found coarse gold on Panther Creek, west of Salmon City, at a place called Leesburg. A few months later, Leesburg had a population of three thousand. Unfortunately for the tukudeka, this place was situated in proximity to several of their largest winter villages...Within a year, there were 7,000 miners in Leesburg basin...In 1870, Leesburg had more than one hundred stores, saloons, hotels and work shops. Salmon City and Challis were established as trading centers to supply miners. Business in both places was soon controlled by...Colonel George L. Shoup, the first Governor of the State of Idaho. He won his military honors in the Sand Creek Massacre, Colorado in 1864...

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...the Indians, terrified by all this noise and at the destruction of their fishing waters, could do nothing but move farther away into their forests, trailed closely by hardy white men who searched for gold in every creek (Liljeblad 1957:100-102).

Area newspapers published a continual series of angry and indignant articles as bands of Indians traveled through the country to gather at annual summer trading grounds near Council, Boise, Camas Prairie, and Bear Valley in southern Idaho. On these lush grassy meadows, the tribes tried to meet as they had for centuries. Newly settled farmers and ranchers fumed and threatened, not understanding when thousands of Indians collected in "their," pastures eating, "their" grass (Ericson 1994).

As early as 1863, citizens were petitioning the Territorial Government for reservations and an Indian Agent to "subdue" the Indians. One of the early letters addressed to Governor W.W. Wallace in 1863, reads:

Sir: We the undersigned Citizens of that portion of Idaho Territory lying East of the Mountains would respectfully represent that on account of the numerous bands of Indians who inhabit this portion of the Country and particularly the tribes known as the Snakes and the Bannocks of whom a great portion are hostile, it is essential to our safety that a special Indian Agent should be appointed for this section of Country--as we are for a large portion of the year essentially cut off from all intercourse with the western portion of the territory (Territorial Papers, Box 1, File 23).

In 1863, however, it was the Indians who needed protecting. Mae T. Parry, 's grandfather, was Shoshoni Chief Sagwitch. She tells the story of her people and the little known or publicized massacre at Bear River in southeastern Idaho:

All things in nature were fixed for the Indian. In the early fall the Northwesterns [bands] moved into the general area of Salmon, Idaho, to fish. After fishing was over and the fish had been prepared for winter use, they moved into Wyoming to hunt Buffalo, elk, moose, and antelope. It was very important to get the big game for it meant food, clothing and shelter to them. In the Spring and summer most of their time was spent traveling about Utah. Here they gathered seeds, berries, roots and also hunted smaller game. In late October a move was made into western Utah and parts of Nevada for gathering pine nuts. Most of the food was gathered and dried for their winter camp site, an area near Franklin, Idaho. Little did they realize that in 1863 this area would be a blood bath for them (Parry 1976:231).

On a cold January 29th morning in 1863, Col. Patrick E. Connor and his California "volunteers" massacred 250 men, women and children in Cache Valley on the Bear River in southeastern Idaho.

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For the most part, in the shadow of Civil War news, the murders went unnoticed (Madsen 1985).

As the Tukudika struggled to remain safe and isolated in their rugged stronghold, civilization continued seeping deeper into their mountains, touching their lives. They tried to remain in the shadows, away from view.

Throughout the 1860's, the Idaho Statesman had little good to say about Idaho's Indians, other than a few grudging comments they published about the Sheepeaters:

It is doubtful if there are a dozen peaceable Indians except the tribe of Sheepeaters who occupy a not very large scope of country on the headwaters of the Salmon. They stay at home and make their own living by fishing and hunting. They have thus far treated whites passing through their country with kindness and cordiality and are as thoroughly hostile as the whites are towards the small thieving renegade bands that occasionally go up that way from this vicinity (March 21, 1866).

Southern Idaho's Indians, however, would no longer be allowed to roam freely through the country they had lived in for centuries. On June 14, 1867, President Andrew Johnson, issued an executive order setting apart the Fort Hall Indian Reservation, ordering the bands of the Northern Shoshoni to settle there (Madsen 1980:51).

A massive western migration at the end of the Civil War, had begun, bringing more settlers into Idaho Territory. The newcomers, many of them soldiers, immediately responded to the Indians in "their" country by petitioning for arms and military control. On May 6, 1873, residents near Weiser appealed to Governor Bennett, Idaho Territory:

Salubria City...We citizens of Upper Weiser Valley request your excellency that we be furnished with forty (40) stand of arms. And the necessary ammunition to accompany them. We can and will raise forty able bodied men to use them. You are aware that we live in a sparsely settled portion of Idaho and that Indians congregate here in large numbers every summer and we feel the necessity of organizing for mutual protection, signed Wm. Allison, John G. Curtis and others (Territorial Papers, Box 1, File 89).

By February 12, 1875, an executive order was signed by the President setting apart the Lemhi Reservation near Salmon, Idaho for the Lemhi and Tukudika bands (Madsen 1979:79). Reserve systems were poorly run, seldom providing enough food, clothing, and blankets for those Indians trying to comply with the law and live on them. Agents, when faced with starving people, allowed the Indians to return to hunting and gathering areas. This infuriated the settlers and problems continued to fester. The conflicts between the differing cultures erupted finally in 1877 when the Nez Perce tribe went to war, then again in 1878 during the Bannock War in southern Idaho.

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After two Indian wars, both Indian and white populations remained tense. The only Indians in southern and central Idaho not confined on a reservation were small isolated mountain bands, the Tukudika in the Salmon River Mountains, and Eagle Eye's small group in Dry Buck Basin northeast of Emmett, Idaho. Every cow wandering off, every horse that strayed was blamed on the "thieving" Indians.

When five Chinese miners were murdered in February of 1879, the Sheepeaters were accused of the killings. In May of 1879, when two men were found murdered on the South Fork of the Salmon River, the Sheepeaters were immediately accused as being the culprits, and troops were sent into Central Idaho to bring the Tukudika in.

Private Edgar Hoffner, mentioned earlier, was serving under Captain Bernard's command when Bernard's troops surveyed the site of the murders on the South Fork of the Salmon River. Hoffner wrote in his diary, "From my observations I conclude that it was very convenient to have some Indians in one's neighborhood in case of a crime being committed. It gives one a chance to shift the blame on the Indians" (Carrey & Conley 1980:179).

The Sheepeater War has been written about extensively from a military standpoint, but an examination of the information recorded about the Tukudika needs be reviewed separately, revealing what little first-hand knowledge and observations about the Sheepeater's mountain homeland was recorded at that time in diaries and military journals:

August 7: (Hoffner) ...passing through a burning forest, fired by the Sheepeaters...After getting through the fire we came to the headwaters of the South Fork of the Salmon River, only a few miles from a hot lake [Warm Lake]. We followed the river a mile and camped on a small flat...We passed a number of wickiups, old ones. There were no signs of the noble Red Men here (Carrey & Conley 1980:183).

Later as the troops moved along Big Creek Col. Brown noted:

About every five miles a clear space with a few abandoned wickiups and a supply of winter fuel would be found and occasionally relative fresh Indian signs, which became more plentiful as we proceeded down the canyon (Brown 1926:15).

August 17: (Brown) They [troops] reached the caves...and proceeded about three miles further, finding salmon traps and plenty of fresh sign (Brown 1926:16).

August 18: (Brown) ...visited and examined the hostile position on the south bank of Big Creek [Vinegar Hill] and at the opposite (north) bank. The hostiles had built a wall of loose rock, where they were perfectly protected and fire through the loopholes in the wall (Brown 1926:13).

(Hoffner) There is a fish trap here in the creek, constructed by making abutments similar to a bridge, then laying poles across, then stakes are driven in the creek three or four

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inches across[,] leaning across the poles fastened by withs [sic] (Carrey & Conley 1980:187).

August 19: (Brown) There were ten wickiups here which had been abandoned the day before. This place is now known as Soldier Bar. In the rocks above the scouts found a number of caches with loot galore, including much which the Sheepeaters had taken at Vinegar Hill...They [troops] camped at Soldier Bar, destroying the Indian Village, while Farrow (minus his pack train) turned south up the mountain on the trail of the hostiles, finding more caches containing welcome food supplies. The hostiles were evidently lightening up to facilitate their escape (Brown 1926:16-17).

(Hoffner) The Umatillas [scouts for Lt. Farrow] had surprised the Sheepeaters and had them on the run about two miles in advance of us...After marching a short distance we came to the camp where the Hostiles were surprised, at the base of a rocky hill near a spring. Finding the Umatillas (four of them) with a lot of plunder which they had captured, such as buckskin, beads, blankets, pots, and pans. There are ten wickiups, four being an average village. This makes the band about 40, the Umatillas say that they saw but 18 bucks [males], no squaws nor papooses, nor ponies. Being without ponies at this point, it was an easy thing for them to escape, as they could climb the hill...[The soldiers] Gathered up every thing that we could find and consigned it to the flames...They [the Indians] are throwing away their blankets and all other articles that can hamper their flight (Carrey & Conley 1980:188-9).

August 23: (Brown) Marched...over an old trail down a long bunch grass slope to the Middle Fork [Salmon River], where we found an old winter camp of six lodges. This is just above what we then regard as an Impassable canyon (Brown 1926:18).

September 23: (Brown, near Papoose Gulch) We discovered en route a lake to the north of us. Two camps, each several days old and each containing four to six lodges, were found (Carrey & Conley 1980:196).

By October 1, 1879, as winter was closing around them, and with many of their supplies destroyed, a total of fifty-one Sheepeaters, Bannocks, Weisers, and an Indian who was part Nez Perce and Bannock, surrendered. Their arms consisted of two Henry carbines, one Sharp's carbine, one Springfield carbine, calibre .45; one Springfield breech-loading rifle, calibre .50; two muzzle-loading rifles and one double barrel shot gun (Brown 1926:26). The captured Indians were taken to Vancouver Barracks in Washington.

Lt. Farrow and his Indian prisoners drew crowds and much attention as they traveled through the country to Vancouver. One newspaper reporter sent this article to the Idaho Statesman:

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Lieut. Farrow on his way to the Vancouver Barracks, with a large number of Indians captured in Idaho, will pass through Dayton this Friday afternoon. Of the prisoners, eleven are bucks and the remainder are Squaws and papooses. The Bucks include Buyaha and War Jack; two noted Weiser Indians who were concerned in the killing of Hailey and Groseclose last summer. Eagle Eye is probably among the number (October 29, 1879).

The following year the Tukudika were removed to the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho (Brown 1926:27).

EAGLE EYE'S BAND

Eagle Eye was not among the Indians captured during the Sheep-eater Campaign. He and his family had retreated to Dry Buck Basin, northeast of Emmett, Idaho. There they lived quietly, trying to attract as little attention as possible.

In 1881, Norman B. Willey sent the following article about Indian sighting to The Nez Perce News in Lewiston, Idaho Territory:

May 24, 1881: Thos. Clay, mail carrier on the Indian Valley route from here [Warren], brought us news yesterday of a ripple of Indian excitement in Little Salmon and Long Valley last week. A man named Wilson, who traps in that region, while making his daily rounds in the lower end of Long Valley, saw a couple of Indian boys nearby. He himself was not observed, and he watched their motions; they were endeavoring to catch birds along the river, and when out of sight, he made a bee-line for the settlement in Little Salmon [New Meadows], some 25 miles distant. The famil[ies] were gathered in the most central place, and the next day the able bodied men of the neighborhood who had sufficient arms, returned to the scene. They found the camp, but the Indians had left, taking the Indian trail across the divide that separates Long Valley and Indian Valley...The party apparently consists of three bucks, two squaws, the two boys, and a child. A visit to their camp indicated that they are entirely destitute of ammunition. They had peeled bark from a great many trees and had been scraping and apparently living on the soft portions of it, but there was not a bone or feather to be found, although game was plenty thereabouts. They are supposed to be [with] a well known Indian named Andy Johnson (June 9, 1881 issue).

The editor of The Nez Perce News, A. Parker, added this post-script to Willey's article, "Andy Johnson is, or was, a subchief of the Weiser Indians, and a brother-in-law of Eagle Eye, chief of the same band..." (ibid.)

In the June 23, 1881 issue of The Nez Perce News, Willey added: Nothing has been heard of the Indians seen lately in Long Valley. There is a large section of unoccupied hills and mountains between Long Valley, Indian Creek, Crane's Creek, and Willow Creek where they could range all summer. No one can say what farm or house they will burn or what farmer or stock herder they will first pounce upon and massacre.

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Liljeblad added information about Eagle Eye's band, saying:

As far back in time as their memories reached, the valley from the bend of the river [Payette River] to Payette Lake had been their summer range where they had gathered food, fished, and hunted deer...As long as their old headman [Eagle Eye] had lived, highly esteemed by both settlers and officials, the Indians had stubbornly refused to leave their village. After his death, the intimidated Indians, rather to be safe than sorry, decided to move to Fort Lemhi where they had relatives. One day in early summer sometime about the turn of the century, they left their little farmsteads where the apple trees had just shed their blossoms, never to see them again. As they wanted to avoid traveling over public roads and much frequented trails, it took them the whole summer to cross the mountains. Although the loss these emigrants had suffered in having to give up their native ground and spontaneous enterprise must have been appalling to them all, some of them and their children in time became citizens with great prestige in their new community (Liljeblad 1972:40).

One question remains unanswered, did "all" the Tukudika surrendered to Lt. Farrow and his Umatilla Scouts in the fall of 1879, and leave their mountain stronghold? For those who know the country, the answer is probably not.

It is more probable that some of the Tukudika band escaped to remain in the mountains; however, for their own safety many moved to the Lemhi Reservation where they had a spokesman in Chief Tendoy. Tendoy had been born on the Boise River about 1835, and was the son of Bannock father and a Tukudika mother (Liljeblad 1957:107).

Tendoy, a strong leader, was able to defer the closing of the Lemhi Reservation by ignoring and defying government orders. His power as a respected leader kept the Lemhi Shoshoni and the Tukudika in their country, the mountains and valleys of their ancestors, for nearly thirty years after the Sheepeater War of 1879 (Madsen 1979:180-181).

In the spring of 1907, after great political pressure, the Indians living on the Lemhi Reservation began preparing to leave their homes in the Lemhi Valley, and move to the Fort Hall Reservation on the Snake River. Tendoy did not make the move with his people.

Saddened and drinking, he rode into the hills, and in a shallow stream, surrounded by budding willows and cottonwoods, he fell from his horse and died (Madsen 1979:187).

ONLY THEIR SHADOWS REMAIN

Author's Note: One of the struggles while studying the past is creating a connection with the people you research and write about. Often they remain shadowy and faceless, beyond touch and words. This was true of the Tukudika. I traveled to their country, walking their trails. In the evening firelight they seem just beyond the

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dark trees, hidden by the smoke. It was not until I began to read their names did they truly come alive. Out of respect for those through time we try to understand, I offer the following partial list of the Shoshoni people who made central Idaho their home.

The following is taken from the August 11, 1885 census, and records the Indian name (if given), the English translation (if given), relationship, sex and age of those Indians living at the Lemhi Indian Reservation at that time.

<u>INDIAN NAME</u>	<u>ENGLISH NAME</u>	<u>RELATIONSHIP</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>AGE</u>
Tubivo	The Negro	father	M	40
Pangasha	The Water Wing	wife	F	34
Tabishe	The Shining Sun	son	M	13
Pahsina		son	M	2
Hahni	The Beaver	son	M	10 mo.
Pahshacant	Washington	father	M	38
Payatze		wife	F	38
Taboke	The Rabbit	son	M	20
Cahbeatze	The Red Mother(?)	daughter	F	16
Inga	W? Color	son	M	10
Neugetsha	Something In the Ear	son	M	8
Booshecu	One That Looks Sharp	mother	F	48
Qucaitda	The Crane	son	M	20
Podwatse	The Female Bear?	daughter	F	24
Qwitaahpahbe	The Old Mule	father	M	23
Paugogo	The Prairie Chicken	wife	F	20
	Honey	daughter	F	2
	Mary	mother	F	42
Nahgatze	The Ear	son	M	12
Wiudumetze	Being Torn Off	daughter	F	8
Wahkitogo	The Grandfather	husband	M	19
Tingu	The Clever One	wife	F	21
	Happy John	husband	M	49
Suduka	The Cricket	wife	F	17
Quashewat	The Short Tail	father	M	81?
Tiszepet	The Mouse	father	M	42
Yanikiuu	One That Laughs	wife	F	38
Tapingoze	The Heel	daughter	F	6
Cutowappe	Charcoal	son	M	3
Pobonesanah	The Pea	daughter	F	16
Pigetaway	One That Throws Water	husband	M	64
Katze		wife	F	46

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Navo	The Painter	husband	M	20
Pona		wife	F	18
Pahgahgah	The Bead	brother-in-law	M	36
Totsoendineme	George #1	father	M	44
Kananehah	No Name	wife	F	39
Anze		son	M	22
Tezize		daughter	F	15
Tezipan		daughter	F	11
Tezi		daughter	F	8
Wilandoah	Andy	husband	M	36
Hoazaza	One That Gives Attention	wife	F	20
Paudoah	Water Boy	brother	M	23
Wabiagi	The ? Dog	husband	M	46
Ahwhiap	The Last Root	wife	F	50
Wougoatze	The Pine Barrel?	aunt	F	78
Hione	George #2	husband	M	39
Wahcooro	The Cedar Necklace	wife	F	38
Ahatze	The Crow	head	M	52
He lo?	The Lark	niece	F	37
Puigasha	The Wing	daughter	F	35
Puigasha	The Wing	grand niece	F	18 mo.
Piawidah	The Big Bear	sister	F	68
Ahgitze	Jim Grouse	father	M	53
Pedawat	The Broken Arm	wife	F	41
Pedoy	The Forced Birth	daughter	F	22
Nanning	The Mink	daughter	F	18
Tutivo	?	son	M	14
Meanke		grand daughter	F	6
Pabago	Jack Grouse	husband	M	37
Pahshunah	Dried Up	wife	F	26
Pahsham besha		wife	F	19
Toyanami	Old Washington	head	M	64
Kahgubah	My Aunt	sister	F	73
Tucumets	Capt. Jack	father	M	60
Arizemutze?	The Gray Ant	wife	F	54
Pohepitze	The Green Grass	daughter	F	26
Nazewahgitze	The Telling	daughter	F	11
Nukepitze	The Runaway	son	M	6
Pungutze	The Filley	daughter	F	4
Awino epetze?	The Shaken One	daughter	F	2
Mongobe	The Pine	head	M	51

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Ktahwo	Smacking Mouth	husband	M	29
Sho Sho	The Creek	wife	F	18
Tendoy	Tendoy	father	M	56
one woman	refused to give name	wife	F	40
one woman	refused to give name	wife	F	46
Topompe	The Black Hair	son	M	14
Wodasumpa	The Bear Coyote	son	M	12
Toma	The Cloud	daughter	F	9
Cheatze	The Youngest	daughter	F	3
Jack Tendoy	Jack Tendoy	head	M	28
Houra		brother-in-law	M	32
Hahni abo	Looks Like Crow	brother-in-law	M	36
one woman	refused to give name	mother	F	55
one woman	refused to give name	sister	F	25
one woman	refused to give name	sister	F	18
Yuh		brother	M	9
Winze		brother	M	8
Kananchack	got no name	nephew	M	2 mo.
Kananchack	got no name	nephew	M	2 mo.
Aditze	The Bow	father	M	21
Catsome		wife	F	18
Toomone	Black Hair	wife	F	17
Cooshashe	Gray Willow	daughter	F	18 mo.
Orindimitse	The Youngest	daughter	F	5 mo.
Kahgube	The Ant	head	F	90
Winnego	The Root	head	F	47
Schetwitze	The Dying Grass	grandchild	F	11
Ahmogut	The Horn-Jack	grandchild	M	5
Pahbohogonah	The Green Sagebrush	grandchild	F	8
	Lame Jake	father	M	41
Cochu	The Match	wife	F	37
Poahs	One That Bounces	daughter	F	14
Habitse	The Old Woman	mother-in-law	F	70
Yanquanshoah	Big Jake	father	M	60
Uveahdiume	The Gray Mare's Mistress	wife	F	54
Yahquidhah	The Frog	wife	F	34
Peziwiza	The Teat	wife	F	28
Anish		son	M	16
Oahpuhunt	Yellow Eyes	son	M	15
	Monkey	son	M	8
Yambatze	The Sweet Root	daughter	F	9
Topatze	One That Breaks In	daughter	F	6
Onobitze	Dark Color	daughter	F	3
Toomuya	The Stoooper	daughter	F	2
Pahwoomp	Bright Eyes	son	M	4 mo.

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As noted this is a sample of the names. John E. Rees, census enumerator, claimed, "...among other things we made a searching inquiry into their tribal relations, but as they had intermarried so extensively that, excepting some old people, there were no full blood Shoshone, Bannocks, or Tukuarikas among them, so they were enumerated as a single tribe (Rees 1917). The number of Indians living on the Agency at the time the census was taken in 1885 was 422, however the total number of Indians listed at the Lemhi Reservation was 667. Two hundred and forty-five were away from the Agency at the time the census was recorded.

(The 1885 Lemhi Reservation Census is part of the National Archives of the United States (microcopy No. 595, Indian Census, 1885-1940, roll 248), available at the Idaho State Library and Archives, Boise, Idaho.)

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