WILDERNESS OF THE HEART

An early history of the land and the people of the Frank Church - River of No Return Wilderness

By

SHEILA D. REDDY

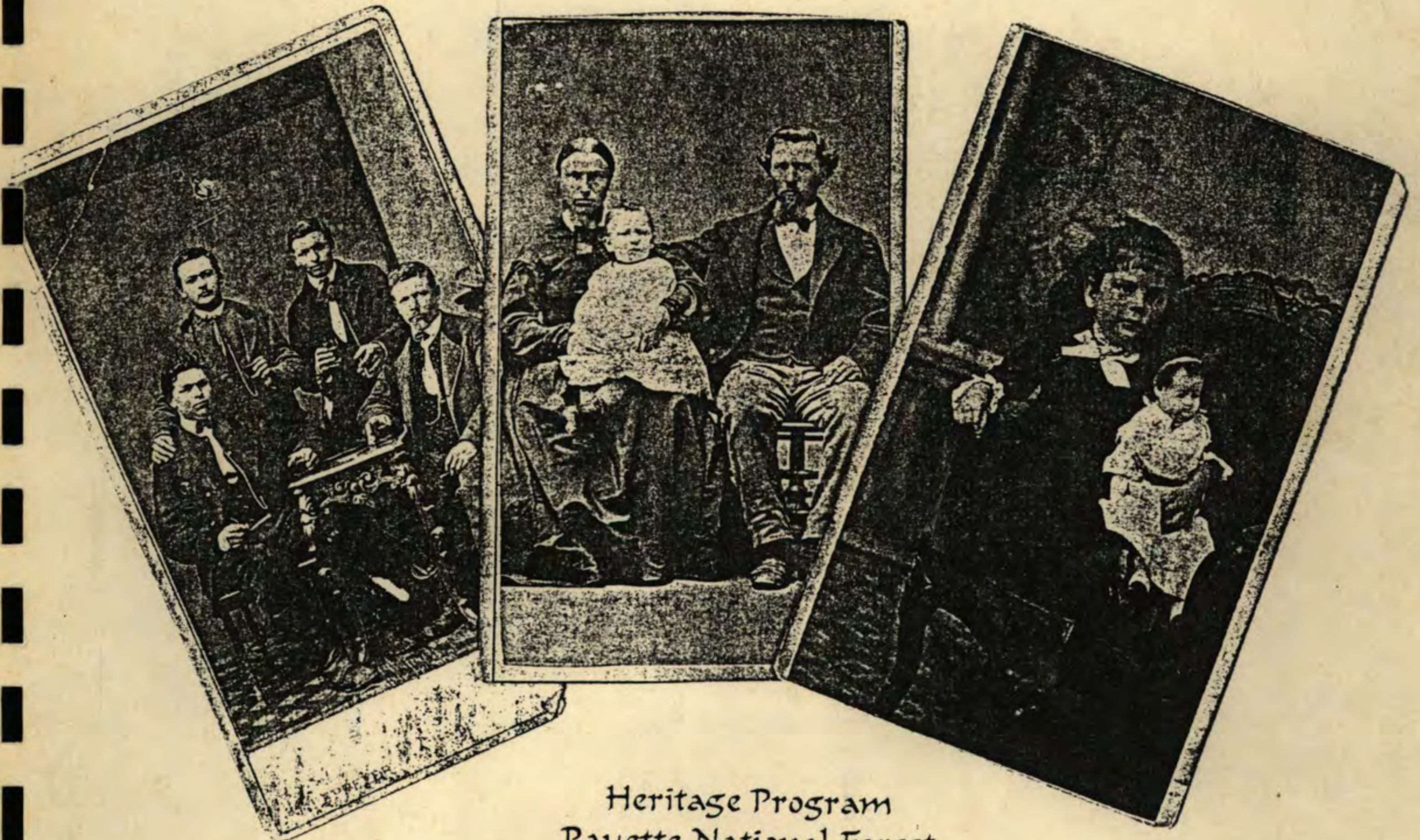

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
THE HEART LAND	1
LAND OF THE HEART, THE IDAHO BATHOLITH	1
EARLY PEOPLES OF THE HEARTLAND	2
THE SHOSHONI	3
THE NEZ PERCE	5
THE SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN OF 1879	9
VINEGAR HILL	11
THE EXPLORERS	14
THE MOUNTAIN MEN	14
JOE MEEK	16
THE MINERS	19
THUNDER MOUNTAIN	19
THE FOREST RESERVES AND THE NATIONAL FORESTS	23
SALMON RIVER HOMESTEADERS, THE EDGE OF THE WILDERNESS	24
SOUTHFORK OF THE SALMON RIVER HOMESTEADS	28
BIG CREEK HOMESTEADERS	37
CHAMBERLAIN BASIN	42
CHANGES IN THE HEARTLAND	49
BIBLIOGRAPHY	51

WILDERNESS OF THE HEART

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By
Sheila D. Reddy

THE HEART LAND

This is a story of Idaho's heartland, the Frank Church-River of No Return Wilderness, the mountain country around it, and the people who chose to live there. Some perished trying to conquer it, and some tried to fit themselves to it, blending within the heartbeat of the wilderness. It is a story of the memories of the land, the people, and the hearts of both.

"The wilderness masters the colonist," wrote Fredrick Turner, "It strips off the garments of civilization...at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man. He must accept the conditions which it furnishes, or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails" (1921:4).

Wallace Stegner wrote, "Being an intangible and spiritual resource...something will have gone out of us as a people if we let the remaining wilderness be destroyed...We need wilderness preserved...it was the challenge against which our character as a people was formed" (Stegner 1980:328-239).

LAND OF THE HEART, THE IDAHO BATHOLITH

About sixty-five million years ago, molten rock pushed up from the center of the earth creating Idaho's Batholith. The hot, pulsing intrusion rose, folding into its edges remnants of an ancient sea-bed and existing country rock.

As the batholith cooled, cracks and fissures developed, allowing hot water to be forced upward by convection into rock faults and openings. Suspended in the liquid, heavy minerals coated sidewalls, dropping out as the water cooled. The process left behind valuable deposits of mineral-rich ore.

50 million years ago, eruptions created the Challis Volcanics. Vents, like those visible at Lookout Mountain, continued to erupt until 40 million years ago (Fuller 1987:22-23). What remains of that period of explosive activity can still be found along Monumental Creek, at Thunder Mountain.

Uplifting, faulting, erosion, glacial activity, and down-cutting created proximal rivers, canyons, and mountains with extreme variations in elevation. An example is Mackay Bar on the Salmon River at 2172 feet above sea level, and Sheepeater Mountain, approximately eight miles to the east rising to 8486 feet above sea level.

These varying differences in elevation and geology created irregular, microclimatic zones of temperature and vegetation. Riverine terraces, like Mackay Bar, are generally moderate in temperature. Early settlers coming into the area found they could grow fruits and vegetables on these protected benches.

In contrast, high mountain meadows commonly have frost every

night of the summer season, with snow staying late and returning early.

Mountain vegetation includes stands of ponderosa pine (Pinus ponderosa) growing on slopes along the South Fork and the Middle Fork of the Salmon Rivers. The inner bark of the tree was utilized as a food resource by American Indian tribes living in Idaho (Reddy 1993). Living trees with distinctively scarred trunks have been found in the Payette National Forest and the Frank Church-River of No Return Wilderness area. Ponderosa pine communities are generally open and light, with a relatively sparse understory of grass and shrubs. Soils tend to be decomposing granites, with little or no humus.

Douglas fir (Pseudotsuga menziesii), and aspen (Populus tremuloides) grow within a wide ecological zone, however the two are often found together in close communities as one ascends in elevation, acting as windbreaks for one another. Aspen stands, more noticeable in the fall, are found lining river banks, on mountain sides defining creek beds, and as indicators of moist spring locations. Aspen groves help to regenerate soils, taking hold in burned-over areas.

Belts of lodgepole pine grow in irregular zones, mixed with Douglas fir, ninebark, mountain ash, aspen and mountain maple.

Along the lower Middle Fork of the Salmon River and north along the main Salmon River Canyon, sagebrush and grasses are found in drier zones (Fuller 1987:20). Low sagebrush is common where soils are shallow and rocky. Within these drier regions aspen, willow and cottonwood are confined to waterways and spring sites.

On Big Creek, researchers at the Taylor Ranch are studying the effects of early livestock grazing, as well as current grazing by wild game species on tall sagebrush (Hendee, et.al. 1993:30).

EARLY PEOPLES OF THE HEARTLAND

There is a power in nature that slides away from us as we enter urban life, making it difficult to conceptualize lifeways of the earliest American Indian peoples. Archaeological evidence in Idaho, particularly on the Snake River Plain, indicates humans were present in Southern Idaho at around 12,000 years ago (Pavesic 1978:8).

Glacial retreats in the Snake River Plain of Southern Idaho may have created an ice-free corridor capable of sustaining humans and animals. As warming climatic trends began to melt northern mountain glaciers, mountain meadows and passes were exposed, creating new travel routes. Expansion and exploration into Idaho's central mountains by early big game hunters appears logical.

Pavesic noted, "The evidence suggests that the Middle Fork [of the Salmon River] corridor itself may have been occupied by ancient hunters near the end of the Pleistocene [Ice Age] and the beginning of the Recent geological era" (1978:9). After noting several studies Pavesic points out, "...the archaeological variation over the past 8,000 years in Central Idaho begins to manifest itself... studies cover a myriad of topics, but taken together, reflect a

broad picture of seasonal use and site variation in the region" (Pavesic 1978:10).

In historic times two tribal groups have been recorded as primary users of the Central Idaho mountains along the Salmon River and its tributaries: the Northern Shoshoni, and the Nez Perce.

THE SHOSHONI

On August 13, 1805, explorer Meriweather Lewis wrote, "We set out very early on the Indian road which still led us through an open country in a westerly direction...we proceeded about four miles through a wavy plain parallel to the valley or river bottom when at a distance of about two miles we saw two women, a man and some dogs on an eminence immediately before us" (Thwaites 1959:v.2, p.337). William Clark would later explain, "This nation Call themselves 'Cho-shon-ne'" (Ibid:367).

This is the famous reunion of Sacagawea with her brother, Cameahwait, and her own Shoshoni people (Ibid:365). The band is identified as the Lemhi Shoshoni, or k'utsundeka (the buffalo eaters); the Shoshoni living on the Lemhi River (Ibid:366).

Lewis and Clark queried the Shoshoni about a route to the west. Cameahwait, the Lemhi Shoshoni Chief, sat on the ground. Using rocks, sticks, and mounds of sand he made a map, pointing out the ruggedness of the area along the Salmon River corridor. This is the first written description of a map of the Salmon River country. It indicates the extension of Shoshoni land in Central Idaho. On Aug. 20, 1805, Lewis recorded Clark's interview with Cameahwait:

> I now prevailed on the Chief to instruct me with rispect to the geography of his country. [T]his he undertook very cheerfully, by delineating the rivers on the ground. (B)ut soon I found that his information fell far short of my expectations or wishes. [H]e drew the river on which we now are [i.e., Lemhi] to which he placed two branches just above us, which he shewed me from the openings of the mountains were in view; he next made it discharge itself into a large river [Salmon] which flowed from the S.W. about ten miles below us, then continued this joint stream in the same direction of this valley or N.W. for one days march and then enclined it to the West for 2 more days march. (H)ere he placed a number of heaps of sand on each side which he in-formed me represented the vast mountains of rock eternally covered with snow through which the river passed. [T]hat the perpendicular and even jutting rocks so closely hemmed in the river that there was no possibil[it]y of passing along the shore; that the bed of the river was obstructed by sharp pointed rocks and the rapidity of the stream such that the whole surface of the river was beat into perfect foam as far as the eye could reach. [T]hat the mountains were also inaccessible to man or horse. [H]e said that this being the state of the country in that direction that himself nor none of his nation had ever been further down the river than these mountains...[T]he Chief further informed me that he understood from the persed nosed

> [Nez Perce] who inhabit this river below the rocky mountains that it ran a great way toward the setting sun and finally lost itself in a great lake of water which was illy taisted [Pacific Ocean], and where the white men lived (Thwaites 1959:v.2, p.380).

The information distressed the explorers who had hoped to find a passable trail and a navigable river flowing from the mountains to the Pacific Ocean. Cameahwait's report convinced the leaders to choose a more northerly route across the mountains.

Liljeblad explains how the Lemhi Shoshoni identified and distinguished themselves from the Northern Shoshoni, or those living within the wilderness area:

> Prior to their acquisition of horses, the Shoshoni on the Lemhi River could in no respect have been distinguished from other groups of Shoshoni fishing on the Salmon River and its main tributaries. The Fort Hall Bannock called all the Shoshoni who lived in the mountain districts beyond the desert "salmon eaters." The Lemhi Indians themselves were more particular in distinguishing themselves between the various local groups by the traditional names...The banded Shoshoni on the Lemhi River proudly called themselves <u>k'utsundeka</u>, "the buffalo eaters," thereby distinguished themselves from the people with few or no horses who lived in small and scattered villages in the mountains all around them. The latter they called <u>t'ukedeka</u>, "the mountain sheep eaters." In fact, the mountaineers themselves applied the same terminology (Liljeblad 1957:93).

He goes on to say:

> It is true the...[Northern Shoshoni] apparently for centuries, had lived in isolation among their mountains; that they were, on the whole, rather conservative people; and that there were features in their language and culture which were not shared by other Idaho Shoshoni, who were amused at their slow, singsong speech and who disapproved of their tolerance of cross-cousin marriage. But in contrast to all other Shoshoni on a pre-horse level...they had developed their Plateau culture to a high degree of perfection (Liljeblad 1957:95).

In 1823 Alexander Ross made note of meeting five Northern Shoshoni men near the headwaters of the North Fork of the Salmon River. He points out the variation in speech:

> March 15th: These strangers...had a singularly odd appearance. They were wrapped up in buffalo hides with the hair next to their skin and caps of wolf skin, with the ears of that animal as erect as if alive. They resembled rather walking ghosts than living men. Their condition however excited compassion. They belonged, if we could judge from the jargon they spoke, to the mountain snakes [Shoshoni] (Ross 1956:219-220).

Liljeblad (1957) notes the Northern Shoshoni had a more varied diet than Shoshoni bands in southern Idaho. They utilized all the plants reported used by other Idaho Indians and added those plants native to mountain terrain:

> The mountain dwellers possessed some of the best fishing waters in Idaho. The streams in their country were well suited for construction of dams and weirs...In contrast to other Shoshoni in a primitive stage, the t'ukudeka were essentially a hunting people. They were the most skilled hunters on foot of all Idaho Indians...It was the skill of the individual hunter that counted...the hunters went for big game and did so year round. The hunter was well equipped with his excellent bow of mountain-sheep horn; with arrows poisoned with a mixture of the root of Iris missouriensis and various other ingredients (evidently a sepsis-producing poison, slow-working but potent); with light snowshoes in winter; and dogs trained for the chase (Liljeblad 1957:96).

Hunters, according to Liljeblad, preferred food game: mountain sheep, elk, deer, and antelope. "Practically all game was eaten, including bear, coyote, and mountain lion. Coyote meat was quite good, so the old people said, much better than some other people might have believed" (Ibid:97).

The Northern Shoshoni became known for their fine skins and furs. Bighorn sheep skin were used for women's dresses, but was too cold for footwear. Moccasins were made of badger skin, elk skin and deer skin. As Ross noted, winter caps were made of wolf skin with the fur on. Antelope skin with the hair on was used for blankets; when the hair wore off, the skin of the snowshoe rabbit was sewn on the hair side, making a warm covering. Liljeblad commented, "A hunter took great pride in having killed a wolf, which was no easy task. A blanket made of two wolf hides, prepared with the greatest care and used as a robe, was the height of perfection in t'ukudeka handicraft" (Liljeblad 1957:98).

As noted by the Lewis and Clark entries, the Shoshoni had contact with their neighbors, and traded goods with other tribes:

> The t'ukudeka were neither so destitute nor so isolated as some writers have led us to believe. They participated in trade on a small scale and sought contact with other people. Old people among them remembered having heard about journeys on foot to the country where the Salmon and Snake Rivers meet, and where salmon fishing was exceptionally good both in winter and in summer (Ibid:98-99).

THE NEZ PERCE

The Nez Perce bands who commonly utilized the mountain areas along the Salmon River were part of the larger Nez Perce tribe:

> At the time of the explorer's (Lewis and Clark) visit, the tribe was one of the more numerous and powerful in the Northwest, estimated to number between 4,000 and 6,000 persons. Their small independent wintering communities and

> fishing settlements which the Americans had seen were established mostly near the mouths of lateral streams along the Salmon, Clearwater, and other tributaries of the Snake River in the present-day northern [and central] Idaho, south-eastern Washington, and northeastern Oregon. But the tribal hunting and food-gathering lands that surrounded those riverine settlements extended over hundreds of square miles from the Bitterroots to the Blue Mountains of Oregon, and centered approximately at the site of today's Lewiston, Idaho (Josephy 1979:14).

Describing ancient campsites and origins of the tribe, Wottolen [Hair Combed Over Eyes], an old Nez Perce warrior, related this tribal legend:

> There are two places up Salmon River. Only two spots where the people lived. None were here on the Clearwater; none on Lapwai or Snake Rivers; Kakayohneme Creek is one place. The other is about fifteen miles above the mouth of the Little Salmon River. It is called Tannish [Cut-Out Trail]. This most wonderful passage among cliffs along the Salmon River is not the work of man's hand. It is natural all through...The first generations of Nez Perces grew up at those two places I have named. I do not know how many snows back at that time. The buffalo was hunted on the head of the Salmon. The people would go there for meat and hides during the summer moons. Next few snows they go a little farther east. Following snows they go still farther east, and to the north (McWhorter 1986:3).

Haines describes the trail used by the Nez Perce coming west from the Bitterroot Range into the Salmon River country:

> ...along the divide between the Clearwater and Salmon, the old Nez Perce trail followed the crest of the ridges almost to the continental divide before it branches, the north fork leading to the headwaters of the Bitter Root river, the south fork to the Salmon river above the canyon and thence an easy pass to the broad valley of the upper Snake (Haines 1939:5).

The history of the Nez Perce War of 1877 has been well documented, particularly the struggle of Chief Joseph to remain in his homeland, the Wallowa Mountains in northeastern Oregon. Stories of less well-known struggles involved the Nez Perce who called the Salmon River country their home.

Three bands, identified by the names of their Chiefs, were living near the Salmon River in the 1800's, using the country for hunting and gathering. The three groups, defined as "non-treaty" Nez Perce, were those Indians who wished to remain and live on ancient tribal land familiar to their particular band, and not be removed to the reservation.

The first group had Peopeo Hihhih, better known as White Bird, as their chief.

The second was Toohoolhoolzote, the Dreamer prophet and medicine

man jailed by Gen. O.O. Howard just prior to the Nez Perce War. The event that was to have far-reaching effects.

Howard had asked the tribes to gather for talks. As the meeting began, Toohoolhoolzote, chosen as spokesman for the "non-treaty" bands, made his opening speech. His prominence in the tribe as an elder and a medicine man had earned him a position of respect and honor. Howard, wishing to capture the upper hand in the talks, realized the reverential position of the speaker. As a display of his own power he had Toohoolhoolzote thrown in jail. The act indicated to the "non-treaty" Indians Howard's ears and mind were closed to their point of view. The action was one of many sparks that helped to ignite the Nez Perce war in 1877.

The third "non-treaty" chief was Eagle-from-the-Light. He and his band called the Salmon River country their home. They utilized the mountains and the meadows for hunting and gathering. The earth held the bones of their ancestors. It was the land of their hearts.

Eagle-from-the Light had been one of the Nez Perce tribal representatives when the 1855 Treaty was signed defining reservation boundaries (Haines 1939:141). The treaty was designed "to provide more land for new settlers, protect the Indian, and lessen the danger of conflict" (Ibid:137).

Soon after its signing the 1855 Treaty began to crumble under the pressures of advancing civilization. The Nez Perce wanted the whites to keep their word, but in the late 1850's promises made by the government signers were not being honored. Lapwai Indian agent, A.J. Cain, tried to re-assure and pacify the tribe:

> I had but little trouble in refuting these rumors with all but one chief (Eagle-from-the-Light), who claimed to the last they had not been treated properly by the whites. He said my talk was good, but he did not know whether I was telling the truth, or was afraid and wanted to scare them. He has always been opposed to the treaty, but has few followers, and no influence with the tribe, with whom he lives but seldom, spending most of his time in the buffalo country with the Blackfeet (Haines 1939:152).

The discovery of gold in 1860 at Pierce, Idaho, and in Warrens in 1862 increased pressure to take over lands held by the Nez Perce tribe. After the 1855 Treaty was violated, the government tried in 1863 to effect a second treaty. Under the proposed treaty, bands of Nez Perce from the Salmon and the Snake Rivers would lose additional lands held at that time by them and secured by the 1855 Treaty (Haines 1939:161). Again, Eagle-from-the-Light opposed the loss to be suffered by his band (Ibid:161-2).

After talks between commissioners and the chiefs, Lawyer and his followers signed for all the Nez Perce, the treaty and non-treaty Indians, giving all lands but a small area around the Lapwai Reservation to the whites (Josephy 1979:405-421). Haines notes, "It was then that Joseph, convinced that he could expect no justice from the whites, tore up a copy of the treaty and destroyed his long-treasured New Testament, declaring he would have nothing more

to do with the white man and his ways" (Haines 1939:165).

Unlike members of the Nez Perce tribe who did move onto the reservation, the non-treaty bands, held out, retaining their seasonal rounds, often going east to hunt buffalo. In 1871, Indian Agent J.B. Montieth made the following observation:

> The Indians who have been gone to the Buffalo Country have returned during the month [November] with the exception of Eagle-from-the-Light and his band, having been gone more than two years, they all report the Sioux very war-like (Montieth correspondence, 11/3/1871).

In 1873 at the Annual Council of the Nez Perce Nation, Eagle-from-the-Light was present. Montieth noted in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

> The Non-Treaties were very bitter in their remarks towards Lawyer and the other Treaty Chiefs accusing them of selling their Country to the Whites and bringing all kinds of trouble among them. "Eagle-from-the-Light" said he had never made any Treaty and never would, that he lived on the Salmon River in his own country, that the trails over the mountains and across the country were made by his five fathers, that he had traveled them and would travel them again, that was his mind and also his friends...Lawyer said he could see that the law from Washington was for their benefit..."Eagle-from-the-Light said, "I have heard the law, but my law does not come from Washington, but from the earth. The earth tells me what to do and I will do it" (Montieth corres. 11/22/1873)

In March of 1874 a white settler on the Salmon River extended a fence to exclude the Nez Perce from traditional camping and root gathering ground. The Nez Perce objected, but the settler paid no attention and began plowing. According to Montieth:

> One of the Indians went into the field and commenced stoning the man and throwing up his blanket to scare the horses. The settler drew a revolver and shot the Indian, from the effects of which he died in a few days...The Indians were Non-Treaties and belong to Eagle-from-the-Light's band (Montieth corres. 5/14/1874)

In June Montieth reported he believed the "settler was not justified in committing the act," but the jury would not take the testimony of the Indians as they could not be induced to be sworn.

> [They] say the earth made them, and that they could tell the truth without holding up their hand...The Non-Treaty Indians are beginning to gather in at different points to make arrangements to leave for the buffalo country after root digging season is over, which is the last of June and first of July (Montieth corres. 6/4/1874).

Montieth's August 1874 report notes:

> During the month "Eagle-from-the-Light" with about 150 men and

> their families left for the Buffalo country, or Yellowstone. Since his departure the Indians have been more quiet (Montieth corres. 8/1/1874).

In April of 1876 Montieth noted Eagle-from-the-Light was camped at the mouth of Slate Creek, but he and several other non-treaty chiefs "claim the whole of Salmon River country" and refused to move onto the reservation (Montieth corres. 4/24/1876).

Eagle-from-the-Light was in buffalo country (Josephy 1979:498) when the Nez Perce War started on June 13, 1877. So the defender of the Salmon River country slips out of history. His battle lost. His ancient tribal lands taken away. The free, wandering life, gone forever. However, into the 20th century the Nez Perce and Shoshoni living on reservations, traveled into the Salmon River country to gather wild plants and hunt, supplementing food available on the reservation (Reddy 1993:5).

THE SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN OF 1879

In 1878, hostilities broke out again in southern Idaho during the Bannock War. As the military forces closed in on tribes involved in the conflict, an unknown number of Bannock and Weiser Indians took refuge with the Northern Shoshoni in the rugged mountains of Central Idaho (Corless 1990:116-117). This last Indian stronghold provided an opportunity to blame the Mountain Shoshoni for every incident; for murder and every horse missing or stolen. It was an idea pursued by the fearful, and the unscrupulous; particularly those who recognized profits can be made in war.

When ranches were raided in Indian Valley in the summer of 1878, the renegade Bannocks and Sheepeaters were blamed (Parker,1968:8). Parker noted in August of 1878, "Dan Crooks and Boone Helm were killed in Round Valley,...Presumably by the Sheepeaters" (Ibid:12).

In the Spring of 1879 five Chinese miners were found dead on Loon Creek, a tributary of the Middle Fork of the Salmon River. The Northern Shoshoni were blamed again, although quiet rumors indicated white men dressed as Indians had committed the murders and stolen the gold.

Military troops under Captain Bernard were dispatched from Boise Barracks on May 31, 1879, effectively beginning the Sheepeater Campaign, Idaho's last Indian war (Brown 1926:6).

As troops marched north to Challis an incident on the South Fork of the Salmon River changed Capt. Bernard's orders. Two ranchers had been found dead on the South Fork of the Salmon River.

Warren resident, Norman B. Willey sent the following report to the Idaho Statesman:

> WARRENS, I.T., May 25, 1879
> EDITOR STATESMAN: ...On the South Fork of Salmon river, twelve miles south of Warrens, there lived an old resident of the county, named Hugh Johnson. He had a small ranch, raised vegetables, kept horses & etc. There are a few others living there-abouts, miners and farmers, but communication was not very frequent since high water commenced, his place being on

> the east side of the river. He was not seen for some time and the few who passed his house supposed he was away at work on an irrigation ditch. Finally, during the last week a few neighbors visited his house and found it in confusion, with no signs of having been occupied for a long time. A further search resulted in finding his dead body, and that of another man named Peter Dorsey, who was temporarily stopping with him, in the ravine near the river. They had been shot apparently while at work in the field by the house and carried or dragged away to avoid observation. They were not scalped or otherwise mutilated. It was evidently the work of Indians, as their mocasin [sic] tracts were everywhere visible in and around the house and the ploughed [sic] field, and also on the trail by which they came and went. They took away three horses, also blankets, flour and provisions, and two good guns and several hundred cartridges. It was a small party--three or perhaps four. The ranch is situated at the mouth of a creek called Elk Creek. At its head, some twelve miles from the river, is a pass and an ancient trail leads across on to another large stream called Big Creek, which flows eastward, and is supposed to empty into the Middle Fork of the Salmon below Loon Creek. It is by this route that the marauders came and returned. The snow was, and is yet deep on the mountains, but this year it is unusually solid, and at that time men and even horses could pass over it without difficulty. Those who live on the South Fork in that vicinity have all moved into town, and night before last, and yesterday morning signal fires and smokes were reported to have been seen on the mountain on that side...No pack trains have yet arrived here and grub is scarce, and there is no feed for stock away from the immediate vicinity of the Salmon river, so that nothing by the way of pursuit can be attempted yet, but the knowledge that they have been and probably are still near us is rather disquieting. The deed was done between the 19th and 23rd. of April...[signed] N.B. Willey (June 7, 1879 issue).

Henry Smith, son of Sylvester "Three-Fingered" Smith added the following information about the killing of Hugh Johnson and Pete Dorsey:

> Concerning the Johnson Massacre, which brought on the Sheepeater War, Henry related that the two men, Johnson and Dorsey, had hired Indians to work for them, mistreated them and refused to pay them, with the result that the Indians became so enraged that they shot them...(Elsensohn 1965:90).

Nez Perce News editor, A.F. Parker, reported:

> there were four small farms or garden patches on the narrow bars along the canyon, each isolated from the others, all having but one outlet by way of the rugged trail to Warrens, a prosperous placer mining camp. From James P. Rains

> place, just above the mouth of the South Fork [south] to Hugh Johnson's place [at the confluence of Elk Creek]...were those of [Peter Dorsey and] Sylvester S. Smith, known as "Three-Fingers," ...All four ranchers had families except Johnson (Parker 1968: 120).

In July, Lieut. Henry Catley with a detachment of 60 men and a pack train carrying supplies left Fort Howard (near Grangeville, Idaho), for a campaign against the Northern Shoshoni Indians in the mountains of Central Idaho.

Several civilians were recruited to assist Lieut. Catley and his troops. One of those men was George M. Shearer, who had been a confederate officer on Gen. Robert E. Lee's staff during the Civil War (Shearer 1968:20). This seasoned officer recorded what would become known as the encounter at Vinegar Hill.

VINEGAR HILL

After leaving Fort Howard the detachment reached Warrens and marched east for eleven days without seeing any sign of the Indians they were pursuing (Parker 1968:13).

On July 28, 1879, a packer reported he had seen two Indian horses grazing and moccasin tracks about eight miles below the detachment's camp at the confluence of Cave Creek and Big Creek. Dave Munroe hurried to report the sighting to Lieut. Catley, who had gone fishing. Catley admonished Munroe for interrupting him, and ignored the reporter. Later in the afternoon when Catley returned to camp he listened to the account, however he did not immediately order troops to pursue the Indians sighted, choosing instead to wait for morning.

The next day the Indian camp was deserted when located by the troops. Lieut. Catley moved ahead, following the tracks into a narrow canyon without sending out advance scouts or guards. The soldiers had traveled about two miles when the Indians started firing from the opposite side of Big Creek.

Lieut. Catley did not give orders or provide instructions to his troops, instead, according to Shearer, he jumped off his horse and got behind a tree (Shearer 1968:21). The troops were trying to find shelter when Pvts. Doyle and Holms were badly wounded. Shearer waited for orders from Catley, but heard none. First Sgt. Sullivan reported to Catley, asking for orders, but Catley did not speak. Finally Sullivan turned to Shearer for orders. Shearer reported the following:

> I told him to take charge of the Command and have the horses turned around the other way and I would go see Lt. Catley to ascertain what he was going to do. I then went to Lt. Catley and ask what he was going to do, saying that he would have to act promptly or we would not be able to stop there, instead of making a reply to my questions he ran from behind the tree, that he was at, down into the bushes and along them (Ibid:21).

Catley evidently ran to the rear of the detachment, passing by

his wounded men, leaving them exposed. Shearer approached the doctor traveling with the troops, trying to convince him to help the wounded men, the doctor made an excuse.

> About this time I [Shearer] was beginning to loose [sic] my temper on account of how things were going on and replied to him where in hell and damnation is Lt. Catley, is he deserting his wounded men too? Lieut. Catley replied to my question put to the Doctor: Here I am ... I then went to Lt. Catley and told him something had to be done in act to git [sic] the wounded men off the field (Shearer 1968:21).

Catley then ordered a detail of five men to take care of the wounded, and for the Command to move ahead. The men assisting the wounded were fired upon, but they were able to bring the men in. Shearer judged there were about ten Indians in the rocks.

As darkness was falling Catley ordered his troops to halt and camp. On the morning of July 30, 1879, the Command started up Vinegar Hill, leaving the packtrain and wounded in the rear. The head of the Command got to the ridge when the Indians attacked, firing at the packtrain. Shearer received permission to go down the mountain to help protect the packtrain. Catley ordered the detachment to move ahead to the ridge. Then Catley again froze in command. Shearer reported:

> Lieut. Catley seemed afraid to go ahead or back and when any person went to him and asked him what we were to do he never made a reply but seemed a person, that had lost his head entirely; while we were laying on the ridge [Vinegar Hill] the Indians fired [set fire to] the base of it on both sides. The men all felt disheartened as Lt. Catley would not do anything. For the whole fourteen hours during which we were laying on this ridge there were only five shots fired by the Indians. When Lieut. Catley ordered my men out of the point from which they had driven the Indians, there was (in my opinion) only one (1) Indian on the ridge ahead of us (Shearer 1968:24).

The ridge was dry. According to Col. Brown, "Vinegar Hill was so called as, there being no water, the men slaked their thirst by sips of vinegar" (Brown 1926:13).

As night deepened, the bell on the packtrain was muffled and the soldiers made their way down the hillside. The command under Lieut. Catley's orders hurriedly retreated, with no consideration for the wounded, reaching Warm Springs [Burgdorf] on August 5th (Brown 1926:13). In his haste to leave, Catley ordered his troops to abandon supplies. These were quickly confiscated by the Indians.

Col. Brown would later speculate that the Northern Shoshoni were strongly influenced by the refugees from the Bannock War:

> The real Sheepeaters, the old residents, resented Catley's invasion. He was trespassing on their country--theirs and their ancestors before them from time immemorial. They fought to repel the invader--and who would not? ...The Indians

> followed him [Catley, as he retreated]...a few whom had left their stronghold, and, probably following Catley, burned the James Rains' Ranch, killing the owner [Aug. 16th, 1879] and wounding Albert Webber. James Edwards and Harry Serren (known as "Lemhi") escaped, carrying the news to Warrens (Brown 1926:14).

Catley's retreat to Camp Howard was stopped and he was arrested. He and his troops were ordered to join Capt. Bernard and Lieut. Farrow at the confluence of Elk Creek and the South Fork of the Salmon River. The troops assembled, and on Aug. 13th they started east on Elk Creek, reaching the headwaters of Big Creek on Aug. 15th. Catley's encounter with the Indians indicated they were probably located on Big Creek. The scouts, followed by the troops, traveled east on an Indian trail down Big Creek.

On Aug. 17th, the scouts under Lieut. Brown reached Cave Creek, "and proceeded three miles farther, finding salmon traps and plenty of fresh signs" (Brown 1926:16). On Aug. 18th, they passed the site of Catley's ambush. A camp site with ten abandoned "wickiups" was found on Aug. 19th, at what is now known as Soldier Bar. It was at Soldier Bar, caches, containing dried meat and the supplies picked up by the Indians after Catley's retreat, were recovered (ibid:16-17).

On Aug. 20th, the only fatality of the military force occured when Pvt. Harry Eagan was shot through both thighs, severing both femoral arteries. He soon died and was buried on the spot(Ibid:17). (In 1925, a soldier's headstone was erected on a monument at Soldier Bar, marking the location of Pvt. Harry Eagan's grave.)

The military pursuit continued as autumn, then winter moved into the back country. Finally, with supplies running low and weather turning cold, troops were ordered back to barracks, all returned to the fort except Lieut. E.S. Farrow and his men.

Farrow, as Brown put it, "had an abundance of initiative, was very energetic, resourceful and not deterred" (Brown 1926:22). It was Farrow who finally captured the Northern Shoshoni, known as the Sheepeater Indians, and the Bannock and Weiser Indians living with them (Brown 1926:24-27).

Parker quotes an official letter from the adjutant general of the War Department, dated June 18, 1925, regarding the location, date, and number of Indians captured:

> "Nothing has been found of record showing definitely the date of surrender of the last party of Sheepeater Indians to Second Lt. Edward S. Farrow, 21st Infantry, in 1879. However, the records indicates that Lieut. Farrow and his force of Umatilla Indian scouts captured 14 Sheepeaters at Big Salmon Meadows September 21; compelled the surrender of 39 near the Middle Fork of Salmon River October 1, and compelled surrender of 12 October 6, 1879, near Chamberlain Basin" (Parker 1968:16-17).

Those captured were taken by Lieut. Farrow to the Vancouver Barracks, Washington, then transferred the following year to the

Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho (Brown 1926:27).

THE EXPLORERS

Before the explorations of Meriweather Lewis and William Clark, the Pacific Northwest remained a shadowy and unknown land. After Robert Gray discovered the mouth of the Columbia River on May 11, 1792, and claimed the northwest territory for the United States of America (Lavender 1958:45), the need for exploration in the unknown regions became essential.

In 1803, only twenty-seven years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson asked Congress to appropriate twenty-five hundred dollars to finance the Lewis and Clark expedition. The explorers were to ascend the Missouri River to find the headwaters of the Columbia River, investigate the western frontier, and hopefully locate a western water route to the Pacific Ocean. Jefferson was wise in his choice of captains for the expedition. Meriweather Lewis had been Jefferson's secretary and was, according to Lavender, "remarkably self-disciplined; and above all he was discreet" (ibid: 65).

William Clark, an army captain, was chosen by Lewis. Their diaries provide, as noted, the first information we have of the Salmon River country and its people.

Lewis was unaware of the historical significance of his deeds. On August 18th, 1805, his thirty-second birthday, at his camp east of the Salmon River, in what would become the state of Idaho, he wrote the following notes in his diary:

> This day I have completed my thirty-first year, and conceived that I had in all human probability now existed half the period which I am to remain in this Sublunary world. I reflected that I had as yet done but little, very little indeed, to further the hapiness [sic] of the human race, or to advance the information of the succeeding generation. I view with regret the many hours I have spent in indolence (Thwaites 1959:v.2 p.368).

After Lewis and Clark visited the Lemhi Shoshoni village on the Lemhi River they followed Cameahwait's advice and turned north, traveling along the Middle Fork of the Salmon to the Bitterroots into Nez Perce country.

THE MOUNTAIN MEN

The mountain men, fur trappers and traders, were the next white men to explore Idaho. While willing to expose themselves to danger, they were ever careful, and unwilling to take foolish risks. According to one writer, "A careless man might by good luck return from one expedition...into the Wilderness, but he could not hope to survive a second one" (Vinton 1926:24).

An early trader, Andrew Henry built a log fort on Henry's Fork of the Snake River in 1810 (Lavender 1958:78, 94). The next year, 1811, David Thompson traveled south from Canada to Pend Oreille Lake (Ibid: 87). In the same year, 1811, Donald McKenzie and his

party, "crossed a pass into today's Idaho" (Ibid:94).

McKenzie would stay with Hudson Bay, trapping in southern Idaho until 1821 (Ross 1956:185, 206), however, there are only obscure indications Hudson Bay trappers were in Idaho's central mountains. In 1824, Alexander Ross and his party found streams flowing into the Snake River depleted of beaver. This variable prompted explorations of the rivers and streams deep in Idaho's heartland (Ross 1956:242, 280-282).

During the years 1825 through 1840 (with the exception of 1831 when supply trains failed), trappers, traders and Indians met to rendezvous, trading furs for supplies. This annual fair was not only an occasion for business and carousing, but an opportunity to trade information.

Free trappers, those not affiliated with companies, roved at will through the country, often taking their families (Ross 1956: 192-200). Conversations with free trappers convinced Captain Bonneville he should spend the winter of 1832 in the upper part of the Salmon River; excellent beaver country free trappers claimed (Irving 1977:50). Bonneville headed north:

> On the 22nd of August, Captain Bonneville broke his camp [on the Green River], and set out on his route for the Salmon River. His baggage was arranged in packs, three to a mule, or pack horse; one being disposed on each side of the animal and one on top; the three forming a load of from one hundred and eighty to two hundred and twenty pounds. This is the trappers style of loading their packhorses (Irving 1977:52).

On September third, the party arrived at Pierre's Hole, then continued north (Ibid:53):

> For upwards of two weeks he continued his painful march; both men and horses suffering excessively at times from hunger and thirst. At length, on the 19th of September, he reached the upper waters of the Salmon River (Ibid:54).

Visitors at Bonneville's winter quarters included Indians from the Nez Perce and Pend Oreille tribes (Ibid:62, 69). Bonneville remained on the Salmon River until December 19, when he broke camp to travel south in search of a missing horse herd and herders. The missing men had been instructed to join Bonneville on the Salmon River and had not arrived. As Bonneville's party traveled through the mountains toward the snow-covered Snake River plain, they nearly starved in the bitter cold until they reached a wind-swept flat. There they found grass and buffalo, and Bonneville located the missing herders and horses (Ibid:86-7).

The party camped on the north bank of the Snake River until early spring, then moved north to the Boise River and finally the Payette River, where they met the Nez Perce (Ibid:89). Bonneville camped with the tribe while his horses and men recovered from the long winter. In June of 1833, he returned to his Salmon River winter camp to retrieve cached supplies (Ibid:95).

JOE MEEK

One of Idaho's most colorful mountain men, was Joe Meek. In the fall of 1832 Meek rode with Milton Sublette's brigade on a fruitless and almost fatal trip into the area between the Owyhee and Humboldt Rivers. When the brigade found few beaver and less game for food, they started north. The men were starving. Meek remembered the expedition:

> In our extremity, the large black crickets which were found in this country were considered game...after four days of almost total abstinence and several weeks of famine, the company reached the Snake River, about fifty miles above the fishing falls...During the march a horse's back had become sore from some cause; probably, his rider thought, because the saddle did not set well,...he set about taking the stuffing out of his saddle and re-arranging the padding. While engaged in this considerable labor, he uttered a cry of delight and held up to view a large pin, which had accidentally got into the stuffing when the saddle was made...The same thought struck us all who saw the pin; it was soon converted into a fish-hook, a line was spun from horse hair and in a short time there were trout enough caught to furnish them a hearty and a most delicious repast. "In the morning," says Meek, "we went on our way rejoicing; each man with the "five fishes" tied to his saddle (Victor 1870:120-121).
>
> After the incident of the pin and the fishes, Sublette's party kept on to the north, coursing along Payette's River to Payette Lake, where he camped, and the men went out trapping. A party of four, consisting of Meek, Antione Godin, Louis Leaugar and Small, proceeded to the north as far as the Salmon River and beyond, to the head of one of its tributaries, where the present city of Florence is located. While camped in this region, three of the men went out one day to look for their horses, which had strayed away, or had been stolen by Indians. During their absence, Meek who remained in camp, had killed a fine fat deer, and was cooking a portion of it when he saw a band of about a hundred Indians approaching, and so near were they that flight was almost certainly useless,...while it gave him something to do in his own defense, he took to his heels and ran as only a mountain-man can run. Instead, however, of pursuing him, the practical-minded braves set about finishing his cooking for him, and soon had the whole deer roasting before the fire. This procedure provoked the gastronomic ire of our trapper, and after watching them for some time from his hiding place, he determined to return and share the feast. On reaching camp again, introducing himself to his not over-scrupulous visitors, he found they were from the Nez Perces tribe inhabiting that region (Victor 1870:129-130).

The Indians invited Meek to their village. When he arrived, he found his three comrades and all their horses. After visiting for a few days in the Nez Perce village the four were joined by the rest of Sublette's company. They headed south again:

> Passing Payette's lake to the east, traversing the Boise Basin, going to the head-waters of that river, thence to the Malade, thence to Godin's river [Big Lost River], and finally to the forks of the Salmon, where they found the main camp (Ibid:130).

Meek's "forks of the Salmon" and the location of the main camp (village), according to Lawrence A. Kingsbury, Forest Archaeologist and Historian, Payette National Forest, McCall, Idaho, appears to refer to the north bank of the main Salmon River at its confluence with the South Fork of the Salmon River (Kingsbury, personal conversation, 8/24/94).

Meek's association with the Nez Perce included a buffalo hunt. He told the story in his own words:

> "Thar war a lot of us trappers happened to be at a Nez Perce and Flathead village in the fall of '38 [1838], when they war agoin' to kill winter meat; and as their hunt lay in the direction we war going, we joined in. The old Nez Perce chief, "Kow-e-so-te" had command of the village, and we trappers had to obey him too.
>
> "We started off slow; nobody war allowed to go ahead of camp. In this manner we caused the buffalo to move on before us, but not to be alarmed. We war eight or ten days traveling from the Beaver-head to Missouri Lake, and by the time we got thar, the whole plain around the lake war crowded with buffalo, and it war a splendid sight!
>
> "That war a sight to make a man's blood warm! A thousand men, all trained hunters, on horseback, carrying their guns, and with their horses painted in the height of Indians' fashion. We advanced until within about half a mile of the herd; then the chief ordered us to deploy to the right and left, until the wings of the column extended a long way, and advance again.
>
> "By this time the buffalo war all moving, and we had come within a hundred yards of them. "Kow-e-so-te" then gave us the word, and away we went, pell-mell. Heavens, what a charge! What a rushing and roaring--men shooting, buffalo bellowing and trampling until the earth shook under them!
>
> "It war the work of half an hour to slay two thousand or maybe three thousand animals. When the work was over, we took a view of the field. Here and there and everywhere, laid the slain buffalo. Occasionally a horse with a broken leg war seen; or a man with a broken arm; or maybe he had fared worse, and had a broken head.
>
> "Now came out the women of the village to help us butcher and pack up the meat. It war a big job; but we war not long about it. By night the camp war full of meat and everybody

> merry (Victor 1870:248-249).

In 1838 Meek left the Nez Perce and headed for central Idaho.

> ...Meek again parted company with the main camp, and went on an expedition with seven other trappers, under John Larison, to the Salmon River; but found the cold very severe on this journey, and the grass scarce and poor, so that the company lost most of their horses. On arriving at the Nez Perce Village in the forks of the Salmon, Meek found the old chief "Kow-e-so-te" full of the story of the missionaries and their religion, and anxious to hear preaching (Victor 1870:252).

Meek was versatile. He stopped, spent the winter in the Nez Perce village preaching. He followed, "the ordinary services of a 'meeting.' These services were repeated whenever the Indians seemed to desire it, until Christmas" (Ibid:252). As the village prepared to leave for an early spring hunt, Meek asked for payment for his preaching services, hinting a wife would be agreeable. The Chief, noting Meek already had one Nez Perce wife, was reluctant, but finally relented, giving Meek a young girl, he called Virginia. Other members of the tribe gave Meek, "thirteen horses, and many packs of beaver, beside sheep-skins and buffalo-robes; so that he 'considered that with his young wife, he made a pretty good winters work of it'" (Victor 1870: 252-253).

Meek spent 1839, traveling "up and down the Salmon, Godin's River, [and] Henry's Fork of the Snake" (Ibid:253). But times were changing for the fur trappers. The rendezvous of 1839, "was the last one held in the mountains by the American Fur Company. Beaver were growing scarce, and competition strong" (Ibid:255). Meek trapped one more year, but, "The glory of the American companies was departed, and he found himself solitary among his familiar haunts" (Ibid:261).

Meek returned to Fort Hall in 1840, and was joined by mountain man and Idaho pioneer, Robert Newell.

> "Come," said Newell to Meek, "we are done with this life in the mountains--done with wading in beaver-dams, and freezing and starving alternately--done with Indian trading and Indian fighting. The fur trade is dead in the Rocky Mountains..." (Victor 1870:264).

These early explorers and mountain men had opened the west:

> Fur trader and prairie trader were looked upon as the vanguard of American emigration. It was commonly believed at home and abroad, that the American settler followed close on the heels of trader and trapper. If then, the trappers moved across the Rockies it could be assumed that the farmer and rancher would soon follow. But to argue that the trapping brigades of either British or Americans were politically conscious agents of their respective manifest destinies would be to ascribe to them motivations they did not have (Davies et.al. 1961:xvi).

THE MINERS

It would take the discovery of gold in Idaho to entice those adventurous enough to travel to and settle in Idaho's heartland. It was California Indian trader E.D. Pierce who made the first discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860 (Wells 1958:2-3). As a result, prospectors swarmed over the Territory as the news "spread like wildfire through the northwest" (Lewis 1924:12).

In July of 1862, James H. Warren discovered gold on Warren Creek, south of the Salmon River. The strike brought thousands of miners into "Warrens' Diggins." On the look-out for new strikes, prospectors traveled into the heartland of the Territory. Fitting themselves "into the Indian clearings and following the Indian trails," they set their tents on ancient campsites, placer mining the rivers and streams.

Newcomers built cabin homes, digging miles of ditch to direct spring run-off to sluice boxes where the water would separate the heavier gold from gravels. Placer mining meant shoveling tons of dirt and rock; standing in icy water; washing, rocking, and discarding piles of rock tailings. Melting snowwater froze feet and chapped hands until they cracked and bled, but the misery was soon forgotten at the glimmer of a nugget, or color in the riffles. Today, piles of tailings, decaying log walls, rusting can dumps, and an occasional grave marks the site of the early miners labors.

THUNDER MOUNTAIN

Every large gold strike had its own life and story. Included within the overall picture are personal dramas of tragedy and success. A perfect example was the discovery of gold at Thunder Mountain by the Caswell Brothers. In 1902, the Idaho Daily Statesman interviewed Ben Caswell, "the bronzed nestor of Thunder Mountain," while he sat in a Boise hotel, smoking a cigar:

> The ruggedness of the mountain itself was reflected in the stern, nut-brown face of this pioneer of Thunder Mountain as he sat in the circle and told his story and combed his moustache with a Havana...
>
> "Yes," he said, "it is a whole lot different now than it used to be. I've seen the day when the Caswell boys couldn't afford to smoke anything more expensive than a corncob pipe, when flap-jacks and bacon were the principal items on the bill of fare and a mighty thin old blanket spread on the ground was considered a pretty good sort of bed...
>
> "Lou and myself struck Idaho 12 years ago," continued the mountaineer. "We came from Colorado--in the Gunnison country--and we were up against it. We spent the first four years prospecting around in the Seven Devils country and when we got ready to pull out of there, all we had was a bunch of scrawny cayuses--in fact, they represented about our only possessions when we went into the Seven Devils, so we can't say we lost

anything there.

"We then struck out for the Salmon river country. That was in 1894. We were feeling mighty blue. Cash was a scarce article with us and we weren't any too long on grub. We finally got into what is now known as the Thunder Mountain country and, after doing some prospecting there, decided to make a few locations. We took up our first claims in August 1894. The surface indications were very good, but we were poorly equipped and it was slow work...we were pretty well discouraged after we had spent a whole year there and had not made a red cent" (Idaho Daily Statesman, April 13, 1902, p.11).

The brothers decided to leave. Lou broke camp while Ben rounded up the pack animals. One mule was missing from the pack train. Ben picked up his trail, and found him grazing on a creek flowing into Monumental Creek (Swanson 1984:A-6). Ben noticed a rich looking outcrop of white quartz and scooped up some. Later when he panned it, he found, "it was rich in gold. So the stream was named Mule Creek and the claim they staked on the ledge of white rock was designated 'Golden Reef'" (Bird 1970).

Ben continued the story:

"...the following year we had preparations made before the water had run off to do some rocking. The two of us rocked for eight days and took out $245. That was the first Thunder Mountain gold we had the privilege of putting into our pockets, and we felt better" (Idaho Daily Statesman, April 13, 1902, p.11).

The next few years the Caswells improved their methods for recovering gold by increasing the length and number of sluice boxes. In 1896, sluice boxes were 12 feet long. Ben explained the change in the 1902 interview:

"...and last year (1901), we had 1200 feet of sluice boxes. We found it paid to keep adding to our sluice boxes, and we kept it up until we sold out. In fact, an additional 100 feet of sluice box would pay for itself in a 10 hour run" (ibid.).

The reporter continued the story:

...In the fall of 1900, the Caswell brothers bonded their claims to Colonel Dewey for $100,000, the bond to run for two years. The brothers continued to work the ground, taking out an increased amount of gold (Ibid.)

Ben's words explain what happened next:

"After we gave the bond [$100,000] we struck it richer than ever, and we would have been tickled to death if Colonel Dewey had forfeited the bond...We struck a pocket, I call it--some call it a chute and others a streak...It was lousy with gold ...After we had washed off the two feet, the top of the streak actually glistened with gold...It was the greatest sight I ever witnessed...But for the bond it would be ours" (Ibid.)

But, Colonel Dewey picked up the bond in November of 1901, and

the Caswell brothers moved out of the Thunder Mountain spotlight.
The Thunder Mountain strike was publicized over the entire country as a "bonanza" (ibid: p.1), and people flocked into the wilderness. One of those who came, was stenographer Viola Lamb with her typewriter. She accompanied lawyer, Harry B. Tedrow, from the gold fields of Colorado. Lamb wrote about her experiences:

> Yes, the trail was simply dreadful. We had to swim the horses over the Payette river: After crossing the Payette the next terror to be encountered was Sesesh Pass, covered ten feet deep in snow...Mrs. Smith [was] the first woman that I had seen on the trail--she is a matronly looking woman of about forty years of age--she had on a short skirt, soft hat, a shawl crossed her shoulders, and in her hand she carried a shepherd's crook, she looked like an Alpine tourist...she and her husband were taking in a grocery store...after getting into Thunder she started up a bakery and made quite a fortune furnishing the mining men with pies and bread...We arrived in Thunder, and Mrs. Smith and I being the first women in Camp, were given a hearty welcome...the boys soon sawed enough logs to make me a comfortable place to live in. Some of them made me a willow chair, the only chair in Camp (Lamb 1902:1-6).

One miner who succumbed to the lure of the Thunder Mountain publicity was mining engineer, Charles W. Luck. He made the grueling trip and described the camp in 1902:

> The camp grew as by magic. Every little smooth piece of ground among the rocks had a tent on it. Near the center was a large tent, about twenty or thirty feet. That was the saloon. The bar was made of roughly hewn poles, supported on posts. A few glasses and several kegs of red eye and boxes of cigars and tobacco constituted the stock in trade. Men sat around on blocks sawed from logs and played cards on tables improvised from scraps of boards that had come in boxes. At night especially, the place was filled with a motley crowd and tobacco smoke, prospectors, tin horn gamblers, adventurers of all kinds. A woman ran this chute to the inferno (Luck 1977:49).

Mining was furious. New strikes were discovered, and towns sprung to life to support them. The largest mine was the Dewey; other mines included: the Sunnyside Mine, the 20th Century Mine, the Venable Mine and the H-Y Mine. The towns included: Roosevelt, the town of Thunder Mountain, Belleco, Caswell, Golden, and Marblehead (Swanson 1984:A43-A46). Lots were sold, and businesses started with optimistic faith.

But hope soon faded as it became apparent mineral deposits were not as extensive as first estimated. By 1905, the mines started to close (Ibid:A-37). On Oct. 28, 1907, the Dewey Mine shut down, with only a watchman at the site (Ibid:A-38).

Roosevelt had developed into a small community, but, like all towns based on a single industry it's growth began to slow and falter as mines closed. However, it was mud sliding down Mule

Creek, the site of the first strike by the Caswell brothers, that finally killed the town. On the evening of May 31, 1909, a miner returning to the mines was stopped by a "river of mud" moving towards Monumental Creek. Mud blocked the creek and back-water flooded the town (Ibid:A-48, Bird 1970). The boom ended there, but the search continued. As a result mines at Stibnite, Red Ledge, Independence, the Sunday Mine, and the Yellow Pine mines, among others, were discovered.

The central Idaho mountains were again being explored by prospectors, traveling with a gold pan handy and eyes open to all possibilities: mining, ranching, and farming. Opportunities were quickly changing. Terraces and benches along rivers were viewed first as placer claims, then later as sites for permanent homes and ranches.

While examining homestead locations in the early 1900's, Rangers for the Forest Service recorded homestead sites that had originally been placer mining claims. In 1913, on the South Fork of the Salmon River, near what is known as "Reed's Ranch," Forest Ranger Warren E. Cook noted the remains of early mining while examining land applied for by Wm. Copeland:

> [The] tract lies on Reeves Bar on the east bank of the South Fork of the Salmon River...The Knox-Tailholt trail crosses the bar on the extreme western edge. The Cougar Creek trail, leading from Roseberry, strikes the South Fork on the bank opposite the track applied for. With pack horses it is an easy 1-1/2 days travel to Roseberry; one day to Knox; and 2 days to Warren. A portion of the north end of this is covered by the June 11 claim of William C. Caldwell.
>
> During the early 90's [1890's], exact date not known, this bar was located and claimed by one John Reeves, who did some placer mining along the river, erected two log cabins and dug a ditch which was used for mining and irrigation purposes. This ditch is about three-quarters of a mile in length and diverts water from Caldwell Creek [south of Phoebe Ck.] over the bar and along the river bank where the placering was done...Mr. Reeves abandoned the bar long before it became part of the National Forest. Considerable prospecting for placer has been done in later years up and down the South Fork, but nothing was discovered that would pay.

After examining the land Copeland had applied for, Ranger Cook crossed to the west bank of the South Fork of the Salmon River to examine the homestead claim of J. Caspar:

> Tract is located on the Cougar Creek bottom including a slightly elevated bench on either side of the creek at the confluence of Cougar Creek and the South Fork of the Salmon River...There are evidences of a small saw mill on the tract which was probably used in the early 90's [1890's] during the prospecting period...Nothing of the mill remains. Two old ditches, which were used in the early days for prospecting

purposes, crosses the tract. Both are in bad repair and abandoned.

In 1917, Forest Ranger W.B. Rice examined the homestead of Edward O. Eakin, about eight miles north of the confluence with the South Fork of the Salmon River and the Salmon River, below the mouth of Lemhi Creek. Rice noted a placer operation located on the bar and made the following observations:

> In times past the bar has been held by various parties under placer locations. The last occupancy of this kind was about 1912, when a saw mill was run and placer mining operations carried on by hydraulic methods on the bar. Gold was not discovered in paying quantities and the mine abandoned. A frame shed 12 x 14 ft. and about 1/4 mile of ditch, which covered practically all the agricultural land on the bar was built by mining claimants.

THE FOREST RESERVES AND THE NATIONAL FORESTS

At the end of the Civil War there was a great movement west, facilitated by railroads, and the offer of free land following the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862. As people moved to the frontiers hoping to settle, it became apparent areas of forest land needed to be reserved to prevent valuable timberland from passing into private ownership. In the Creative Act of 1891, Congress gave the President the power to establish Forest Reserves. In 1905, Congress transferred the Forest Reserves from the General Land Office to the Department of Agriculture. On July 1, 1905, the Bureau of Forestry was renamed the United States Forest Service (Steen 1976:74).

According to Hockaday:

> The Weiser National Forest was established May 25, 1905, and the Idaho National Forest was established July 1, 1908 (Hockaday 1968:28)...An Act of Congress on December 23, 1919, added part of the Thunder Mountain District and a mid-section of the South Fork of the Salmon River area to the Idaho Forest ...A portion of the original Idaho Forest, including land along the Middle Fork of the Salmon River in T. 22N and 23N, R 14E, was transferred to the Salmon Forest on February 25, 1940 (1968:33-34).

The Weiser National Forest and the Idaho National Forest were consolidated into the Payette National Forest on April 1, 1944, and Forest Service offices in McCall, Idaho, became the Supervisor's Office after the consolidation in 1944.

Hockaday notes:

> After the Idaho Forest was created (1908), local backcountry settlers, who were living in areas that were not then National Forests, started petitions for additions. They could see the advantages because the Forest Service was building trails and telephone lines. In the Thunder Mountain area, they were having trouble getting recognition of their demands because of

the mining interests and Senator Heyburn. Senator Heyburn was opposed to the Forest reserves from the first, and in supporting the miners so successfully, the proposed Thunder Mountain addition was locally called Heyburn's Forest (Hockaday 1968:28).

The Forest Homestead Act passed Congress in 1906 (often referred to as June 11 claims), granted homesteads on lands within Forest Reserves, as allowed by the Secretary of Agriculture. Along with other duties, Forest Rangers had to examine, survey and map homestead claims when settlers wanted agricultural lands within the Forest boundaries. As noted, the reports made during these examinations often provide unique historical details, unavailable from other sources. The history of any area is a record of experiences of the people living there.

(All homestead records noted are part of the historical files of the Payette National Forest, Supervisor's Office, McCall, Idaho.)

SALMON RIVER HOMESTEADERS, THE EDGE OF THE WILDERNESS

Many early settlers and Idaho pioneers recorded memories of their early wilderness homes. W.A. Goulder wrote, "every cabin had its chessboard, pile of old magazines and old newspapers" (Goulder 1909:372-3).

Lawyer Thomas Donaldson recalled his visit to a frontier ranch house in the 1870's:

> [The] settlement consisted of a blacksmith shop and a dozen rough-hewn cabins chinked with mud. We were cordially received and provided with a generous, well-cooked meal. The dinner table was a ten-foot pine log dressed flat, and the stools were made of pine tops cut squarely, with the legs inserted in the same manner as the table legs. The cloth was patterned calico, and the dishes were the frontier ironstone ware (Donaldson 1941:342).

Goulder gave one of the few descriptions of mountain gardening:

> When April came and the robins and meadowlarks began to sing, the miners devoted all the time they could spare from their most arduous labors to the pleasant recreations of making kitchen gardens. There was still considerable snow on the ground, but this was shoveled off from small areas of a few square rods, where a place sufficiently level could be found, the spots burned over with brush heaps to warm the soil, and the seeds of garden vegetables that would grow and mature at such an altitude were planted. The late frosts would claim some of the first fruits of our labor, but there would be the survival of the fittest, so that we were always sure, during the working season of some tender and succulent garden truck to vary the sameness of our ordinary miner's bill of fare (Goulder 1909:375).

In 1906, **Adam B.C. Ludwig**, a bachelor, purchased a placer claim

from a Mr. McCowan, and settled on Three Mile Creek on the Salmon River. After living four years on the south bank of the river he began to see the country in a different light. When he made an application to the Forest Service for his homestead claim, he felt compelled to add this comment:

> I hold the ground, 20 acres, whereon my cabin stands by purchase, as a placer location, from a previous possessor. Lately however, I have come to the conclusion that the ground is more valuable for agriculture than mining purposes, and therefore make application for it, together with such contiguous land as may be considered suitable by the Forest authorities. Respectfully, Adam B.C. Ludwig (Oct. 4, 1910).

Elsensohn adds the following information regarding Ludwig:

> Rumor had it that he had been a professor at Yale University for twenty-five years...He lived alone on the bar which bears his name, cultivating his fruit trees...Mrs. (Effie Powelson) Miller said that Mr. Ludwig was evidently a member of a wealthy family, judging from the stationery used for letters written to him. Before his death he returned to the East (Elsensohn 1971:v. 2, 80-81).

The Ludwig homestead proved difficult for Forest Ranger Walter G. Mann to examine. He wrote Forest Supervisor Julian E. Rothery on November 27, 1910, explaining the problems:

> Dear Sir: On account of the continuous stormy weather during the last three weeks, I have been unable to make the survey of Ludwig's June 11 claim. With the present storm there must be several feet of snow on the summit and it looks as though the examination cannot be made until spring. The heavy rains hitherto has kept the river up so it could not be forded. Mr. McCall and I have been ready to start every morning for three weeks but it seems rain and snow are against us. There is now something like eighteen inches of snow at Hayes Station and still snowing. The South Fork country is all covered with snow and all the ranchers are feeding their stock, which is unusual for this time of year.

The next spring Forest Supervisor Rothery reminded Mann of the Ludwig claim:

> Feb. 3, 1911:... The Ludwig claim is also hanging and if the snowshoeing is in such shape that you can cross the Smith's saddle, I should like you and Mr. McCall to also get this settlement surveyed. Mr. Copeland and Mr. Bergh crossed the saddle in March last year and I hope conditions will favor your doing the same. Please advise me if these claims can be surveyed before you leave [Hayes Station].

Mann was to become Forest Supervisor before Ludwig's homestead claim went to patent. Mann wrote of meeting Ludwig in February of 1911 during a trip to examine homesteads:

> We [Mann and Forest Ranger Ted McCall, Chamberlain District] got through all right before dark, and found the homestead of a man named Ludwig. It was a nice little area on the shore of the main Salmon River with great, high rocky mountains on all sides. Mr. Ludwig had a comfortable, one room cabin, and I was surprised to see one side of it lined with books, the best books, an Encyclopedia Britannica and a collegiate dictionary. He likes to talk about the Latin derivatives of English words. He was well educated and living alone. I could never find out his past history or why he was there (Mann 1969:10).

The claim was examined again in 1917 by Deputy Forest Supervisor J.C. Roak. Roak noted the following:

> Mr. Ludwig settled on the area in April of 1906, and his residence has been continuous since that date...there is a 14'x 14' one story, one room cabin with two windows and a double shake roof...This cabin was built some time ago by a former occupant of the land, Joe Aiken who lived here, using the cabin as headquarters for trapping and for some little placer mining on the river. At present this cabin is used as a store house. The house occupied by the claimant is a one story shake-roofed log cabin 16'x 22,' having 2 whole windows and a door...There is a 12'x 16' rock and cement cellar built by the claimant...
>
> About three acres of the area is under cultivation to hay and garden truck. All kinds of garden truck, including the tenderest vegetables are raised. Besides this the claimant raises small fruits including strawberries, blackcaps, and red raspberries. Of the three acres cultivated to hay and garden truck, about 1 acre is in to hay, the claimant making no attempt to raise more hay than sufficient to feed his horse in the case of storm...there is a small vineyard and an orchard of 10 apples, 16 peach, 12 pear, 4 walnut, 2 almond and 2 chestnut trees, all of which are about 10 years old and bearing with the exception of the chestnut trees.

Ludwig's homestead was patented Oct. 9, 1918. The patent was signed by President Woodrow Wilson. It should be noted Ludwig often wrote letters for other homestead applicants, including E.O. Eakin and Wm. M. Mackay.

Edward O. Eakin was Ludwig's northern neighbor. Eakin settled on Lemhi Creek in the spring of 1917. Forest Ranger R.H. Rutledge examined the claim in October of 1923, and noted Eakin had made the following improvements:

> Dwelling, 12 x 14 feet, made of lumber, has one room...One woodshed 12 x 14, lumber...One cellar, size 6 x 8 feet which is in good shape except for one small cave-in. Water is out of ditch from Lemhi Creek. No fence. No fence needed...Household consists of two chairs, one table, stove cooking utensils and

> a good supply of food, sufficient for claimant's occupancy.The farming implements consist of 1 harrow and 2 plows.

Eakin received patent on May 24, 1924, signed by President Calvin Coolidge.

One-half mile north of the confluence of the Salmon River and the South Fork of the Salmon River, **William M. Mackay and W.S. Howenstine** had settled in September of 1899. Deputy Forest Ranger Warren E. Cook made the following report on Sept. 30, 1909:

> Salmon River and Eakin Trails cross river at this place...Used by claimants since 1899 for agricultural purposes. No mining claims known to exist. House 12'x 16', hayshed 14'x 18', stable 21'x 36', wood house 12'x 14'. 2 cellars, all in good repair...All transportation by pack horses. Burgdorf-Nethken ranch, 2 miles distant.

Homestead application was made in 1910, however, distance, surveys, and paperwork created delays. Mackay's ranch was not patented until after Howenstine's and Mackay's death. Before he died on Dec. 3, 1920, William Mackay made Perry F. Nethken heir to his homestead, and all his personal property and effects.

A report and map made of the homestead on Nov. 8, 1921, by Forest Ranger Chas. T. Gray indicates the following improvements:

> Dwelling constructed of logs 12'x 18' with 8 foot ceiling, shake roof and board floor valued at $350.00. Store room made of logs 12'x 14', 6 logs high with dirt floor...Cellar, rock and log sides, built in the bank, dirt floor...Blacksmith shop built of logs 8'x 10' shake roof, dirt floor...Barn, rock foundation, also part of walls built of rocks, balance shake and shake roof and on one side a shed built with manger for two horses. Loft of this barn will hold three tons of hay. Hay shed open sides with shake roof will hold three tons of hay... Hen house 6'x 8' made of logs and shake roof, dirt floor...The improvements were built by the claimant [Mackay] according to information received and since they are old buildings, I believe this to be true, however they are all in good shape.

Although it is not mentioned in the report, the map made by Gray during the 1921 examination indicates a cemetery was located on the north bank of Mackay Creek.

Homestead laws allowed for inheritance of homestead claims and the property became Perry Nethkens in Dec. 1922. The patent was signed by President Warren G. Harding. Carrey notes Freeman Nethken later acquired the property (Carrey 1968:46-47). Today the property is known as Mackay Bar.

To the west of the confluence of the Salmon River and the South Fork of the Salmon, lies the **Orson Franklin James** Ranch. James lived on the bar as a squatter until he applied for homestead in 1917.

In a letter to Forest officer W.B. Rice on Dec. 10, 1917, James wrote, "The first improvements was made by Robert Katin over 30 years ago [late 1880's]. Then Miles Bourston, a partner of Katin and O.F. James improved the ranch, made trails. James only surviving partner and claimant of ranch. Katin and Miles Bourston being now dead."

In his letter James goes on to add his homestead could only be reached by trail from Warren, 12 miles south. He listed the following improvements on the homestead claim:

> One ditch about one mile in length, 2nd. ditch about 600 feet, an old log cabin 16'x 18', a new log cabin 18'x 22', hay shed 16'x 30', log chicken house 10'x 12' and 100' x 50' chicken corral, stock corral 50'x 70', cellar 16'x 25', log blacksmith shop 10'x 16'. 10 acres under cultivation. Crops included: 200 apple, peach, pear, and plum trees; grape vines; gooseberry, currant, blackberry, raspberry, strawberry, and rhubarb plants; wheat, oats, corn, rye, timothy, clover and alfalfa; and all vegetables including tomatoes, tobacco and squash. The produce was taken by pack train to Warren, where it was sold for an average price of five cents a pound. Apples and peaches bearing fruit over 30 years.

Forest Supervisor Walter G. Mann wrote of meeting James on the trail to Warren. He reported:

> In the late afternoon there was a lot of yelling and hollering down the trail. Then James and his six burros came into view. He had them packed with vegetables and was bound for the mining camps at Warren. He stayed at Jordan's that night. He started out in the cool of the evening and would go on in the cool of the morning. He did not unpack his stuff. He just took the loads off the burros. He said he was loaded with tomatoes this trip. He could sell his load quickly at Warren and get back part way, then make it home the next day. He was a big loud gruff fellow. It takes that kind to drive burrows, because there is a lot of yelling and rock throwing. Jordon and James were the best of friends (Mann 1969:1-2).

James received patent Sept. 24, 1920, signed by President Woodrow Wilson.

SOUTH FORK OF THE SALMON RIVER HOMESTEADS

In a report dated December 7, 1923, District Forest Ranger W.A. Estep made the following report on the homestead application for **W.T. Copenhaver** (age 74):

> He is an old man and a bachelor and resides, generally alone, on the claim, excepting at intervals when he is compelled to work out for short periods in order to have funds for improving the claim and for living expenses...Claimant established settlement upon the claim Sept. 12, 1918, and filed June 14, 1919. The cabin, in a less habitable condition than at present, existed upon the claim when present claimant took it up,

> so he established actual residence upon his arrival...he was absent for a time last winter mining for wages, and he worked for a time the past summer for the Forest Service as a Lookout ...He returned to the claim upon snowshoes early last spring.

Estep noted the improvements as a one room log cabin, round corral of poles, wood shed, a pole/brush fence, and a portable sawmill. A garden and fruit trees had been planted. Stock included seven head of horses, three broken to work, and a pack mule. Estep added the following remarks to his 1923 report:

> The claimant is an old man 74 years of age and without financial aid other than the wages he is able to earn. [He] has begun an undertaking which would daunt any young man, and is making good with it. The amount of improvement freshly done upon the place since my last visit to it in August of this fall is really surprising for a man as old as the claimant, and the piles of rock removed from the land, the clearing, the fencing, and other improvements stand as evidence of his industry...Part of the way he has managed expenses has been by catching cougars and coyotes...He contemplates working as a Lookout for the Forest Service this coming summer...While upon the Lookout this summer he constructed a lookout cabin with a stone fireplace, which is unusual industry for any fire lookout to undertake...His house furnishings are complete for a bachelor. He has a power whipsawing outfit already at his claim, ready to set up as soon as he can arrange for its location, by constructing a reservoir and a water wheel...The improvements accomplished, the industry shown by the claimant in overcoming past obstacles, handicapped as he has been by age and poverty, his plans for the future and the preparations he has made for the realization of those plans...are the reason for the recommendation made.

Carrey adds the following about Copenhaver:

> There is a barn still standing on the [Shepp Ranch] built of fitted logs and hand-made wooden pegs, the work of Copenhaver, believed to be near 100 years old (Carrey 1968:36).

Copenhaver received patent on his land, Dec. 11, 1924, signed by President Calvin Coolidge. Carrey notes, "Tom Copenhaver lived on Copenhaver Flat. He died at Warren [no date] and left his property to Ethel Rodin who ran the hotel at Warren" (Carrey 1968:46).

A tract, located on the west bank of the South Fork of the Salmon River and about two miles south of its confluence with the main Salmon River at Mill Creek is significant by its long history. "The first settlement upon this tract," wrote Forest Assistant Hubert C. Williams on Aug. 30, 1912, "was made by **James Raines**, who was killed by Indians, August 16, 1879. The next settler was **F. (Fred) Burgdorf**, who was later followed by **Freeman Nethken**. The later sold his rights to **Andrew Nelson** in 1908...There are now on

Deering's Forest Service application was signed with his "X."
Carrey describes Deering saying, "He was an old country German from Wisconsin and spoke broken English" (Carrey 1968:50).
Forest Assistant Hubert C. Williams examined Deering's claim on Aug. 12, 1912, and made the following report:

> The tract is located on the east bank of the South Fork of the Salmon River. It is about six miles down stream from the bridge of the State wagon Road from Lardo to Edwardsburg, which can be reached by pack trails on either side of the river...The nearest railroad at present is the Pacific & Idaho Northern at New Meadows, a distance of about seventy-five miles. In another year the Idaho Northern will be running trains into McCall, cutting this distance down about fourteen miles.
>
> Mr. Deering purchased the improvements from **Thomas Neighbors** in 1899, and...made settlement on the tract in 1902...The claimant has an orchard covering about one-half acre that produces a very heavy crop of apples, peaches, and gooseberries of extremely high quality. About 15 acres more, already under cultivation, produces excellent timothy hay, potatoes, and sweet corn. Hay has a ready market in Warren at $50.00 per ton...[The tract lies] a little west of south and the opposite side of the South Fork of the Salmon River From the C.F. Smith ranch...The applicant has wintered 65 head of cattle on the tract...

The paper work on the Deering homestead claim was moving too slow for Forest Supervisor Herbert Graff. In 1912, he noted five surveys had been made on the Deering Claim. He wrote, "If we come back to make another survey the chances are old Dearing [sic] will welcome us with his "45" and I don't know but what he would be justified in doing so."
Carrey included the following information in his description of the Deering ranch:

> Right across the river from his (Deering's) ranch was a winter campground of Sheepeater Indians with fine Indian writings on the rocks and rings where tepees were set. The signs were still fresh looking in 1920 and 1924. Since then a little ranch has gone in at that site (Carrey 1968:50).

One mile east of Bob Deering's claim on Grouse Creek is the homestead tract applied for by **George Chapman** on Oct. 30, 1907. The land claimed by Chapman lay on what was known as Buck Bench. The claim evidently did not go to patent.

Two miles east of the confluence of Grouse Creek and the South Fork of the Salmon River and Bob Deering's homestead, lies the land applied for by Deering's nephew, **Herbert Matzke**. Matzke was a bachelor when he made application for homestead in 1912. Forest Ranger C.M. DeWitt made the following report in Aug. 1918:

> Claimant: established residence September 1, 1913. Residence has been continuous since first settlement.
> Improvements: living cabin, log, 1-1/2 stories,...log barn...
> Cultivation: 14 acres...17 fruit trees...consisting of 2 apple, 4 plum and 11 apricot...
> Grazing: At present claimant owns but 2 head of horses, having disposed of his cattle in September 1917, 14 head. Horses are used for farm work and to pack in supplies...
> The applicant about 6 months after establishing residence on claim had the misfortune to severely cut his right wrist and had practically no use of his hand till within the past year. The fact that he has worked and improved the claim in this condition and lived on it to the exclusion of a home elsewhere should be sufficient evidence of good faith.

Matzke received patent on Oct. 9, 1919, signed by President Woodrow Wilson.

On July 13, 1872, the following article appeared in the Idaho Statesman:

> A correspondent from Warren's says George Woodward and Solon Hall, the Raines Bros. and S.S. Smith have each twenty-five or thirty acres of good land under cultivation on the South Fork of Salmon, and will raise a large quantity of vegetables this season, which will find a ready market at Warren's Diggings.

The people mentioned in the Idaho Statesman article are among the earliest settlers along the South Fork of the Salmon River. The farm settled on the South Fork of the Salmon River by **George Woodward** was later owned and worked by **Dick Raines, George Dyer** and **A.D. "Pony" Smead** (Carrey 1968:38). A creek running through the property from the western mountains into the South Fork was named Pony Creek for Pony Smead.

Pony Smead's wife Molly, was an American Indian. Local legend relates how Smead and his mining partners traded for Molly when she was just ten years old, to do the cooking and cleaning for the three bachelors. Smead later bought his partners out and married Molly. Pony (age 50), Molly (22), and their children, Ida (7), Maggie (3), and Willie (1) appear first in the 1880 census (United States Census, Washington (later renamed Warren) Precinct, Idaho County, Idaho Territory).

Several times during the Sheepeater Campaign in 1879, the Idaho Statesman reports Col. Bernard and his command stopped at the Smead Ranch (Aug. 9, 1879, Aug. 26, 1879).

Carrey notes the Smeads had eight children, and lived both in Warren and on the ranch so the children could attend school. Pony and Molly Smead were buried near Pony Creek, next to the river (Carrey 1968:38). The graves are no longer visible at the site.

After the death of their parents the Smead children sold the property to **Bailey O. Dustin and his wife Mary Blackwell Carrey Dustin**. The 1910 census for Warren Precinct records the following

information: Bailey O. Dustin (age 41), Mary (46), children Opal (10), Bailey M. (9), and Bradford Carrey (stepson, age 18).

Neighbors adjoining the Dustin Ranch to the south were squatter Bill Cadby and his wife Emma. Cadby, according to Preston, operated the South Fork Hotel on the river (Preston 1994:11). The Dustins bought them out, and continued to run the hotel. At the time Bailey Dustin made his homestead claim, he filed on both properties. Forest Service records indicate he filed on 157 acres on Oct. 17, 1916, and received patent on Feb. 16, 1917. Bailey O. Dustin Sr. worked as a Forest Guard for the Idaho National Forest in 1909. In 1924, Dustin was appointed Valley County Assessor and the family moved to Cascade (Carrey 1968:39, Preston 1994:11).

By the summer of 1872, **Solon Hall and his family** had settled on the South Fork of the Salmon River (Idaho Statesman July, 13, 1872). Hall (age 43), his wife Margaret (29), and their sons, Edgar (11) and Abner (9) are listed in the 1870 United States Census for Washington Precinct (Warren), Idaho County, Idaho Territory. The Halls apparently lived in California in the late 1850's and early 1860's; census records indicate California as the birthplace of both boys.

During the period the Halls lived on the South Fork ranch, Solon Hall built a log bridge over the South Fork of the Salmon River (Elsensohn 1971:75). A reporter made note of it saying, "[Col. Bernard's] forces are expected to form a junction at Hall's old bridge on the South Fork" (Idaho Statesman Aug. 16, 1879).

About 1876, the Halls sold their South Fork farm, and settled on a new place in Indian Valley. In an article describing Indian Valley, the Idaho Statesman July 23, 1877, noted, "Mr. Solon Hall has a farm over two hundred acres...Messrs. Munday & McCullough and Solon Hall have started young orchards which are doing well."

Hall had contracted to carry mail between Indian Valley and Warren, a 125 mile distance. A newspaper noted after an interview with Hall, "There are no houses on the route except the cabins Mr. Hall has built and provisioned" (Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman March 18, 1876).

In August of 1877, tragedy occured. The Boise newspaper carried the following announcement:

> Mrs. Solon Hall, whose sad death was announced last Saturday, leaves two sons...she will be remembered as a kind person and intelligent woman. Mr. Hall is the mail carrier between Indian Valley and Warrens. He has a beautiful farm in Indian Valley, on which he was completing a fine and comfortable residence. What an awful change has come to sadden the hearts of these brave pioneers (Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman Aug. 30, 1877).

Margaret Hall had committed suicide. Local pioneer lore recalls Mrs. Hall's deathly fear of Indians (Barry et. al.1990:42). Events of the Nez Perce War, like the death of the Hall's neighbor Bill Munday in 1877 during an Indian attack (see pg. 36), must have affected her deeply.

Ben Day bought Solon Hall's ranch on the South Fork of the Salmon River in 1876 (Elsensohn 1971:75). The Day family, like other South Fork residents maintained a close association with Warren. The Idaho County Free Press, Oct. 24, 1890, noted:

> B.B. Day and his family are running the Warrens hotel in fine shape and have made some money out of it this year. Everything is as nice and neat as a new pin, and the bright faces of the young ladies are in themselves an attraction worth traveling miles to see.

Day sold the ranch to Jack and Frankie Shiefer in 1897 (Preston 1994:9). The Standard, May 31, 1899, reported, "Jack Schafer [sic] owns a toll bridge over the South Fork on the trail to Thunder Mountain." On March 29, 1905, Shiefer was repairing the bridge, when he fell and was drowned. He was buried at the ranch (Preston 1994:10). The bridge was later washed out by high water (ibid.)

Frankie Shiefer, Jack's wife, continued to operate the ranch, and later married Wren (Ben) Waln. In 1909, the couple moved to Meadows Valley (Preston 1994:10).

According to Preston, Frankie Shiefer Waln sold her ranch to **Carl Brown** for $500. The ranch was acquired in the spring of 1910, by **Cyrus T. (Ted) McCall** and his new bride, **Mary (Mamie) Carrey McCall**. Ted McCall was the first Forest Guard (Ranger) in the Chamberlain District. The isolated life in the South Fork Canyon did not suit Mamie, and she left the ranch in the fall of 1910. Preston notes:

> In the winter of 1911-1912 Ted McCall died at age 27, leaving Mamie a widow with their infant child, Marjorie McCall (Deasy), born in McCall in 17 December 1911. Later that winter, at the age of three months, Margie was taken by dog sled to Warren by her Uncle Bob Carrey, to live with her grandmother, Mary Dustin (Preston 1994:13).

After Mary Carrey McCall left the South Fork ranch, her brother Tom Carrey and his wife Jeannie took over the place. Forest Service records indicate **Tom (Thomas J.) Carrey** applied for a homestead claim on the property in 1916. Patent was granted in 1917.

On Feb. 11, 1925, the Carrey ranch was re-acquired by the Forest Service as the site for the **South Fork Ranger Station**. The ranch buildings were removed and new buildings for the South Fork Ranger Station constructed. Orin Latham was the first ranger at the station (Preston 1994:18). The site was updated and the recreation area added in the early 1960's.

Sylvester S. "Three-Finger" Smith has been mentioned as one of the early pioneers in the Salmon River country. Smith was first recorded in the 1870, United States Census for Washington (Warren) Precinct, Idaho County, Idaho Territory. The 1870 census notes: S.S. Smith (age 41), his wife, listed with the initial E. (22), and children, S. (Sam, age 4), W.D. (Warren, age 2). Smith, was born in Virginia and lists his occupation in 1870 as farmer, with property

worth $500.

Smith played an important role in Idaho's history. According to The Lewiston Teller, July 18, 1889, "S.S. Smith was one of the first men in Florence [in the 1860's], and took out a large lot of money there. He went to Warrens and mined in an early day on Warrens creek, near what was then the town of Richmond."

Smith was involved in a fight between the Indians and the settlers. The story was related by Solon Hall's son Edgar:

> On Saturday, 17th inst., several horses were taken by Indians from citizens living in Indian Valley, Mr. Wm. [Bill] Munday being the principal loser. On the Monday following (19th inst.), Mr. Munday, S.S. Smith or Three-Finger Smith, Tom Healy, and Jake Groseclose left Indian Valley in pursuit of the Indians...after going about 40 miles to what is known as the falls of the Payette, about 30 miles below the Great Payette Lake, [they] came upon the Indians at noon Tuesday. The Indians were secreted in the rocks, and at the first fire [firing] before they were observed by any of the party, shot and killed Munday. At this moment Healy and Groseclose dismounted, when the later was shot in the breast, and turning to Smith said, "they have got me." Mr. Healy got behind a rock and asked Smith to stay with him .
>
> Smith however, being a man of experience in such matters, saw that they were completely outnumbered and at the mercy of the Indians, and not having dismounted from his mule, turned to flee, when he was fired upon by the Indians and shot through the thigh. The next shot took his mule from under him, and being on foot and running for his life, he was again hit by a shot, which broke his arm. Having somewhat of a start of the Indians, Smith made his escape by running and succeeded, after traveling thirty miles, in reaching White's mail station in the Little Salmon Meadows [New Meadows] on Thursday, where there were three or four men.
>
> Smith says that after leaving Healy, who was completely surrounded by the Indians, he heard about a dozen shots... which makes it certain that poor Healy met his sad fate...

Troops were sent to the site of the battle, where they found the bodies. Smith recovered and went back to his farm on the South Fork of the Salmon River (Idaho Statesman 7/27/1878).

In the summer of 1889 Smith was again highlighted in a news article in The Lewiston Teller:

> ...The Warren expressman came out and reports a big excitement in Warrens over a new placer find thirty miles beyond Alton district, which they claim to be as big a thing as Warrens when first struck...Three-Finger Smith and two other parties were the discoverers. He reported they brought out specimens that weigh one dollar each. Ah Hip also came out and reports the same thing....Hip also reports that parties in Warrens

> hired horses from a China pack train at $15 a head to ride in on...the new discovery is on one of the tributaries of the Middle Fork of the Salmon river, and probably in the heart of what we used to term the Sheep Eater county...(July 18, 1889).

The Alton mining discovery added not only wealth to the Smith family, but tragedy when fourteen year old Bob Smith froze to death. Bob was delivering mail from Warren to the Alton district in the winter of 1890. Evidently cold overcame him and he died on the trail. After his body was found the next spring he was buried at the Smith ranch on Elk Creek (Carrey 1968:27-28).

The Idaho County Free Press made the following report on Oct. 24, 1890:

> Three-Finger Smith, and Mr. and Mrs. C.F. [Frank] Smith were in Warrens on election day from their respective places on the south fork, where they catch twenty-seven pound trout, and raise potatoes as big as beer barrels, and babies that weigh fifteen pounds apiece. Frank had just come out from Alton district and is as enthusiastic as ever over the great ledges of rich ore over there.

Three-Finger Smith's ranch was located at the confluence of the South Fork of the Salmon River and Elk Creek, north of Elk Creek; a mile and a half south of Salon Hall's Bridge. The location was on one of the major trails into the Thunder Mountain mining area and the wilderness area.

Three-Finger Smith was remembered as generous man; a man who had mined in good times as much as a thousand dollars a day (Elsensohn 1965:91), but times changed. His son Henry was quoted saying, his father, "was penniless when he died [in 1892]. His coffin was made of an old sluice box" (ibid.). Smith was buried on his ranch on the South Fork.

BIG CREEK HOMESTEADERS

The **William A. (wife, Annie) Edwards and Annesley Napier Edwards** homesteads, later to be known as Edwardsburg, provide a unique history of an Idaho pioneer family in the Frank Church-River of No Return Wilderness. A mining prospectus written by William A. Edwards in 1928, included a biographical sketch of the family:

> "I [William A. Edwards] was born and reared in Newton County, Georgia, the son of Judge and Mrs. E.F. Edwards. I attended Emory College, which was then located at Oxford, Ga., and graduated in 1889 with the highest honors of my class" (Edwards 1928:1).

After graduation from Emory College, Edwards entered the law department of Georgetown University in Washington D.C., graduated, and was appointed a law examiner in the General Land Office. He then transferred to the office of the Assistant Attorney General for the Interior Department, where he remained for ten years. During that period he became a specialist in mining law (ibid.).

Edwards goes on to add:

"During that time I married Miss Annie Napier, a daughter of Mr. and Mrs H.V. Napier of Macon, Ga., and an honor graduate of Wesleyan University. We have one child, a son.

"In 1901 my health broke down and I was compelled to resign and seek an outdoor life. Because of my knowledge of mining law I decided to go to some new mining camp in the Rocky Mountain States. When I reached Spokane the Thunder Mountain boom in central Idaho was in full swing, so in the spring of 1902 I left my wife and son in Spokane and joined the rush to Thunder Mountain, which at that time was about two hundred miles from a railroad and sixty-five miles from a wagon road. ...The boom, being based on excited and exaggerated tales, which grew as they spread, had no solid foundation and collapsed as quickly as it grew. However, about twenty-five miles from Thunder Mountain, in the Big Creek country, there was an immense mineral belt...Returning to Spokane for the winter, I went back into the Big Creek country in the summer of 1903 and acquired mining interest there. In the spring of 1904 my wife and son accompanied me in there on an adventurous trip and we established ourselves in a tent while I built with my own hands a log house in a beautiful little valley. Here we have lived up to the present time, over twenty-four years" (Edwards 1928: 1-3).

William Edwards filed a homestead claim on February 15, 1919, and received patent.

Soon after, his son, Annesley Napier Edwards, filed. In a letter to Forest Supervisor J. Raphael, William Edwards noted:

On January 5, 1920, a few days after this section was taken into the Forest, my son Napier Edwards, came of age and desiring to make homestead entry on certain land adjoining mine he applied for a free use permit...Under date of September 22, 1920 this permit was issued and...he has erected excellent seven room house...(Edwards, personal correspondence 1922).

A.N. Edwards' homestead was described in a report written by Forest Ranger Lee O. Miles on November 3, 1921:

[LOCATION:] On Big Creek, tributary of the Middle Fork of the Salmon River; at the junction of the Edwardsburg-Yellow Pine Trail and the Edwardsburg-Thunder Mountain Trail, about 25 miles from Yellow Pine Basin, 25 miles from Roosevelt and 38 miles from Warren, Idaho.

[CULTIVATION:] Crops raised are clover hay, vegetables such as potatoes and carrots, and small fruits such as berries...When the grain must be irrigated, water from Lick Creek has been filed on for this purpose...Comprises virtually all the arable land on the flat east of Big Creek, between the Davis claim on the south to the Wm. Edwards claim on the north...Lodgepole grows rather densely in pure stands on all this area, having followed fires which burned forty and one hundred twenty years

ago, respectively.

The property was examined again on June 3, 1927, by Forest Ranger Dan H. LeVan., and, A.N. (Napier) Edwards received patent on Aug. 9, 1928, signed by President Calvin Coolidge.

Napier Edwards died in a Cascade hospital on December 16, 1965. The death announcement noted Napier was born Jan. 5, 1898, at Macon, Ga., and came to Big Creek when he was three years old. He had been educated at home, and carried mail from Yellow Pine to Big Creek. He was buried at the Big Creek cemetery. The article noted, "weather conditions will dictate the time of services."

Hockaday added:

> Action to complete a withdrawal of land for the Big Creek Administrative Site (adjacent to Edwardsburg) began in 1923 and by the end of 1924 a log dwelling and a commissary-storeroom building had been constructed (1968:40).

In 1944, **Dan H. LeVan** was the Ranger in Charge at Big Creek (Hockaday 1968:45-46).

As noted, the **Caswell brothers, Ben, Lou, and Dan** were early settlers in the Frank Church-River of No return Wilderness area. The brothers built a log cabin at the confluence of Cabin Creek and Big Creek in 1895. In a series of hand-written diaries, Lou Caswell left a record of daily life in the wilderness from 1895-1900 (Idaho Historical Society, Historical Collections: MS2/437).

Excerpts from 1895 note:

> Feb. 1: Took horses over Big Creek. 18 inches of snow.
> Feb. 28: Johnie and Frank Murphy started for the South Fork but came back the same day. 2 feet of snow on head of Cave Ck.
> May 6: Got some tea, salt, pepper, allspice and soda from Dutch George.
> May 14: Stayed on Rush Creek and moved to Monumental.
> May 16: Landed at Mule Creek camp ground right side up.
> June 3: Cleared ground and packed down boxes. Piped off shelf.
> June 10: Opened sack of flour.
> June 19: Prospected.
> June 20: Staked off claim on Thunder Mt. Surveyed ditch.
> July 17: Ben prospected for ledge. Found it.
> Aug. 1: Killed deer. Struck rich pocket.
> Aug. 2-3-4: Rocked all day.

The brothers continued to work their Thunder Mountain claims, moving back and forth between Thunder Mountain and the cabin on Cabin Creek. Ben appears to have supervised the mining claim, while Lou kept track of the ranch, its garden, trapping and the animals.

The diaries give an indication of the mobility of these early pioneers, and the close relationships between the people living in the wilderness and those living nearby. Entries beginning in February of 1897 give some idea of their lives and travel:

> Feb. 26: Finished snowshoes. Got ready to go up the river or

Warren.
Feb. 27: Started for Warren. Got to Camp and Billy Hopkins camp. They wasn't home.
Feb. 29: Went to Bert McDowell and Chas. Degrundy cabin. At home.
Mar. 1: Went up to Chas. Hopkins and Bud Dawsons cabin. They both had a cold. Bert went up with me and layed over till the 3rd.
Mar. 3: Went to S. Fork. Stopped with Sam and Keffer overnite.
Mar. 4: Went to Billy Duniways. Charley and Bud stayed with Ira Beard.
Mar. 5: Went to Mit Hanleys. All home, got there at 20 minutes to 1.
Mar. 6: Went to Warren. Loaded up. Saw old Jack, all under the weather. Came back to Mits.
Mar. 7: 4 o'clock. Started for S. fork. Charley went back to Warren to get a letter from the school ma'am. Stopped at Billeys [Smead]. Had a dance. Curley Brewer and wife there.
Mar. 9: ...Getting ready to have another dance.
Mar. 10: Sam Smith went after Smith girls.
Mar. 11: Had a dance. Danced most of nite.
Mar. 12: They danced again about an hour. Went to Clarks.
Mar. 13: Went up to Billeys. Stub, Alice, and Ada went home and Billey Smead went hunting. Stopped with Beard.
Mar. 15: Started for Big Creek. Camped near Summit.
Mar. 16: Got over to McDowell and DeGrundys. The boys went home.
Mar. 17-18: Layed over.
Mar. 19: Came down to Camp and Hopkins.
Mar. 20: Layed over and fixed snowshoes.
Mar. 21: Came home.

Another famous wilderness pioneer living east of the Caswell brothers, was **David "Cougar Dave" Lewis**. Lewis filed on his homestead at Rush Creek and Big Creek in June of 1924, however, according to Forest records he settled on the claim in 1899.

Lewis' life is interwoven within the biography of the Frank Church-River of No Return Wilderness, the Territory, and Idaho, the State.

Author Roy Lindley stopped at Lewis' cabin, and Lewis invited him to stay as his guest. During the visit Lewis indicated he was a Civil War veteran (Elsensohn 1971: 280). After the war Lewis had gone to sea, only to find, "the life of a sailor too tame for his restless spirit" (Cascade News 6/26/ 47).

Lewis prospected in California and Oregon, then made his way to Idaho in the 1870's. He joined Col. W.C. Brown as a civilian Packer in the Sheepeater Campaign of 1879. While traveling with the troops through the wilderness mountain country he found a place he wanted for his home.

Lewis developed a reputation as a skilled mountain man and hunter, particularly as a cougar hunter. Photographs of "Cougar Dave"

show him surrounded by his hunting companions, a pack of terriers.
In 1922, Lewis wrote a letter to the Forest Supervisor, poviding additional information about his homestead claim. The letter was hand-written with an indelible pencil on a school tablet:

> Since I saw you I have made arrangements for a shotgun. Find inclosed $3.25 for axe which please send by Parcil Post to Clover, Idaho. I and the Dogs wintered well. We got 13 cougars and a good catch of other furs. In regard to filing on my claim, it would be most convenient at Cascade for about the last day of June.
>
> I still remain your friend,
> Dave Lewis, Clover, Idaho

Lewis' homestead claim was examined by Forest Supervisor S.C. Scribner on July 28, 1927. He made the following notes in his report:

> CLAIMANT: Mr. Dave Lewis, Clover, Idaho. Mr. Lewis is a bachelor and resides on the land.
>
> SETTLEMENT AND RESIDENCE: Mr. Lewis first settled on the claim in 1899, but did not establish permanent residence until 1911. He filed on the claim in June 1924. Residence established in July 1911 has been maintained continuously to date. About 12 acres now produce hay and garden products. Equipment found includes plow, harrow, mowing machine, set of carpenter tools, rakes, blacksmith outfit, etc. Sufficient household furniture and cooking utensils needed to provide for the comfort of claimant were also found.
>
> IMPROVEMENTS: Dwelling 12 x 25 feet with addition 12 x 25 feet constructed of logs and consisting of 4 rooms, valued at $800.00. Tool house of logs, 10 x 12 feet, valued at $100.00. The dwelling is habitable year-long. Pioneer Creek crosses the claim near the dwelling and furnishes a good domestic water supply. There is approximately one-half mile of fence while the balance of the area is protected by bluffs along either side of Big Creek. All improvements were constructed by present claimant. Approximately one-half of the 12 acres is irrigated, while the balance lying along Big Creek is subirrigated...The entire area of 12 acres has been under cultivation since about 1916...The hay produced in 1925 was fed to cattle owned by Conyers, a rancher living farther up Big Creek [near the Caswell ranch on Cabin Creek].
>
> GRAZING: The only stock owned by claimant consists of 8 head of work and saddle horses.

Scribner had realized the difficulty of asking Lewis to ride to a town to give his deposition. He wrote the following letter to the Forester in Washington D.C.:

> This claim is located in the interior of the Idaho Forest near the confluence of Big Creek and the Middle Fork Salmon River. The Claimant, Mr. David Lewis, is a splendid citizen, a man 84 years of age, and becoming rather feeble. I visited his claim

> and saw him about the middle of October, and he was rather disturbed over a letter from the local Land Office requiring him to submit affidavits...[on his claim].
>
> You will appreciate the position of Mr. Lewis, when you consider his age, and the fact that its is 75 or 100 miles from his place to the nearest notary; that winter is approaching; and that he was not strong. The greater part of the trip to a notary would have to be made by him with a saddle and pack horse. In order to help him out as much as possible, I took his deposition...There is no question as to Mr. Lewis' compliance with the homestead laws...Because of his advanced age, Mr. Lewis is desirous of securing patent and putting his affairs in final shape. I shall be glad to be informed of the results of your efforts (Scribner 11/2/1927).

Lewis received patent on February 1, 1928, signed by Calvin Coolidge. He continued to live on Big Creek until one morning in the spring of 1936. After rising and eating breakfast he realized he was ill. He hiked twenty miles to a friend, who drove him into Boise. The next day, at age 93, Dave Lewis died. An article in the Idaho Statesman, dated June 25, 1936, acknowledged the loss of this old pioneer:

> ...He was part of the forest. The thickets and valleys were his doorstep, the mountains his attic...The mountains will miss Cougar Dave.

CHAMBERLAIN BASIN

In 1910, Julian Rothery was assigned as Acting, then as Forest Supervisor of the Idaho National Forest. In correspondence he remembered:

> At that time, the Idaho Forest, and nearby Forests, represented the great wilderness area in the United States, a practically unbroken mountain mass, stretching from the Snake River Plains to Canada and from the Montana line to Oregon. Roads were few and poor, and trails hardly more than the trappers' blazed ways...I usually figured about 30 days in summer to go to Chamberlain Basin and Middle Fork and return, and one or two winter trips about the same. (Rothery 1940).

Nineteen year old **James "Jimmy" Hand** made a hazardous trip through Chamberlain Basin in 1889, one of the first recorded. He started with four horses, but all four perished in the rugged terrain. He apparently found something to touch his heart in the wilderness, for he returned:

> His next trip was in 1891, when he and Andy Eason returned to Chamberlain, having packed in from Lewiston, Idaho. They stopped at an old cabin in Chamberlain Basin that was supposed to have been built by the Hudson's Bay trappers and had at one time been used by John Ramey, the early trapper after whom a creek is named (Elsensohn 1971:73-74).

Census records for Warrens Precinct, 1900, list James Hand, noting he had been born in Ireland in 1870, and came to the United States in 1873. In 1910, the census indicates his brother, Matthew John Hand, age 22, from Ohio, had joined him. Jimmy listed his occupation as a gold miner (United States Census, Warren Precinct, Idaho County, State of Idaho). Hand Creek and Hand Meadow are named after this Wilderness pioneer.

Evidence of Hudson Bay trappers in the area remains speculative. State Historian Merle W. Wells, in a conversation with this author, noted that early trappers may have traveled to Chamberlain Basin, but he indicated that no definite record of Hudson Bay trappers being in Chamberlain is known at this time (Wells 12/14/94). It should be noted that no mention of settlers living in Chamberlain or Big Creek is mentioned in diaries and journals of those involved in the Sheepeater Campaign of 1879. However, Elsensohn notes the following:

> There were several other old-timers ahead of Hand, as he found location notices on mining claims dated as early as 1860 on the creek later called Hand Creek after him, also a group of locations and claims near Moose Meadows, near the old Bernard Trail dated as far back as 1879 (Elsensohn 1971:74).

Elsensohn gives us an interesting account of **Jess Root and his father** coming to Chamberlain:

> During the month of September, 1891, there was a severe snowstorm, the snow lying on the ground around three feet deep in Chamberlain. Mr. Root and his ten-year-old son, Jess, came through Chamberlain during this storm. They were looking for a place to set up headquarters for a trapping line and they remained on the lower Chamberlain throughout the winter, locating on the Root Ranch in 1893 (Elsensohn 1971:74).

District Ranger Dan LeVan filed a grazing plan for Big Creek and Chamberlain Districts in 1948 confirming Elsensohn's information. LeVan discusses the Root Ranch Allotment saying:

> The name originated from Old man Root, who settled on the meadows in the 1890's and his son Jess, and filed on the place in 1912, and got patent in 1919.

A letter sent by Forest Supervisor, Herbert Graff on August 1, 1912, answering an inquiry about land open to homesteading, provides the following information about Jesse Root:

> Mr. Jesse Root is ranger in that vicinity and can be found at his ranch on Lick Creek. The next time you happen to be in the Chamberlain country I suggest you look him up and show him the land you desire.

Forest Supervisor Walter G. Mann examined Jesse Root's homestead claim on July 9, 1918, and adds the following about the ranch:

> CLAIMANT: Mr. Jesse Root, of Warren, Idaho, is the present

claimant and is a bachelor without dependents. The land is located on Lick Creek which is part of the Chamberlain Creek waters...
SETTLEMENT: Claimant settled on the land in 1911, and filed March 6, 1912. He has lived here continuously ever since, only being absent for short intervals in going for supplies. Claimant keeps about 20 head of cattle on this place during the winter and pastures them on National Forest during the summer. Last summer he cut 20 tons of hay, has full outfit of farming implements and household furniture.
IMPROVEMENTS: Dwelling is a one room log cabin 14 by 16. A new cabin is in the course of construction which, when completed, will contain 6 rooms and is 2 stories high. At present the logs are all up and the roof is on. There remains the windows and doors to be put in and chinking to be done. Value of this cabin is $250.00...Large hay barn and stable about 30 by 30, built of logs and shakes, cost about $200.00. Cellar, double walls, 10 x 12, $50.00. Water supply is from small mountain stream. About one-half mile of log fence has been built. All built by present claimant. About one-fourth mile from the living cabin is a frame barn that will hold about 10 tons of hay and one log cow barn about 20 by 24.
CULTIVATION: Methods of farming this area has been to cut hay on natural wild meadows. These meadows produce a first class quality of hay of a variety of wild grasses. About five acres of the area has been plowed and cultivated and planted to garden and experimental crops, such as wheat, brome grass and timothy.
GRAZING: Claimant owns four head of horses and about 20 head of cattle...During the winter season these stock are all fed on this ranch.

As noted Root received patent, Oct. 20, 1919. Carrey and Conley (1978:156) point out Root later owned a store and post office in Warren. Census records for 1920, record Jesse Root as 36 years old, born in Oregon; occupation, owner general store (United States Census, Warren Precinct, Idaho County, State of Idaho, 1920).

Jesse Root died in 1936, when he drowned in Kitchen Creek. His death was believed by some to be a murder for gold he was carrying (Carrey et. al. 1978:156).

John Chamberlain, the man for whom Chamberlain Creek and Chamberlain Basin was named, was apparently the first person to settle at the site of the Chamberlain Guard Station in 1895 (Elsensohn 1971: 73, Thompson 1968). Chamberlain appears to have been a professional packer with a train of mules (Thompson 1968), however little else is known about him.

There are few stories about wilderness homesteads filled with as much tragedy as that begins with **William Campbell**. In 1897, Campbell squatted on the Salmon River at a point where the trail from

Grangeville crossed the river into Chamberlain Basin. After settling on the river ranch, Campbell built Campbells Ferry.

As the Thunder Mountain gold strike began to draw thousands into the Wilderness, it became apparent a good trail from the north into the mines was needed. Campbell, W.A. "Bill" Stonebraker, Harry Donohue and August Hotzel contracted to build the Three-Blaze Trail for $3,000.

The trail began at Campbells Ferry and ran to Burnt Knob Lookout, then according to Hockaday, it continued:

> along Highline Ridge, south by Flossie Lake and crossed Chamberlain Creek at the mouth of Moose Creek, where a winter stop-over cabin was built. This cabin...known as the Smokehouse still stands about three miles up Chamberlain Creek from Chamberlain R.S [Ranger Station]. Through Moose Creek Meadows, the trail climbs the ridge east of Moose Creek and continues on top to Ramey Ridge. From there it goes to the mouth of Monumental Creek and up Monumental Creek...many of the original three-blaze markings are still readily visible on trees along the trail (Hockaday 1968:7).

After the trail was built, Campbell got a job working in the Roosevelt Mine (Carrey et.al. 1978:163). In 1901, a year after the trail was completed, Campbell became lost in a winter snowstorm and disappeared. His body was never found.

A report written by Forest Supervisor Walter G. Mann on January 3, 1918, adds to the story:

> Mr. Campbell left a will which gave his interest in the place to a person named **Churchill**, who lived on the Nez Perce side of the Salmon River, from whom **[Warren] Cook** purchased the improvements. Later Cook sold the improvements to **McCowan**, who in turn sold to **Eakin**, from whom **[Ernest] Sillage** purchased the improvements and took up residence on the place in October 1907.

A 1923 Forest Service report continues the story:

> Sillage resided upon the land continuously until the spring of 1921, when he drown while crossing the river in a cable cage. **Sam Meyers** was appointed administrator of the Sillage estate and took possession. During the fall of 1921, Meyer fell from a horse and was killed, and in the spring of 1922, **Bob Hiland** was appointed administrator of the estate of Sillage and has resided upon the land to date of this report (March 5, 1923, signed with initials W.C.M.).

Carrey and Conley add a final note about the period when Forest Ranger **Warren Cook and his wife Rose** lived at Campbells Ferry. "That winter," they write, "Rose Aiken [Eakin?] Cook and her baby died in childbirth and are buried on the slope above the garden" (Carrey et. al. 1978:163).

Ranger Cook apparently remarried. The 1910, United States Census

for Warren Precinct list **Warren E. Cook (age 34), his wife Helga M. (26) and daughter Dorothy (7 mos.)**. The census indicated the Cooks had been married a year and one-half, and lists his occupation as Forest Service Ranger (United States Census, 1910, Warren Precinct, Idaho County, State of Idaho).

In 1907, Cook applied for a homestead on land adjacent to the Chamberlain Ranger Station [later Chamberlain Guard Station]. Cook is credited with building the first cabin at the station in 1907, while working as a ranger there. Cook and his new wife, Helga, were evidently moving to Chamberlain Basin on March 22, 1909, when he wrote the following remarks in a letter to Forest Supervisor H.A. Bergh:

> Tomorrow I start for the work. Mrs. Cook will be taken with the dog team. She is much improved. When I have my working force organized, I will report full particulars. As you probally [sic] understand, I will only get mail matter once a week until June 1, thereafter 3 times per week.
> Very Truly Yours, Warren E. Cook, Deputy Ranger

Warren Cook did not stay on the homestead claim; on January 17, 1916, when the homestead claim was examined by Ass. District Forester Hoyt, it was found abandoned. The claim was canceled.

German born **August Hotzel**, mentioned earlier as one of the builders of the Three-Blaze Trail, homesteaded northeast of the Chamberlain Ranger Station. Forest Ranger Marion E. Mahoney examined Hotzel's claim on September 15, 1921, and reported:

> CLAIMANT: August Hotzel, Warren, Idaho
> LOCATION: The claim is located on Chamberlain Creek and consists of nearly all bottom land with the exception of about 10 acres. All bottom land that is cleared is now producing crops of wild hay...The altitude is about 6000 feet above sea level...
> SETTLEMENT: The claimant settled on this claim on February 15, 1915, and made filing on same claim April 19, 1915, and made actual settlement on land July 15, 1915. The claimant has no family and has himself only been absent from claim twice... during these he was working out to accumulate money for the improvements of the claim.
>
> The following farming implements were found on the claim: 1 McCormick Mower, Hay boats, pitch forks, garden implements, plows, etc. The household furniture being limited on account of transportation, only stoves, home-made tables, and bedsteads being present.
> IMPROVEMENTS: One dwelling house of hewn logs, size 18' x 20', containing three rooms, valued at $450.00. One hay barn, log structure, size 24' x 32', value $250.00. One barn, size 36' x 48' log structure, value $700.00. One log store-house under construction, size 16' x 25,' including sheds on sides for storing farming implements, value $150.00. One chicken house,

> log structure, size 14' x 16' value $150.00. Several bridges have been built and a lot of corduroying has been done, the work amounting to about $200.00.
>
> The water supply is taken from Chamberlain Creek and used both for domestic and irrigation purposes. The land is enclosed with a good four rail fence on East, West, and North sides. The South side being heavily timbered, no fence was needed... All of the improvements were built by the claimant.
> CULTIVATION: About 50 acres of land now producing a crop of wild hay...1915--8 tons; 1916--15 tons; 1917--20 tons; 1918--30 tons; 1919--35 tons; 1920--38 tons, 1921--45 tons. The hay is fed to the claimants cattle and horses. In 1917 the claimant sold about eight tons of hay to nearby neighbors.
> GRAZING: The claimant owns five head of horses and 22 head of cattle...

The 1920 census for Warren Precinct notes that Hotzel was 40 years old, and a naturalized citizen born in Germany. Hotzel received patent on February 26, 1923, signed by Warren G. Harding.

Forest Supervisor Walter Mann used Hotzel as an example of early pioneer tenacity when he wrote a report describing early range conditions and grazing:

> The spirit backing these early livestock settlers is represented in an account of August Hotzel. A recent naturalized Swiss*, he entered the area as a prospector. He reached the place which now bears his name, and after being informed he could own land by merely working it, he shed tears of joy and blessed America as God's land. Although not an exceptionally strong man, he performed the tasks of five men in building his property and caring for his cattle. Only surmountable obstacles prevented the success of his enterprise (Mann n.d.:2).

(* As noted earlier, Hotzel was German born, however, it was suspect and unpopular to be of German descent during World War I.)

Glenn Thompson added the following information about Hotzel:

> His log buildings were all of Swiss design. He stayed with us on the South Fork during part of his terminal illness in 1929. (Thompson 1968).

Hotzel's neighbors were **Wm. A. "Bill" Stonebraker and his wife Lillian**. The 1920 census records, Warren Precinct, indicate Bill Stonebraker was 41 years of age and Lillian as 34 (United States Census, Warren Precinct, Idaho County, State of Idaho)..

On August 17, 1917, Deputy Forest Supervisor J.C. Roak examined the Stonebraker homestead claim. He made the following report on March 30, 1918:

> CLAIMANT: W.A. Stonebraker, post office address, Warren, Idaho, was married sometime last fall [1917]. Since his marriage, he and his wife have resided on the claim, and prior

to that the claimant made it his home to the exclusion of a home elsewhere.
LOCATION: This area lies...on the West Fork of Chamberlain Creek about 1 mile above its confluence with the main Chamberlain Creek. The area is about 40 miles [northeast] from the town of Warren, Idaho, and the nearest post office, and approximately 15 miles from the nearest wagon road, the road from Warren to the Pen Idaho mine.

The claim lies on both sides of the West Fork of Chamberlain Creek.
SETTLEMENT: The claimant settled on this area June 25, 1912, and has resided there ever since to the exclusion of home elsewhere. He was absent for short periods during the summers since that date, while engaged as a guard for the Forest Service and also has been absent during one to three months in winter while employed by the Forest Service, except the past winter.
IMPROVEMENTS:
Four room, two story log house, 16 by 24 feet, 14 feet to the eaves, 1/2 pitch shake roof, 6′ porch all around, finished with whipsawed lumber...Value $550.00.
Barn, 32 by 58 feet, log with shake roof, 14 stalls, seven at each end, room for 20 tons of hay...Value $400.00.
Outside double walled log cellar, 18 by 20 feet outside, 13 foot square inside, 7 feet to eaves, 1/3 pitch roof... Value $350.00.
Log storehouse, 8 by 12 feet, 8 feet to eaves, 1/2 pitch shake roof...Value $50.00.
Log blacksmith shop and tool house, 12 by 20 feet, 7 feet to eaves, 1/3 pitch shake roof...Value $150.00.
Log saddle and harness house, 10 by 12 feet, 7 feet to eaves, 1/3 pitch shake roof...Value $100.00.
Log chicken house, 10 by 20 feet, 7 feet to eaves, 1/2 pitch shake roof, house divided into two rooms...Value $120.00.
Six log corrals of varying sizes, which together with fence make approximately two miles of pole and wire fence... Value $500.00
All of the above improvements were built by the claimant since he took up his residence on this claim.
The domestic water supply is obtained from a spring, a short distance south and west of the cabin. At present this is brought to the house in a "V" flume, but pipe to bring the water to the house has been purchased and will be installed next spring.
CULTIVATION: Approximately 25 acres of the area which was originally meadow and brush land has been broken up and seeded down to timothy...In addition to the acreage seeded down to hay, about 8 acres is used to grow turnips, carrots, parsnips, rutabagas and other hardy vegetables, most of which are used to feed stock. Ordinarily about 7 to 8 tons of these veget-

> ables are raised which is considerable less than what the land will produce, but a great deal of the stuff planted is eaten by the game in this country, chiefly deer. Deer are also very troublesome in that they eat quite a lot of cultivated grasses...
> About 40 acres of the area is now under ditch...
> GRAZING: The claimant at present owns 11 head of horses and mules, including colts...The claimant also owns 12 domestic fowls.

Stonebraker received patent on March 1, 1920, signed by President Woodrow Wilson.

Ralph Davis applied for a homestead claim at Moose Meadows on McCalla Creek in 1917. Although Davis abandoned the claim Forest Examiner W.B.Rice made the following note while visiting the claim:

> There is a trapper's cabin in the northeast corner of the area, but there is no evidence of settlement either by applicant or other parties. The only improvement on the tract is the trapper's cabin mentioned above which is 10 x 12 feet, in fair shape and valued at $25.00.

An application was made by **Wm. Mitchell** on Disappointment Creek at the mouth of Hungry Creek. The claim was examined by Assistant Forest Ranger Walter G.Mann on June 30, 1910. He made the following remarks in his report:

> CLAIM: One cabin built by trappers some three years ago. There is about two acres cleared of brush by Warren E. Cook in 1907. Mr. Cook also planted strawberries, raspberries and rhubarb, most of which is now bearing fruit. Mr. Cook was a Forest Guard at that time.
> ECONOMICS POSSIBILITIES: Mr. Mitchell wishes to go into the cattle business. This station is very valuable to the Forest Service as a winter headquarters since it is the only place in that section where a ranger can winter horses and have a year-round station. About 20 acres can be cleared and put into garden, and some hay might be raised for emergency in the winter. This station is situated in a very rough country and is really the only garden spot in that section where there are rolling bunch grass hills on which horses can graze for the greater part of the winter...
> RECOMMENDATIONS: I recommend against the listing of this land.

Mitchell's application was rejected.

CHANGES IN THE HEARTLAND

By the early 1900's, pioneers were writing about the "good old days," and analyzing changes that had taken place in Idaho. Governor W.J. McConnell was one of the first-comers to take up farming and ranching to supply miners with fresh produce. He remembered 1860's prices:

> It was a high-priced market we had entered. Early potatoes

> first brought forty-five cents a pound; early beets, tops and all netted the same price as early potatoes; cucumbers were two dollars a dozen, green corn two dollars a dozen ears; tomatoes, forty-five cents a pound, early York cabbage, about half mature, brought seventy-five cents a pound; watermelons were twenty-five cents a pound (McConnell 1924:65).

The isolation of Idaho's frontier and the massive influx of people in the late 1800's, soon decimated wild game herds. In a grazing report, Forest Supervisor Walter G. Mann (1918-1920) analyzed growth and decline of ranching in the area:

> The livestock industry in the Chamberlain country was short-lived with a rapid build-up, and in most cases a more rapid breakdown. The industry developed from the need of meat rather than the adaptability of the area for livestock. At first the game animals supplied the miners with their meat, but about 1885 the scarcity of game brought higher prices for domestic stock. Attracted by the possibilities of fancy profits a number of men located on the meadow lands of the lower elevations, where they believed stock could be wintered on the grass. Fred Burgdorf was one of the first to attempt such a venture. Andrew Nelson, Freeman Nethken, and William Mackay were others operating on the South Fork of the Salmon River before 1900. One man was reported to have lost his entire herd of 125 cattle during a severe winter. Profits from the cattle helped maintain the business. A close, unlimited market, with steady high prices, coupled with free grass, made it an attractive industry for the Warren area.
>
> The same procedure followed during the Thunder Mountain boom in 1900. By 1905, nearly every sizeable bar and meadow was taken for a cattle ranch. Those upon which improvements were made include: Cold Meadows by W.H. Caswell, McCoy Ranch, Roots Ranch, Stonebraker Ranch, Hotzel Ranch, John Chamberlain Ranch, Campbells Ferry, Moose Meadow by Ralph Davis, and others. Most of these attempts did not last longer than the mining boom. Scarcity of winter forage, lowering prices, distances to market after the miners' demands slackened, and the generally severe winters experienced during that period, helped to eliminate them (Mann n.d.:2).

The 1920's were an era of awakening of the value and vulnerability of the remaining wild lands. One of the key players recognizing the need to protect Idaho's heartland was District Forester Richard H. Rutledge.

An Idaho native, Rutledge began a career with the Forest Service and served as Regional Forester from 1920-1938 (Baird et. al.:50-58). He and others started the process to preserve Idaho wilderness areas. After years of effort Idaho's heartland was established as a Primitive Area (1931), then designated as the River of No Return Wilderness on July 23, 1980, and later on Feruary 27, 1984, re-

named the Frank Church-River of No Return Wilderness.

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