

#56

THE SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN:  
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

Ricky L. Roberts  
Weber State College

Submitted in fulfillment of  
Purchase Order 40-84MB-3-403

July, 1983

THE SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN:  
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

Ricky L. Roberts

Weber State College

Submitted in fulfillment of  
Purchase Order 40-84MB-3-403

July, 1983

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	1
PREVIOUS WORK .....	2
THE SHEEPEATERS .....	5
THE CAMPAIGN .....	7
THE SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN AS A CULTURAL RESOURCE .....	13
SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN SITES .....	15
THE SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN AS A HISTORIC DISTRICT .....	20
INTERPRETIVE POTENTIAL OF THE SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN .....	21
CONCLUSIONS .....	23
REFERENCES CITED .....	25
APPENDIX A	
ABSTRACTS OF DAILY MARCHES	
BERNARD'S COMMAND	
CATLEY'S COMMAND	
FARROW'S COMMAND	
FORSE'S COMMAND	
APPENDIX B	
CAMPAIGN DIARIES	
BERNARD	
BROWN	
FORSE	
HOFFNER	
APPENDIX C	
NOTES FROM HOWARD'S INTERROGATION OF SHEEPEATERS	



## THE SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Sheepeater Campaign of 1879 was a protracted excursion in neptitude; military fiascoes mitigated only by qualified successes; prolonged punitive expedition that has led some who are familiar with the action to characterize it as America's first Vietnam. Records from the campaign both official and unofficial, provide insight into the workings of the military in the 19th Century and highlight perceptual variations among participants at various levels of the military hierarchy. More importantly for this report, these records also provide a substantial amount of data useful to cultural resource managers. These data include locations of aboriginal and military sites, descriptions of sites and their occupants, observations of activities and environmental and subsistence notes. In many regards these records constitute an ersatz form of ethnography or ethnoarchaeology. As such, the Sheepeater Campaign materials provide a case study of deriving anthropologically significant data from military records and first-hand commentary.

The Intermountain Regional Office of the U.S.D.A. Forest Service is interested in the Sheepeater Campaign because much of the action took place in what is now the River of No Return Wilderness area. Since the campaign constitutes the first major incursion by Euroamericans into this primitive area the Forest Service would like to identify any surviving cultural resources associated with the expedition. To this end this study of sources concerning the action, both historical and archaeological, has been undertaken. The goals of the project are fourfold:

1. Summarize the documentary evidence.
2. Determine potential archaeological sites.
3. Determine the on and off site interpretive potential of the campaign.

ation was exhaustive and still represents the most complete assemblage of military and personal records for the campaign available. His most important contribution, however, was probably the map of the various routes taken by the participants (Fig. 1). This map in conjunction with the notes made by individuals who were involved allows us to reconstruct the marches of the various commands (See Appendices A and B at the end of this volume).

The other first-hand accounts corroborate Brown's history. Hardin who like Brown was a career military man, provides a general and occasionally romanticized account of the entire expedition. In many ways Hardin's report is almost a prototype for Brown's. Parker on the other hand played only a small role in the campaign and wrote his history primarily using the accounts left by others. In fact, all three of these gentlemen were in contact with one another and drew heavily on the same sources and each other's experiences (See letters in Brown collection, Bx. 22 Fld. 10).

The Shearer article differs from the other accounts in several ways. Shearer does not attempt to recount the entire campaign. Rather, his article deals exclusively with a single engagement, the so-called Battle of Vinegar Hill, in which Lt. Catley's command was routed by the Sheepeaters. Secondly, this account was written within three months after the fact rather than years later as with the others. Finally, this account differs from the others in that although Shearer did participate in the campaign, he is not the author of the report for which he has received credit. Shearer's article is, in fact, a copy of a letter written to him on October 28, 1879 by Lt. W.C. Muhlenberg, who served under Catley. The original of this letter is on file at



the Idaho State University Archives (Fld. 4, Ms. 42).

The archaeological work that has focused on the Sheepeater Campaign is a far smaller body of literature. Four reports (Hartung 1980, Knudson et al. 1982, Pavesic 1978 and Rosillon 1980) have dealt with the potential for identifying resources associated with the campaign. A fifth report (Wylie 1980) details investigations at a site indirectly related to the campaign. In her overview of history in the Middle Fork region, Rosillon (1980: 20-3) identified seven potential sites. A later reconnaissance of the Middle Fork by Knudson et al. (1982: 134) found no direct evidence of the military campaign but did identify four potential sites. Hartung's (1980: 12-4) survey of Big Creek also identified five potential sites but recovered no direct evidence. Pavesic (1978: 12-4) produced a thorough review of documentary sources but did not attempt to identify any sites related to the campaign. Wylie's (1980: 5-6) report on the Cabin Creek Ranch discusses the major events of the campaign that took place adjacent to the property. There is also an appended historical overview of the campaign by Merle Wells. These studies point out the potential for identifying sites associated with the campaign. However, none of these investigations attempted to use the documentary data specifically to trace the routes of the forces involved and thereby identify not only military sites but Native American sites as well.

#### THE SHEEPEATERS

Sheepeater is the English name derived from the Shoshoni word, Tukudeka or 'eaters of mountain sheep'. The Tukudeka were Shoshoni speaking occupants of the mountains of western and central Idaho and

western Wyoming. Their band name comes from the Shoshoni tradition of identifying groups according to their geographic location and subsistence. As all the Shoshoni groups were mobile, their group designation would change as they moved from one area to another exploiting the various resources available to them. As an individual moved from one group to another he would assume the name of whichever group he joined. Thus, the Shoshoni group names were quite fluid in nature and the appellation, Sheep eater, does not necessarily denote a specific political entity (Dominick 1964:133-4 and Liljeblad 1957:56).

It is clear that the Sheep eaters pursued by the army in 1879 had little if anything in common with the Tukudeka first encountered by Euroamericans in the early 19th Century (See Liljeblad 1957: 94 - 104 and Dominick 1964: 140). Not even the participants in the campaign thought they were dealing with true Sheep eaters. Brown (1926: 5) refers to them as a group of Bannocks, Shoshones and Weisers. Hardin (1910: 25) calls them Bannock and Shoshoni outcasts. Parker (1925: 1) simply identifies the hostiles as 'mongrel Indians of unknown pedigree'. Certainly the most far-fetched description of the Sheep eaters comes from Gen. Howard whose debriefing of the captured Indians identifies them as 'part Sheep eater, part Shoshone' but whose memoirs describe them as 'Bannocks, Pi-Utes, Snakes, Nez Perces, and Cayuses' (Howard 1907: 431).

Dominick (1964: 142 and 147) has suggested that the Shoshoni group names took on status-related significance. A Sheep eater would have been a relatively low-class denoter, possibly even derogatory. Such a usage would have been consistent with what we know about the group pursued in 1879. Therefore, rather than being true Tukudeka the Sheep-



eatery involved in the campaign may well have been so-called because they were outcasts from other Shoshoni groups.

This interpretation of the Sheepeaters has been a source of controversy. A strong case can be made that Sheepeater may have been a relatively high status appellation due to the reputation these people had as furriers and hunters (Lileblad 1957: 94-100). Nonetheless, the evidence is clear that the Sheepeaters pursued during the campaign were a mixed group, many of whom were outcasts from other bands. The perjorative connotations attached to the name, Sheepeater, that Dominick encountered in the field in the 20th Century may have been an outgrowth of the military campaign of 1879. Resolution of this question will require an in depth study of changes in nomenclature and usage beyond the scope of this paper.

#### THE CAMPAIGN

As has been noted above, the Sheepeater Campaign of 1879 has been described numerous times. Another detailed description is unnecessary. Table 1 provides a chronological outline of major events. A brief summary of the conditions prior to the campaign, the actual events and the aftermath is presented below.

The Sheepeater Campaign had its origins in the 1860's when gold was first discovered in Idaho. Euroamericans flooded into the territory encroaching upon the lands of the Native Americans. Aboriginal response to the hegemony was increasingly hostile, culminating in the Nez Perce War of 1877 and the Bannock War of 1878. Open hostilities between the Euroamericans and the Native Americans might ordinarily be construed as having stemmed the influx of whites or at least re-



Table 1. OUTLINE OF MAJOR EVENTS IN THE SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN OF 1879.

---

Feb. 12, 1879	Chinese Miners Killed on Loon Creek Near Oro Grande. Sheepeater Indians are blamed for deaths.
March/April	Hugh Johnson and Peter Dorsey murdered on Loon Creek. Sheepeaters are blamed when deaths are discovered in May.
May 1	Gen. O.D. Howard receives orders to apprehend murderers.
May 31	Capt. Reuben Bernard leaves Boise Barracks with troops.
June 4	Lt. Catley's detachment leaves Camp Howard.
July 7	Lt. Farrow's scouts leave Umatilla Agency, Oregon.
July 29	Catley's command attacked by Sheepeaters on Big Creek.
July 30	Catley's command trapped on Vinegar Hill by Sheepeaters but escape during the night.
August 8	Lt. A.G. Forse's command leaves Fort Howard.
August 15	Rains Ranch attacked by Sheepeaters and owner killed.
August 19	Sheepeater Camp destroyed on Soldier Bar.
August 20	Bernard's pack train attacked by Sheepeaters on Soldier Bar. One soldier killed.
August 24	Bernard and Forse retire from the field.
Sept. 17	Sheepeater camp surprised by Farrow's scouts.
Sept. 25	Tamanmo (War Jack) surrenders to Farrow.
Oct. 1	Tamanmo brings in 33 other Sheepeaters.
Nov. 7	Captured Sheepeaters interrogated at Fort Vancouver.

---

tarded development, but in fact the opposite was the case. According to an 1879 report from a commanding officer in Idaho, local merchants had prospered during the previous conflicts and hoped for more military actions that year. In speaking of the feelings of several citizens, the observer reported:

They evidently dread the prospect of a peaceful year, and yearn for serious hostilities, openly enjoying Eastern Oregon's good luck in having an Indian war and its concomitant shower of greenbacks, all to itself in 1879 (Carrey and Conley 1980: 160-1).

Tempering the capitalistic concerns of the citizenry were the firebrand diatribes of Idaho newspapers which railed about the dastardly depredations of Native Americans committed against innocent whites. Just about the only action taken by or attributed to Indians that was not immediately greeted with an avalanche of the finest in jingoistic journalism was the murder of Chinese miners. One editor went so far as to declare that the Indians were doing the whites a favor by doing in the Chinese and that once the job was completed, then the army could rid the country of the Native Americans (Idaho Triweekly Statesman, March 22, 1878).

Ironically, it was the purported murder of some Chinese miners (the number varies from four to seven depending upon whose account is read) by some Sheepeaters that provided the impetus for the Sheepeater Campaign. Major General Irwin McDowell, commander of the Division of the Pacific, dispatched a telegram to General O.O. Howard, commander of the Department of the Columbia, with the following details and orders:

Indian agent at Lemhi states that the murder of five Chinamen in February last in northern Idaho, occurred at Oro Grande on Loon Creek, eighty miles northeast of Boise, and, it is supposed, was done by Indians; probably some of the hostiles of last summer, who have been win-



tering with the Sheepeaters on the Middle Fork of the Salmon. The Division Commander directs that a detachment be sent out from Boise soon as the trail can be traveled, and ascertain who the murderers were; and if Indians, to apprehend them, and bring them into Boise (Brown 1926: 6).

Although it was never firmly established that the Sheepeaters were responsible for the deaths on Loon Creek (Trull 1946: 191), the orders to Gen. Howard were clear: go after the Sheepeaters at all costs. Towards this end, Gen. Howard, who had won fame for his pursuit of Chief Joseph during the Nez Perce War in 1877, deployed several of his detachments. The main cavalry column under the command of Capt. Reuben F. Bernard left Boise Barracks on May 31, 1879, moving northeast towards Challis. A mounted infantry column under the command of 1st Lt. Henry Catley left Camp Howard June 4 moving south. The final detachment that would participate in the incursion, seven infantry men and 20 Umatilla Indian scouts under the command of Lt. Edward Farrow, left the Umatilla Agency, Oregon July 1, heading east. Midway through the campaign, after Catley had been defeated, a fourth contingent under the command of Lt. A.G. Forse joined the expedition.

Before any of these forces took the field, the remains of two miners murdered the previous March or April were discovered on Loon Creek. These murders were also ascribed to the Sheepeaters (Carrey Conley 1980: 162). As a result, Bernard was ordered away from Challis and the campaign became focused on the Big Creek drainage.

The campaign lasted four months during which more than 3000 miles were covered by the various commands. For the most part, the travel was through country previously unexplored by the army. Maps of the area were blank and stamped 'UNEXPLORED' (Brown 1919).

As the expedition and exploration proceeded, the army columns

discovered to their misfortune that the terrain was probably the most difficult in the country. At nearly every turn the Sheepeaters were able to exploit the army's lack of experience and familiarity with the country. Bernard and his commanders rarely saw more than a fleeting glimpse of the Indians and on more than one occasion charged down upon or pursued a supposed band of warriors only to discover that their quarry was a terrified group of miners fleeing what they thought was a band of hostile Indians.

For their part, the Sheepeaters generally avoided the army except for a few guerrilla-type incidents. These encounters always had negative results for the military. The most serious of these incidents occurred July 29, 1879 when Lt. Catley's command was ambushed, routed and trapped overnight by a small contingent of Sheepeaters, a defeat for which Catley was later court-martialed. Two of his men were seriously wounded and all were forced to spend a night without water on a rocky hillock that was christened Vinegar Hill. It was only by waiting until after dark and abandoning all their supplies that Catley and his men were able to escape.

The frustration and humiliation was unabated for the military. On August 15th, Rains Ranch was attacked by the Sheepeaters and James Rains was killed and another man seriously wounded after Catley's retreating command passed through warning the ranchers about the Sheepeaters (Parker 1925 in Carrey 1968: 14-5). As if to further illustrate the military's ineptitude, Bernard's own pack train was attacked and one of his troopers killed on August 20th. Wearied by their arduous pursuit of the Sheepeaters, plagued by the loss of supplies and frustrated by their inability to catch up with their quarry, Bernard



requested permission to return to Boise. Permission was granted, the commands returned to their respective camps and Gen. Howard was forced to report the mission a failure.

Lt. Farrow, however, did not retire completely from the field but resupplied his company and returned to pursue the Sheepeaters again on September 17th. Farrow's scouts, who previously had been the only members of the U.S. forces able to engage the Sheepeaters without they themselves being attacked first, continued their successful tactics.

On September 22nd, Farrow and his scouts surprised a Sheepeater camp they had discovered, but the occupants had slipped off during the night. However, Farrow's men captured and destroyed much of the Sheepeaters' supplies.

On September 25th Tamamo (War Jack) made contact with Lt. Brown, Farrow's second in command, and expressed a desire to surrender. He was sent back to bring in the others. Beginning October 1, the Sheepeaters began to surrender. Eventually 51 Indians were captured of which 15 were warriors. The Sheepeaters armament consisted of two Henry carbines, one Sharp's carbine, one Springfield carbine, calibre .45; a Springfield breech-loader, calibre .50; two muzzle-loading rifles and one double-barrelled shotgun (Brown 1926: 26).

For the Sheepeaters, the end of the campaign meant the end of their occupation on the Middle Fork. The captured group was taken to Vancouver Barracks for interrogation then sent on to the Fort Hall Reservation. Although their occupation of the Middle Fork was ended, not all of the Sheepeaters were brought in by the army. At least one small band continued to dwell in the mountains of central Idaho, though far from the drainage of the Middle Fork (Liljeblad 1957: 103, Dominick

1964: 141 and Rossillon 1980: 21).

Gen. Howard was pleased to amend his report and declare the mission a success. Lts. Farrow and Brown were resoundingly congratulated for their triumph and promoted. However, from the distance of a one hundred and four years a more detached perspective on the whole affair can be gained. The army did not so much win their campaign as the Sheepeaters simply gave up. After having been chased all summer long and having most of their supplies destroyed, the Indians really had little other choice than surrender. So, the Sheepeater Campaign really did not accomplish much. Perhaps it is best summed up in a note at the end of a diary kept by a private who participated:

So ends the never to be forgotten campaign of 1879. A number of animals made useless, and men badly used up (Hoffner: Appendix B, this volume).

#### THE SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN AS A CULTURAL RESOURCE

A military campaign is unlike any other type of resource with which a cultural resource manager generally works. Rather than being an isolated site or structure, a campaign is a series of sites, each requiring consideration. Although a campaign may have acquired its historical significance through a single climactic engagement, the places at which the participants camped, the locations from which they came and the trails over which they marched are equally as important. In order to properly understand and protect such a cultural resource, it is necessary to identify the various types of resources that are involved and generate a coherent means of evaluating them.

The Sheepeater Campaign is a resource that covers over 3000 miles. There are more than 200 individual sites associated with the campaign.



These sites range from spots where one of the columns stopped to rest to campsites (military and aboriginal) to battlefields. To these sites can be added numerous ancillary sites described by the campaign participants as they encountered them. The degree to which these sites can be identified varies dramatically. Some may never be identified. Others are easily recognizable today.

Although the potential for identifying sites may be limited in some regards, a framework for evaluating those that are already known as well as any new ones that may be uncovered can be proposed. This framework takes the form of a series of pertinent research questions that can be asked of the resources. These questions are presented below:

1. Can short term military occupations be recognized archaeologically?
2. What information about 19th Century military life, camping patterns and so forth can be gleaned from these sites?
3. Can historic Sheepeater camps described in documentary sources be recognized archaeologically?
4. Can these historically documented Sheepeater sites be linked with prehistoric components in the Middle Salmon drainage?
5. Can the identified Sheepeater sites and their recorded descriptions be used to generate a model of Sheepeater settlement and subsistence patterns?
6. From the standpoint of material culture, how can the historic Sheepeaters be characterized?
7. What do the archaeological remains at the Sheepeater sites tell us about the material culture acculturation of the Sheepeaters?

8. Can isolated Euroamerican sites mentioned in the documentary sources be identified archaeologically?
9. What information can these sites provide us concerning adaptations made on the 19th Century Idaho mining frontier?
10. Can Chinese sites recorded in the documentary sources be recognized archaeologically?
11. Can the trails followed by the various participants be identified today?

These questions are, of course, very general. They must be, because at this time so little is known about the archaeological potential of the Sheepwater Campaign that any site with the slightest bearing on the above questions is important. As the campaign becomes better understood from the perspective of its physical remains rather than the documentary evidence alone, it will be possible to refine the necessary level of contribution a site must make under these research questions in order to be considered significant. Until that time any site that can be linked with the campaign must be considered significant.

#### SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN SITES

Earlier in this report, three studies that identified potential Sheepwater Campaign sites were reviewed. These sites are summarized in Table 2. When the overlap among these sites is eliminated, only ten potential sites remain: 10-CR-587, 10-LH-29, 10-VY-40, the ambush site, Vinegar Hill (including Catley's flats and the rifle pits), Soldier Bar, Oro Grande, Loon Creek Guard Station, headwaters of Cape Horn Creek and the headwaters of Papoose Creek. Thus, only ten sites out of the more than 200 potential ones have been discovered and even



TABLE 2. PREVIOUSLY IDENTIFIED SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN SITES.

---

---

Hartung (1980: 12-4)	Ambush site, PY-302
	Ambush site flats, PY-301 or PY-302
	Rifle pits, PY-303
	Vinegar Hill, PY-54
	Soldier Bar, PY-53
Knudson et al. (1982: 134)	Oro Grande, 10-CR-611
	Loon Creek Site, 10-LH-29
	Rapid River, 10-CR-587
	10-VY-40
Rossillon (1980: 22)	Loon Creek Guard Station
	Oro Grande
	Headwaters of Cape Horn Creek
	Vinegar Hill
	Soldier Bar
	Ambush site
	Headwaters of Papoose Creek

---

---

for these ten the physical evidence directly linking them to the campaign is limited. In fact, the seven sites identified by Rosillon (1980: 22) are really just areas where sites are likely to be found.

There really are only three sites in the wilderness area that investigators agree are related to the campaign. These three are the ambush site, Vinegar Hill and Soldier Bar. The documentary sources relating to these sites are diverse. All of the histories noted earlier present descriptions of the actions that took place at these locations, but particular attention should be given to the following: Brown 1926: 11) and Shearer (1968) which provide eye-witness accounts of the engagement at the ambush site and Vinegar Hill; Brown (Appendix B: August 6 and 10) and Hoffner (Appendix B: August 18-19) which provide first-hand descriptions of the ambush site and Vinegar Hill; Brown (Appendix B: August 19) which describes Soldier Bar; and Hoffner (Appendix B: August 19-20) which provides a description of both the site and the events at Soldier Bar. Photographs of the flats to which Catley withdrew after the ambush and Vinegar Hill can be found in Carrey and Conley (1980: 188) and Wylie (1980, Fig. 12).

Since only a very small number of the potential sites have been even remotely identified, there is a rich amount of data remaining to be tapped. Devising an efficient means of locating the undiscovered sites is the principal problem with which the cultural resource manager must contend. Fortunately, the problem is not quite as insurmountable as it may appear on the surface. The key to locating the sites involved in the Sheepeater Campaign is to exploit the documentary evidence that is already at hand.

The principal source for locating sites or at least for restricting the area that should be searched for remains, is Brown's map (Figure 1).



Brown used the best available map of his day and fitted the routes on it using his own recollections and notes and those of other participants. He also sent copies of the map to other survivors and had them make corrections or additions as they saw fit. Therefore, Brown's map can be considered a fairly reliable guide to the routes followed during the campaign and the locations of campsites and other sites.

Although reliable as a guide, the map cannot be used alone to locate resources. There are several reasons for this: (1) the map is geographically outdated; (2) site locations are generalized; (3) the routes shown are really attempts to mirror the patterns and directions of movement rather than actual trails and (4) not all of the sites related to the campaign are shown on the map.

Some of the deficiencies of Brown's map can be alleviated by simply updating the map. This is shown in Figure 2. Although the routes can be corrected to conform to the geography of the area as we now know it to be, the map still cannot precisely identify site locations. In order to identify potential Sheepeater Campaign sites, it is necessary to use the updated map and the information contained in Appendices A and B of this report to field check the routes travelled by the different columns.

Appendix A contains synopses or abstracts of the daily marches of each column. Discrepancies between observations, if more than one record was available, are noted. Any pertinent observations are also recorded. Appendix B contains the complete campaign diaries of four of the soldiers involved. The daily entries in these diaries provide a wealth of detail that can be used to re-trace accurately the lines of march of each column. Thus, when used in the field with the map

the diaries should make it possible to identify sites associated with the Sheepeater Campaign.

The documentary evidence provides an efficient means of locating sites associated with the campaign. However, a serious question must be raised as to whether any sites can be found; i.e., are there any artifacts, which if found at a probable location, could indisputably identify the site as being related to the campaign? At present, there is no direct answer to this question. None of the previous surveys has located any such material (the possible exception being a quantity of supposed military equipment recovered from Vinegar Hill but subsequently destroyed by fire). As long ago as 1898, an attempt to locate evidence of the campaign proved fruitless except for some of the trails (Richie 1898). Therefore, it must be recognized that even with the best of descriptions and careful field observations no sites may be discovered. The sheer number of sites, however, argues that at least some of them will yield tangible evidence,

#### THE SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN AS AN HISTORIC DISTRICT

To argue that something as diffuse as a military campaign, particularly one with so few tangible aspects as the Sheepeater Campaign, merits consideration as a historic district may seem an exercise in futility. Yet, there are two good reasons why just such an argument should be advanced:

The aboriginal occupation of the Middle Fork drainage with its specialized lifestyle apparently extending far back into prehistory is an important component in Idaho archaeology worthy of preservation. Since the Sheepeater Campaign marks the end of that occupation, it is



an integral part of the aboriginal story that must be preserved.

The Sheepeater Campaign, unfortunately, was not an isolated event in United States history. Rather, it was one of hundreds launched against Native Americans in an attempt to open the west up for settlement. Unlike the areas where other such expeditions were undertaken, the wilderness area was not subsequently inundated with settlers. Therefore, whatever evidence of the campaign has survived, has survived in more or less pristine surroundings. This is one of the few areas where conditions today are essentially the same as they were when the action was taken. Thus, a Sheepeater Campaign historic district would not only preserve and present the resources associated with the participants but would also capture the feel of the campaign, including the ruggedness of the terrain and the isolation.

#### INTERPRETIVE POTENTIAL OF THE SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN

The Sheepeater Campaign is a prime candidate for public interpretation. From an on-site perspective, the potential is limited. Most of the sites would be inaccessible to most visitors. Only three sites would even merit a consideration for interpretation at present: Soldier Bar, Vinegar Hill and the ambush site. Of these three, Vinegar Hill is too remote; Soldier Bar already has a marker but is difficult to access; only the ambush site is readily accessible and has a high interpretive potential. The ambush site is also the only one of the three that has not been disturbed. An evaluation of these three sites is presented in Table 3.

For these three sites plus any new ones that may be discovered, on-site interpretation has the potential to contribute to site dis-

TABLE 3. SUMMARY OF ON-SITE INTERPRETATION POTENTIAL FOR THREE SHEEP-EATER CAMPAIGN SITES.

SITE	INTERPRETIVE POTENTIAL	PREVIOUS DISTURBANCE	POTENTIAL DISTURABANCE
Ambush Site	High	None	Possible
Soldier Bar	Medium	Air Strip	Possible
Vinegar Hill	Low	Collected	Possible



turbance through vandalism or other actions. This concern over site disturbance should not be construed as an argument against trail markers. On the contrary, marking the routes travelled by the army is probably the strongest possibility for on-site interpretation that the campaign provides. The adventuresome who follow some of the trails would get a first-hand appreciation of the hardships endured by the military.

Off-site interpretation of the campaign is recommended. Displays showing routes travelled, photographs of participants, a history of the campaign, Sheepeater ethnography and, possibly, artifacts associated with the campaign (if any are discovered) can be used. These displays could be established at visitor's centers or campgrounds near the wilderness area or, in part, through brochures.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Sheepeater Campaign was a minor military engagement in the late 19th Century. From the cultural resource management perspective the campaign is significant because it marks the only major penetration of the River of No Return Wilderness area by Euroamericans and because it resulted in the Sheepeater Indians abandoning the Middle Fork of the Salmon River.

This report had four goals which were accomplished:

1. The documentary evidence for the campaign was summarized and much of the primary documentation was brought together and published in its entirety here for the first time.
2. It was determined that in excess of 200 sites associated with the campaign may exist and a method for identifying them through the use of maps and diaries was proposed.

3. The campaign was determined to have a limited on-site interpretive potential but off-site displays were strongly recommended.
4. A series of research questions were proposed that can be used to evaluate any sites that are discovered and the whole campaign was recommended as a National historic district.



## REFERENCES CITED

Brown, William Carey

- 1919 Letter to District Forester, Ogden, Utah, June 1, 1919. On file in the supervisor's office, Payette National Forest.
- 1926 The Sheepeter campaign Idaho - 1879. 10th Biennial Report of the Idaho Historical Society.
- 1978 William Carey Brown Papers. Processed by Doris Mitterling. on file, Western Historical Collections, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Carrey, John

- 1968a Moccasin tracks of the Sheepeters. In Sheepeter Indian Campaign, edited by John Carrey, pp. 26-69. Idaho County Free Press, Grangeville, Idaho,
- 1968b Sheepeter Indian Campaign. Idaho County Free Press, Grangeville, Idaho.

Carrey, Johnny and Cort Conley

- 1980 The Middle Fork and the Sheepeter war. Backeddy Books, Cambridge, Idaho.

Corbett, Joan M.

- 1962 A mountain charade: the Sheepeter campaign. MS, William Carey Brown Collection, Western Historical Collections, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Dominick, David D.

- 1964 The Sheepeters. Annals of Wyoming 36(2): 131-68.

Hardin, C.B.

- 1910 The Sheepeter campaign. Journal of the Military Service Institution, July-August: 25-40.

Hartung, John Wiley

- 1980 Documentation of historical resources in the Big Creek drainage, central Idaho. MS on file, USDA Forest Service, Intermountain Region, Ogden, Utah.

Howard, O.O.

- 1907 My life and experiences among our hostile Indians. A.D. Worthington Co., Hartford, Conn.

Hultkrantz, Ake

- 1970 The source literature on the 'Tukudeka' Indians in Wyoming: facts and fancies. In Languages and Cultures of Western North America, edited by E.H. Swanson, Jr., pp. 246-64. Idaho State University Press, Pocatello.

Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman

- 1879 The Chinese must go - how the Sheepeaters sent them. Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman 15(105): 4. March 22, 1879.

Knudson, Ruthann, Darby Stapp, Steven Hackenberger, William D. Lipe and Mary P. Rossillon

- 1982 A cultural resource reconnaissance in the Middle Fork Salmon River Basin, Idaho, 1978. Cultural Resource Report No. 7, USDA Forest Service, Intermountain Region, Ogden, Utah.

Liljeblad, Sven

- 1957 Indian peoples in Idaho. MS on file, Idaho State Museum.  
1972 The Idaho Indians in transition, 1805 - 1960. Special Publication of the Idaho State University Museum, Pocatello.

Madsen, Brigham D.

- 1980 The northern Shoshoni. Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho.

Midmore, Joe

- 1970 Middle Fork history. Harrah's, Reno.



Parker, Aaron F.

1925 Forgotten tragedies of Indian warfare in Idaho. Idaho County Free Press, Grangeville, Idaho.

Pavesic, Max G.

1978 Archaeological overview of the Middle Fork of the Salmon River corridor, Idaho primitive area. Archaeological Reports No. 3, Boise State University, Boise.

Richie, C.W.

1898 Letter from C.W. Richie to W.C. Brown, February 14, 1898. On file, William Carey Brown Collection, Western Historical Collections, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Rossillon, Mary P.

1981 An overview of history in the drainage basin of the Middle Fork of the Salmon River. Cultural Resource Report No. 6, USDA Forest Service, Intermountain Region, Ogden, Utah.

Russell, Don

n.d. 103 fights and scrimmages: the story of General Reuben F. Bernard. William Carey Brown Collection, Western Historical Collections, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Shearer, George M.

1968 The battle of Vinegar Hill. Idaho Yesterdays 12(1): 16-21.

Trull, Fern Cable

1946 The history of the Chinese in Idaho from 1846 to 1910. Unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene.

Wylie, Jerry

1980 A cultural resource evaluation of the Cabin Creek ranch. MS  
on file USDA Forest Service, Intermountain Region, Ogden, Utah.

Yeckel, Carl

1971 The Sheepeater campaign. Idaho Yesterdays 15(2): 2-9.



APPENDIX A  
ABSTRACTS OF DAILY MARCHES

SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN ROUTE OF CAPTAIN BERNARD'S COMMAND,  
TROOP G, FIRST CAVALRY

The following is a day by day synopsis of the travels of Capt.

Reuben Bernard's command during the Sheepeater Campaign of 1879. The information was derived from Capt. Bernard's journal and the diary of Pvt. Edger Hoffner, a member of Troop G. Copies of these accounts are provided in Appendix B of this report.

- May 31, 1879 Left Boise Barracks. Marched 35 miles along stage road  
Camped at Hot Springs, 3 miles southwest of Idaho City.
- June 1 Marched 40 miles (Hoffner says 38). Passed through Idaho City  
Twenty miles up Idaho and Banner City stage road passed an old  
mining camp. Camped on East Fork of the Payette River one mile  
above a handhewn log bridge.
- June 2 Marched 26 miles (Hoffner says 30). Camped on Hot Creek.
- June 3 Marched 24 miles (Hoffner says 27). Passed through Dead Man's  
Canyon. Camped on Cape Horn River at the head of Cape Horn  
Canyon. An abandoned ranch is present.
- June 4 Remained in camp. Bridged the Cape Horn River.
- June 5 - 6 Remained in camp.
- June 7 Marched 10 miles (Hoffner says 11). Camped in a small meadow  
on Trail Creek.
- June 8 Marched 15 miles (Hoffner says 17). Camped on Loon Creek.
- June 9 Marched 10 miles. Camped in Oro Grande. Passed several de-  
serted cabins and a sawmill in the five miles between the con-  
fluence of the the three forks of Loon Creek and the town.
- June 10 Marched three miles back down Loon Creek (Hoffner says five).  
Campsite contains wikiups and is near an old mine shaft.
- June 11 - 13 Remained in camp.
- June 14 Marched three miles. Camped just below Oro Grande.
- June 15 Hoffner records that this was the day the column marched to  
Oro Grande. Bernard says remained in camp.
- June 16 - 18 Remained in camp.

- June 19 Marched 18 miles (Hoffner says 16). Three miles up the canyon through which Hot Creek flows is a hot springs with abandoned wikiups, a log cabin, and a house and corral. This canyon is approximately 10 miles up Loon Creek from where they were camped June 15 - 18.
- June 20 Marched 16 miles up Hot Creek (Hoffner says 18). Camped on Camas Creek in an abandoned Indian camp. Passed several wikiups while in route.
- June 21 Marched 10 miles (Hoffner says 12). Camped one mile up Warren's Diggings Trail (above the intersection of Warrens Diggings Trail, Challis and Salmon City trails) on the west fork of Camas Creek. Near the camp site is a miner's camp occupied for a number of weeks. Six miles up the Challis Trail is a deserted miner's cabin. A number of wikiups were passed during the day.
- June 22 Remained in camp.
- June 23 Marched 6 miles. Camped on West Fork of Camas Creek.
- June 24 Marched 12 miles (Hoffner says 11). Camped in a canyon, on some tableland one half mile from a granite dome 100 feet high.
- June 25 Marched 16 miles (Hoffner says 12). Camped at the mouth of Loon Creek on the Middle Salmon. The campsite is a former Indian village with the remains of wikiups present.
- June 26 Remained in camp. Bridged Loon Creek by felling trees across it to a small island.
- June 27 Marched one mile (Hoffner says 1/2). Camped on the opposite side of Loon Creek near an old log cabin.
- June 28 Marched 18 miles up the Salmon (Hoffner says 16). Camped on the Salmon near the mouth of a small stream. Passed an abandoned cabin on the opposite side of the river and some old wikiups.
- June 29 Marched 10 miles up the river. Passed a number of old wikiups and hot springs. Camped near several hot springs.
- June 30 Marched 18 miles camped on the same river.
- July 1 Marched 15 miles (Hoffner says 4). Camped at the mouth of Rapid River. Built a bridge over the river at the campsite.
- July 2 Marched 10 miles (hoffner says 8). Camped on the Salmon River near a sulphur spring. Passed through an Indian camp that appeared to have been recently occupied.



- July 3 Marched 10 miles. Camped in a wooded canyon on a tributary of the Salmon. Passed seven small lakes on the route.
- July 4 Marched 20 miles (Hoffner says 18). Bernard reports camping at the head waters of Crooked River near some sulphur springs. Hoffner says they are camped on White Sulpher Creek.
- July 5 Marched 21 miles. Camped on West Fork of Loon Creek about two miles south of their June campsite and six miles south of Oro Grande.
- July 6 Marched 34 miles. Camped on a small stream that empties into the Cape Horn River near the Bonanza and Banner City trail.
- July 7 - 17 Remained in camp.
- July 18 Marched 16 miles (Hoffner says 10). Camped in Bear Valley.
- July 19 Marched 16 miles. Camped on Deer (or Antelope) Creek along the Dead Wood Trail.
- July 20 Marched 12 miles. Camped in a valley on the Middle Fork of the Salmon River. Within four miles of the camp are four large ponds.
- July 21 Marched 10 miles (Hoffner says 6). Camped in a valley on the East Fork of the South Salmon River.
- July 22 Marched 15 miles (Hoffner says 12). Camped on the East Fork one half mile from a waterfall.
- July 23 Marched 15 miles (Hoffner says 16). Camped in a valley north of a swamp and one quarter mile from a creek.
- July 24 Marched 5 miles (Hoffner says 6). Camped near Warm Lake on a hot creek (lake outlet).
- July 25 Marched 25 miles. Camped on the South Fork of the Salmon River.
- July 26 Marched 23 miles (Hoffner says 18). Passed several old wikiups at first ford after leaving camp of previous night. Camped on the South Fork of the Salmon in an old Indian village.
- July 27 Marched 20 miles down river (Hoffner says 15). At the mouth of the South Fork where it empties into the Main Salmon (six miles below where they camped the previous night) are the remains of a mining camp. Hoffner specifies the remains as being two hundred yards above the mouth. Five miles beyond is a mining community called Tailholt. Another cabin was seen from the summit of the mountain crossed before entering the town. After leaving Tailholt, passed another abandoned cabin and finally camped in an old mining camp six miles below the town.
- July 28 Remained in camp.

- July 29 Marched 12 miles. Camped near Johnson's and Smead's Ranches. Passed some deserted cabins in route.
- July 30 Remained in camp.
- July 31 Marched 25 miles. Passed a dilapidated cabin approximately one mile below their camp. A quarter mile farther they passed an occupied ranch with a house and several buildings. They went through Warren's Diggings and finally camped in a valley one mile up Secesh Creek.
- Aug. 1 Marched 20 miles. Two miles from previous camp passed a dilapidated cabin near a bridge across Secesh Creek. Ten miles farther on they encountered Hot Springs House at the mouth of a small canyon near some hot springs.
- Aug. 2 Marched 16 miles. Cabin and stable seen near the head of the large Payette Lake. There is a bridge across one of the creeks feeding the lake. Nearby are two ruins. On Squaw Creek are two shanties occupied by fishermen and hunters.
- Aug. 3 Marched 25 miles. Camped in a grove of pine and cottonwood trees on the North Fork of the Payette River half way across the Big Valley. Passed a deserted log cabin on the Indian Valley Trail.
- Aug. 4 Remained in camp.
- Aug. 5 Marched 16 miles across valley. On the last of two streams crossed in the valley are the remains of wikiups and a corral. Camped one mile up this creek in a dense stand of timber.
- Aug. 6 Marched 12 miles. Arrived on the North Payette River near Payette Hot Springs. Just below this point is a monument with the names of three men who were killed by the Indians. Camped in a small canyon in the mountains off the river.
- Aug. 7 Marched 33 miles. Camped one mile from the head waters of the South Fork of the Salmon River. A number of old wikiups were passed.
- Aug. 8 Marched 33 miles. Camped in a flat of 100 acres or more a short distance up a creek from the river.
- Aug. 9 Marched 22 miles. Followed the river. Camped in the same spot as on the 28th of June. Cabin that was present has burned.
- Aug. 10 Marched 10 miles. Camped at an old ranch in a small valley on the South Fork of the Salmon River (A letter from Bernard dated August 4, 1879 indicates that the mouth of Elk Creek was their destination).
- Aug. 11 - 13 Remained in camp.



- Aug. 14 Marched 15 miles. Camped on a heavily wooded flat through which three branches flow.
- Aug. 15 Marched 10 miles. Camped at the head of Dry Creek near where three small streams empty into it.
- Aug. 16 Marched 14 miles along Deep (Big) Creek. Passed a few old wikiups.
- Aug. 17 Marched 12 miles along Deep (Big) Creek. Passed three flats along the creek each of which had been occupied by Indians. Also passed several wikiups.
- Aug. 18 Marched 12 miles. Camped on Deep (Big) Creek near Vinegar Hill. There is a fish trap present in the creek at this point, attributed to the Chinese.
- Aug. 19 Marched 10 miles down Deep (Big) Creek. Passed Sheepeater fortifications from which Cately was attacked. At the base of a rocky hill near a fine spring was a sheepeater camp of 10 wikiups where the Sheepeaters were surprised. The command camped there. A number of wikiups and several fish traps were passed along the route today.
- Aug. 20 Marched 10 miles but camped in the same general location as on the previous night. Sheepeaters attacked command and killed one soldier.
- Aug. 21 Marched 14 miles. Camped in a canyon with a precipitous mountain on one side and a hill of granite on the other. This is where the Sheepeaters and Umatillas skirmished.
- Aug. 22 Marched 6 miles. Camped in a canyon off Deep (Big) Creek.
- Aug. 23 Marched 12 miles. At the base of a mountain on the Middle Fork of the Salmon in a beautiful valley are a number of old wikiups. Some appear to have been used the previous winter.
- Aug. 24 Marched 16 miles downstream. Passed several old wikiups and an old log cabin. Camped in small willows on a small creek.
- Aug. 25 Marched 15 miles. Camped five miles from Loon Creek.
- Aug. 26 Marched 10 miles. Followed Loon Creek on an old trail. Camped in a canyon with several wikiups. Across from the camp is a small waterfall, approximately 50 feet high.
- Aug. 27 Marched 10 miles along Loon Creek. Camped near a dilapidated log house above Oro Grande.
- Aug. 28 Marched 17 miles. Followed old trail to Oro Grande. Occupied camp of June 13th. Site already occupied by miners in a wall tent.



- Aug. 29 - 30 Remained in camp.
- Aug. 31 Marched 14 miles. Camped in a canyon on trail to Boise.
- Sept. 1 Marched 17 miles. Camped on Cape Horn River in a valley with two streams flowing through it.
- Sept. 2 Marched 15 miles. Camped on a hill near Dead Mans Creek.
- Sept. 3 Marched 14 miles. Camped near the mouth of Hot Creek where it empties into the East Fork of the Payette River.
- Sept. 4 Marched 25 miles. Camped by an old log cabin on a flat near the base of a mountain to the left of the East Fork of the Payette.
- Sept. 5 Marched 12 miles. Camped at Moore creek near a old deserted house.
- Sept. 6 Marched 13 miles. Camped in same place as May 31st.
- Sept. 7 Marched 22 miles. Followed the Boise and Idaho City stage road. Camped at Hall's ranch.
- Sept. 8 Marched 13 miles. Arrived at Boise Barracks.

SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN ROUTE OF LT. HENRY CATLEY'S COMMAND,  
COMPANY C, SECOND INFANTRY

†

Catley's personal records of the Sheepstealer Campaign have not yet been discovered. This campaign route is based on the information about Catley's movements contained in the records of other participants.

- June 4 Left Camp Howard.
- June 5 - July 16 No records.
- July 17 Left Raine's Ranch,. Crossed the South Fork of the Salmon River.
- July 18 No records.
- July 19 Near head of Chamberlain Creek.
- July 20 - 27 No records.
- July 28 Camped at the caves southwest of Vinegar Hill on Big Creek.
- July 29 Attacked by Sheepstealers on Big Creek. Withdrew two miles up the creek.
- July 30 Withdrew to Vinegar Hill.
- July 31 Marched 30 miles. Left Vinegar Hill. Camped at Cold Meadows.
- Aug. 1 Camped at Tip Top, eight miles from the South Fork.
- Aug. 2 - 4 No records.
- Aug. 5 Arrived at Warm Springs, 12 miles east of Warrens.
- Aug. 6 - 10 No records.
- Aug. 11 Joined Bernard at the mouth of Elk Creek.
- Aug. 12 - 13 No records.
- Aug. 14 Camped at head of Elk Creek.
- Aug. 15 - 24 No Records.
- Aug. 25 Arrived at Smead's ranch.
- Aug. 26 - 29 Remained in camp.
- Aug. 30 Moved up Elk Creek then over to and down Big Creek.

Aug. 31 Meets Farrow on Big Creek.

Sept. 1 - 3 No Records.

Sept. 4 Arrives at caves.

Sept. 5 - 9 No records.

Sept. 10 Arrives at Raine's ranch.



SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN DIARY OF LT. A. G. FORSE'S COMMAND,  
COMPANY D, FIRST CAVALRY

↓

This campaign route is based on a typewritten copy of Lt. Forse's diary on file at the Idaho State University Archives (MS 402). The diary covers the period July 29 to September 21, 1879.

- July 29 Marched 21 1/2 miles from Walla Walla to Starr's where camped.
- July 30 Marched 32 1/2 miles. Camped at Favor's.
- July 31 Marched 28 miles. Camped at saw mill near Silcott's.
- Aug. 1 No record of distance travelled. Camped eight miles from Mason's.
- Aug. 2 Marched 18 miles. Camped at Lawyer's Canyon.
- Aug. 3 Marched 27 miles. Camped at Camp Howard (?).
- Aug. 4 - 6 No records. Apparently remained in camp.
- Aug. 7 Remained in camp.
- Aug. 8 Marched 14 miles. Left Camp Howard. Camped at White Bird.
- Aug. 9 Marched 25 miles. Occupied Crook's Camp.
- Aug. 10 Marched 21 miles. Passed through Florence and crossed at Shearer's Ferry. Camped on Elk Creek.
- Aug. 11 Marched 19 miles. Camped on Lake Creek.
- Aug. 12 Marched 12 miles. Camped in a meadow 12 miles from Warren's.
- Aug. 13 Marched 26 miles. First camped two miles beyond Warren's. Then broke camp and joined Bernard on the South Fork.
- Aug. 14 Marched 12 miles. Camped at the head of Elk Creek where Farrow's scouts had camped.
- Aug. 15 Marched 9 miles. Camped on Marble Creek.
- Aug. 16 Marched 12 miles down Marble Creek. Camped on Big Creek.
- Aug. 17 Marched 12 miles. Camped on Big Creek.
- Aug. 18 Marched 12 miles down Big Creek and camped.
- Aug. 19 Marched 15 miles down Big Creek. Passed the Sheepeater camp on a high bluff off Big Creek.

- ug. 20 No record of distance travelled. Apparently camped on the skirmish field at Big Creek.
- ug. 21 Marched 12 miles.
- ug. 22 Marched six miles. Camped on a small creek.
- ug. 23 Marched eight miles. Camped on the Middle Salmon.
- ug. 24 Marched 14 miles. Camped at Starvation Creek on Middle Salmon.
- ug. 25 Marched 12 miles. Camped on Middle Salmon five mile below Loon Creek then moved to Farrow's camp (position unspecified).
- ug. 26 Marched 11 miles. Camped at the mouth of Camas Creek.
- ug. 27 Marched 10 miles. Camped in an old Indian camp on the Middle Salmon (?).
- ug. 28 Marched 14 miles. Camped where Farrow's scouts had captured the Sheepeater's stock.
- ug. 29 Marched 17 miles. Camped five miles up the creek from the Indian camp.
- ug. 30 Marched 12 miles up Big Creek. Camped at the location Catley occupied before his defeat.
- ug. 31 Marched 35 miles down Catley's trail towards Raines. Camped on a small stream.
- ept. 1 Marched 10 miles. Camped in a fine meadow.
- ept. 2 Marched eight miles. Camped in timber on a small stream.
- ept. 3 Marched 15 miles. Camped at Raines on South Salmon.
- ept. 4 - 12 Remained in camp.
- ept. 13 Marched 13 miles down Raine's trail toward Fort Howard. Camped on trail three miles from Warren's.
- ept. 14 Marched 13 miles. Camped on a prairie at the mouth of a gulch.
- ept. 15 Marched 7 1/2 miles. Camped at Warm Springs.
- ept. 16 Marched 13 miles. Camped at the 'saddle'.
- ept. 17 No record of distance travelled. Camped at wire bridge on the other side of the river.
- ept. 18 Marched 10 miles. Camped at Florence (?).

Sept. 19 Marched 13 miles. Camped at Slate Creek.  
Sept. 20 Marched 17 miles. Camped at White Bird.  
Sept. 21 Marched 13 miles. Arrived at Camp Howard.



APPENDIX B  
CAMPAIGN DIARIES

This appendix contains the transcribed diaries of four participants in the Sheepeater Campaign: Reuben Bernard, W.C. Brown, A.G. Forse and Edger Hoffner. The Bernard, Brown and Hoffner diaries were obtained from the William Carey Brown Collection in the Western Historical Collections of the University of Colorado, Boulder. The Forse diary was obtained through the Idaho State University Archives.

Capt. Reuben Bernard was the commander of Troop G, First Cavalry during the campaign. It was his pack train that was attacked on August 20, 1879 resulting in the death of a soldier. Bernard's diary entries do not cover that episode. The entries occasionally make note of various sites that were passed, provide a fairly good record of where and when material was lost and include observations about wildlife. The detail that Bernard exercises in the latter case seem to suggest that he was more interested in hunting game than Sheepeaters.

The Bernard diary covers the period from May 31 to July 30, 1879. This transcription was made from a photocopy of the handwritten original. Every effort was made to insure that the transcription was accurate. Original misspellings and mispunctuations have been retained to assure authenticity. One exception to this practice should be noted. Bernard often used spaces, ends of lines or pages and subsequent capital letters to indicate the end of one sentence and the beginning of another. In order to increase the readability of his diary, periods were added in those places where Bernard used some other convention. The original pagination in the diary is noted by \* in this appendix.

W.C. Brown was second in command to Lt. Farrow during the campaign.

His diary reflects a cavalry officer's interest in locating good camp sites. Although he does refer to Indian camps and other sites from time to time his descriptions of where his detachment camped each night will be valuable in relocating those locations. Particular attention should be given to those entries where he fixes the campsites of other campaign participants in relation to his own.

The Brown diary covers the period July 1 to October 22, 1879. This transcription was derived from an annotated typewritten copy. This was compared with a photocopy of a portion of the handwritten original. Nothing had been deleted. Since the annotations and additions were Brown's own work, it was decided to reproduce the corrected copy. All annotations and additions are shown in italics.

Lt. A.G. Forse was in command of the detachment sent from Camp Howard to relieve Catley after his defeat. Aside from recording the movements of his command and some minor observations, Forse's diary does not add much detail to the Sheepeater Campaign record.

Forse's diary covers the period July 29 to September 19, 1879. The copy presented in this appendix is based on a photocopy of a 1937 transcription made at the Idaho State University Archives from the original. A note at the bottom of the transcription indicated that it had been verified against the original. The original diary was unavailable for comparison.

Edger Hoffner was a private in Bernard's command. He was the most astute observer of any of the diarists whose work is recorded here. Entries in Hoffner's diary contain excellent descriptions of towns, mines, trails, campsites, Indian camps and wikiups, fish traps and military life in general. A true feel for the life of an enlisted man

can be gained by reading Hoffner's account.

The Hoffner diary covers the period May 31 through October 5, 1879. This transcription is based on a typewritten copy made by Hoffner in 1926. Efforts to locate a copy of the handwritten original for comparison were unsuccessful. Although Hoffner has obviously edited his journal and made a few additions, the content is probably not much changed from the original.



## SHEEPEATER CAMPAIGN DIARY OF CAPT. REUBEN BERNARD

Left Boise Barrackes Idaho May 31st 1879 to go to the Salmon River country to look after the Indians who live in that very rough Country. they are known as the Sheepeaters.

Marched 35 Miles Camped at Idaho City following the stage road all the way. Idaho City is an old Placer Mining town wher millions in Gold has been taken out and much more are now being taken out from yeare to yeare. no farming of any kind is carried on nearer the place than 35 miles, the altitude of the place being about 6000 feete above the level of the sea. we went into camp just at sundown - our Pack Train getting in after 9 Oclock at night. this was a verry long drive for the Pack mules. The command consists of two officers sixty two enlisted men one scout, one guide, and 10 Packers with sixty days rations.

June 1st Marched 40 Miles camped on the East fork of the Payet River a mile above the Bridge. Pack Train got in at 9 Oclock at night during the days march we passed through what is known as the Bannon deastrict. it is a Mining country during the summer season, in winter no mining is caryed on, the snow falling \* so deepe that all work ceases, except underground in the Quartz Mines. In descending the mountain to the River wher we are encamped, we came down down for four Miles. The River is a very swift and cleane stream, in a deepe and narrow Canyon. Grass very pore.

June 2nd Marched 26 Miles. Camped on hot Creeke a Branch of the East Fork of the Payet. after about 16 miles we camped at the maut of hot creeke wher the Grass was verry good - let the stock Graze for two hours. while heare Johny Vose killed a Deer and sean one of the White Goats that are found in theas mountains. they are said to be a beautiful white anamal, with long wool & Black twisting Horns that stand straight out. In crossing hot creeke we lost two Boxes of hard Bread and a sack of salt and one of sugar the Mules falling in the swift water and being roled over and over untill the cargo comes off and is carryed away by the swift curreant. Grass very pore.

June 3rd Marched 24 Miles Camping at Cape Horne valley. Just after we left camp I sean two Deer standing on the oppiset side of the stream. taking one of the trumpeters Rifles \* I raised the sight to 500 yards fired and killed the deer. three of the men went across and got the Deer. at this point we entered dead mans Canyon filled with drift snow many feete deepe. the canyon is very steepe. so steepe that the heavy snow that falls slide down carrying Grate treas and Rocks down with it. two men once caught in this canyon by a snow slide, hence the name. in passing through this canyon the snow was so deepe and hard that it gave us no trouble. on arriving at the head of the canyon we found a perfect plain covered with snow varrying from six to two feet Deep. wher it was shallowest the stock would brake through giving much trouble. we walked and led our Horses for about 8 miles. arriving in camp we found the snow melting and the streames rising very fast. Rain commenced to fall about noone. continuing untill night when it turned into snow. the Pack Train not getting in we wer without tents Blankets or anything to eat. tho we had all the wood we wanted and kept big camp fires all night. Grass very poor.

June 4th Remained in camp waiting for \* the Pack Train. rained



and snowed all day streames raising very fast. we are Bridging the Cape Horn creeke so the Pack train can cross when it arrives. the day has been a very unpleasant one. No Pack train yet. every body is beginning to look alittle serious upon the question of something to eat. tho the men has killed many Grange Foole Hens and Ground Squirrels. the foole hens are a very peculiar looking fowl. they are a darke Brown wth read over each Eye. they are very gentle so much so that you can kill them with a stick. When they fly it is only to get upon a limb sufficiently heigh so an anamal such as Beares Wolves cannot catch them. heare they will sit untill they are killed. They wont flye no difference how often you throw at them. No Pack train yet. will send out tomorrow and find what the extent of ther trouble is. snowing hard. we will have another night of building campfires.

June 5th Remained in camp. Rained all day. the Pack train or a portion of it came in about sundown with about one half of its cargo. leaving the other half so they can go back \* for it. the train has had a hard time wallowing through the snow. they have lost two more Boxes of Hard Bread and other rations and all of Lt. Pitchers clothing and Blankets in the stream. he goes back to Look for them. This is the Longest I have ever been without anything to eat. while we wer three full days without Rashions or Blankets - and in the rain and snow all the time I did not heare a cross word or a complaint in any way. The Pack train goes back in the morning for the rest of the load with Lt. Pitcher who goes to look after his lost property.

June 6th Remained in camp the Pack train coming in about dark with the remainder of the suplies. Lt. Pitcher found his clothing wher the bundle had caught in some drift wood. so he is happy again Rained all day and snowed at night.

June 7th Marched 10 miles Camped on trail creeke at the foot of the snow. on the trail to Orogrande the mining town where the Indians killed the seven Chinemen. in crossing Trail Creeke we lost two more Boxes of Hard Bread by a mule being carryed down the stream. Snowed hard all day and night. wher the graound has thawed out it is so soft that the mules often myre down. \*

June 8th Marched 15 Miles Camped on Loone Creeke. the snow mud and water gave us much trouble as we asended the south side of the mountain. when once on top the snow was deepe and hard on the north side. so we passed over about 8 miles of snow with but Little trouble. we camped soone after getting out of the snow. the Grass was good and in abundance. the snow fell heavy all the time we wer in the Mountains, causing it to look more like December than June. after we went into camp Lt. Pitcher went out and Killed 3 splendid Deere [Bucks] within a half mile of the camp. while we wer crossing the mountain Johnny the Guide came to the conclusion that he was lost. I asked him why he thought so. he said vel, me no see de trail, me no see any thing dat I knowes. I said how do you expect to see a trail where the snow is ten or twelve feete deepe. vcll me no see de Blazes on de tres. I said well Johnny I dont think we are lost becaus there is no other way for us to go but to follow this Canyon. as we moved on the Little Dutchman discovered some Blazes on the Trees, which made him quite Jubelent The Pack Train got in to day in goode season and without any Loss. \*

June 9th Marched 10 Miles to Oro Grande. we found the town burned down by the Indians last February, when they killed the



Chineman. this is a Plasser Mining town that has cost more than it ever paid. while Gold was found in paying quantites in many claimes it was soone worked out, leaving a very large and expencive town with nothing to support it. The whites left it, the Chinemen taken charge of it and worked over the old mining claimes which the white men sold to them for small somes of money. The Indians killed and robed the Chinemen and burned the town. one of the Chinemen after being killed had frozen in such a shape that he could be set up on his hand and feet on all fours. in this position the Indians put an old pack saddle on him and loaded him up with picks and shovels, as miners load a pack mule. in this shape the Chineman was found. here we found three white men two Germans and one Irishman - waiting for somthing to turn up. this place is 20 miles from Bonanza City which layes South East from here. I have sent over there to see if I canot get some late papers or nuse of some sort. Rained all day. we got some greene onions here that was Growing in the \* Chinemans Gardens. they didnt cost us any thing, so we wer librel in helping our selves to what didnt belong to any body as we thought.

June 10th Marched 3 miles back on our Trail for better Grass and to send our Pack train back to assist another train of 30 mules laden with Suplies through the snow. Rained all day & snowed at night. Some men came over from Bonanza bringing the latest papers, and nuse of very rich mines being discovered. with the white men that came over was a Chineman that owned the Gardens we got the onions out of. he charged us \$25 for them which was paid. The men killed many Grous and one Deere to day.

June 11th Remained in camp all hands out hunting Deer and Grous. no Deer killed and but few Grouse. Johney killed a very large mountain Rabbit. they have very long wide feete to enable them to walk over the soft snow without sinking. Rain all day.

June 12th Remained in camp. Rain off and on all day.

June 13th Remained in camp. Pack train came in about dark having lost one Pack mule and two riding anamals, 200 Poundes of Bacon 2 Boxes of hard \* Bread and 100 Lbs of Sugar. men and mules very tired. Several of our Packers want to quit saying the work is too hard for them, especially as they have to work in the snow & water all the time. Rained all day. Streams are rising very fast, and will give us some trouble.

June 14th Marched three miles. Camped Just below the Burnt town. Several miners has come in from Montana and are prospecting for Gold. they go around with Pick, Pan, Shovel and Rifle. Rained all day. Streames are raising fast. Lt. Pitcher has been quite sick for several days. infact he has been sick ever since he killed the 3 Deer and now Robbins is sick with the same deseas. it is what they call Mountain Fever. Pitcher is gitting beter while Robbins is now delerious. it is a bad place and bad weather for sick people. I am the Doctor and have nothing but Carthic and Quinine Pills to give them, while this and Brandy is our suply of medisens. I wouldnt know how to use but very few other Medisens if I had them. as night comes on the rain changes to snow.

June 15th Remained in camp on account of the sick men and high water. \* Sent Ramey our new Guide with Seven men down the canyon to looke for Indian signs and to see if the streams can be crossed. he returns in the evening with the information that the Pack train canot



cross the stream. Rained all day. Pitcher and Robbins are both better to day.

June 16th Remained in camp Sending a party to the North West to see if we could get out in that direction. they return in the evening in a heavy snow storm with the information that they had gone as far as they could go for stones. one of the Horses fell in the Rocks cutting himself fearfully. Several of the cuts wer so large they had to be sewed up. one cut requiring ten stitches. the rider was (ILLEGIBLE).

June 17th Remained in camp. the streames falling alittle. Rained off and on all day. Pitcher is nearly well. Robbins is better.

June 18th Remained in camp. Sent Lt. Pitcher with 25 men 8 Miles down the canyon to build a Bridge across Loone Creeke. Returned in the evening without having compleeted it. when they would fall a tree across the stream it would brake in two an be carryed away. Several wer lost in this way. at last \* they got one to remain tho at such a late hour in the evening that they could no complete it. The sun Shown to day nearly all all day, livening up every thing very much. a man came in to day from the Yellow Jacket Mining deastrict where he has been all winter. he reports Indian signs on Camas Creeke about 70 Miles from heare North East. The man has a Rifle and 18 cartridges two Blankets and about thirty Poundes of Flour - and sayes he has eaten nothing but Bread and Salt, with an ocasional Grouse, for six Months. he is looking well. is cherful - Ragged and dirty. So we will march in the morning compleete Pitchers Bridge and go to the place where the man sayes he sean the Indian signs. tho I dont believe his story atall.

June 19th Marched 18 Miles camped at the hot springs on hot creeke. the stream having fallen we wer able to cross without having to compleete the Bridge. the Pack mules could Just cross without swimming. after folowing the Loon Creeke Canyon for 10 miles we turned to our right up the deepe narrow Rocky and Brusshy Canyon that hot creeke flowes through. the stream is deepe narrow and \* rappid. the trail which was an old one and very dim, crossed the stream many times. Rain fell at intervals all day, wetting the bushes which kept us wet all day. when the Train came in we found we wer out two Mules and four cargoes, consisting of Bacon, Hard Bread, Sugar and Coffee. from losses our 60 days rations are gowing fast. the hot springs neare camp are splendid bathing places. Several of them poring over fallls forming a perfect Shower [Bath]. This evening the sun is shining Brightly. in our camp, are several Mountain Sheeps Heads and Horns, the Longest I ever sean. This is an old campng place for Indians. Sheepe and Deer use the hot srings as a Lick. The Indians camp here and kill many of them.

June 20th Marched 16 Miles Camped on Camas Creeke. Leaving Hot Springs we followed up hot creeke crossing it many times. the trail thin turned to the left crossing a high snowy mountain down on the head waters of Camas Creeke. To day our losses wer oly two cargoes and one Mule. the mule being killed by roling down \* the mountain into the stream. the losses wer Hard Bread, Bacon and Horse Shoes. we will now soone find whether the Indians are heare or not. Grass very good. no Rain to day but wood Ticks by the thousandes are found every where and anoy men and Horses very much.

June 21st Marched 12 Miles Camped on the west Fork of Camas Creeke Shortly leaving camp this morning struck fressh Poney tracks. following



them carefully - we came upon more. so every thing was kept ready to charge an Indian camp. The canyon here opened out into a flat with rolling hills on each side. from the lay of the country the Indian camp must be to our left and front. here we taken the gallop and upon coming to the summit of a low ridge we saw smoke up the canyon and Horses grazing in the valley this side of where the smoke was seen. the gallop was continued until we passed the Horses. we then came to a walk in order to enable us to more closely and correctly see where we were going from this point we could see three white men \* with Rifles running for the Rocks. we could then plainly see that we were advancing upon a camp of miners. when they first saw us they mistaken us for Indians and ran for the Rocks. we then went into camp. and the party of miners had been camped there for several weeks prospecting for Gold. the man that told us they were Indians here had seen the smoke from their camp fire and their Poney tracks. Johnny Vose to day killed a very nice Deer. Rain commenced to fall about noon continuing until night when it turned to snow. Just about Sundown a very heavy Hail Storm came up causing our Stock to Stampede and run for several miles - running with the wind the large hail stones giving them a good pelting. the Herders all mounted and went with the Herd bringing the stock back as soon as the storm ceased.

June 22nd Remained in camp. Sent Ramey with a party of men down the Canyon, to find if we could get down it to the Middle Salmon River. they returned in the evening with the information that we could not. Johnny Killed \* two more Deer to day. Rained and snowed off and on all day. the Miners say they have seen a Band or Herd of Sheep on the high mountains in this vicinity of a species they never seen before. they describe them as very wild. Ramey tells me has often seen them and has killed two of them. he describes them about as follows - They are very large and white as snow, with very long curly wool, with immense Horns that stand out from their Head curling back like the Mountain Sheepes Horns. tho much longer and not so thick and heavy. this may all be so but Ramey is such a Romancer that I never know whether to believe his stories or not. will move in the morning and try to get to the Middle Salmon by going over the snow covered Mountains.

June 23rd Marched 6 miles. Camped on the same stream. Snowed hard all the time we were marching. the bushes being very thick every body got as wet as water or melting snow could make them, wood being in abundance all hands were soon around large camp fires. Johnny and Lt. Pitcher went out in the \* evening each one bringing in a Deer and a Grouse. one of the men also killed a Deer.

June 24th Marched 12 Miles passing over a mountain with much fallen timber. the summit and North west slope covered with snow that was as hard as Ice. it gave us no trouble in passing over it. we ascended another range of Mountains to near its summit when we found the opposite side to be a precipice. we retraced our steps to the foot and went into camp, in the snow and mud. this was a very hard days march on the stock. in ascending the last mountain the entire distance passed over was Rocks and snow. The rocks cutting the Horses feet and ankles badly. fortunately for the Pack mules they were so fair in rear they did not have to ascend the last mountain. Grass very poor - what there is of it. Rained and snowed during the day.

June 25th Marched 16 Miles camped on the Middle Salmon at the Mouth



of Loon Creeke. for the first six Miles we had hard work on account of the softness of the earth from the rain and melting snow. as \* we neared the top of the mountain the snow became \_\_\_ deepe and in places quite steepe. one of our Pack mules Roled from neare the top to the bottom a distance of about Six Hundred yards. the cargo and apparyoho was lost and the mule reported dead. the folowing day it came limping into camp considerably bruised up by his role, tho will recover. after once on top the mountain the whole country was deepe snow for about five miles. it was hard and gave us no trouble. this side of the mountain is very steepe. we go down rappidly. within a distance of ten miles with have come from ten feete of snow to Roses and Rattle snakes. Since we came into camp five Rattle snakes have been killed Johnny Killed two Deer, after we came into camp, our first Trout wer caught to day. they wer nice ones weighing from 1/2 to 1 1/2 Poundes. The Streames are full of Water. the Middle Salmon is a butiful streame. its about 3 Hundred yds. wide with a very steady but rappid current. Loone creeke is about fifty yards wide and \* has such a rappid current the water is as white as fome. we are now camped in a small valley where the Grass is splendid. and as we canot well go on in any other direction except back on our own trail, we will remain in camp for awhile to allow our stock to graize and Rest. we will allso Bridge Loone Creek by falling tree from each shore to a small Island in the stream

June 26th Remained in camp. Bridged the stream and caught many Trout. our Bridge consists of two trees fell so ther tops rests on the Island. it will serve as a foot Log for the men to carry every thing across the stream on. a place was found wher the stock can be forded. the mules may have to swim. the Horses can just cross, without swimming.

June 27th Moved camp one mile. the company crossed the stream on ther horses. the the water runing over the Backs of many of the smaler ones. the mules all had to swim many of them being carryed a long wayes down the stream. One of the mules did a thing to day that shoves that an anamal has more sense than we give them credit for. as one of them was being carryey \* down stream it struggled to the shore wher the bank was so steepe it could not get out. the water beeing so deepe and swift that it could not keepe on its feet. it taken holt of a strong willow bush with its mouth and held fast untill Ropes wer got around it to assist it in getting out. when the mule was safe on the bank of the stream, the Packers and Soldies gave three harty cheers for the mule. after gowing into camp the men went back and carried every thing across to the oppiset side where it was loded on the mules and brought to camp. two of the mules fell off the narrow trail roling into the stream, loosing ther cargos. two thousand Rounds of cartridge and two hundred Poundes of Horse Shoes. Robbins, Ramey, and I went up the River to see if we could find a crossing. Robbins taken my Horse steaRupt and fwam him to the oppiset side of the Middle Salmon then went up about thre miles and swam him back again. he sayes he is the best horse he evr had in the water. so there is no show to cross, without swimming and to do this we would loose all our Rations. a raft canot be handled on the River. it is so \* very swift. while we wer up the River I killed five Grous and got a shot at a Deer and should have been kicked for not killing it. Fishing for the men and Grazing for the stock is splendid.



June 28th Marched 18 miles up the River camped on its bank at the mouth of a small stream. trail was steepe Rocky and through dence timber much of it down causing us to do a greadeal of chopping. Several Rattle Snakes wer killed in camp to day. Rained off and on all day. Grass splended. Sent Robbins and Ramey out to find a way up the River for tomorrows March. they returned in the evening reporting that we could go tho the country was very rough.

June 29th Marched 10 miles up the River made trail all the way. Camped at some Hot springs on the Bank of the River. Rained all day with a heavy storm of wind Hail and Thunder in the evening. Ramey and I had a long walk looking over the country for a way out tomorrow. Robbins and Pitcher went fishing and caught some splendid Trout. Johny went out and killed several Grous.

June 30th Marched 18 miles camped \* on the same stream. made trail all the way. passed over a very high point of mountain. Robbins met a Black Beare and shot at it but did not kill it. Sume of the men asked him if he only tried to scare it away, as it was but fifty yeardes from him. this seamed to pleague Robbins very much as he prides himself on being a good shot. to day passed over one of the most magenificent quartes Ledges I have ever sean. if it has Gold or silver in it, it is very valuabe as it would be easily worked. Just before going into camp one of the men killed a very Large mountain sheepe. it weighed over 200 Pounds. Rained in the evening.

July 1st Marched 15 Miles camped on the same River at the mout of a small stream, we called Rappid River. went into camp, for the purpos of Bridging the stream which we did by falling a large tree across it. then lashed small logs on each side of the large one, put leaves and earth on top of the log which formed a foot log or Bridge that the whole command crossed over on. heare when my blankets was being roled up in the morning a Rattle Snake about 16 inches long was found snugly coyled in them as the morning was quite cold. the snake was very inactive. he was gently lade in a camp fire to get warm. Trail to day was very Rocky and Rough. Very little Rain to day.

July 2 Marched 10 miles made trail all the way over the roughest country yet traveled over. camped on the Middle Salmon. one of the men killed a very large Mountain Sheepe. its Head and Horns would weigh about 50 Pounds. five Bare wer sean on the opposet side of the River. To day 8 pack mules fell and roled into the River. Six of them swam with ther Loades to the opposit side of the stream the other two wer Drowned, Loosing ther cargoes. every thing that Pitcher and I had went across the River on the mules. Pitcher and Barns the chief Packer, swam ther Horses across the stream got the mules, and drove them to a deepe and still place in the River and made them swim back again, getting \* our Blankets good and wet. Our Rations wer allso wet, which Left us without Sugar or Salt. Our camp was neare a warm Sulpher Spring in which all handes had a good Bath. This is the gratest country for quarts I have ever sean. The canyon ahead of us seames to close in leaving nothing but a deepe narrow gorge for the River to run through. So tomorrow we may have to leave the River and take to the snow covered Mountains.

July 3rd Marched 10 Miles Camped on a small stream a tributary of the Middle Salmon. after leaving camp we worked our way along the River bank for about 3 miles over Rocks all the way. then turned South East to the top of a high Ridge where we found a game trail running



East. following this trail up to neare the snow line we went into camp. to Looke around for a way out, sent Robbins and Ramey South and Johny South west. both Parties returned after darke with the information that we could not get out in the direction they had been. \* 4 Deer and many Grouse wer killed to day. In camp to day several peices of Quarts wer found with free Gold in them. no Prospectors have ever been in this country. all of them told me that Horses cold not be got over this section of the country atall. tomorrow will give us plenty of snow and will no doubt prove whether we will be able to get through or not. Robbins and Ramey Reportes they passed by seven Lakes Frozen over. Robbins Killed a very Large Buck but could not bring it in.

July 4th Marched 20 miles camped on the head waters of the crooked River at some sulpher springs which Elk, Moose, Deer and Sheepe use as a lick. for a mile this spring it is cut up like a Barn Yard by the game. 4 Deer wer killed heare. we only had about six miles of snow. this we passed over in the morning while it was hard so it gave us but little trouble. neare camp we found we found many splendid strawberries. neare the Sulpher Springs are mountains of splendid looking quartz. this is one of the best camps we have had so fair. Tomorrow should take us to some point that will let is know where we are. \*

July 5th Marched 21 Miles camped on Loone creeke on our old trail about six miles south of Oro Grande. the entire march was up and down steepe mountains. no snow tho plenty of Timber logs and Rocks. Pitcher and I road to the top of a very high Rocky Peake to select a way out. While on top of the Peak we discovered five Large Mountain Sheap at the foot of the Rocks sunning themselves and chewing ther Cuds. Pitcher went back got some men slipt up on them killing two of them and wounding the other three. This days march takes us out of our troubles and puts us on a plain trail.

July 6th Marched 34 miles camped on the Cape Horn River about 5 miles above wher we wer camped in June waiting for our Pack train to get out of the snow and come to us.

July 7th Sent the Pack train to Boise with a small escort for Rations. having lost so many we could not make an extend campaign without a new suply. Sent Ramey to Bonza for any mail there might be for us and to try and get some late papers.

July 8th Remaining in camp. got many papers from Bonanza and Killed 4 Deere. \*

July 9th Remained at this camp untill the return of the Pack train from Boise. we wer camped on the main trail from Boise to Bonanza. parties wer passing to and fro every day. many of them brought us nuse papers from Boise, Idaho and Bonanza. Several Deer men killed while at this camp. five of the men got very sick with mountain fever and had to be sent home.

July 18th Marched 16 miles camped in Beare Valy on what is known as the Dead wood trail. the valy is about 10 miles wide and about 30 miles long. heare we killed our first Bear a medium sized Sinamon very fat and good to eat. the trail was a good one and the Grass in camp splendid and in abundance.

July 19th Marched 16 Miles camped on Deere creeke. a tributary of the Piat River. trail good. Horse flies wer numerous and ayoyed our stock ver much. Robbins and I had a long Ride to select wher we would go tomorrow. Killed one deer.

July 20th Marched 12 miles. over snow and Rocks. Country very



rough. Rained all day and snowed at night. killed Ten Deer I killing five of them one of them being a very large one. it had 11 prongs on each horne. \* one of the men killed one equally as large tho it had but 9 prongs on each horn. this camp was made high up in the mountains on a small tributary of the Middle Salmon River. very little grass, which caused our stock to scatter during the night. this detained us in camp an hour or so looking for them.

July 21 Marched 10 miles camped on the East Fork of the South Salmon River in a splendid Meddow of good Grass. heare we sean and killed our first Salmon. they wer fine fish weighing from 20 to 50 Lbs. in this camp we skined and hung up our Deer killed yeasterday. they made quite a show of fresh meat.

July 22nd Marched 15 miles camped on same stream. tho in the Rocks and Timber with very pore grass. heare we caught many fine Trout. Sent Pitcher & Johny in one direction and Robbins and Ramey in an other to find a way out. All came back with a storry of having discovered Lakes and Rivers of wonderful sises. the streams all running in the wrong direction. The two parties stories about the country not agreeing atall. I canot see how men \* can get so turned around in the mountains.

July 23rd Marched 15 miles over the roughest of mountains camping on a small stream in the woods. we are now suposed to be neare the South Salmon River and in the vacinity of the \_\_\_\_\_ (ILLEGIBLE) on spenit lake. we passed over much snow to day tho it gave us no trouble. Killed on Deer

July 24th Marched 5 miles to the worm Lake. found it to be about two miles wide and about five long. made a Raft and went out on to the Lake fishing but caught none. it is very deepe and cleare, tho the bottom could not be sean. The Grass on one side of this Lake is very good and in abundance. all hands had a good swim in the Lake.

July 25th Marched 25 Miles down the South Salmon following an old trail that had much fallen timber across it. camped on the River at a very good grazing place. Killed several large Salmon.

July 26th Marched 23 Miles. Trail rough with much fallen timber crossed the River five times. Killed several Salmon. Had a good camp for grass. \*

July 27th Marched 20 miles down the River. Trail steepe and rocky. crossed the mouth of the east fork which is about the same sise as the main river. at the mouth of this stream (the east fork) is an old mining camp, wher much work has been done. 5 miles below this is the mining town of Tailholt. heare we found two white men and seven Chineman at work. six miles further on we went into camp, where we had splendid Grass, and caught more nice Trout. this place is allso an olde deserted mining town.

July 28th Remained in camp to rest the stock. caught many nice fish during the day and Pitcher killed a nice Deer.

July 29th Marched 12 miles Camped on the River neare Johnsons and Smead Ranches. Johnson and his partner wer killed this spring by the Indians. we are now about 15 miles from the mining town of Warrans.

July 30th Remained in camp and got Letters from Lt. Farrow. That Led us a wild goose chase of which I have given you a full account hearetofore.



APPENDIX C

NOTES FROM HOWARD'S INTERROGATION OF THE SHEEPEATERS