

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title: Cultural Integrity and Marginality Along the Sourth Fork of the Salmon River, Idaho

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Abstract approved: _____
Dr. Thomas C. Hogg /

This work examines the varied populations which have inhabited the South Fork region from prehistoric times to the present. It disclosed that even though almost no archaeology has been done in the area, data from contiguous regions suggest that persistent and careful archaeological investigation should reveal valuable and informative sites dating back at least as far as the oldest sites currently known in Idaho.

This work also shows that, notwithstanding basic ethnic differences, a temporal continuum of over 12,000 years, and the fact of an isolated mountain habitat, various human populations did not live marginal existences dependent upon periodic excursions outside the mountain area. Rather, their lives were comfortable, satisfying, and amply provided for year round from within their mountain habitat. Various populations maintained an overall, preferred cultural emphasis on positive isolationism which permeated their distinct cultures and affected in a similar manner their relationships and dealings with outsiders, whether these outsiders were culturally similar or culturally different in crigin from themselves.

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Cultural Integrity and Marginality
Along the South Fork of the Salmon River, Idaho
by
S.J. Rebillet

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Typed by Pamela Walker and Sue Cruse for S. J. Rebillet

DEDICATION

To my family: Pam, whose good cheer, encouragement and companionship have kept me going even--and especially--through the rough spots; Jill and Katy--daughters of the back-country, who aren't sure just what all this fuss has been about but who figure that time will give it all some meaning.

and

To Dr. Thomas C. Hogg who by living anthropology day in and day out has taught me the real meaning of my profession. His hours of advice and encouragement have certainly made this a document I can feel proud of.

and finally

To the South Fork and all us savages who have ever called it Home.

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During the course of this project, I have recieved many kinds of help from many people. Each in its own way, was invaluable to me. It is now the "ninth hour" and for any person whose name may not appear here, I do ask pardon. As I am sure many others have been before, this list will unfortunately be incomplete; but my sincere gratitude goes out to all persons named and un-named whose kindness I here acknowledge.

First and foremost, I must thank those two spartan ladies who--puttuig aside their own busy lives--typed this document in five short days: Sue Cruse and Pam Walker. Their being my Mom and companion in no way diminishes the task they have done.

All the members of my comittee in one way and another have not only aided but encouraged me along the way. Dr. Tom McClintock initially encouraged me to see Dr. Merle Wells, of the Idaho State Historical Society who subsequently provided me with both the opportunity and the grant to research this project. Dr. David Brauner's patience, advice and assistance at all stages of the archaeological work enabled me to accomplish that stage of the work with assurance. And finally, I had the great good fortune to be able to do this work under the auspices of Dr. Thomas C. Hogg.

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Yvonne Smith helped with the photography by doing both the close-up shoths and developing the black and whites for me. And our neighbors Tamar and Pam helped out immensely in these last hectic days in numerous ways.

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CULTURAL INTEGRITY AND MARGINALITY
ALONG THE SOUTH FORK OF THE SALMON RIVER, IDAHO

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

This thesis will focus on the South Fork of the Salmon River in central Idaho. The South Fork--as it will be designated throughout this paper--is a major river in the Salmon River drainage (Figure 1). According to Boreson (1979:5), "The South Fork and its tributaries provide a complex and dynamic critical habitat for the anadromous summer Chinook salmon and steelhead trout, plus a resident fishery." Further on, she cites Richards (1963:3) as saying that "On the basis of the redd counts, the South Fork proper is the most important, single Chinook spawning stream in the Salmon river [sic] drainage."

The headwaters of the South Fork are approximately 50 miles due east and slightly south of Cascade, Idaho, the county seat of Valley County. Its mouth is approximately 68 miles north of the headwaters. There is no road traveling the length of this river.

Some 48 miles east of Riggins, Idaho, the main Salmon River makes a deep southerly bend; the mouth of the South Fork is at the nadir of this bend. The last 20 miles of the lower South Fork lie in Idaho County, whose county seat is Grangeville, some 54 miles north of Riggins.

South Fork country is steep and rough--the river having cut for itself an extensive canyon which is deepest at the lower (north) end. The river itself is, in most places, swift and relatively deep, with intermittent pools where the salmon spawn (Figures 2-6).

The drainage is a natural habitat for many species of game, among which are elk (*Cervus elaphus*), deer (*Odocoileus* sp.), cougar (*Felis concolor*), bobcat (*Lynx canadensis*), coyote (*Canis latrans*), bear (*Euarctos americanus*), occasional otter (*Lutra*

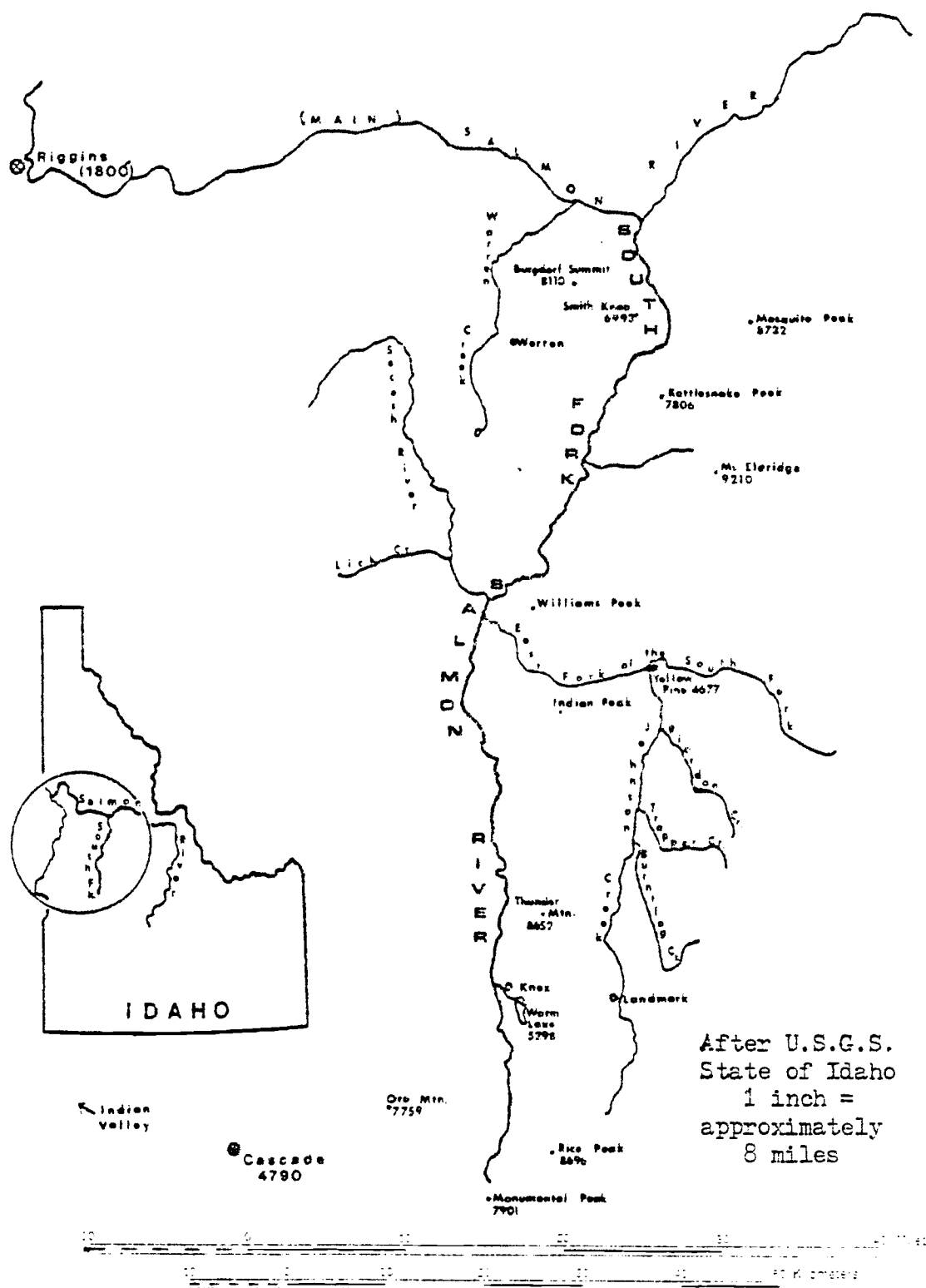


Figure 1 South Fork locality



Figure 2 South Fork country



Figure 3 Coming down to the river



Figure 4 South Fork below rockshelter cove

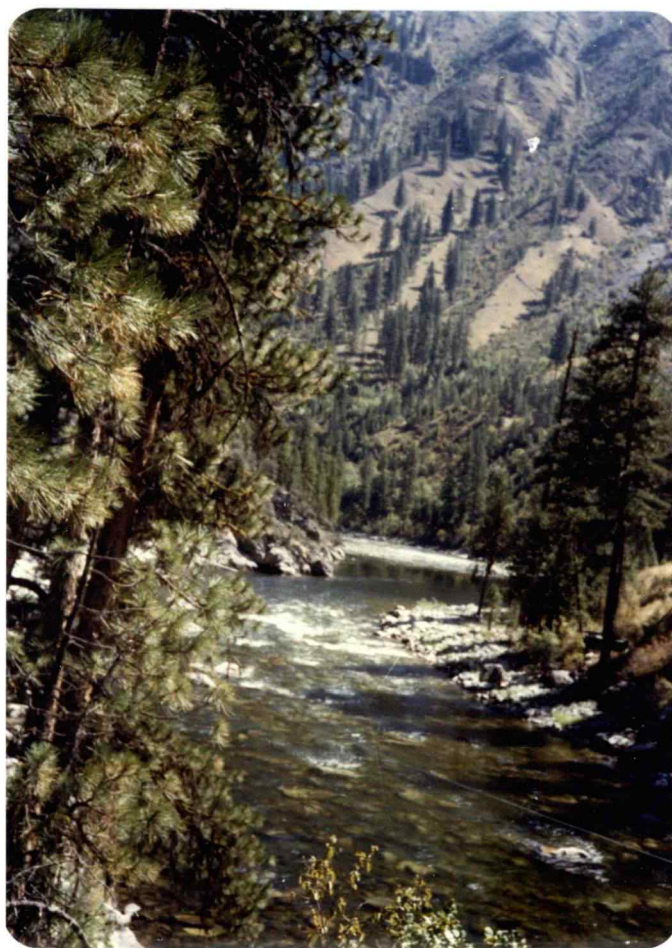


Figure 5 South Fork meander looking north



Figure 6 South Fork pool; vicinity of pictograph

canadensis), and beaver (*Castor canadensis*), badger (*Taxidea taxus*), mountain goats (*Oreamnos americanus*), and sheep (*Ovis canadensis*), and more rarely, moose (*Alces americanus*).

Native fowl include eagles (*Aquila chrysaetos*), hawks (*Buteo jamaicensis*), chukars (*Alectoris chukar*), grouse (*Bonasa umbellus*), and screech (*Otus asio*), barn (*Tyto alba*), and great horned owls (*Bubo virginianus*). A wide variety of smaller birds includes mountain bluebird (*Sialia currucoides*), ravens (*Corvus corax*), robins (*Turdus migratorius*), hummingbirds (*Archilochus alexandri*), woodpeckers (*Melanerpes erythrocephalus*), and the notorious "campropper" (*Pica pica*).

Smaller mammals include packrats (*Cricetidae neotoma*), mice (*Mus musculus*), squirrels (*Sciurus vulgaris*), weasels (*Mustela nivalis*), raccoons (*Procyon lotor*), marmots (*Marmota flaviventris*), skunks (*Mephitis mephitis*), porcupines (*Erethizon dorsatum*), badger (*Meles meles*), and, in the higher elevations, the elusive and clever little coney (*Ochotona princeps*). There is also a variety of small snakes and lizards in addition to the rattlesnake (*Crotalus atrox*) and bullsnake (*Pituophis melanoleucus*), both common to this area.

Arable lands along the South Fork are extremely rich and fertile. Most of the settled places along the river enjoy a fairly temperate climate. Their elevation is only two to three thousand feet compared with summit elevations along the river averaging approximately 7,500 to 8,000 feet. The average growing season lasts from mid-April or early May to late September or early October. Local people often say that "Just about any seed dropped into South Fork land will grow and produce."

Wild huckleberries (*Gaylussacia ericaceae*) are abundant on some of the upper slopes. Throughout the area such edible and useful plants as chokecherries (*Prunus virginiana*), elderberries (*Sambucus erulea*), service berries (*Amelanchier alnifolia*), wild rose (*Rosa rubiginosa*), chittum (*Rhamnus purshiana*), and several varieties of edible mushrooms (*Psalliota campestris*) can be found.

The forests are predominantly yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), but there are also lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*), some Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga taxifolia*), mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus montonus*), and isolated instances of the yew (*Taxus brevifolia*). Yew trees, according to some informants, were preferred and sought after for arrow making by Indian inhabitants. *Syringa* (*Philadelphus coronarius*) is very common, along with a good variety of grasses and bushes.

As a past inhabitant of the South Fork for some years, I have felt that the area and its people may be nearly unique in the latter-day twentieth century United States. To determine whether my feelings stemmed merely from a personal bias and pride or from something more substantial, I embarked upon a thorough study of the region and the people. The work focused both on the historic period and, as far as possible, into prehistoric times. To pursue this research, it was my good fortune to obtain a considerable grant from the Idaho State Historical Society through Dr. Merle W. Wells.

The work employed two basic research methods: 1) to search out and interview past and current South Fork inhabitants, particularly the "old-timers"; and 2) to review archival and all other materials concerning the area. Within the latter category I included the following: pertinent archaeological records from areas (both geographical and cultural) peripheral to the South Fork as well as those of the South Fork proper; written materials concerning the "Indian Era" of the region, both pre- and post-contact; a detailed and extensive study of cartographic materials on the area; both white and Chinese mining histories and records; works of the local historians; Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) histories and documents; past and present newspapers; and formal land records in county offices.

The main questions on which this thesis is based deal with the peoples' relationship to the river and the cultural significance of isolation in the South Fork region. The first question is:

Can it be established that there has existed throughout both the known and the hypothetically-defined histories of human existence in this South Fork region a definitive and bonding relationship between the inhabitants (regardless of cultural background) and "The River"? (see glossary). The second is: Can it be shown that, because of this relationship to the river and its environs, the area provides a cultural refuge for a specific type of people? The third question is: Has this refuge circumstance prevailed over time to affect different cultures in the same way?

The extreme paucity of formal written information about the South Fork is staggering. This fact alone lends some plausibility to the theory of extreme isolationism on the part of the inhabitants. Idaho's last "great Indian war" was waged in this area. The old mining town of Warren, whose reputation once rivalled that of the Yukon, is only 15 miles to the west of the South Fork proper. Immediately following Idaho's 1885 - 1886 "rid the country of the Chinese" campaign, vast numbers of Chinese are known to have inhabited the Warren District. And yet rarely, and then only with skimming reference, is the South Fork discussed in reference to these and other historical incidents.

My greatest asset for this research was my own intimate knowledge of the area and the people. From 1968 to 1972 I lived on the South Fork on the original Smith Ranch, and for a while on the main Salmon River at Mackay Bar. On the South Fork, we operated the ranch as a working ranch. In the fall we had a hunting operation in the Mosquito Peak area and down into the Chamberlain Basin country north and east of the ranch. Everything necessary for the hunting camps was trucked in to the ranch, then trucked and packed on horses and mules into the even more remote base camps. For a while we logged and operated a steam-powered sawmill along with the ranching. In the summer and fall of 1970, I carried the mail for the route that served an area from Warren to a portion of the lower South Fork and Elk Creek.

In May, 1970, I was flown out to McCall to await the birth of

my older daughter. She was born on the 18th, and a few days later we flew back in to the ranch. She is the last child born to the Smith Ranch.

Having once been one of the "River People" makes the task of defining the "South Fork Mystique" at once less obscure and yet infinitely more difficult. Nevertheless, without this advantage I might have been caught up in perpetuating any one or all of the numerous--and sometimes blatant--stereotypic errors I encountered during my research.

This research was aimed, then, at testing the validity of the following hypothesis:

That regardless of ethnic or economic backgrounds or eras of time, people of the South Fork area can be termed a common cultural type of people who share a deep affinity for the river and its environs and who developed and maintained a strongly self-sufficient and isolated sub-culture.

The following work is intended to clarify and substantiate this statement.

CHAPTER II GENERAL PREHISTORY

Introduction

The working hypothesis for this paper is that the central Idaho mountains in general, and the South Fork of the Salmon River in particular, hold invaluable evidence to the earliest peoples in the west, and this evidence will tend to support rather than refute the view that mountainous regions are not mere marginal refuge areas but have been year-round human habitations with unique cultural features for thousands of years.

The purpose of the following archaeological discussion is not to look intensely at any one archaeological site or group of sites within the study area (Figure 7), but rather to look generally at archaeology within the central Idaho intermontane area (Figure 7), in order to attempt to hypothesize what might be found archaeologically in the South Fork country based on existing evidence.

Because of the limited amount of systematic archaeology, either attempted or accomplished along the South Fork of the Salmon River, it was necessary to examine general prehistoric materials from central Idaho. Central Idaho sites were first placed in chronological order to illustrate the fact that upland settlement patterns are present as far back in time as is indicated by the current archaeological evidence. In addition to those sites which have been dated, other sites were mapped which have been recorded but not tested; been recorded and tested by not dated; or have simply been noted.

The only other technical data used in this overview were general projectile point descriptions, some careful and supportive map work, and the general geographical features of the area. No attempt was made to work with soil evaluation other than Mazama ash which is noted in a general and comparative manner only.



Figure 7 Map of general study area

Before embarking on the prehistorical information for this thesis, I would like to step briefly outside the traditional format in order to pay tribute to a man I never knew, yet whose personality in general, and a single theory in particular, provided me with a good portion of the impetus needed to accomplish this part of the task. That man is Mr. Itaru Ina.

Mr. Ina was born in the United States but educated in Japan and came to this country as a young man prior to World War II. Here he met and married his wife. It was while awaiting the birth of their daughter that the United States entered the war. The family was placed in an internment camp for Japanese-Americans, and it was in one of these "camps" that the daughter, my friend, was born.

During the first part of his internment, Mr. Ina was in Topaz, Utah, in that part of the country archaeologists call the "Upper Great Basin." Mr. Ina was a religious leader and an artist, and a thoughtful and observant man. During the time he was in this area, while walking around the "camp" he noticed and began to collect projectile points. In time he built up a beautiful collection which is now in the possession of his elder grandson.

Among this collection is a tiny, very minute and flawless sidenotched obsidian point. As he pondered these relics and the peoples who had made them, he particularly considered this very small, delicate piece. It was his belief that points such as this were not used in the mundane process of hunting but rather were very meticulously crafted by young men to impress the family of a preferred lady with their skills. They were gifts.

In this day and age of scrambling after scientific advancement, when archaeologists are obsessed with evidence from their sites indicating new or changing "technologies" of prehistoric peoples, it is good to stop and take hold of actualities. We must never lose sight of the fact that in all ages, the people dealt with are more than just the few stone "artifacts" through which we must see them. They dealt with each other, and some of what has been left

for us to see must be understood as evidence of this fact as well.

Prehistoric Cultural Divisions of Central Idaho

It has taken historians and later anthropologists two centuries to recognize and address themselves to the fact that most indigenous North American histories, languages, and knowledge of traditional territorial rights had been lost and that the remainder were teetering on the threshold of extinction. Now, feverish attempts are being made to culturo-geographically map the land as it was before the times of the Europeans.

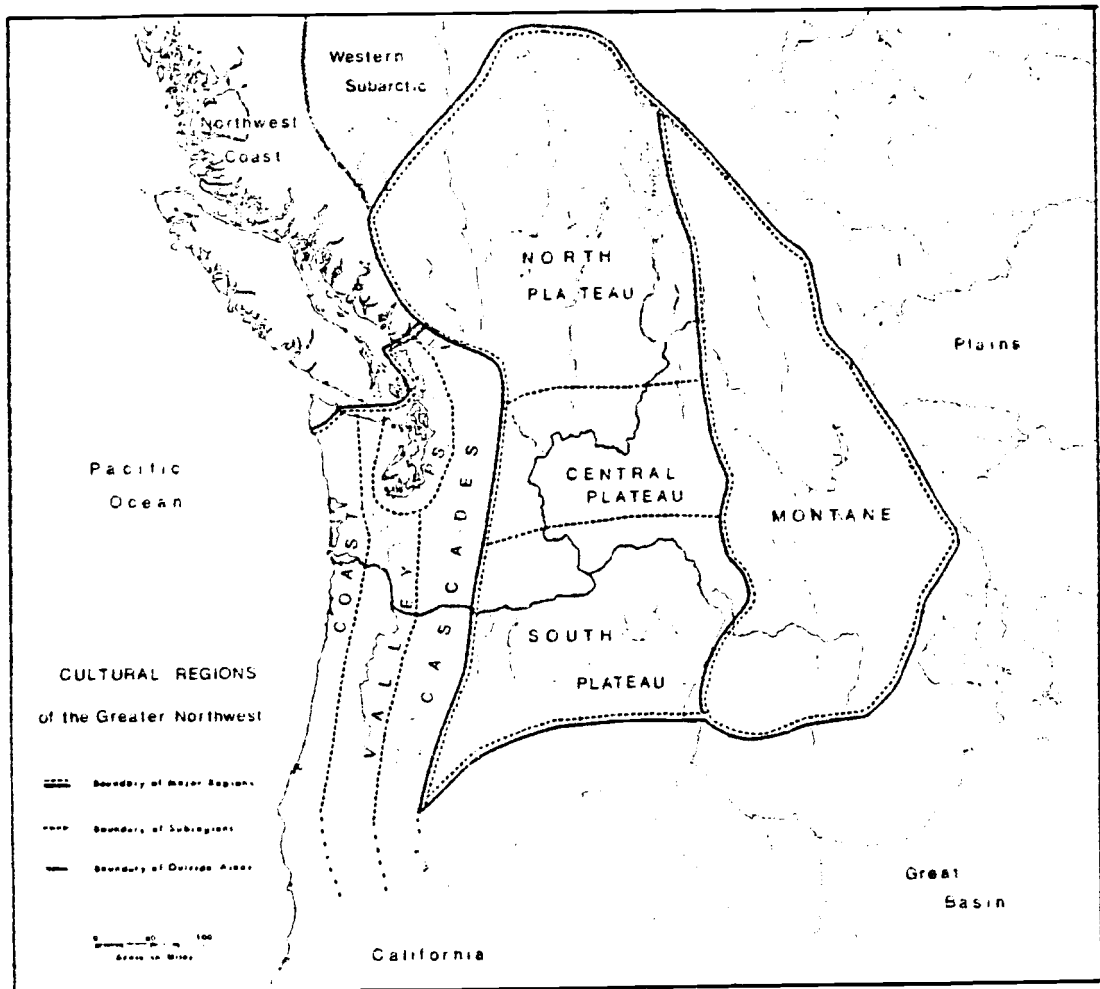
Studies of the literature pertinent to the central Idaho region reveal an ambiguity in the traditional native territorial designations as proposed by various noted anthropologists. This ambiguity appears to stem from nothing more than the preferential interest in a specific native culture by the researcher. For example, Spinden (1908), Walker (1968), and Haines (1955, 1970) tend to describe the region as part of the Nez Perce territories. Conversely, researchers such as Liljeblad (1957), Murphy and Murphy (1960), and Swanson (1974), whose greater interest is in the Shoshoni, tend to present the area as the heartland of the mountain Shoshoni. Since archaeologists must use known historical and ethnographic data as bases for many of their reconstructions, and since a great deal of archaeological and anthropological work is in the nature of attempting to trace and validate cultural origins and migrations, this territorial ambiguity poses a great problem.

The specific geographic boundaries of the area in question are as follows: to the east, the long, northward-flowing stretch of the main Salmon River which is now paralleled by highway 93; to the south, the South Fork of the Payette River; to the west, the Payette Lakes; and to the north, the long, westward-flowing stretch of the main Salmon River. Within this region lie the South and Middle Forks of the Salmon River and the Redfish Lake at the headwaters of the Salmon River (Figure 7).

This country lies in a very strategic position between the Plateau to the north and west and the Great Basin to the south. On Hogg's (1981) map of the "Cultural Regions of the Greater Northwest" this area lies at the very southern tip of the Montane region (Figure 8).

Hogg's map is of prime significance to this paper as it offers a much-needed and viable solution to another state of ambiguity within the archaeological and anthropological literature. For some 40 years the Plateau and the Great Basin have been regarded by anthropologists and archaeologists as viable Native American "cultural regions." Ray (1939) could be said to have initiated this trend with the Plateau region and Cressman (1942, 1977) with the Great Basin. For some four decades, then, anthropologists and archaeologists have been bent on culturally "typing" Native peoples within one or the other of these cultural areas according to 1) the proximity of the group in question to either of the areas, and 2) cultural traits evidenced or seemingly evidenced by the group in question. The ambiguity and the questionableness of this system is made quite evident when researching the Northern Shoshoni, particularly their pre-history.

Systematic high-country archaeology in the central Idaho region can be said to be in its initial stages of development. Following the leads of predecessors, contemporary archaeologists shy away from proposing a mountain-oriented and originated or montane culture. Several scholars clearly describe a long cultural continuity in the high country regions and traits or evidences of traits that can be ascribed to mountainous living, but in their conclusions they simply attempt to lump any findings into a pattern of Plateau or Great Basin typology (Bense 1972; Ames and Marshall 1980; Knudson 1982). The possibility for greater anthropological clarity certainly seems to exist if a Montane cultural area such as that suggested by Hogg (1981) were to be regarded as viable. Swanson (1972:209) himself states that:



Cultural regions of the greater Northwest: T. C. Hogg, 1981

Figure 8

Ethnographic data indicated that the largest population of related Shoshonean peoples lay along the Rocky Mountains on the axis of an ecological system. In turn this suggested that mountain valleys may have been the homeland of Northern Shoshoni and related populations since early time rather than a late marginal refuge.

Over time, archaeologists have advanced certain frequently encountered data which have come to be regarded as a classic identification of certain cultural affinities. In the Northwest Plateau area, two of these data by which archaeologists classify their findings as to "cultural type" are: apparent settlement patterns and house types. According to Pavesic (1978:35), "The Middle Fork is a prime candidate for delineating the evolution of the housepit village cluster." Pavesic (1978:33,35) also offers two excellent precautions: 1) that "Researchers should again be reminded, it is not an either/or situation; the reconstructed Middle Fork model may prove to be unique"; and 2) that "It may prove to be archeologically impossible to directly correlate historic populations over thousands of years."

Six years before Pavesic's report on his work on the Middle Fork, the late Dr. E. H. Swanson, Jr. published his extensive work, Birch Creek: Human Ecology in the Cool Desert of the Northern Rocky Mountains 9,000 B.C. - A.D. 1850. Swanson (1972:5) stated that his intentions were to examine his hypothesis that "...the Northern Shoshoni belonged to the mountains." He was directly challenging the classic viewpoint that the Shoshoni were late migrants into the area from the south. In his discussion of this theory, Swanson (1972:5) states that "The assumption reflects the degree of knowledge available and a tendency among men to follow in one another's footsteps. The assumption was reinforced by the tendency among anthropologists to treat a mountain area as a marginal refuge."

While this deep mountainous country may seem hostile and formidable to those with no penchant for mountain living, the

area is, in point of fact, very hospitable for human habitation--both permanent and seasonal. As Swanson and Sneed (1966:44) so aptly put it: "Until one has traversed the Salmon River wilderness it is impossible to realize how accessible the region is, and what a comfortable place to live much of it can be." After his work at Bighorn Shelter in Meadow Canyon, Ranere (1971:54) said:

The excavations in Meadow Canyon have produced information which calls to question another view commonly held in Intermontane prehistory--that in the past mountains functioned chiefly as barriers to movements of peoples. The occupation of Bighorn Shelter at 7400 feet a.s.l. documents the fact that man has been exploiting high mountain terrain for over 7000 years, although perhaps in small numbers.

The archaeological data presented in this paper appear to bear out these statements.

Adjacent Area Studies and Sites

Considerable archaeological work has been done in areas adjacent to the general region defined on Figure 7. Those archeological sites and studies which encircle this region can be assumed to have at least predictive value for future work done within the region, and so have been designated in this paper as adjacent area studies and sites. For this thesis, some 36 dated sites were reviewed. Although this information by no means exhausts all that has been done in the area, it nevertheless presents a determinative model for pre- and proto-historic human habitation of the area.

The maps for this discussion have been divided chronologically after Antevs' (1955) climatic sequence. Because the adjacent area sites will cover two established "cultural" regions--the Plateau and the Great Basin--and will therefore be subject to a great variety of temporal delineations according to the various researchers, Antevs' 10,000 climatic sequence seems the most practical breakdown (Figure 9). Next to this basic time frame, the various comparative climatological sequences proposed by four

YEARS B.P.	RAHMER (1970:57)	SWANSON (1972:61,62)	BUTLER (1970:43,44)	AIKENS (1970:163)
0				
1,000	V. "temperature and moisture similar to present conditions"	VII. semi-arid	IX. glaciation/drought	III. modern conditions
2,000		VI. "arid, then briefly cool and moist, turning semi-arid, but not uniformly so"	VIII. "trend to increasing warmth and dryness again"	
3,000		IV. cool and moist	VII. cooler, moister again	
4,000			VI. continued warmness and dryness; "grasses begin to fall"; condition peaks at 3800BP	
5,000	IV. "warmer and drier than the present"	III. primarily arid; later alternates with semi-arid	V. conditions acute for survival	II. warm and dry
6,000				
7,000	I. cool and moist
8,000	III. "cool, subhumid and semi-arid at first, becoming warmer and drier"	II. "primarily cold and moist; but drier at beginning and end of period"	IV. "warming trend, interrupted by cold pulses"	
9,000	IV. Less warm and dry than now	I. "cool and subhumid; 8-12" cooler, 8-12" more precipitation than present"	III. still cool, warming trend	
10,000			II. cool; warming trend/cold intervals	
11,000			I. "cool to cold," with "warmness and wet meadows"	
12,000				
13,000				
14,000				
15,000				

<u>RAHMER:</u>	V. 4,000 B.P. - present
	IV. 7,000 B.P. - 4,000 B.P.
	III. 11,000 B.P. - 7,000 B.P.
	II. 12,000 B.P. - 11,000 B.P.
	I. to 12,000 B.P.
<u>SWANSON:</u>	VII. 132 B.P. (1050) - present
	VI. 732 B.P. (1250) - 132 B.P. *
	V. 3,450 B.P. - 732 B.P.
	IV. 5,850 B.P. - 3,450 B.P.
	III. 7,200 B.P. - 5,850 B.P.
	II. 11,300 B.P. - 7,200 B.P.
	I. to 11,300 B.P.
<u>BUTLER:</u>	IX. 650 B.P. - historic period (1905)
	VIII. 2,800 B.P. - 650 B.P.
	VII. 3,800 B.P. - 2,800 B.P.
	VI. 7,200 B.P. - 3,800 B.P.
	V. 8,400 B.P. - 7,200 B.P.
	IV. 10,800 B.P. - 8,400 B.P.
	III. 11,400 B.P. - 10,800 B.P.
	II. 13,000 B.P. - 11,400 B.P.
	I. to 13,000 B.P.
<u>AIKENS:</u>	III. 2,500 B.P. - present
	II. 5,000 B.P. - 2,500 B.P.
	I. 7,000 B.P. - 5,000 B.P.

* Briefly dry, then cool and moist, but less so than periods II. and IV.

Figure 9 Comparative chronological climatic sequences

noted archaeologists in the region defined on Figure 9 (Ranere 1970; Swanson 1972; Aikens 1978; Butler 1978) have been placed in a comparative juxtaposition.

Of these four sources, there appears to be a graduated order of refinement, with Butler's divisions being the most detailed. It should be noted that while he has provided nine climatological sequences, Butler (1978:45) does state that:

Periods VII and IX are not detectable in most archaeological deposits, but they are conspicuous in the annual growth rings of certain species of trees such as Douglas Fir...

While Swanson's Period IV (5850 - 3450 B.P.; cool and moist) overlaps the Altithermal, the fact that a great deal of his work was done on sites at higher elevations must surely have some bearing on his findings. In fact, Knudson et al. (1982:77) seems to clarify this very point in their discussion of the extensive 1978 Middle Fork Basin Reconnaissance:

However, consideration should be given also to the idea that they [Middle Fork sites] represent middle prehistoric population stability in an area that was rich in plant and animal resources and not subject to the relative droughts of the more open grasslands suggested by Butler's paleo-climatic analysis.

Ranere's divisions would seem to be both the simplest and yet most satisfactorily detailed for general purposes. While Aikens' are very broad and begin as late as 7,000 years ago, Aikens merely offered them as his interpretations of Antevs' work.

Antevs' climatic sequences are very good as base references, but as further archaeological advances are made and each study offers its conclusions, the information becomes more and more confusing. Furthermore, Antevs (1955:322) did not account for climatic conditions in western North America prior to 10,000 years ago, and these earlier dates are becoming increasingly important. Aikens (1978:163) addresses this problem neatly and concisely:

It is now clear that the Ana-Alti-Medi-thermal

sequence describes only the broadest outlines of paleoclimatic change in the West, and that prehistorians have to reckon with more complex and local paleoclimatic sequences if they are to meaningfully relate changes in environment to changes in cultural-ecological systems.

Considering Aikens' statement, Figure 9, and basic differences in terminologies among researchers, it would appear that Antevs' sequences do not diminish in value within their range. To have an accurate but more minutely defined record of paleoclimatological data will take infinitely more research than has been done to date, and so far as is currently known, Antevs' sequences still serve as an excellent base on which to bracket findings. As in any branch of scientific endeavor, this base should not, however, be used as an absolute from which findings that do not "fit" are discarded. Rather it should serve as a guideline, in and of itself susceptible to change should newer or more extensive data suggest it.

Since there are sites of considerable antiquity in the area to be discussed, the first map (Figures 10, 11) was made to cover the end of the Pleistocene up to the beginning of the Neothermal, 20,000 - 10,000 B.P. Under this chronological category, eleven sites from the sample have been mapped from Jaguar Cave in the east to Shoup Rockshelters to the north (see Table I).

Six of these eleven sites have been dated approximately: Bar Z; Sawmill Canyon; Uncle Ike Creek sites; Birch Creek Sinks; National Reactor Testing Station (NRTS); and the Simon Site. Swanson et al. (1964:108) indicate that the Bar Z and Uncle Ike Creek sites appear to have been more or less continuously occupied for the past 10 - 12,000 years and that "...the earliest artifacts compare with those of the Birch Creek Phase at the Veratic and Bison Rockshelters" (ibid. p. 113). A similar judgment is made for the Sawmill Canyon site based on the fact that "Virtually all point types occur here..." (ibid. p. 100). The NRTS site (Butler 1970:62,66) and the Birch Creek Sinks (Swanson and Bryan 1964:11,12) were both dated from surface Folsom point finds, and

Table I Adjacent area sites: 20,000 - 10,000 B.P.

<u>SITE</u>	<u>ELEVATION</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
Jaguar Cave	7450'	11,580 \pm 250 10,370 \pm 350	Butler 1978:61,62
Bar Z	6700'	*10 - 12,000	Swanson et al. 1964:108
Sawmill Canyon	7450'	*11,000 - 7200	Swanson et al. 1964:9,100
Red Fish Overhang	6574'	*10 - 11,000	Gallagher 1979:55
Bison and Veratic Rockshelters	6100'	11,400	Swanson 1972:91
Uncle Ike Creek site	8200'	*10 - 12,000	Swanson et al. 1964:108
Birch Creek Sinks	5000'	*12 - 13,000	Swanson and Bryan 1964:11,12 Butler 1978:Figure 37
Nat'l. Reactor Testing Station (NRTS)	5000'	*10 - 11,000	Butler 1970:62,66
Wasden site	5000'	12,850 \pm 150 12,250 \pm 200 10,920 \pm 150	Butler 1978:60
Wilson Butte Cave	4300'	15,000 \pm 800 14,500 \pm 500	Butler 1978:11,12
Simon site	5056'	*12 - 15,000	Butler 1978:59
Shoup Rockshelters	3100'	12,410 \pm 115	Swanson and Sneed 1966:12,35

* = approximated dates

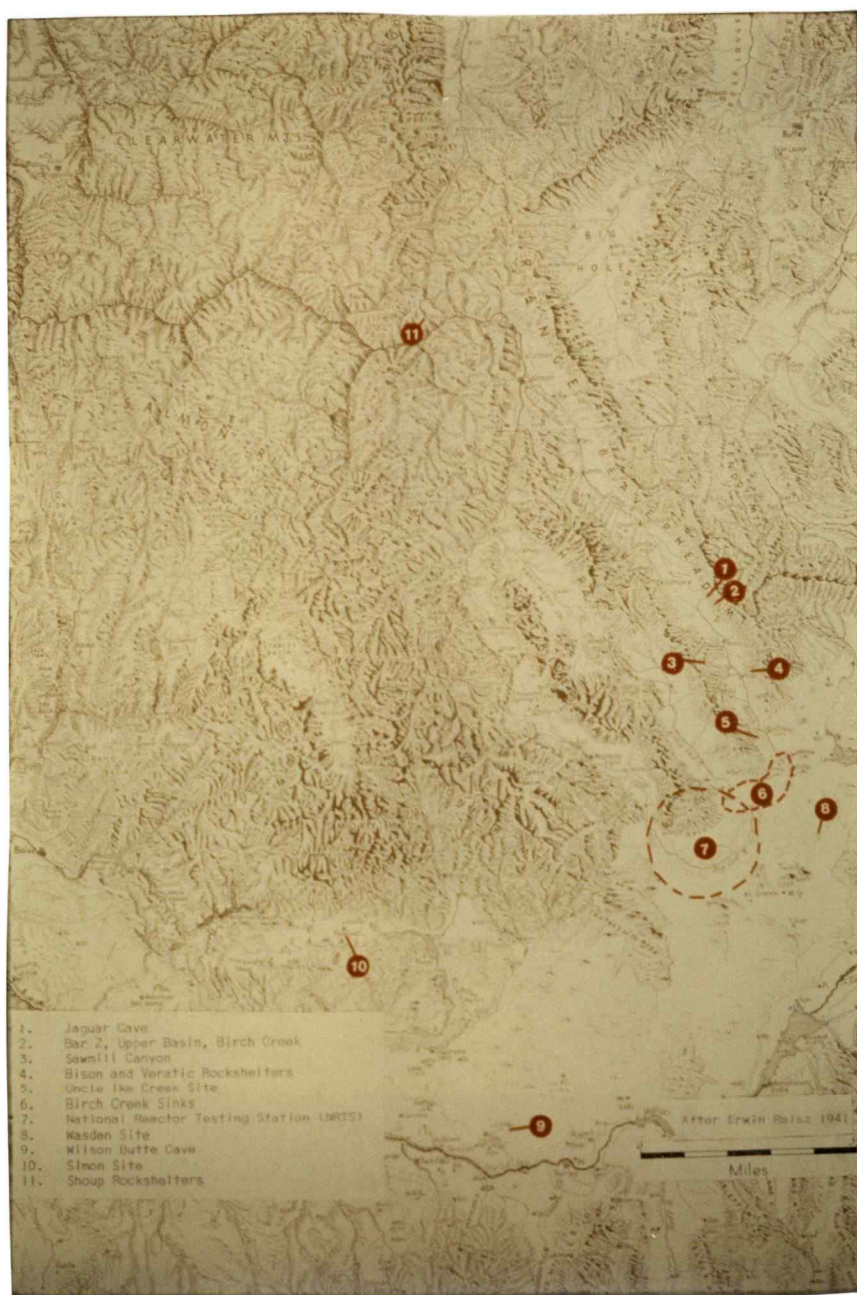
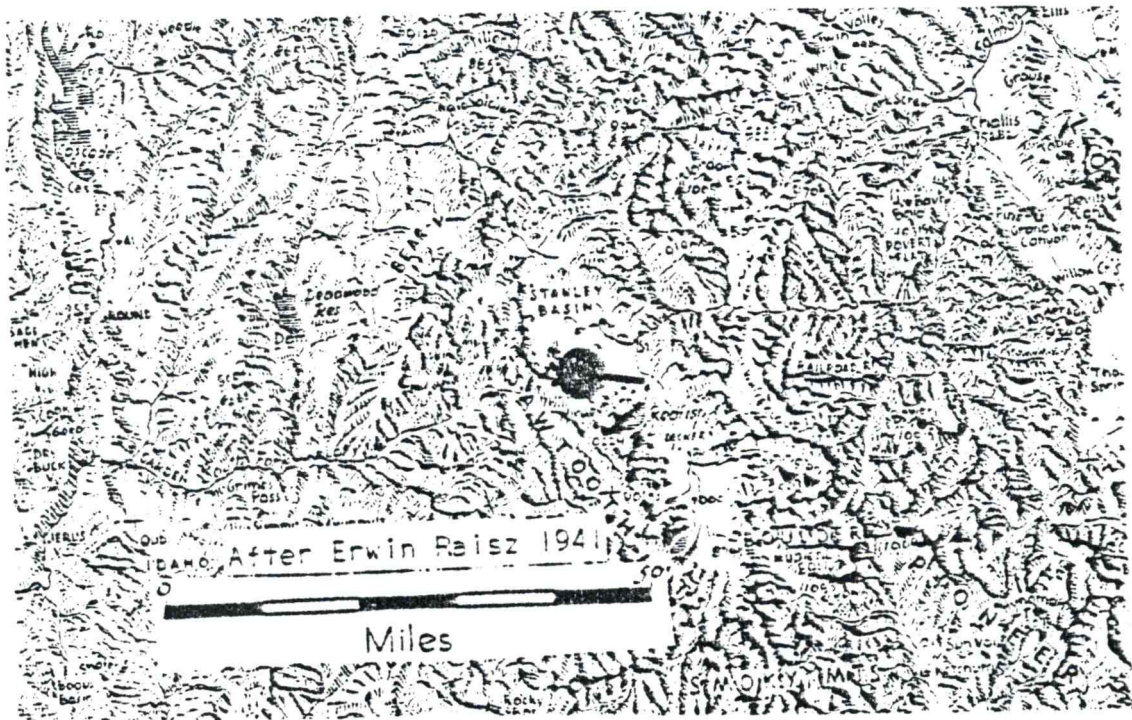


Figure 10 Map of sites: 20,000 - 10,000 B.P.



Red Fish Overhang site: insert for Figure 10
(see Table I)

Figure 11

the Simon Site (Butler 1978:59) from a single "cache" of Clovis points. While the remainder of the sites in this time bracket were radiocarbon dated, the cross-comparison of projectile points, nevertheless, played a very important role in decisions as to time periods.

Clovis and Folsom projectile points are the earliest diagnostic tools cited for this area. The dates assigned to these sites, then, would seem to be largely inferential, as the original Folsom and Clovis finds were from the Southwestern United States.

Leonhardy and Rice (1970:2) describe the "phase" generally as a "...regional culture type." Strictly speaking, the sites in this 10 - 11,000 years B.P. time bracket were not assigned to phases. This epoch has, instead, been designated as a "tradition." The term "tradition" is best described for this area by Butler (1978:58):

Following Willey (1966:38), the phrase 'Early Big-Game Hunting Tradition' is used here in connection with those 'early cultural complexes which are characterized by distinctive lanceolate point types and other associated lithic, or stone, remains.' The point types in question are the fluted Clovis and Folsom and the broad range of types collectively referred to as 'Plano.'

Of the 12 sites in the 20 - 10,000 B.P. sample, only one does not appear to have yielded the typical "lanceolate" type of point. Instead, the oldest points from Shoup were the "Salmon River," "Elko-eared," and stemmed indented based points from Alpha Rockshelter, layer 43, dated at $12,410 \pm 115$ years B.P. (*ibid.* p. 12). Sawmill Canyon also produced a stemmed indented based point, but it yielded a Plainview and McKean type lanceolate as well (Swanson *et al.* 1964:100, Figures 36bb,33; 37f). The only other stemmed point for this time period came from the Uncle Ike Creek site. This is only the basal portion of a large stemmed point which has been called an "Alberta" point, and it

may or may not belong with this sample (Swanson et al. 1964:100, Figure 37h). The rest of the points from this segment were all lanceolates ranging from the Simon Site Clovis points (Butler 1978: Figure 31) to the Folsom points from the Birch Creek Sinks (Swanson and Bryan 1964:11,12) and the NRTS (Butler 1970:72, Figure 49), and a variety of long, narrow lanceolates including the Late Plano (Butler 1978: Figure 34), the Birch Creek "B" (Swanson 1972:103, Figure 48p), the Birch Creek "A" (ibid. Figure 48a), the Haskett (Butler 1970:72, Figure 4e), and the Plano (ibid. Figure 4a).

According to both Swanson and Ranere, the general climate for the region was both colder and moister than today. Swanson (1972:52) states that for the period which ended between 12,000 and 13,000 years ago there was "...considerable moisture..." and "...greater stream flow than at any time since..." Ranere (1970: 57) states not only that the climate was "...cool and subhumid...", but also that it was "...ca. 8 - 12°F. cooler than present and 8 - 12" more precipitation than present."

The Neothermal Sequences: The Anathermal

At approximately 10,000 years ago, Antevs (1948, cited by Butler 1978) indicates the beginning of his Neothermal sequence with the Anathermal--10,000 - 7,500 B.P.--(Figure 9). Butler's (1978:43) general description of the period, "...warming trend interrupted by cold pulses," would seem to encompass the gamut of findings for the Anathermal (Figure 9) in the Great Basin area. Cressman (1977:44) offers the precautionary advice that while the Antevs sequence is generally valid, it is always best to bear in mind that C-14 dates, soil samples, and other data tend to show that the time brackets vary from location to location.

The sample for this paper shows equal amounts of sites for the Anathermal and for the previous time bracket (Table II). The projectile point types have not changed drastically,

Table II Adjacent area sites: 10,000 - 7,500 B.P.

<u>SITE</u>	<u>ELEVATION</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
Bar Z	6700'	11,000 - 7,200	Swanson et al. 1964:70,113
Sawmill Canyon	7450'	11,000 - 7,200	Swanson et al. 1964:70,113
Bison and Veratic Rockshelters	6100'	8,200 - 7,200	Swanson 1972:65-67
10-CL-100	6100'	8,200 - 7,200	Swanson et al. 1964:70 Swanson 1972:66,104
Uncle Ike Creek site	8200'	11,000 - 7,200	Swanson et al. 1964:70,113
Jackknife Cave	*7500'	8130 \pm 105	Swanson and Sneed 1966:43
NRTS	5000'	10,000 - 7,500	Butler 1970:66
Wasden site	5000'	8160 \pm 260 7750 \pm 210	Butler 1978:60
Haskett site	*4500'	10,000 \pm 300	Butler 1978:65
Red Fish Overhang	6574'	9860 \pm 300	Butler 1978:65 Pavesic 1978:8
Weitas Creek	2320'	10,000 - 8,000	Keeler 1973:69
Shoup Rockshelters	3100'	8,500 - 8,000	Swanson and Sneed 1966:25

* = Elevations approximated from USGS 1:500,000 map of Idaho, and knowledge of the area

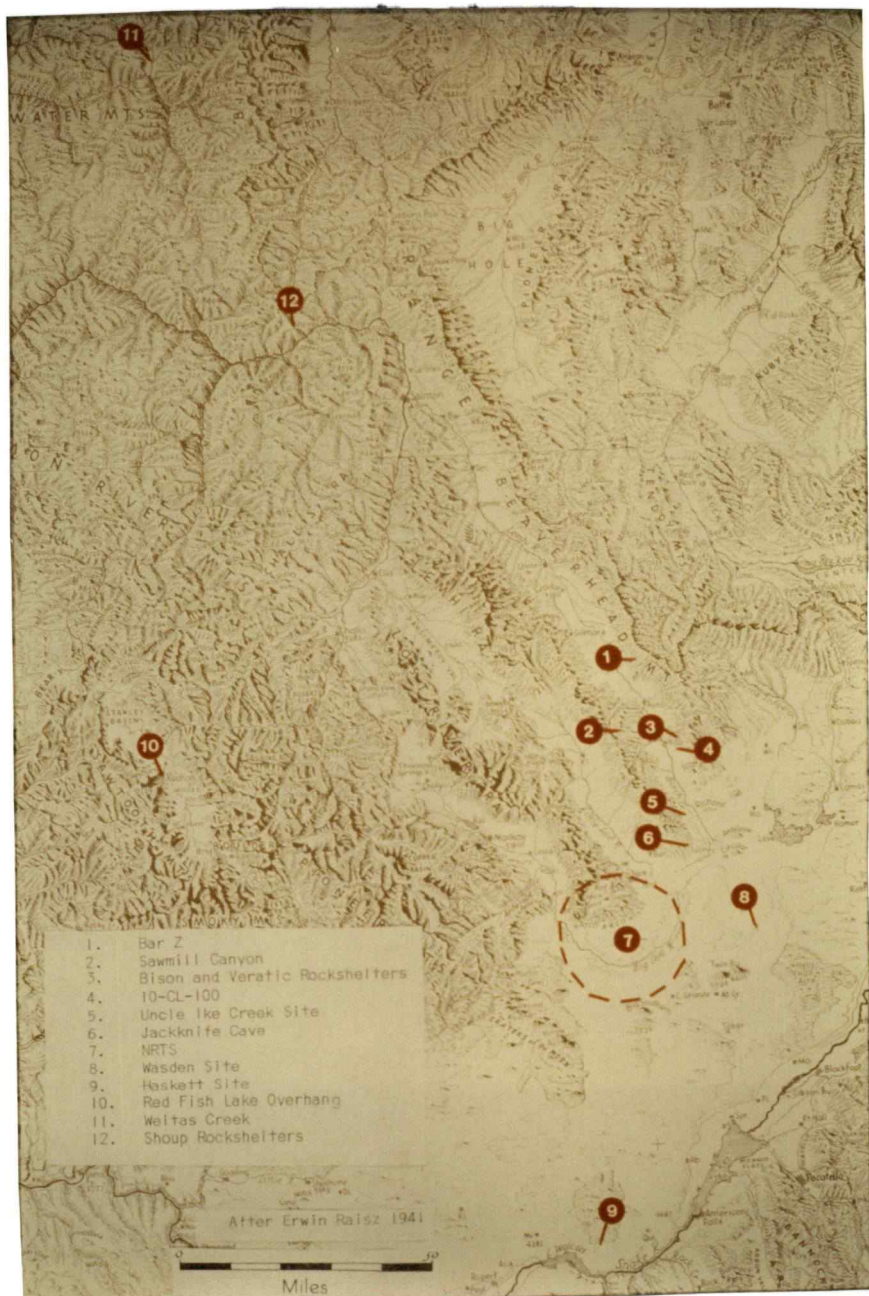


Figure 12 Map of sites: 10,000 - 7,500 B.P.

however. There is still a predominance of lanceolate points interspersed with a few stemmed and/or notched points. The main difference would seem to be that the lanceolates show more variation in form. Swanson and Sneed (1966:24) have stated that a projectile point type "...is considered to have temporal as well as spatial significance, is associated with a distinct style, and sometimes technology." This research does not go into so detailed a discussion of projectile points. The purpose here is merely to show that in any established time sequence, certain general forms of points were more or less predominant in the designated region regardless of "Basin" or "Plateau" designations.

In the Anathermal time bracket, the site of greatest interest is the Redfish Lake site (Figure 12). The Redfish Lake site lies closest to the South Fork and, therefore, has the greatest implications for future work. The oldest date of 9860 ± 300 (Butler 1978:65; Pavesic 1978:8), which is associated with a cache of Haskett points (*ibid.* Butler), indicates that at some time near the end of the Pleistocene the central Idaho mountains were populated.

Site elevations in Table I indicate that half of the twelve sites in the sample were situated between 5056 and 8200 feet above sea level. Although the Shoup Rockshelters are only 3100 feet high, it should be remembered that they lie on a riverbank in a very deep and narrow canyon surrounded by 7649 feet peaks to the east, 8535 feet peaks to the west, and 9754 feet peaks to the north. In this sample, those sites representative of the Anathermal (10,000 - 7,500 B.P.) show a very similar pattern as regards elevation. These facts would seem to refute Swanson's (1966:43) statement that "The radiocarbon dates permit the suggestion that much of the high country was not occupied before about 8200 years ago."

For this study, the Altithermal was "broken" at 7000 years B.P. and mapped in two separate sections accordingly (Figure 13)

Table III Adjacent area sites: 7,500 - 7,000 B.P.

<u>SITE</u>	<u>ELEVATION</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
Sawmill Canyon	7450'	11,000 - 7,200	Swanson et al. 1964:70,113
Bighorn Rockshelter	7700'	7,200	Ranere 1971:8,35
Bison Rockshelter	6100'	6925 \pm 200	Swanson 1972:51
10-CL-100	6100'	8,200 - 7,200	Swanson 1972:65-67, Tables 2,3
Uncle Ike Creek site	8200'	8,200 - 7,200	Swanson 1972:65-67, Tables 2,3
Birch Creek Sinks	5000'	7,000 - 3,000	Swanson and Bryan 1964:10
NRTS	5000'	7,500 - 3,500	Butler 1970:66
Weis Rockshelter	4000'	7340 \pm 140	Butler 1962:Figure 8
Picture Cave	4000'	7,500 - 3,490	Butler 1962:66
Hatwai	2000'	7060 \pm 135	Ames and Green, n.d.

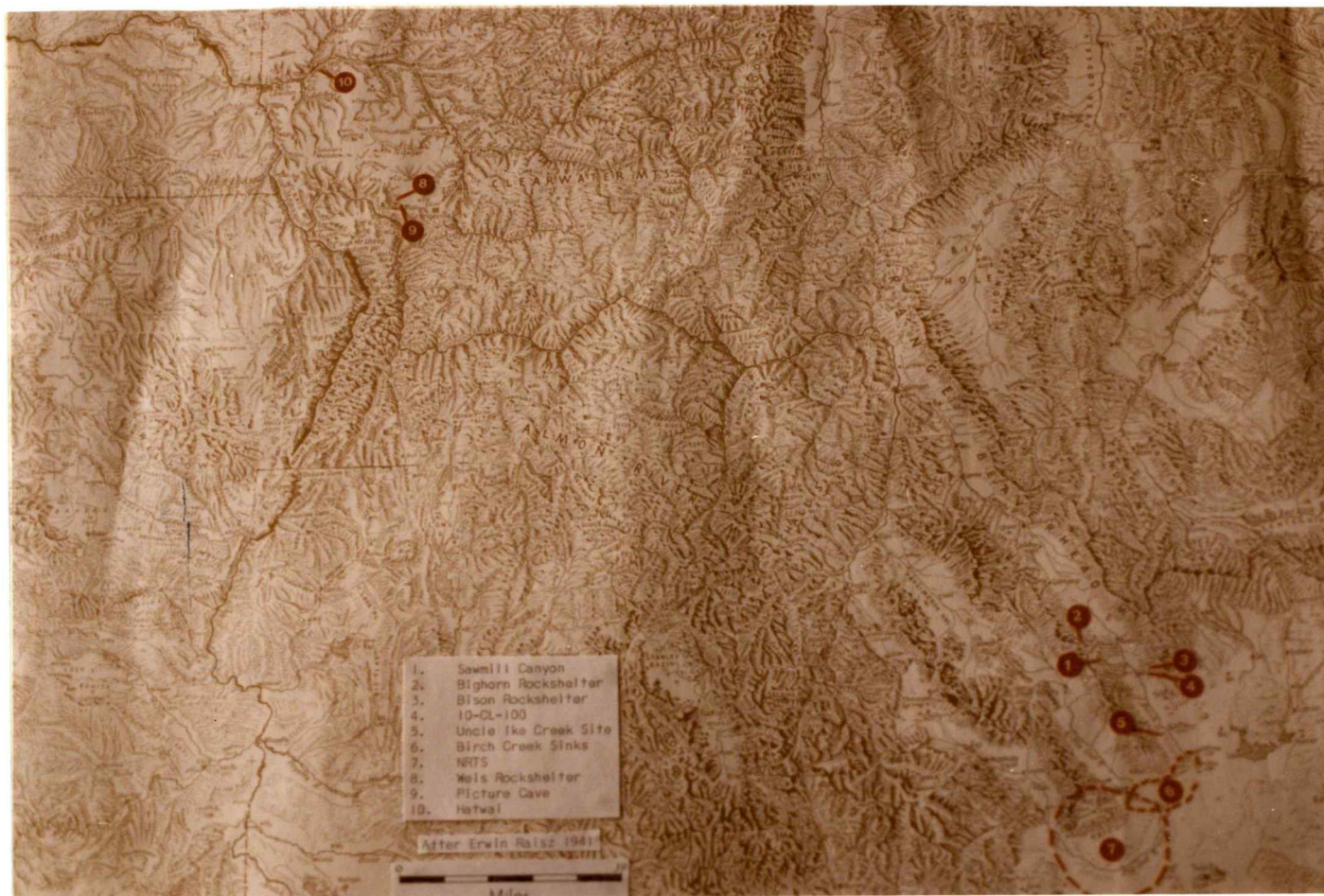


Figure 13 Map of sites: 7,500 - 7,000 B.P.

in order to take into consideration the eruption of Mt. Mazama. According to Cressman (1977:55), "...7,000 \pm 120 C-14 years ago is a reasonably firm date for the eruption and may be used at present to date the Mt. Mazama Volcanic Ash Horizon." Two things seem to be evident from this break: 1) in this sample there are half again as many sites following Mazama as there were before, and 2) there appears to be a slight shift overall in projectile point form predominance.

From 20,000 to approximately 7,500 years B.P. the favored type of point seems to have been variations of the "lanceolate", with only a light scattering of stemmed points. It might be noted, however, that this sample indicates that from the earliest site records in this area (see Tables I, II, III) the stemmed points, usually triangular shaped and notched, appear to be coming out of the high country sites of the steep mountainous terrain.

By the Anathermal, this generally triangular shaped class of projectile points is still in the minority, and is still seen largely in the highlands on the eastern side of the region (Bison and Veratic Rockshelters at 6100", the Uncle Ike Creek site at 8200", Sawmill Canyon at 7450", and the Bar Z site at 6700"). In this segment of the sample--the Anathermal--there is one exception to the general, easterly, high country geographical pattern and that is the stemmed points from Hatwai between 9,400 and 9,000 years B.P. (Ames and Green 1977).

At this point there is a discrepancy in this information. The earliest definite date for the Red Fish Overhang site is 9860 \pm 300 (Pavesic 1978:8; Butler 1978:65). With one exception, the information in this report regarding the Red Fish Overhang site comes from secondary sources since the original report was unavailable. This exception is Gallagher's 1979 report published by the Forest Service. While this publication gives an excellent and detailed account of Gallagher's Sheepeater Battleground site, there is almost no data given for the Red Fish Overhang

site. The only dating for this site is in Gallagher's (1979: 55) statement that:

The cultural material recovered from the Red Fish Overhang is a discontinuous record of the prehistory of Stanley Basin during the past 10,000 - 11,000 years.

Likewise, the information for Squaw Creek, Lenore II, the West Mountain Midvale Complex, and parts of Jaguar Cave comes from secondary sources. These sites therefore show a lack of chronological continuity which is seen in the other sites.

In the case of the Red Fish Overhang site, both secondary sources agree that the points found at the 9800 year old level were Haskett points (Pavesic 1978:8; Butler 1978:65). In their discussion of the "Haskett tradition", Knudson et al. (1982:75) state that the earliest firmly identified occupants of central Idaho were the makers of the Haskett tradition stone tools found at Red Fish Overhang." The authors then go on to identify the following as other high country sites which have yielded Haskett points: Mt. Bennett Hills (Butler and Fitzwater 1965), "...near American Falls...; (Butler 1965), the Devil's Creek drainage (Murphy 1977), north slopes of the Jarbridges (Murphy 1977), and in some "...high elevation sites..." in Montana (George Frison 1981: personal communication) in which the points were "...occasionally associated with fossil bison remains" (Knudson et al. 1982:75).

Red Fish Overhang, too, is a high country site--6574'--but unlike many of the others in this sample, it is adjacent to a broad, high meadow today known as the Stanley Basin. Here are the headwaters of the main Salmon River. Some 70 miles down the river--to the east, and then north of Stanley Basin, lies Challis, Idaho--near which Butler (1978:51) located his Challis Bison Jump site. Butler (ibid.) cites an interview of Liljeblad's with an informant who had been born "...in the upper Salmon River locale..." sometime around 1860. This informant described the buffalo surrounds held by the people in his native area when

he was a youngster. The lanceolate points are generally accepted as part of the bison killing kit and would, therefore, be likely in sites in or adjacent to bison habitats. Knudson et al. (1982:75) support this idea:

The grasslands of the Stanley Basin and Sawtooth Valley on either side of the Redfish Overhang could well have supported bison populations, suggesting that the Haskett tradition tools there also represent high elevation hunters of large mammals at the end of the Pleistocene.

In spite of the lack of data from the Red Fish Lake site, the idea of the triangular, stemmed and notched points radiating out from high country peoples can still be explored. In their report on the Midvale Complex of western Idaho, Warren, Wilkinson and Pavesic (1971:51) made the following observation:

It is our contention that the distribution of Bitterroot side notched points represents diffusion of an idea, but that environmental, cultural, and possible other unknown facts influence this diffusion so as to produce an irregular sloping horizon, the nature of which remains to be adequately explained.

It is possible that archaeologists are making a mistake in placing so much emphasis on projectile point types as diagnostics of the supposed cultural affiliations of the populations in question. While the terrain and the type of game hunted were no doubt dictators of projectile point style for early populations, another factor could be taken into consideration. Within any culturally affiliated group, it is possible and logical to suppose that tool styles may differ considerably according to the type of hunting done by a portion of that group.

Perhaps too much emphasis has been placed on trying to equate a population's gross cultural affinities--language, spiritual beliefs--with eating habits and residence. It is possible that Mountain Population X could have had bands who preferred living in areas adjacent to or within bison territory because they preferred to eat and hunt bison. At the same time, Mountain

Population X could have had other bands who preferred the steeper elk and mountain sheep country because they preferred to eat and hunt this type of game. These general eating and hunting habits need not have had so profound an effect on the basic "ethnicity" of the population that millennia later it could be detected from a few tools. The case may simply be that, as a people, these high country dwellers were of a mountainous culture, and while some may have chosen to hunt and eat in areas on the very edge of the deep mountains such as Red Fish Lake or in the Challis area, they were still high country people making use of their environment to its very limits.

The Altithermal

By the beginning of the Altithermal, the majority of the points for this sample are clearly stemmed. These stemmed points range from the very large "corner notched" point found at the Bighorn Rockshelter (Ranere 1971: Plate 7h) to the small Bitterroot side notched points from Shoup and the NRTS (Swanson and Sneed 1966:34; Butler 1970:66). Of the 12 sites in the sample, only the Weis Rockshelter did not contain any stemmed or notched points. As mentioned previously, over half of these sites are located in the high country. This particular 500 year sequence shows a very slight increase in sites to the west.

During the last 2500 years of the Altithermal--from the eruption of Mt. Mazama to the end of the sequence (7000 - 4500 B.P.)--there appear to be several shifts in the data (Table IV). First, there are quite a few more sites than previously. While the greater portion of these are still located to the east, a significant number are now in the north and west. Further, according to this sample, the high country no longer predominates.

In this particular sample, Gallagher's Sheepeater site would seem to be somewhat aberrant. Gallagher begins to date this site with the level 6 which is the earliest level yielding projectile points, and those points were "...square base lanceolate and

Table IV Adjacent area sites: 7,000 - 4,500 B.P.

<u>SITE</u>	<u>ELEVATION</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
Sheepeater Battleground	6500'	*7,000	Gallagher 1979:55
Bighorn Rockshelter	7700'	*6,625 5,775	Ranere 1971:18,36
Cottontail Rockshelter	7000'	4,420 \pm 145	Swanson et al. 1964:116 Figure 36
Bison and Veratic Rockshelters	6100'	6,282 \pm 229 - 4,500 \pm 110	Swanson 1972:51,66,67
10-CL-100	6100'	4,500 \pm 100	Swanson 1972:51,66,67
NRTS	5000'	*7,500 - 3,500	Butler 1970:66
Wilson Butte Cave	5000'	6,850 \pm 300	Butler 1978:13 Figure 4
Squaw Creek I	1688'	*6,000 - 3,500	Pavesic 1971:30; Keeler 1973:79
Dry Creek	*2500'	*6,600	Caldwell and Mallory 1967:33,34
Divide Creek	*4410	*6,500	Caldwell and Mallory 1967:43
Cooper's Ferry	*4000'	*7,500 - 3,490	Butler 1962:55
Picture Cave	*4000'	*7,500 - 3,490	Butler 1962:36-40, Figures 9,10
Weis Rockshelter	*4000'	*6,000 - 4,000	Butler 1962:36-40, Figures 9,10
Hatwai	*2000'	7,060 \pm 135 - 4,700 \pm 150	Ames and Green, n.d.
Lenore II	*1100'	*6,000 - 4,000	Keeler 1973:79
Weltas Creek	2320'	*6,000 - 3,500	Keeler 1973:79
Shoup Rockshelters	3100'	7,150 \pm 231 (Alpha) 5,675 \pm 175 (Beta)	Swanson and Sneed 1966:12

* ELEVATIONS = estimates from 1977 USGS State of Idaho 1:500,000 map and knowledge of the country

* Age = not C-14 dated

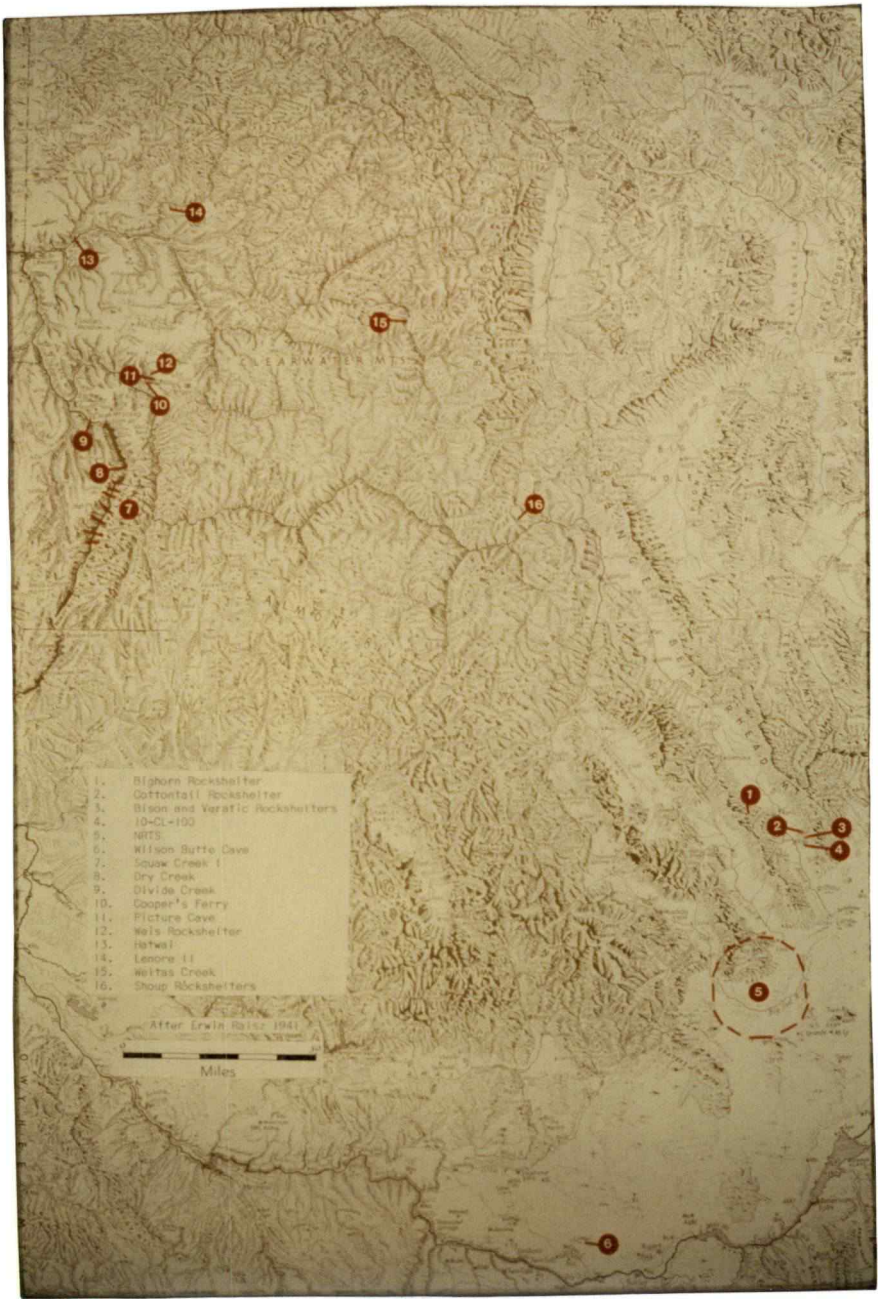
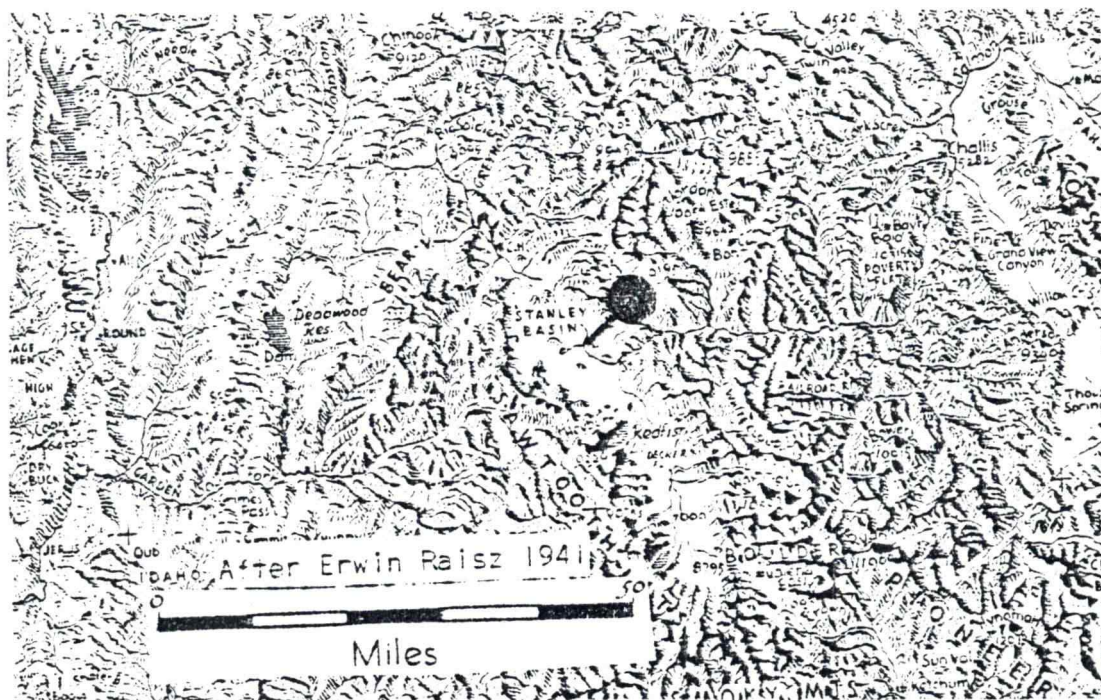


Figure 14 Map of sites: 7,000 - 4,500 B.P.



Sheepeater Battleground site: insert for Figure 14
(see Table IV)

Figure 15

large Type 3, sidenotched points" (1979:50). In dating this level, Gallagher (*ibid.* 67) reasons that:

It should be noted that the chronological cross correlation of the artifact types and the obsidian hydration study suggest the initial occupation of Sheepeater began about 7000 years B.P.

This statement does not take into account the author's earlier (*ibid.* 49) statement that "The earliest cultural material recovered at Sheepeater came from Level 9 (120-135 cm) and consists of 12 obsidian percussion struck flakes." He goes on to explain that only one 2 x 2 m square was investigated at this level. Apparently the same set of circumstances was true for Levels 8 and 7. There seems to be as much reason to assume that the Sheepeater site is older than 7000 years as there is to assume that it is not.

Following the time of Mt. Mazama, there seems to be a split in point type "popularity"--roughly half and half lanceolates and stemmed points. Of the lanceolates, leaf-like, or generally oval-shaped points occurred at the Bison Rockshelter to the east (Swanson 1972:51,66; Tables 2,3); Divide Creek to the west (Caldwell and Mallory 1967:43); and Cooper's Ferry, Picture Cave (Butler 1962:55), Weis Rockshelter (Butler 1962:36-40; Figures 9, 10), and Hatwai (Ames and Green 1978) to the north. Notched base lanceolates occurred largely in the north at Shoup (Swanson and Sneed 1966:12), Weis Rockshelter (Butler 1962:36-40; Figures 9,10), and Weitas Creek (Keeler 1973:79).

Butler (1978: Figure 4), however, characterizes the Wilson Butte V assemblage, far to the south of the above sites, by a notched base lanceolate which he labels a McKean point, although he states in parentheses that it is "...actually Humboldt Concave Base A." The two above-mentioned lanceolate types were also included generally under lanceolates. Taken generally in their several shapes or types, the lanceolates during this period were noted in the Cottontail Rockshelter (Swanson *et al.* 1964:116;

Figure 36), Bison and Veratic Rockshelters (Swanson 1972:51,66; Tables 2,3) to the east; Wilson Butte Cave (ibid.) to the south; Divide Creek (Caldwell and Mallory 1967:43) to the west; and Weis Rockshelter (Butler 1962:36-40; Figures 9,10), Hatwai (Ames and Green 1978), Weitas Creek (Keeler 1973:79), and Shoup (Swanson and Sneed 1966:12) to the north.

The other general type of point can be broadly classed as triangular, stemmed and notched points. These include the various types of Bitterroot side-notched points, the stemmed indented base points, and the sharply barbed corner-notched points. In the east, these points are found at the Bighorn Rockshelter (Ranere 1971:18,36), Cottontail Rockshelter (Swanson et al. 1964:116; Figure 136), and Bison and Veratic Rockshelters (Swanson 1972:51,66; Tables 2,3); to the south at the NRTS (Butler 1970:66) and the Wilson Butte Cave (Butler 1978:11); and to the north Cooper's Ferry (Butler 1962:55), Hatwai (Ames and Green 1978), Weitas Creek (Keeler 1973:79), and Shoup (Swanson and Sneed 1966:12). From this sample during the post-Mazama portion of the Altithermal, no points of this type were indicated in sites to the west. It must be remembered, however, that for the Lenore II and Squaw Creek sites, only some dates and comparative statements from secondary sources were available for this thesis.

The data cited would seem to indicate not that people were moving into the "uplands" during the Altithermal, but rather that they were coming down the slopes (see Table IV). While the high country sites which dominated in the earlier time spans were in excess of 6000', out of 16 sites in this time frame, only five (including Shoup) are high country sites, and the remaining 12 average roughly 3200' elevations.

From 7000 B.P. to the present, the sites in this region become more abundant and the projectile point collections seem to follow Swanson's (1964:67) statement that "In general, the frequency of small points increases with time."

The Medithermal

Like the Altithermal, the Medithermal has been subdivided. This was done to determine whether, within this sample, there had been any type of population shift in such a long (4500 years) period of time. The first half of the Medithermal (4,500 - 2,000 B.P.) retains some similarity to the post-Mazama portion of the Altithermal (7,000 - 4,500 B.P.) (Tables IV, V; Figures 14, 15, 16). In this sample, the former shows only two more sites than the latter but, while the Altithermal shows only six sites out of 17 in high country, the first half of the Medithermal shows 11 out of 19.

The pattern of projectile points as delineated above, is much the same in this period as it was in the last. Both types of points appear to be fairly evenly distributed across the entire region. The large majority of the sites yielded only lanceolates. While during the Altithermal, both Divide Creek on the west and Weis Rockshelter on the north showed only lanceolates, during this time frame the Bighorn and Cottontail Rockshelters on the east, the Wasden site to the south, and Shoup to the north show only stemmed, notched triangular points. (Only the Bighorn Rockshelter in the east and the NRTS to the south showed this pattern during the Altithermal.)

The final segment of time, the last half of the Medithermal covers the period from 2,000 B.P. until the historic present (Table VI; Figure 17). This temporal sequence shows a number of changes. First, there are more sites in this section than in any other (26). Only ten of these 26 sites are in locations above 6000' elevations. As during the early part of the Altithermal, the average elevation for the remaining 16 sites is some 3200'.

The projectiles are predominantly the triangular stemmed and notched points. Only the Bighorn Rockshelter to the east and the Cooper's Ferry site to the west (and north) show lanceolates only. Most sites show no lanceolates at all.

Table V Adjacent area sites: 4,500 - 2,000 B.P.

<u>SITE</u>	<u>ELEVATION</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
Big Creek Cave	7500'	3,900 \pm 90 - 2,010 \pm 160	Wylie et al. 1982:Figure 2
Sheepeater Battleground	6500'	*4,500 - 4,000	Gallagher 1979:53
Jaguar Cave	7450'	3,930 \pm 390	Sadek-Kooros 1972:9
Polly's Place	7850'	2,520 \pm 150	Ranere 1971:22
Bighorn Rockshelter	7700'	2,000 \pm 285	Ranere 1971:18
Sawmill Canyon	7450'	*4,500 - 2,000	Swanson et al. 1964:75
Cottontail Rockshelter	7000'	*4,470	Swanson et al. 1964:117
Bison and Veratic Rockshelters	6100'	3,360 \pm 100 - 2,350 \pm 120	Swanson 1972:51, Tables 1-3
10-CL-100	6100'	4,500 \pm 100 - 3,170 \pm 80	Swanson et al. 1964:117
NRTS	5000'	*3,500 - 650	Butler 1970:66,72
Wasden site	5000'	3,340 \pm 575	Butler 1978:60, Figure 37
Wilson Butte Cave	4300'	2,940 \pm 200	Butler 1978:11, 14
Midvale Complex (West Mtn.)	*7000'	*4,500 - 2,000	Wylie and Ketchum 1980:2
Midvale Complex (Cambridge)	3300'	*4,500 - 2,000	Warren et al. 1971:53
Cooper's Ferry	4000'	*3,490 - 2,105	Butler 1962:64
Weis Rockshelter	*4000'	*3,439 - 2,055	Butler 1962:54-56; Keeler 1973:79
Hatwai	*2000'	3,820 \pm 110 - 2,335 \pm 180	Ames and Green, n.d. Leonhardy and Rice 1970:13
Alpowa	*1000'	4,060 \pm 130	Brauner 1976:318 (vol. 2)
Shoup Rockshelter (Beta)	3100'	*3,200	Swanson and Sneed 1966:13,25

* ELEVATIONS = estimates from 1977 USGS State of Idaho 1:500,000 map and knowledge of the country

* AGE = not C-14 dated



Figure 16 Map of sites: 4,500 - 2,000 B.P.

Table VI Adjacent area sites: 2,000 B.P. - historic present

<u>SITE</u>	<u>ELEVATION</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
Big Creek Cave	7500'	2,010 \pm 160 - 580 \pm 70	Wylie et al. 1982:Figure 2
Sheepeater Battleground	6500'	*782 - A.D. 1880	Gallagher 1979:54,55
Red Fish Overhang	6574'	*840	Gallagher 1979:55
Challis Bison Jump	5300'	*782 - 682	Butler 1978:51, Figure 25
Polly's Place	7850'	*1,730	Ranere 1971:22
Bighorn Rockshelter	7700'	2,000 \pm 285 - 470 \pm 460	Ranere 1971:18
Bobcat Rockshelter	6600'	*2,000	Swanson et al. 1964:87, Table 5
Cottontail Rockshelter	7000'	150 \pm 125	Swanson et al. 1964:101,116
10-CL-100	6100'	*2,950 - 732	Swanson et al. 1964:101,116
Tipi Ring site	6200'	historic	Swanson et al. 1964:20
Desert Zone site	5100'	*1,450 - historic	Swanson et al. 1964:21,102
Uncle Ike Creek site	8200'	*1,450 - historic	Swanson et al. 1964:100
NRTS	5000'	*650 - historic	Butler 1970:66
Wilson Butte Cave	4300'	940 \pm 200 - 425 \pm 150	Butler 1978:11,14,Figure 4
Robinette Village	*2500	*2,500	Caldwell and Mallory 1967:114
Big Bar	*2000'	*1,482 - 1,182	Caldwell and Mallory 1967:28,86
Big Canyon	*2000'	*882 - 432	Caldwell and Mallory 1967:76
Somers Creek	*2000'	*582 - historic	Caldwell and Mallory 1967:31
Dry Creek	*2000'	*882 - 432	Caldwell and Mallory 1967:47
Divide Creek	*2000'	*932 - 182	Caldwell and Mallory 1967:44
Hatwai	*2000'	1,045 \pm 85 - 150 \pm 70	Ames and Green, n.d. Leonhardy and Rice 1970:Figure 9
Alpowa	*1000'	1,940 \pm 60 - 840 \pm 70	Brauner 1976:312 (vol. 2)
Cooper's Ferry	*4000'	*2,105 - 1,580	Butler 1962:64
McLaughlin Flat	*4000'	*2,105 - 582	Butler 1962:65
Picture Cave	*4000'	protohistoric	Butler 1962:65,66
Wels Rockshelter	*4000'	*2,105 - 482	Butler 1962:64-66

* ELEVATIONS = estimates from 1977 USGS State of Idaho 1:500,000 map and knowledge of the country

* AGE = not C-14 dated

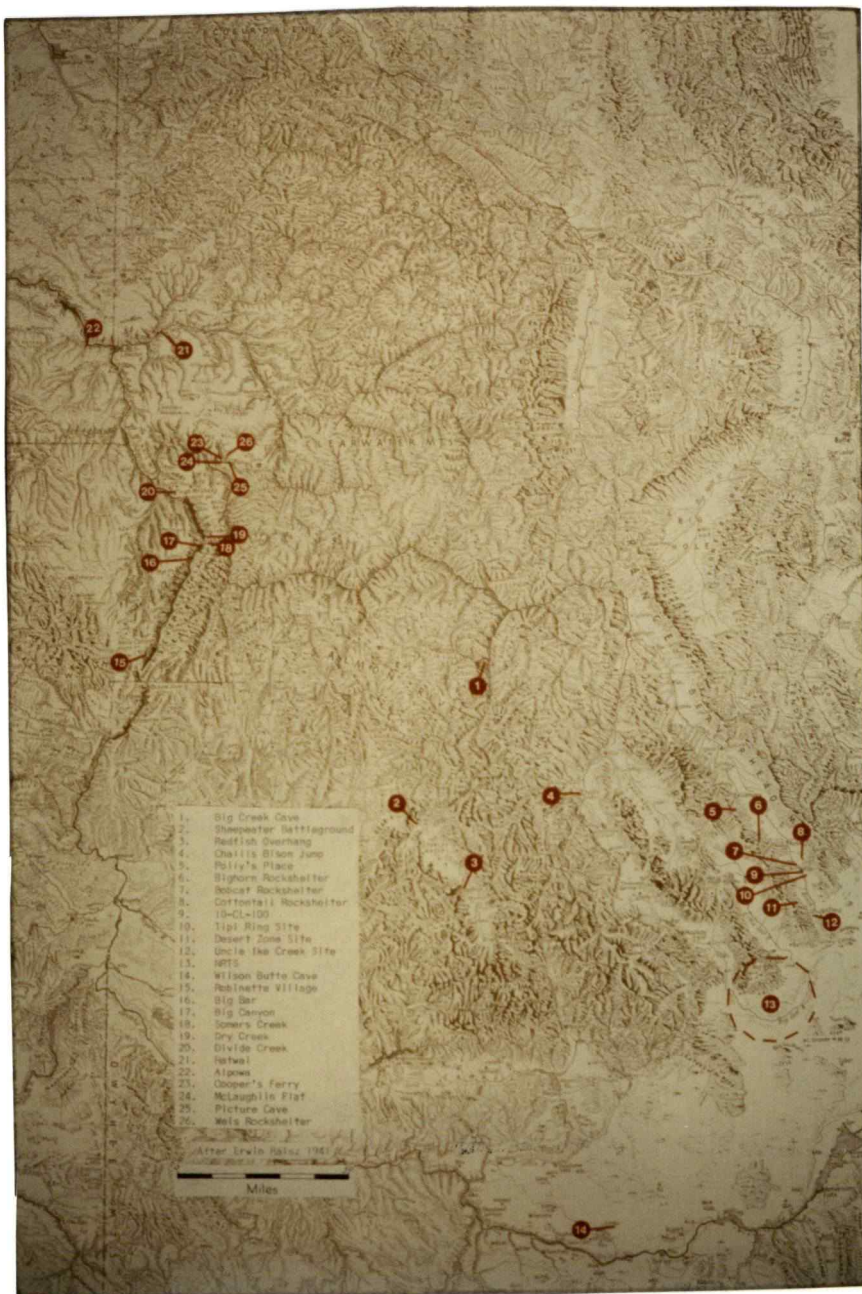


Figure 17 Map of sites: 2,000 B.P. - historic present

CHAPTER III PREHISTORY OF THE SOUTH FORK LOCALITY

In approximately the center of the greater region discussed above lie the South and Middle Forks of the main Salmon River (Figure 18). While this thesis deals specifically with the South Fork, any archaeological discussion of that area should necessarily include the Middle Fork. In general, archaeological statements made about the Middle Fork would tend to translate to the South Fork as well. Since the greater archaeological time and effort has been spent on the Middle Fork, general statements made about and findings there will be of interest here.

Pavesic (1978:9) made the following statement in his Middle Fork overview which is usually true for the South Fork as well:

Swanson's research provides a basic cultural and environmental chronology directly applicable to the Middle Fork of the Salmon. Indeed, Swanson's suggestion of a Bitterroot - Northern Shoshoni hypothesis must be tested in a setting such as the Middle Fork provides.

As the sites in the adjacent area study of this paper have shown, the mountain environment apparently has not been marginal. Rather, it has been a basic cultural system for millennia. The literature indicates that the generally triangular shaped and notched points, which are identified by various names, appear to be something of a hallmark in mountainous area sites. Furthermore, the high country sites are showing more evidence of greater chronological continuity than was believed true by earlier archaeologists (Swanson and Bryan 1964; Swanson 1972; Bense 1972). This stability does not suggest a precarious marginal type of existence in the high country. The continued association of the triangular, notched points with these sites would argue that this point type may, indeed, be a marker of cultures with strong, long time high country affiliations. The sites of the South Fork and its environs show a predominance of the above-mentioned projectile point types.

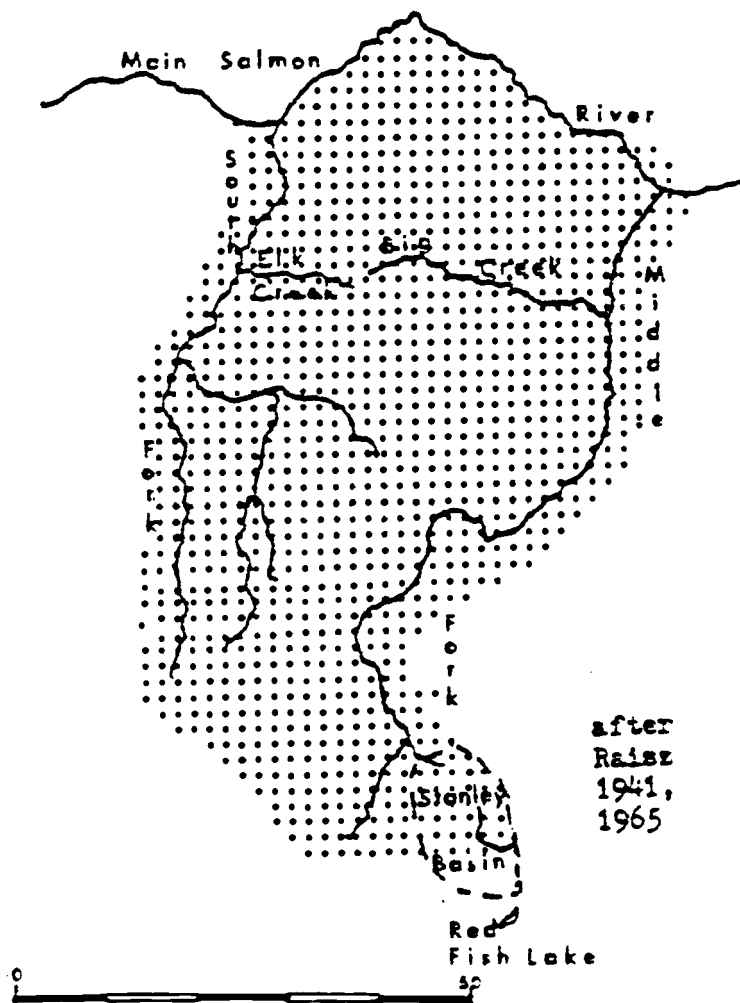


Figure 18 South Fork and Middle Fork area sites

Although a large number of sites have been either mapped or indicated in the South Fork region, only three sites have been worked: 10-VY-65 on the upper South Fork (Boreson 1979), Big Creek Cave (10-VY-67) at the mouth of Big Creek (Wylie et al. 1982), and the Sheepeater Battleground site (10-CR-202) on Marsh Creek (Gallagher 1975) (Figure 19).

The high site density on the South Fork locale and its immediate area would seem to support the evidence from the larger adjacent area. In the conclusion to her report, Boreson (1979:30) states that:

Ethnographic evidence suggests this area was used by people from both the north and the south for fishing, hunting, and perhaps trade. This observation was supported by diagnostic Great Basin and Columbia Plateau projectile points recovered from 10-VY-65 and across the river. These projectile points are associated with various dates ranging from 2000 BC - AD 1700. The cultural remains at 10-VY-65 probably fall within this time frame.

The limited work in the South Fork does not allow these dates to be regarded as definitive for the South Fork locale, or for a given site, however.

Of the artifacts from 10-VY-65, all but two fell into the general triangular stemmed and notched category used here. One is a very small triangular piece which could be either a side or a corner notched point prior to notching. The other is a large stemmed lanceolate point which appears to be very similar to one from the Big Creek Cave site found at the 20-30 cm level which was dated at 2010 ± 160 B.P. This date falls within Boreson's (2000 BC - AD 1700) 4000 - 282 B.P. time range. Boreson's point, however, was found across the river from the site on the ground surface (1979:22).

Another significant link between the South and Middle Forks is the obsidian used for the tools in the three tested sites in the area. Boreson (1979:30) states that obsidian was the

Figure 19
Map of South and Middle Fork area sites

South Fork sites

1. South Fork Village sites (Ranere 1971)
2. Mill Flat, Hettinger Ranch
3. Rockshelter/Pictograph, Lower South Fork
4. Rebillot Ranch hot springs
5. General site indications (cf. Lois Chapman)
6. Teapot Saddle site (USDA Forest Service)
7. Habitat Improvement site (USDA Forest Service)
8. 10-VY-65 (Borason 1979)
9. Bad Bear timber sale (USDA Forest Service)
10. No Name timber sale (USDA Forest Service)
11. Vulcan Hot Springs (USDA Forest Service)
12. Midvale Complex, east flank, West Mountain (Wylie and Ketchum 1980)

Middle Fork sites

(H=housepit; R=rockshelter; P=pictograph; T=tipi ring; M=miscellaneous;
after Pavesic 1978:19-24 and maps 1-7)

1. 10-VY-28	P	37. 10-LH-32,33	H,T,M
2. 10-VY-76	M	38. 10-VY-85	M
3. 10-VY-78	M	39. 10-LH-34-36	Z
4. 10-VY-79	H	40. 10-LH-37	H,R,H
5. 10-CR-316	P	41. 10-VY-20	H,M
6. 10-VY-80	H	42. 10-VY-21-24	R,(21)P
7. 10-VY-81	H	43. 10-LH-38	R
8. 10-CR-40	H,T,M	44. 10-LH-39	R
9. 10-VY-87	R,P	45. 10-VY-25	R
10. 10-VY-9	R,P	46. 10-LH-191	not designated
11. 10-VY-91	R,P	47. 10-VY-71	M
12. 10-VY-10	M	48. 10-VY-72	not designated
13. 10-CR-575	H	49. 10-VY-69	not designated
14. 10-CR-522	R,P	50. 10-VY-70	not designated
15. 10-VY-11	T	51. 10-LH-190	not designated
16. 10-CR-315	P	52. 10-LH-189	R,P
17. 10-VY-89	P	53. 10-LH-220	R
18. 10-CR-41,42	R,(41)T,M	54. 10-LH-188	not designated
19. 10-CR-44	T,M	55. 10-LH-187	R,P
20. 10-CR-43	H,T,M	56. 10-LH-40	R,P,T,M
21. 10-VY-82	H	57. 10-VY-26	H,M
22. 10-VY-83	not designated	58. 10-LH-186	H
23. 10-VY-84	not designated	59. 10-LH-222	P
24. 10-CR-576	H,M	60. 10-LH-185	R,P
25. 10-CR-314	P	61. 10-VY-67	R,M
26. 10-LH-29,30,31	T,(30)M	62. 10-LH-41	R,P
27. 10-LH-28	H,T,M	63. 10-VY-27	R
28. 10-LH-255-258	R	64. 10-LH-223	P
29. 10-LH-303	R,P	65. 10-VY-90	P
30. 10-VY-12-15	(12,13)R,(14)M,(15)P	66. 10-LH-224	P
31. 10-LH-27	T	67. 10-VY-86	R,P
32. 10-LH-259,260	R	68. 10-ID-65	H,R,P,T,M
33. 10-VY-16-18	P,(17,18)R	69. 10-ID-462	P
34. 10-LH-301	R	70. 10-ID-202	M
35. 10-LH-304	R,P	71. 10-ID-295	NOT DESIGNATED
36. 10-VY-19	H		

Figure 19 continued

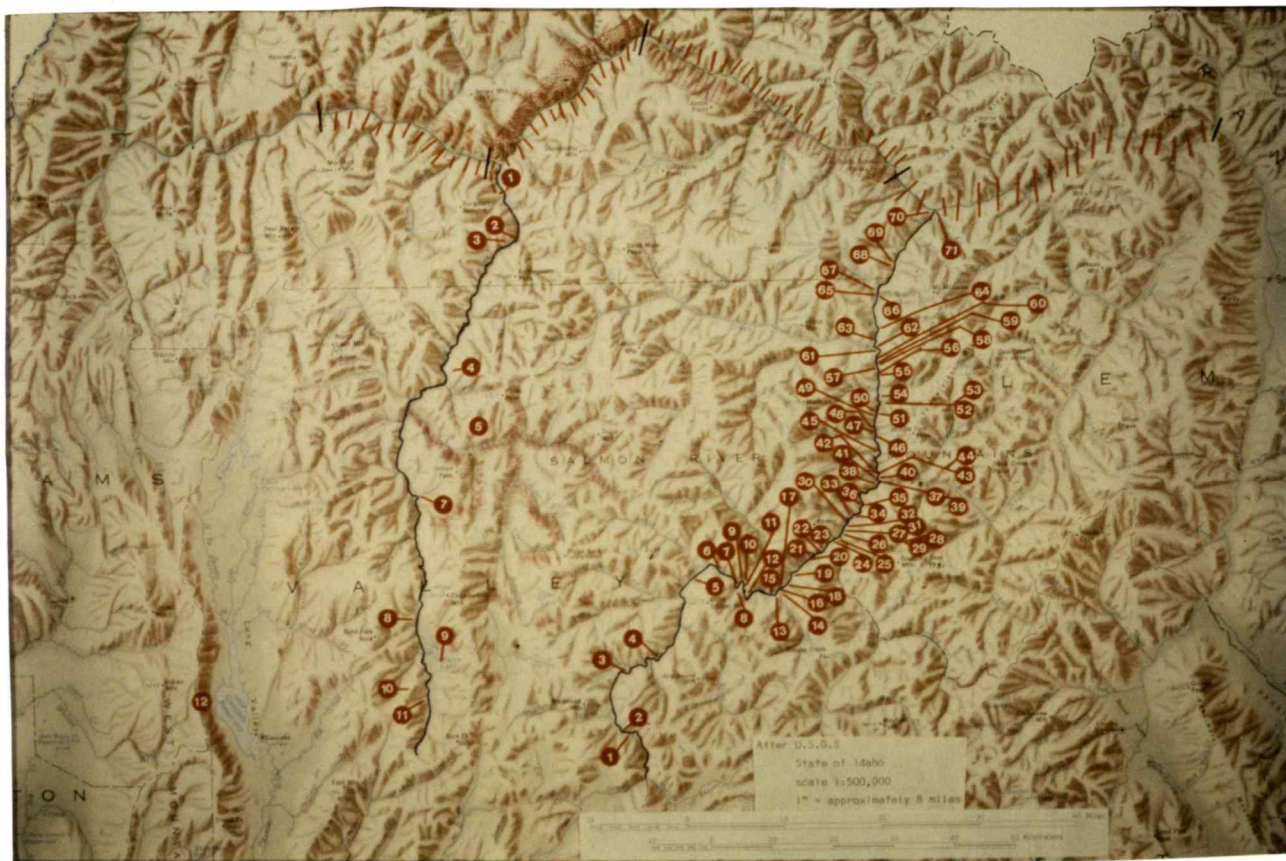


Figure 19 Map of South and Middle Fork area sites

"preferred material" for the artifacts found at 10-VY-65. Her Appendix A consists of an "X-Ray Fluorescence Analysis of Obsidian Flakes From 10-VY-65" by Lee Sappington of the University of Idaho. According to Sappington's analysis, the obsidian from the South Fork site was from Timber Butte "...just west of Banks, Idaho at an approximate distance of 50 miles southwest of Warm Lake" (1979:35). Rossillon (1981:5) indicates that Timber Butte was also the obsidian source for both the Sheepeater Battleground site on Marsh Creek, and the Red Fish Overhang site just south of it, as well as for most of the artifacts obtained from the 1978 Middle Fork Survey.

Untested Sites on the South and Middle Forks

By combining site information for the South and Middle Forks onto one map (Figure 19), this core area of the southern tip of the montane region appears to have been heavily populated. It must be remembered, however, that the sites indicated here are only a composite of site surveys, oral traditions, and personal knowledge. They have, as yet, no temporal references.

The most extensive survey work consulted for the archaeology of the South Fork locale was Pavesic's 1978 Archaeological Overview of the Middle Fork of the Salmon River Corridor, Idaho Primitive Area. Pavesic reports that "...93 archaeological site survey sheets are recorded in the state files." All of those sufficiently described and/or mapped in the report appear on Figure 19. Pavesic broke the sites down into four categories: caves, rock-shelters and overhangs, housepit villages, tipi rings, and miscellaneous, in which he includes (1978:23):

...large boulder circles, small rock circles,
hunting blinds or pits in talus slopes,
undetermined rock structures and a generalized
camp designation.

The last two categories are dubious since any one of these features would be exceedingly difficult to identify positively as such on the mere fact of its presence. It seems that the tipi

ring sites are generally found in horse, cattle, and (formerly) buffalo areas. All of these animals (as well as elk and deer) like to lie down and roll in large, flat, dry spaces in the hot weather to get rid of insects and to scratch. They pick spots and then these selected spots are frequented by the whole population. They can easily look much like "tipi rings." In his Birch Creek Paper No. 2, Swanson (1964:20) states that "Rings 1 and 4 were selected for excavation. Nothing was found, but this is apparently common with tipi ring sites" (Kehoe 1960; Malouf 1961).

The very large number of sites from Pavesic's survey along the Middle Fork corridor, plus the problematical sites along Big Creek and in the country between the two rivers, and the site density indicated by Swisher (1973), and Hill's (1974) Salmon River surveys, must surely lead to the conclusion that intensive survey of the South Fork country would yield similar results (Figure 18). As it stands now, in addition to Boreson's site on the upper South Fork, this study revealed only a dozen sites along the river--most of which were the findings from spot checks prior to timber sales. Five sites to the west of the river are relevant to the river itself, as is quite a bit of country designated by oral tradition to the east. These are marked on Figure 19 by hachure markings.

In the late 1950's, Swanson and Rice surveyed several sites on the South Fork at and near its mouth. In 1971, Ranere re-did the survey, re-recording Swanson and Rice's sites, and adding some additional ones. Ranere's results were a total of 13 sites, two of which were mapped, but their forms contained no notes. Of these 13 sites, three were designated as "large", and three as "huge." Both terms seem to have been applied to "village" sites. The remaining seven sites being regarded as "campsites." From the site reports, it appears that nothing was collected, although in several instances artifacts were noted. It was also noted that Norm Close (then) of Mackay Bar (one of the boatmen

there in the 1960's and early 1970's) had done some collecting from these sites. No descriptions were given of any artifacts or tools, and there appeared to be considerable vacillation in the use of the terms "house pit," "depressions," and "tipi rings." In some instances these features are differentiated by size and/or characteristics, and in others the term "tipi rings" seems to have been used as an umbrella category.

All of the six major sites show evidence of large populations, but also with the exception of #11 which had no description other than "...large village site...120m X 60m..." (Ranere, Salmon River Survey site form, August 30, 1971, site #10-IH-313), apparent evidences of a variety of feature types within each site. Most of these features seem to have been "depressions" of one sort or another, some round and some rectangular or square. Site #10 is noted as having "...5 big square depressions side by side...enclosed by some kind of ____ work..." (the word used is illegible) (Swanson and Rice, site report for site #10-IH-17, July 1958). Site #8 reports a rectangular depression "...ca. 20-30' across and at least 2 feet deep" with a notation that the surveyors did not visit this site but noted it from across the river (Swanson and Rice, survey notes, site #10-IH-16, July 1958).

It is unfortunate that nothing was collected from any of these sites and that no tests have been made since all of them lie immediately adjacent to Mackay Bar, which is a year-round resort. The sites are generally known to the employees and, of course, constitute an added attraction to the paying guests.

In the spring of 1970, Dr. Frank Leonhardy of Washington State University and Dr. David Rice of the University of Idaho published an article in the Northwest Anthropological Research Notes, Vol. 4, entitled "A Proposed Culture Typology for the Lower Snake River Region, Southeastern Washington," which may serve as a possible aid in the interpretation of the sites

discussed above, specifically the types of sites and depressions mentioned.

In dealing with the "Harder Phase" which they date between 500 B.C. and 1300AD (2500 - 682 B.P.), the authors stated that:

Two subphases are distinguished, principally on the basis of settlement types and stratigraphy, although there are minor differences in content. All known components of the earlier subphase are camps...; substantial housepit villages characterize the later subphase...The villages mark a change in settlement pattern which apparently developed during the earlier subphase. Isolated house pits may occur as early as 800 B.C...., but the concentration of population into villages was much later. The house pits are of varying depth and diameter (1970:14).

At the time the Leonhardy and Rice article was published, the Wexpúsnime site (45-GA-61) was being excavated and the authors note that this site "...is a village of circular pit houses, each pit about 6 meters in diameter and 50 centimeters deep" (1970:17). They also note that: "One house, stratigraphically above the others, may be a rectangular structure; but the artifacts so far recovered are no different from those in the circular houses" (*ibid.*). This would seem pertinent in light of the number of rectangular pits noted on the South Fork.

In the mid-1970's, Green (n.d.) wrote a Land Use Plan proposal for the South Fork of the Salmon River Planning Unit for the Boise and Payette National Forests. In this proposal he states that "No archaeological sites are listed for this area nor are any sites in the process of being nominated to the N.R.H.P." [National Register of Historic Places]. It was also his feeling that "Archaeological remains may date from as late as 1879 and as early as or earlier than 10,000 years ago."

In 1977-78 some archaeological surveying was done by the Forest Service prior to timber sales. In September, 1978, Struthers and Henry surveyed and tested a thirty-two acre area between Little Buckhorn and Homedale Creeks, approximately a

mile and a half west of the South Fork. They then did some test work in a meadow east of Little Buckhorn. A "black banded obsidian flake" was found on the surface, and in one pit, a bone implement. According to Struther's report "...testing was of sufficient intensity to indicate buried cultural material is present and probably widely distributed on the site." The remainder of the Forest Service sites were in the nature of "emergency" surveys prior to sales or road work. Most of the surveys yielded surface artifacts.

In the 1970's (report undated), Lois Chapman of Cascade, Idaho wrote a "History of the Old Landmark Ranger District" for the Cascade Ranger District of the Boise National Forest. At the beginning of the article, Chapman discusses the evidences of "...aboriginal occupants..." of the area such as artifacts, trails, blazed trees, and "...reportedly a burial site in Bobcat Creek" (p. 1). She goes on to say that:

Possible encampments were located in Tyndall Meadows, Pen Basin, Landmark, Summit Lake, Snowshoe Cabin, Mud Lake, Trout Creek, all of Lower Johnson Creek, Trapper Creek, Wardenhoff Meadows, Riordan Creek, and the East Fork of the Salmon [sic].

As the sites Chapman mentions here all fall within a relatively compact area from the middle course of the South Fork up-river and to both the east and west, she undoubtedly was actually referring to the East Fork of the South Fork, since the East Fork of the Salmon lies quite a distance to the east and south of this area, west of the Birch Creek country and the Lemhi Range. These areas noted by Chapman have been marked on Figure 19 with hachure markings.

Two other sites indicated on the Figure 19 are both unrecorded. The first is an area that will be described here as the "Mill Flat." This is a large flat bar level with the river which is its long eastern edge. It is on private property now belonging to R.V. Hansberger of Boise, Idaho (also the owner of

the above-mentioned Mackay Bar Lodge). It is called the Mill Flat because the previous owner, L.A. Hettinger, had brought in and set up a steam-powered sawmill on the bar. This flat is part of a good sized working stock and hay ranch and, in addition to the mill, the area was once planted in rye grass which was cut and harvested for several years (E.L. Thompson, personal communication), was placer mined, and was used to winter foaling mares and sometimes cattle (personal knowledge as past inhabitant). Ditches have been dug for irrigation in the past, a log pond established, and there are roads and trails across it (see Figures 20, 21).

These facts are pertinent due to the fact that two circular depressions which could easily be or not be tipi rings exist on this flat (upper end). Also on this flat, some 50 miles north of these "depressions," is a small semi-circular configuration of rocks. As this feature is right on the river bank, it may have remained undisturbed. Possibly similar structures are noted in Swanson and Bryan (1964:3), Swisher (1973:11), and Pavesic (1978:3).

Except for the "road" and trail, the ground is covered with duff and dried manure. In spite of such great disturbance, the surface did yield some indication of pre- or proto-historic activity. These include obsidian flakes and a triangular basalt biface (Figure 22).

The second, and by far most impressive site is approximately one mile up-river and also on the west side of the river. It is a large pictograph in association with a rockshelter located on a small bench approximately 100' above the river (Figures 23-28). The shelter and boulder sit at the back of the bench facing the river, and the site lies between Big Flat and China Creeks. The river below the bench is both rough and treacherous (Figure 4), however, less than a mile down-river are excellent pools, and there are small intermittent "beaches" on both banks, both up-river and down (Figures 5, 6).



Figure 20 Mill Flat looking down-river (north)

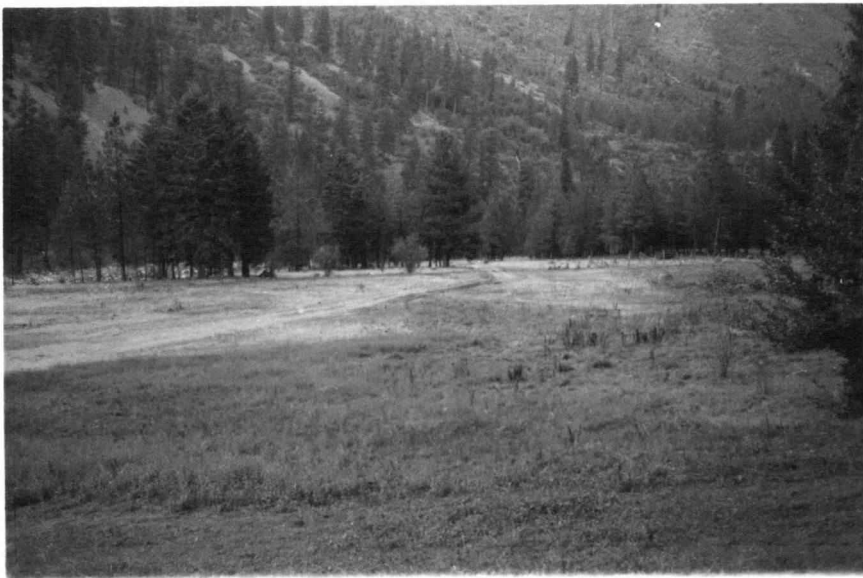


Figure 21 Mill Flat looking up-river (south)



Figure 22 "Biface" from Mill Flat, lower South Fork

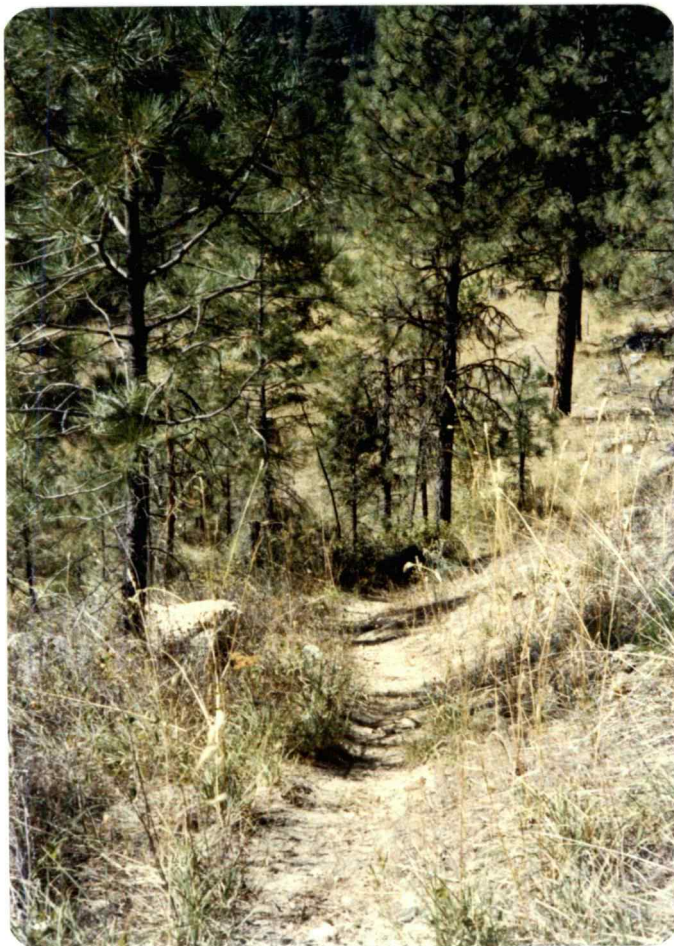


Figure 23 Trail into pictograph cove (looking south)



Figure 24 Pictograph/Rockshelter cove (facing river)



Figure 25 "Indian Rock" (pictograph)



Figure 26 Figures on pictograph: note smoke damage, upper right

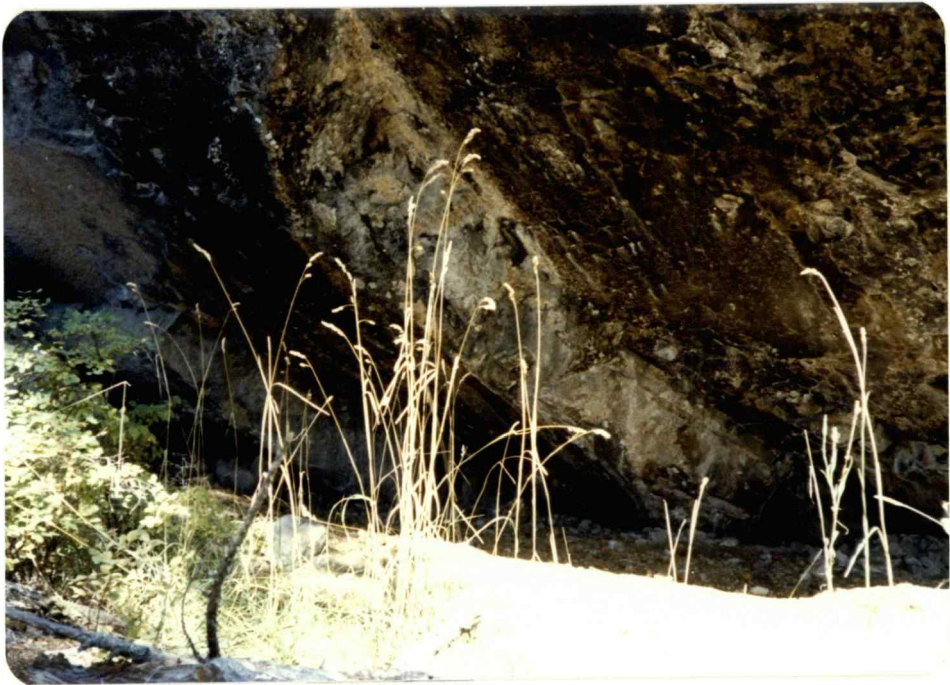


Figure 27 Rockshelter near pictograph



Figure 28 Portion of rockshelter area

A local story concerning the rockshelter is that during skirmishes between tribes in pre-European times, certain (unspecified) "groups" would use the shelter as a get-away-cum-hideout. Being pursued on the river in canoes, these people would beach their canoes beneath this cove and come up to the shelter via a secret tunnel which had egress near the shelter. It's an exciting and imaginative tale but does not seem likely for several reasons. First, the South Fork is far too capricious a river for boating. Although the historic Nez Perce did have a boating tradition (Spinden 1908; Chalfant 1974) it does not appear to have been extensively used (see Chapter 4). Second, the shelter's physical location in relation to the river makes the notion of a tunnel or cave-like chamber seem highly unlikely. Taken on the whole, the story seems romantic, but unlikely. Considering its essentials however, pursuit via the river, a well-concealed and little-known beaching spot, and concealment in a place unknown or inaccessible to the pursuers, the story could have its foundation in fact. Most old traditions do have, however obscure and embellished the facts may have become.

The site itself is in fairly good condition. At one time, a camper chose to build his fire directly beneath the pictograph, thus covering portions of it with a heavy layer of smoke soot. A local resident discovered the fact, ran the camper off, and scrubbed the rock with cleaning solutions and a large scrub-brush! The evidence of fire can still be seen, but the art work emerged generally unscathed. There has also been some "digging and scratching" done in and around the shelter, and the flat was a favored grazing spot for at least one local horse. In addition, a small grassy area between the site and the river was fenced off and at one time was hand cut for hay annually.

The floor of the rockshelter is a layer of dung and duff. A surface investigation revealed a probable utilized cobble, a red cryptocrystalline "drill," some obsidian flakes, shells, and an old Corona ointment can (Figures 29, 30).



Figure 29 End-battered cobble; South Fork rockshelter



Figure 30 Cryptocrystalline "drill"; South Fork rockshelter

Comparisons of the "drill" and the biface (Figure 31) with artifacts photographed in materials consulted yielded the following results: the red cryptocrystalline piece may be comparable to a "tit graver" from the Weitas Creek area (Keeler 1973: Figure 21 top row center); "perforators" from the Meadow Canyon area (Ranere 1971: Plate 9, i-o) or "burins" from the Meadow Canyon area (Ranere 1971: Plate 13 y). The tools ranged in age from 470 ± 460 to 2000 ± 285 . The triangular "biface" seems to be comparable to: a Beaverhead B point from the Meadow Canyon area (Ranere 1971: Plate 7, gg,hh; p.18) with a date of 470 ± 460 ; a "blank" from the Weitas Creek area (Keeler 1973: Figure 21, bottom row, #3); a steep end scraper, variety C from Shoup (Swanson and Sneed 1966:28,37, Figure 21); and the triangular knives and triangular points from the Birch Creek area (Swanson et al. 1964: Figure 35, d-f, Figure 36 oo). According to Swanson (1964:66), these knives measured 4.5, 4.6, and 6.4 cm, and the one from the South Fork mill flat measures 3.5 cm.

Rock Art

Because of the one known rock art site on the South Fork (see above) and the apparent abundance of recorded rock art sites along the Middle Fork (Pavesic 1978: 22, 23), it seems that at least cursory mention should be made of that feature of the pre-history of the area. Pavesic's (1978) Appendix A is an overview of the "Rock Art of the Middle Fork of the Salmon River" by Keo Boreson, who states that "At this time, all of the rock art sites recorded or reported along the Middle Fork of the Salmon River are pictographs." According to Boreson, the sites that are "known" on the Middle Fork are between Dagger Creek and the mouth of the River. In addition, she mentions that sites "have been reported" on major tributaries such as Big Creek, Camas, and Loon Creeks. In addition to her map, Boreson provides an excellent location/condition table.



Figure 31 Artifacts from Mill Flat/Rockshelter, lower South Fork

In a separate work which deals with rock art in the broader area of the Northwest, Boreson states that:

Pictographs are more widely dispersed than petroglyphs in the Pacific Northwest. The majority of the pictograph sites are located near rivers or streams in the mountainous areas... (1976:101).

During their work in the Birch Creek area, Swanson and Bryan reported that "Pictographs occurred in many rockshelters and one petroglyph was located at the mouth of Skull Canyon" (1964:3). And in his survey of the Buffalo Eddy region of the Snake River, Nesbitt found that:

All petroglyphs and pictographs sites are located near the river in easily accessible places, not high on the basalt rims of the Snake River Valley. All glyphs occur in close proximity to archaeological habitation sites (1968:8).

Likewise, Swisher (1973:11) says that "Over half of these [rockshelter] sites also have pictographs." This would seem to be a strong indication that a through survey of the South Fork locale would in all probability reveal more pictograph sites.

South Fork - Middle Fork Comparisons

As mentioned earlier, statements made concerning archaeology with reference to the Middle Fork of the Salmon River are for the most part easily translatable to the South Fork. Thus, Pavesic's statement that:

The archaeological resources of the Middle Fork of the Salmon River are of a premium quality. The intensive prehistoric occupation remains relatively intact due to the region's inaccessibility and minimal land development (1978:15).

could read "South Fork" and be equally valid. The important difference in impact to archaeological sites between the rivers stems from the comparative Euro-American patterns of usage dating from the late nineteenth century to the present. On both rivers, the major event which led to fully established

Euro-American settlement and continued use of the areas was Idaho's great rushes for gold in the late nineteenth century (Wells 1962; Pavesic 1978). Placer mines on or near pleasant arable pieces of land often evolved into homesteads, a great number of which are still in evidence today. From here, then, the character of the two rivers, as reflected in its Euro-American settlements, is divided, and it is more than likely this division which has affected the treatment of the archaeological sites in both locales to the present time.

Pavesic says that "The Middle Fork has never served as an important American population center" (1978:10,11). He later says that "Preston (1972) reports packtrails through the Middle Fork associated with the mining boom, but little else appears to be happening in our study area" (1978:11,12). Rossillon, however, touches on the agricultural aspects of the Middle Fork country:

Cattle and sheep herding in the Middle Fork drainage basin has contributed some agricultural products to Idaho markets. Nevertheless, the relatively small acreage of productive rangeland has scarcely aided the economic development of the Middle Fork region proper. Because these lands were used principally as summer range, any income generated by livestock sales was circulated in the vicinity of the owner's permanent home base, sometimes over 100 mi. (160 km) away (1981:1).

As both authors indicate, the Middle Fork never really became a permanent white settlement area. It is Carrey and Conley (1980) who properly define the white use of this river; it is a boatmen's river and a vital part of Idaho's tourism economy. Though there are many evidences of white settlement along the river corridor, these interests were sold out early to either the Forest Service or to private concerns who built up the hunting-fishing-boating tourist trade. As such, this river has been subject since at least 1935, and undoubtedly earlier (Carrey and Conley 1980:4-5), to constant and repeated threats

to its archaeological sites by tourists, boatmen, and packers alike. Even today the many "painted rocks" and their surrounding areas are favorite stopping places for photographing and "exploring" by the thousands of summer floaters (Louise Maley, personal communication).

Such has not been the case on the South Fork. Ranches which evolved out of the very early mining operations are, in many cases, still functioning today. Later, at intervals, other (usually smaller) places were settled. While these places above the East Fork of the South Fork are now largely the property of the Forest Service, the river settlements have remained largely as they were, and so, for the most part, are still in private hands.

This is not to say that no "looting" of sites has been done on the South Fork, but merely that it is of a different nature and intensity. The Middle Fork, by the nature of its high utilization, has been picked at and looted not only by regular passers through, but by literally thousands of untraceable, single-visit tourists from all over the country. In contrast, the very stable, agricultural nature of the South Fork may inadvertently have served to preserve much of what has been randomly collected over the years. Present and past inhabitants are for the most part easily located and would probably be willing to share any collections they may have.

This stability is being threatened, however, from both ends of the river, and with it undoubtedly the security of any archaeological sites. Upriver, to the south, as previously mentioned, the Forest Service owns much of the land. Warm Lake is a resort area, and there is hope of establishing a museum and tourist area at Landmark (Val Simpson, personal communication). An even greater threat is the Mackay Bar Lodge near the mouth of the river. Currently, one of the largest and perhaps most historic of the working ranches on the river is owned by

the same individual who now not only has it maintained as a working ranch but also brings in bear and cougar hunters, as well as summer "guests."

Conclusions on prehistory

Twenty-five years ago, Liljeblad made the following statement:

It would be expected that the Proto-Indians of Idaho, like other ancient peoples west of the Rockies, would have equipped themselves quite differently from the great hunters of the High Plains. They would not have lacked hunting devices, but they would have flaked their flint implements into forms quite different from those of the Folsom and Yuman point-makers (1957:12).

Fifteen years later, Swanson was to write the largest and most exhaustive of his famous Birch Creek monographs. At the very beginning of this he stated: "I went there [Birch Creek] with the possibility in mind that the Northern Shoshoni belonged to the mountains" (1972:5). The evidence would seem to indicate that both men may have been looking in the same direction, and were probably justified in doing so.

The hallmark of Swanson's mountain culture was the Bitter-root side-notched point. As was shown in the text, variations of the triangular, stemmed and notched point have been found in high country sites continuously for over 10,000 years. By whatever modern, local nomenclature this type of point is designated, it would appear that the over-all basic style was highly serviceable to mountain peoples for millennia.

There is no evidence to indicate that the pre-historic mountain populations lived anywhere but in the closeness of the mountains. Study of pertinent adjacent sites shows that these mountain peoples appear to have lived a structured, predictable existence based on seasonal hunting and gathering. The record so far shows that rockshelters appear to have been a preferred type of shelter for the very early peoples.

Travel in the steep mountainous South Fork--and central Idaho--country would, by the very nature of the terrain, preclude the carrying of many personal possessions. Certainly the makings for any type of abode would have to be produced "on the spot," and not carried from campsite to campsite.

Although they have not yet been placed in a chronological framework, Pavesic's sites on the Middle Fork indicate two types of dwellings that are very appropriate for year-round high country living: caves, rockshelters and overhangs; and housepits.

Above the rivers, there are literally hundreds of "benches," meadows, and high valleys that are not only habitable but also abundant in resources for humans. Until the high country has been thoroughly surveyed with the idea that it is a viable year-round habitat for humans, there is no way of stating that early peoples did or did not live continuously and solely in the mountain country.

It is very likely that early high country populations lived the same basic pattern of seasonal travel and subsistence that their (possible) descendants did (see following chapter); i.e., spending spring and summer months in the high country and the winter months in the "lowlands." These terms must be seen to take on their relative meanings. When the surrounding peaks tower to 8 - 9000' then the 2000' river banks are indeed the "lowlands."

Bense (1972:104) attempts to link the Cascade Phase type of settlement pattern to the historic Nez Perce settlement patterns. She says (*ibid.*) that:

Each settlement is relatively small (less than 50 m in diameter) and most likely supported no more than 20 - 30 persons. At each location a variety of activities were performed: butchering, cooking, fishing, food and hide processing, tool manufacture, and general residence.

The same pattern is true of the Northern Shoshoni (Swanson and Steward 1970). If archaeologists are to determine prehistoric

patterns of living not only from the physical site evidence, but also from inference from the proto-historic peoples in this central Idaho region, then it is clear that the basic pattern is the same not only for the "Plateau" Nez Perce and the "Great Basin" northern Shoshoni. And this subsistence pattern seems to be exemplary of the central Idaho high mountain prehistoric peoples.

Hogg's 1981 map (Figure 8) drives a wedge between the Plains to the east, the Great Basin to the south, and the Plateau to the west. This wedge has been called the Montane Region. In light of the problems most researchers in the northwest have voiced in trying to "type" proposed archaeological cultures as to the Plateau or the Great Basin, it is surprising that this Montane province was not proposed long ago. It is not surprising, however, in light of the traditional reluctance on the part of archaeologists to regard mountainous areas as intrinsically valuable archaeologically.

This thesis refutes the above-stated premise. Research has revealed that the mountain sites within the southern-most tip of this region are indeed very old. The mountains did not, in fact, function "...chiefly as barriers to movements of peoples" (Ranere 1971:54).

As will be seen in the following chapter, the mountains have traditionally been used as hunting and trading routes from one area to another. As will also be seen in the following chapters, what mountain people require, they generally have access to or are capable of manufacturing. These qualities are essential for the loose, autonomous band organization described for both the historic Shoshoni and Nez Perce by anthropologists past and present (Steward 1938; Liljeblad 1957; Murphy and Murphy 1960; Trenholm and Carley 1964; Chalfant 1974; Ames and Marshall 1980).

Perhaps now is the time for anthropologists and archaeologists to begin serious investigations of the deep mountains as viable and reasonable areas of human habitation.

Surely the South Fork would make an excellent place to initiate such investigations. In due course, the area will undoubtedly be opened to tourism. Before this happens, an extensive survey should be planned and carried out.

Perhaps, in recognizing a montane region, archaeologists will feel more free to examine another, but equally viable theory of migration--that it is equally feasible for people to have migrated out of mountains as into them. In investigating mountain sites, the researcher should be aware that mountain peoples may do some seasonal traveling around but, by and large, they do this within the region of the mountains. They generally have little need or desire to go out.

More research such as Shawley's "The Nez Perce Trails" (1977), which will be discussed in the following chapter, should be initiated. If mountains were, indeed, used extensively as trade and travel routes, trade would have been brought to the mountain peoples. In fact, Haines (1955, 1970) indicates that the Shoshoni brought the first horses to the Nez Perce on a route through the South Fork country.

Since the Montane Region is physiographically different from the other regions surrounding it, it would be appropriate to assume that any culture indigenous to and/or emanating from it would also be different, and unique. In summarizing his initial theories leading to his extensive Birch Creek studies, Swanson left a valuable insight into the study of and search for mountain prehistory:

Rather than examine culture in relation to environment as a study of two ecological systems, I began by assuming that culture and environment formed a common structure (1972:6).

CHAPTER IV PROTO-HISTORIC AND HISTORIC INDIAN USE OF THE AREA

Although, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, there is ample evidence of human habitation over thousands of years in the South Fork locale, it is not presently possible to make a positive statement to the effect that those prehistoric populations in the area did, indeed, give rise to the historic ones. Conjecture is the best we have and, as Pavesic has said, "It may prove to be archaeologically impossible to directly correlate historic populations over thousands of years" (1978:33).

In looking at early Indian use of the South Fork and its environs, the immediate questions become: 1) Which group(s) laid claim to the area; 2) For what purposes was it used; 3) If the region was, indeed, claimed and used by more than one group, what function did it assume--council area, war area, wintering place, hunting area, refuge, home; and 4) Was it shared or disputed?

Literature and research indicate that this area was used predominantly by two groups of people: the Great Basin-oriented Shoshoni and the Plateau-oriented Nez Perce (Spinden 1908; Steward 1938; Liljeblad 1957; Swanson 1972; Chalfant 1974). These two peoples are also reputed to be traditional enemies (Spinden 1908; Steward 1938; Haines 1955; Chalfant 1974).

Probably the earliest factual documentation of the Shoshoni and Nez Perce territoriality is a map from the Lewis and Clark collections which was made for Lewis and Clark by some "Chopunnish" (Nez Perce) on the Flat Head River in May of 1806 (Wheat 1962:42). On this map the Chopunnish territory is located to the north of the [now] Salmon River, and the Sho-sho-ne territory to the south. While this is certainly not conclusive, it does give a substantial indication that at some time the Salmon River must have been used as a boundary of sorts.

Further search of the literature, however, seems to indicate

that the east/west transect of the main Salmon River apparently served as a mutually understood line of demarcation (Liljeblad 1957; Rigsby 1965; Haines 1970; Chalfant 1974). All of the above authors, as well as numerous others, have given descriptions of the respective territories occupied by both groups.

By making a single comparative map of a number of these descriptions, an approximate pattern of territoriality emerges. In relation to the long east/west transect of the main Salmon River, it appears that the Nez Perce dominated from the west side of the Bitterroots down to the north banks of the Salmon (including all of the Clearwater country), from the drainages of the Little Salmon River west to the Wallowa and Blue Mountain country, and up to the Palouse River country on the Snake River. The Shoshoni, on the other hand, seem to have dominated the country from the eastern banks of the Snake in the Hell's Canyon area, south of the Salmon River to the Snake River, all of the Pahsemeroi and Lemhi River country and over into the Yellowstone and southern Montana mountainous regions. As stated in the previous chapter, it is this southernmost tip of Hogg's (1981) Montane Province with which this paper concerns itself (see Figure 8). And it is just that country which seems to have been used more or less jointly and by mutual agreement by both the Sheepeater Shoshoni and the Nez Perce.

As the archaeological record has shown, the indigenous cultures in this area appear to have been both long term and stable mountain-dwelling populations. Of the two populations studied for this thesis, research appears to indicate that the Northern Shoshoni fit easily into the same pattern of habitation (Liljeblad 1957; Trenholm and Carley 1964; Goss 1968; Swanson 1972). Swanson and Liljeblad both saw the Shoshoni as an originally stable Mountain culture. According to Swanson,

Perhaps better than any other Northern Shoshoni group the tukudeka [Sheepeaters] illustrate the mountain character of these people. The Mountain Sheepeaters are the basis for establishing

the pattern of Northern Shoshoni culture because they were without horses, lived in the mountains summer and winter, and because the name tukudeka may be generic for all Northern Shoshoni (Swanson 1972:11).

Liljeblad says that, while other groups' living habits changed according to the influences of the times, the Tukudeka remained stable and "...unchallenged by other Indians..." (1957:99).

A young Idaho man whose mother is a Sheepeater Shoshoni stated that the Sheepeater people remained in the mountains secluded from other people--not only whites and other Indians in general, but other groups of Shoshoni as well--because they were pacifists. They disliked and disapproved of the continuous warfare not only between the whites and the Indians, but also earlier between the various Indian tribes and groups (Vic Mann, personal communication, 1980). Steward, citing from informants (1938:193), says that "The small mountain villages of the Salmon River region engaged in no warfare." In describing the typical weaponry of the Plateau, Liljeblad states that on the whole, "...warfare had little place among the Plateau peoples in early times" (1957:30,31).

In the territorial area that is the subject of this thesis, no mention has been found in the literature of wars having been fought. Though the area is quite large, it is, for the most part, very steep and not favorable for general warfare. It is not good country for raids. Warfare here would best be a defensive action on the part of the inhabitants against undesirable outsiders, which does not appear to have been the tradition of the Sheepeaters. They appear to have preferred living on a "live and let live" basis. This, then, seems to rule out the region having been utilized as a war area.

In a discussion of the Plateau traditions of territoriality, Ray (1939:16) states that "The trans-river boundaries are quite precise in all cases. This is more or less inevitable since villages are small and situated close together." He goes on to

explain, however, that

Although a particular fishing station 'belongs' to a particular village, any friendly person, either acquaintance or stranger, is welcome to use it. But the village with territorial rights over the station is quite definitely the visitor's host (ibid.).

As was mentioned earlier, any anthropological or historical discussion of the territorial boundaries of the Nez Perce and the Tukudeka Shoshoni seems to have automatically taken on the bias of the writer for "his" favorite tribe. Although a number of these authors quote Spinden's 1908 work, none of them appear to have noted his most revealing statement about the relative Nez Perce/Shoshoni boundaries. He says that "There seems to have been a considerable strip of neutral ground between the Nez Percés and their traditional enemies, the Shoshoni on the south..." (1908:173). Research on the subject among the authors who followed Spinden indicates that is exactly what the case appears to be.

For this paper, then, the following boundaries will be descriptive of both a proposed Tukudeka homeland (the northern extent of Shoshoni territory) and as the area of neutrality between the Tukudeka and the Nez Perce: to the east, the northward-flowing upper Salmon River; to the south, the South Fork of the Payette River; to the west the Payette Lakes; and to the north, the main Salmon River (Figure 32).

While the region itself does not appear to have been used as a general meeting place, Haines (1970:47) and Chalfant (1974:79) both make reference to locations on the western edges of this region which were used by the Shoshoni and Nez Perce to trade with one another. According to Haines, these trading--rendezvous--areas were located at the "...headwaters of the Weiser and Payette Rivers" (ibid.). The headwaters of the Weiser River are up between the western boundaries of the region defined in Figure 7 and east and slightly south of the Seven Devils country

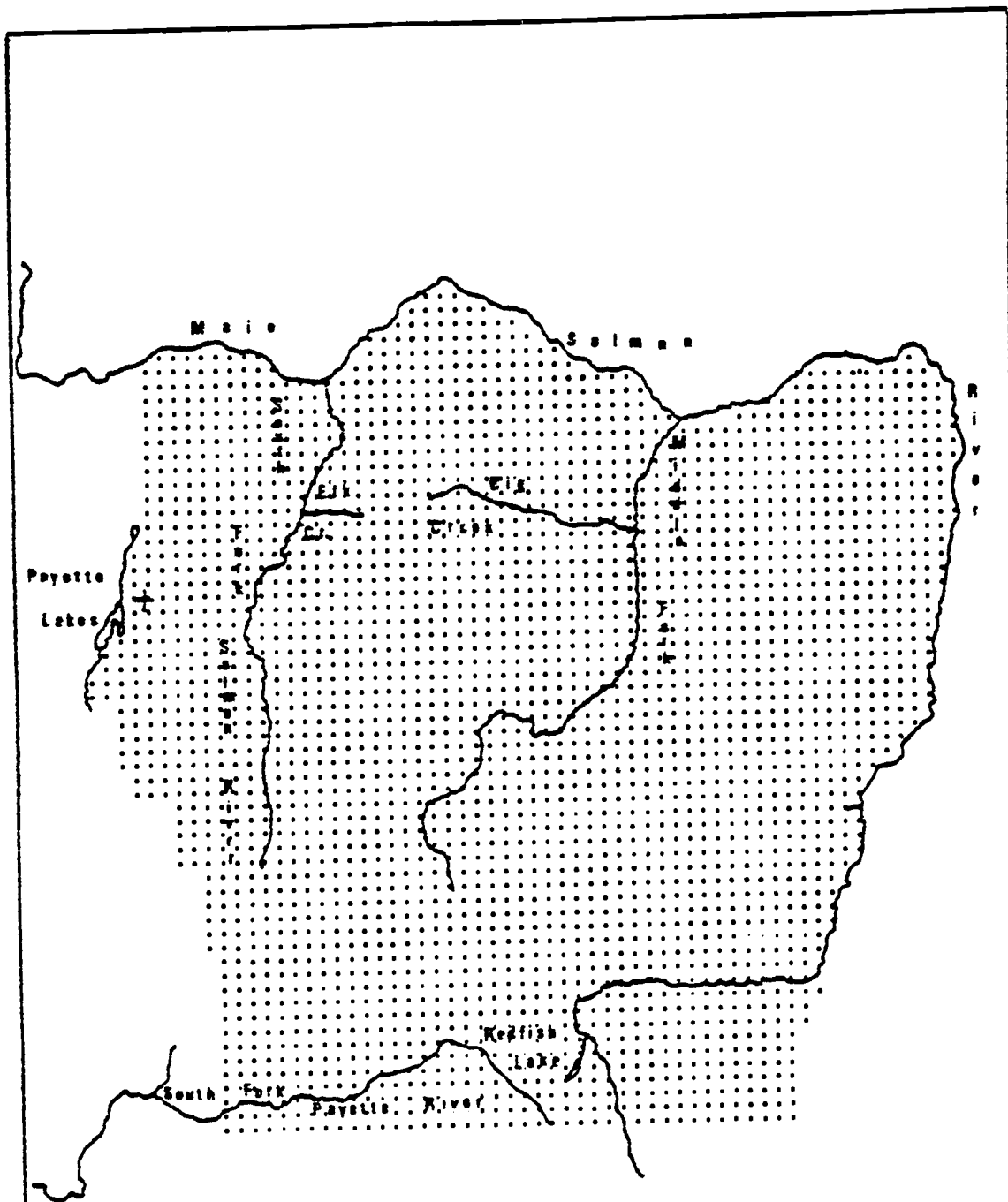


Figure 32 Proposed Tukudeka homeland and area of neutrality
between Tukudeka and Nez Perce

which seems to have been delegated both as Nez Perce and as Shoshoni territory, according to the author's research (Rigsby 1965; Liljeblad 1957; Haines 1970; Chalfant 1974). The headwaters of the Payette River, however, are some distance to the east and in the vicinity of the Payette Lakes which Chalfant states were used when the Shoshoni "...met with the Nez Perce there for fishing and horse racing" (1974:79).

This thesis will not discuss the "hunting and gathering" type of subsistence utilized by both the Shoshoni and Nez Perce in the area, since this topic has been exhausted by literally every person who has researched either group of people, and since given the temporal and geographic proveniences, it would appear to be the singular most logical mode of subsistence for any people there, regardless of cultural affiliations. Nelson (1969:5) sums it up very neatly:

...those areas which are peripheral to the central portion of the Columbia Basin have tended over the last seven or eight millenia to be ecologically most favorable to hunting and gathering societies, a tendency evident in archaeological, ethnographic, and early historic documents.

Both cultural groups engaged in predictable yearly cycles of mobility dictated by the food to be harvested or sought at the time. Camas was an important staple, and groups moved to the known available camas prairies when the bulbs were ready. Although migrations to the camas fields are practically synonymous with any ethnographic study of the Nez Perce, there is little mention of the camas digging cycle of the Sheepeaters' year. Liljeblad (1957:96) calls them "...essentially a hunting people..." and adds that they were great and skilled hunters. He further states that they hunted big game all year, and were the "...most skilled hunters on foot of all the Idaho Indians..." As to plant foods, Liljeblad simply says that "Practically all the food plants which are reported to have been utilized by Idaho Indians, and a few more besides, are found within the

territory once inhabited by the tókudeka" (1957:95).

Rossillon (1981:5) says that the Sheepeaters were not frequent visitors at the Camas Prairie to the south of their territory, which was a popular digging place for other Shoshoni, most likely because there were equally productive large camas fields close to home. If they did choose to travel south to the Camas Prairie, she feels that it was for the purpose of trading their bighorn sheep hides, rather than for root digging.

This is in keeping with both the information of the Sheepeater resource person, Vic Mann, and with Liljeblad's research. Both sources praised the furrier skills of the Sheepeaters very highly (V.M. 1980, personal communication; Liljeblad 1957:97). Liljeblad states that these people were wearing tailored clothing before the Plains style of dress spread to the West (*ibid.*).

Some time prior to 1913, a dentist named William Alonzo Allen made a trip to the country around Medicine Wheel, Wyoming, and spent a good deal of time there with some Sheepeater people in their village. Since he didn't write his account until some time after the trip, parts of his book seem somewhat fanciful (although changes in both writing styles and attitudes must be taken into account). Unlike any writer or researcher, other than Liljeblad a half a century later, Allen appears to have had a genuine respect and admiration for these quiet people.

Allen describes the beautifully worked robes and clothing the people wore, and the fine ram's horn bows (1913:18-72). As to the people themselves, he made some very interesting observations. In a general description he says:

Small in stature and living among the
clouds, this proud race lived a happy
life far removed from all other Indians
(1913:7).

He describes the women as "most beautiful," and says that the people are very short and look like Alaskan Indians. Perhaps the most interesting observation Allen makes is that "The Shoshones seem to be a branch of the Sheep Eaters [sic] who

afterwards intermarried with the Mountain Crows, a tall race of people who gave the Shoshones a taller and better physique" (*ibid.*). Trenholm and Carley refer to the Shoshoni as "...stocky-built, dark skinned, full-featured highlanders..." (1964:vii).

No realistic consideration of the Sheepeaters gives the indication that these people were "making do" in the mountains because there was no where else to hide. These people were simply living, not hiding, in an environment that they had known and cherished for centuries, perhaps millenia. Swanson summarizes the situation thus:

The traditional view is that the Northern Shoshoni were in a marginal position and, if one starts in the center of the Great Basin, then indeed they were. However, if one starts with the Rocky Mountain ecological system (Daubenmire, 1943) which encompasses the inter-mountain region and regulates plant and animal distribution for food-collecting peoples, then the Great Basin is internally marginal to the flanking mountains. In this situation the Northern Shoshoni are on the center line of the system...The consequence is that the Northern Shoshoni and related peoples spread away from rather than toward the Rocky Mountains...It is more probable that their origins are on this axis than in the margin (1972:9).

If one accepts that the Sheepeater Shoshoni were, indeed, a stable, mountain people then pertinent to the region discussed in this thesis, two questions arise: 1) Where do the Nez Perce fit into this pattern? and 2) To which cultural area should the peoples of this region be assigned?

Since research has not indicated that the study area was in any way a bonafide part of the Nez Perce domain, the Nez Perce are regarded here merely as the primary "foreign" users of the area. Although Chalfant (1974) cites a number of instances of Nez Perce use of the region adjacent to the South Fork of the Salmon River, such as the East Fork of the South Fork and the Johnson Creek area, two factors must be borne in

mind when reading his report. First, the use he mentions is clearly transient use. The second is that Chalfant was employed to do this work by the Indian Claims Commission on behalf of the Nez Perce. It is not so much an ethnographic research as an attempt to show current Nez Perce rights to certain territories by indications of past use.

The striking thing about the Sheepeater Shoshoni and the Nez Perce is not the differences between them but the basic similarities. Both groups adhered to essentially the same predictable movement cycle during the year. These travels in both instances were predicated upon the season and location of vegetable, game, and fish food resources and, within those bounds, upon the need and, to some extent, the preference of the band for any given resource (Liljeblad 1957; Walker 1968; Brauner 1976; Ames and Marshall 1980; Rossillon 1981).

In both societies too, the general social organization was highly similar, particularly before the coming of the Europeans. Indeed, two authors, one speaking of the Shoshoni and the other of the Nez Perce, have made parallel observations. Liljeblad (1957:33), in discussing the Shoshoni, says that:

The physiography of the country which the Northern Shoshoni inhabited is more varied than the country of the Nez Percé and the Cour d'Alene; among the Shoshoni, the adaptation to contrasting environments resulted in slight local variations between different groups as to their habits of life.

Nearly a quarter of a century later, in an excellent work on Nez Perce settlement patterns, Ames and Marshall (1980:29) stated that

Because settlement patterns reflect 'environmental constraints,' and persons speaking /nimiputimpt/ [sic] occupied a variety of environments, no singular adjustment to the environment was possible. The relationship of the people with their environment must therefore be understood in terms of location.

The settlement pattern in both cases appears to have been one of small related groups living together, with other small related groups living at a relative short distance, which was dictated by food availability (Brown 1926; Steward 1938; Liljeblad 1957; Swanson 1970, 1972; Anastasio 1972). As the social grouping was similar, so was the leadership pattern (at least in pre-European times). In either case, a man whose judgment proved sound and who had the respect of his group was generally the chosen headman of the group, its spokesman and leader. This person was not, however, generally the acknowledged spiritual leader (Steward 1938; Walker 1968).

Individual spirituality through guardian spirit power and correctness of living can easily be identified as the basis of pan-Indian spirituality. These are the cornerstones upon which Indian Spiritual life is built and, based on these two, each tribal group has its own formal set of broader spiritual beliefs and rituals. Many nations, such as the Navajo, the Hopi, and the Kwakiutl have very elaborate religions which, like language, tend to unite the people as a nation. Such was not the case among the peoples of this study area.

Liljeblad (1957:31) says that "The leading motive in the religion of the Plateau Indians was the desire in every individual to receive help and power from the spiritual world." And Swanson and Steward (1970:115) state that "A very fundamental feature of Basin- Plateau Shoshonean society is the remarkable absence of any traditional institutions other than nuclear families."

Looking at Hogg's 1981 map depicting a Montane Province, and reflecting on the number of similarities in basic lifestyle between the Shoshoni and Nez Perce, particularly in the proto historic times, it seems increasingly astounding that anthropologists and archaeologists continue to attempt to "fit" these groups into the Basin or Plateau culture. The southern and western delineations of the map might be slightly expanded to indicate a geographically more complete and cohesive region, as

has been proposed on the following page.

If the Northern Shoshoni have, indeed, inhabited the steep mountains for millenia as the above research suggests, it would seem reasonable to assume that for one reason or another, at some point in time, various members of the culture may have chosen to leave the immediate area. Any number of reasons might be postulated: search for more, better, or different types of food; hostile actions by members of other band(s) or cultural group(s); expulsion of one group by another for violation(s) of established social norms; marriage outside one's own cultural group; changes in climatic conditions; and simple curiosity by the adventurous.

In a discussion of Utaztecan (Shoshoni) prehistory, Goss quotes Taylor that these peoples were originally "...mountain, or at least a highland people..." whose migrations were generally "...from north to south primarily along the flanks of the western Cordillera" (Goss 1968:9-10, quoting from Taylor 1961:76). In support of this opinion, Taylor goes on to state that:

...although many Utaztecan are desert dwellers, by far the greater number are highlanders and, more significantly, within virtually every linguistic subgroup of Utaztecan there are both highland and lowland (mountain and dessert) peoples (ibid.).

Both the Sheepeater Shoshoni and the Nez Perce inhabit the mountainous regions, although the Sheepeater country is more rugged than that of the neighboring Shoshoni. The Nez Perce appear to have been, on the whole, a more gregarious and expansionistic people than the Sheepeater. Seasonal trips to the camas fields seem to have been as much a social function as an economic one. Once they acquired the horse from the Shoshoni, (the animal was utilized to its maximum) the Nez Perce began traveling incredible distances regularly to hunt buffalo and to trade with the Plains people. Both Haines and Liljeblad comment on the adaptability of the Nez Perce. Haines says that

"Many times, the Nez Percés showed their intelligence and adaptability by borrowing new weapons, new tools, and new customs from friend and foe alike" (1955:18). Liljeblad also refers to the contrasts between the two groups of people:

Cultural contrasts between the Shoshoni in southern Idaho on the one hand, and the Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alene on the other existed proportionately as their subsistence types extended farther into adjoining areas in opposite directions (1957:25).

Further on he states that "Many cultural traits that caused local differences were imported from neighboring areas" (*ibid.*)

In 1965, Rigsby made a very clear statement regarding the general Sahaptin-Plateau attitude toward "territoriality":

Differences in the productive capacity or control of resources of local groups were smoothed out to some extent by trade and gift exchanges with other local groups and by permitting individuals and small parties of other local groups to share access to resources and territories. Such sharing was always with the explicit permission of the host group (1965:26).

Nearly a decade later, Chalfant gave an excellent description of the extent to which the Nez Perce traveled around yearly, citing areas as far south of their "homelands" as the Big Payette Lake, Rapid River, Boulder Creek, "...South Fork of the Salmon River and its tributaries, particularly Johnson Creek on the East Fork, and other streams east of McCall, Idaho; Snake River as far south as Boise River..." (1974:78).

Apparently the practice of trading to the hosts for hunting and fishing privileges was a standardized one among the mountain peoples and would seem to have flourished between the Nez Perce and the Sheepeaters.

It appears, then, that not only did the Sheepeater people not "go out" (of the deep mountains) much, but they actually had little need to do so. The ever moving and trading Nez Perce must have brought trade goods and gossip to last a season when they came through, and as the Sheepeaters were masters of their

environment, no doubt took useful knowledge from them when they left.

Curiously enough, Chalfant, before making further statements about the regions south of the Salmon River used by the Nez Perce (quoted above), states that "Other parts of the Salmon and Snake river country were used by some groups, but specific trails into this more southerly region are not known today" (1974:90). Shawley's (1977) extensive work on the Nez Perce trails corroborates this completely.

In his Nez Perce Trails (1977), Shawley has done extensive work combining standard background research with data collected "...from informant interviews and on-the-ground inspection" (1977:1). His appendix consists of an extensive list of original Nez Perce place and location names along with their current English names and their translations. As regards the study area of this thesis, two interesting pieces of information emerge from Shawley's work. First, in the introduction, Dr. Sprague of the University of Idaho states that the work is a "...study of known trails within the original territory of the Nez Perce tribe..." (*ibid.*). The map on page 8 delineates the "Approximate Areas of Research" and indicates a southern boundary (squared off) at approximately the east/west course of the main Salmon River.

Second, Shawley shows the entire network of trails, including one which goes through the (current) Elk City area, crosses the main Salmon at what is now Mackay Bar, and follows the South Fork of the Salmon River beyond its headwaters into the Middle Fork of the Payette River country. Another trail of importance to this study comes off the South Fork of the Clearwater, south to the main Salmon where it also crosses the river at Mackay Bar, then goes up the hill and across the Chamberlain Basin country, down Big Creek and across the Middle Fork of the Salmon River. The former trail is one of "...a southern set of trails extending into Shoshone-Bannock and Paiute country..." and the latter

is described as a trail "...which led to Shoshone-Bannock and Paiute country..." (1977:7). They are listed as having been used also by the Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Cayuse "...for trading and raiding..." (*ibid.*).

The remainder of the work is devoted to individual small scale maps of the various individual trails and sections of trails showing such particulars as hunting grounds and campsites. In two separate notations (1977:90,98), Shawley mentions having had notes "withheld" or taken concerning the Elk City region. It is from this region that the above-mentioned trails branch out.

Shawley's reconstructed network of trails through the Nez Perce country and down into the Sheepeater country certainly shows the area as something other than a refuge harboring a few frightened people. On the contrary, it gives the feeling of a well-inhabited and much used area. No doubt, if someone should attempt a similar project on the area south of the Salmon River, i.e., in the study area of this thesis, interviewing Shoshoni and perhaps again Nez Perce people, a similar network of travel would be brought to light. Indeed, Swanson's description of the west to east travels of the Syywooki'i mountain Shoshoni in 1895 tends to corroborate this idea:

...This small remnant of a band lived in a mountain basin just north and west of what is now Banks, Idaho...When they lost their leader, this group did not move south and take the road, such as it was, across the southern edge of the Snake River Plain. Instead these people moved on foot north and then east through the forested mountain region south of the Salmon River. They turned southward to Fort Hall only after they had reached some point near the western edge of Camas Meadows, which lies to the east of Birch Creek (1972:13).

As will be seen in the following chapter, the Sheepeaters did not simply relinquish their mountains when Europeans arrived. As with countless other groups and tribes, they were torn from their mountains and taken ultimately to live in the

dry barren country around what is called Fort Hall, Idaho. That event, called the "Sheepeater War," will be discussed later. No evidence was found during this study to indicate that there was ever actually and dissention between the Sheep-eaters and the miners and early ranchers.

There is no doubt that mountains have been inhabited for longer than mere centuries. In the case of the area which includes this study region, it would seem to be time to begin regarding the mountain peoples as just that, mountain peoples, rather than trying desperately to make their lifestyles fit in with the Basin or the Plateau. In looking at other more familiar mountain populations such as the people of the Ozarks and the Appalachians, the Biami of New Guinea, and the people of the Dolpo region of Tibet, to name a few, several "universal" traits can be noted which would seem to apply to true mountain peoples through time and across cultures. They are rugged, tough individuals with a quiet sense of pride; they know their ecology intimately and work within its framework; while they enjoy the visits of outsiders, they have little desire or need to go out of their own territory to visit or seek help; they are exceptionally self-sufficient; and the mountainous areas that surround them represent more to them than simply the territory they inhabit.

Perhaps the recognition of the Montane Province would simply clarify problems with which anthropologists and archaeologists working in this region have been either struggling with or shelving.

CHAPTER V NON-INDIAN POPULATIONS

Although white infiltration of the Idaho Indian country is generally thought of in terms of the second half of the nineteenth century, it actually goes back nearly to the end of the eighteenth century. In 1805, Lewis and Clark's expedition met both the Shoshoni and the Nez Perce (whom they called the "Chopunnish") (Hosmer 1903). According to Murphy and Murphy (1960:296), the "Fur Period" had begun and "Shoshone [sic] history became inextricably connected with that of the American frontiers." This period was to last for some thirty years.

In 1811, the Astoria party under Captain Bonneville made its trip down the Snake River through Shoshoni territory (Steward 1938:5) after having already come through the upper Salmon River country to the north and east, probably in the vicinity of the present day Mackay and Challis, Idaho (Irving 1950:70). Walker states that by 1811 there were already trappers living in the Nez Perce villages. In 1812 McKenzie tried to set up trade business among the Nez Perce and in 1813 "...the Nez Perce [were] firmly engaged in trading with the North West Fur Company's post on the upper Columbia..." (1968:32).

By the latter half of the 1830's, both Fort Hall (1834) and the Spalding Mission (1836) had been established. The two decades between 1840 and 1860 are generally regarded as the period of westward migration although, as Steward points out, in what became Idaho, people were generally just "passing through" on their way to better settling places during this time (1938:5).

"The great crisis in the history of the Idaho Indians came in the crucial years of the 1860's" (Liljeblad 1957:5). This was the "Golden Era," the Boom Town Era, the era that populated Idaho with its non-Indian population, and through a boomeranging settlement pattern carved it out as a state. For, when gold was discovered in Idaho Territory, many who had already crossed

Idaho's desolate Snake River Plain enroute to Oregon's lush Willamette Valley or the California gold rush, now came "boom-eranging" back "east" to Idaho's great gold rushes. A quarter of a century before the Sheepeaters were removed from the central Idaho mountains, those same mountains were "discovered" by white men. More correctly speaking, the gold in those mountains was discovered.

In 1852, E.D. Pierce (for whom Pierce, Idaho is named) came into the Nez Perce country, set himself up as a trader, and went looking for gold. Very early in 1860, he found it on the North Fork of the Clearwater, deep in the Nez Perce territory. By that date, it was generally known in northern Idaho that there was gold in the Salmon River country to the south as well. In his obsession, Pierce ignored the fact that the white settlers did not want people to prospect in the area, because the powerful Nez Perce would undoubtedly go to war if this should happen (Wells 1962).

According to Walker (1968:13) through the acquisition of horses from the Shoshoni sometime shortly after 1700, the Nez Perce rose steadily from their small loose band organization to a position of strong leadership. Anastasio notes that "Some white observers thought that the Nez Perce put pressure on other groups at the meetings connected with the treaty of 1855" (1972: 186).

Pierce got together only a handful of men and furtively crossed the Nez Perce boundaries. In the fall, he panned some gold out of Canal Gulch in the Orofino Creeek country. Pierce was extremely determined to get a mining district set up because

...even though white men were barred both by law and by treaty from crossing the reservation, Pierce's miners returned over the main Indian trail to Walla Walla where they prepared to recruit and equip another mining expedition which did not actually leave Walla Walla until November 14 (Wells 1962:3).

By December of that same year (1860), the town of Pierce was

under construction inside the forbidden reservation borders, and all of the Northwest, including California, had heard of the strike (Wells 1962).

The Chinese

It was in 1861 that Lewiston, which was to become a major inland point of debarcation for those headed for the rugged central Idaho mining country, was established.

According to Elsensohn (1979:14), "It was not until March 1865 that Chinese reached the new town." Like the majority of the white miners, most of the Chinese miners had no aspirations of settling permanently, they were merely looking for fast wealth. The Chinese, however, left families at home in China and came to the gold fields to get enough money to 1) send home to those families to improve their style of living and status, and 2) simultaneously save enough to return to China and the family wealthy and respected men (Trull 1946). If a Chinese could not or did not care to work directly in the gold fields, he turned to such allied professions as laundering, truck gardening, housekeeping, cooking, and a number of other jobs that the white population would not perform but wanted done (*ibid.*).

By the mid-1860's, according to newspaper accounts, the Chinese were coming into the "Upper Country" in large numbers. Either from the persuasion of the California '49ers, who brought with them the mining distric and mining law. Small, individual groups of Chinese (always regarded by the white miners as a threat to their own probable prosperity) were already working in these districts, and it became seemingly standard procedure to exclude them from the mining fields.

Although Pierce and his group arrived in November, 1960, prepared to settle only in what became the Orofino District, on January 5, 1861 the entire district held a mass meeting to set up their laws for the Nez Perce and Salmon River mines. Article 14 of the ensuing laws stated that "Chinese or Tartars are hereby

prohibited from working these mines, under any and all circumstances" (Elsensohn 1979:24). In April it was decided to broaden and confirm this resolution so that it finally read

That the resolutions as passed at a prior meeting in regard to the complete exclusion of the Chinese and Asiatic races and the South Pacific Ocean Islanders from the mines be confirmed (*ibid.*).

This practice would become common in virtually every Idaho district.

It was not until the summer of 1862 that James Warren discovered gold in the rough, high central Idaho country between the South Fork of the Salmon River and the Secesh (see 'sesh; named by the Secessionists or Rebels of the Civil War) (Wells 1962; Elsensohn 1979). There is very little written information about Warren (Figure 1) (currently near "ghost town" status) and the South Fork country in any phase of its history, and what can be found seems to be merely an incidental addition to whatever the main subject matter might be.

In attempting to research the Chinese in Warren and their impact on the study area of this thesis, this paucity of information dwindles even further. Trull (1946), in an exhaustive study of the Chinese in Idaho during the gold rush and mining era, mentions Warren at most, three times, and then, like others before her, only incidentally.

When James Warren made his strike and the district was established, two towns came into existence whose names mirrored the political sentiments of their inhabitants: Washington and Richmond. It was not for some 20 years before Washington was to become "Warrens" (presently Warren) (Schell 1973).

Information as to when and in what numbers the Chinese came into the Warren District and when they were permitted into the district is highly conflicting. Elsensohn (1979:76), from information given by a white ex-miner who claims to have been living in Warren during 1872, states that in that year the district

voted to allow the Chinese to come in. According to this information, at that time there were only 400 men in the district and they felt that they had pretty well cleaned the gold out of their holdings but still wanted to make money out of them. To this end, the Chinese were allowed in and claims were sold to them for as much as \$8,000.

According to Trull, the Florence and Warren diggings already had over 1200 Chinese in 1872 and in "later years" the Warrens diggings were "practically owned" by the Chinese (1946: 9,37). Records from the Idaho County Courthouse and further information from Elsensohn indicate that many claims were bought and/operated by the Chinese prior to 1872. This is reasonable since Warren and the adjacent South Fork country are vast, steep and wild. Considering the geography of the area, and the paucity of information, most of which is in conflict, any population figures would be regarded simply as estimates and not as fact.

At any rate, the Chinese who stayed in Warren seem to have been fairly well established by the late 1880's. This is something of an anomaly in light of the militant and successful, 1885-1886 campaign throughout Idaho to "rid Idaho of the Chinese" (Trull 1946; Elsensohn 1979).

It should be noted that the only thing about this movement that was sudden was the concentrated efforts by many prominent Idaho newspaper editors and the seeming solidarity of Idaho's white citizenry to expel the Chinese immediately and totally. It is apparent from most contemporary accounts that there was a general and widespread anti-Chinese sentiment all over the country. This sentiment was by no means adopted by every white American. Many were supportive of the Chinese, and not all of these were patronizing in their support. As early as 1869, the following was published in the Scientific American:

The United States might as well look the subject of Chinese labor squarely in the face and make timely provision to absorb and utilize this new accession to our population. Some

are bitterly opposed to the coming of the Chinese. This opposition is based on groundless prejudice. The policy of the Government has hitherto opened the doors of immigration to people of every race and clime. Shall we now close it on the Mongolian, and if so, why? We have heretofore spoken of the intelligence, industry, frugality and order-loving disposition of the Chinese. Since we assert that the Chinese character possesses in an eminent degree the qualities we have ever been taught to regard as the elements of citizenship, we do not see how it is possible, with any show of consistency to attempt, either by persecution or legislation, to shut our doors against them (cited by Elsensohn 1979:12).

As previously stated, despite the rest of Idaho having "rid itself of the Chinese" by 1886, quite late in Idaho's mining history the Chinese were living and working in Warren and its environs. Even today, the majority of the South Fork and Warren people still refer to the Chinese as "Chinamen" or "Chinamens" (personal observation).

Equally erroneously, these same people generally relate that the "Chinamens" only worked the placer diggings, but never the quartz claims, due to religious beliefs which prohibited them from going underground. Such a statement is immediately suspect in the light of both Trull's (1946) and Elsensohn's (1979) statements that 1) the typical Chinese house was generally semi-subterranean, and 2) that in most instances the opium dens were located underground. The fact is that the whites drew up the laws prohibiting the Chinese from working in the mines, and, as has been mentioned earlier, whenever an area was opened to the Chinese it was simply for the purpose of selling or leasing to them already worn out or greatly depleted placer claims.

Almost no mention is made of Chinese celebrations or Chinese life in Warren, although the sources cited give a plethora of examples and instances of the vibrant traditionalism of the Chinese, no matter in what area they happened to be living. Scant information was related by informants, and only three

recorded instances were found. These were cited by Elsensohn (1979:80) from the Idaho County Free Press, of July 12, 1889, and September, 1887. The first is in reference to a big Fourth of July parade in Warren which was apparently put on jointly by the Chinese and Charlie Bemis (whose wife was Chinese). According to the article, some 200 Chinese participated in the parade which boasted gongs, dragon flags, and stringed instruments.

The second reference is from a September, 1887 article about a Feeding-the-Dead ceremony given by the Warren Chinese. According to the article, many hogs and chickens were butchered and barbecued, carried out to the cemetery to the dead, and then brought back into town for a feast.

In a 1979 interview, Pearl Willey Hitchcock, who was born on the South Fork at the turn of the century, talks about her father first coming into Warrens (as it was then called) in 1878 at the age of 19:

He come in the spring. He come around the horn and around Portland and come overland. He come in with a bunch of people bringing a bunch of hogs into the butcher there in Warrens. ...You see, there was a lots of Chinamens in that country at that time.

Not all the Chinese in this study area lived and mined in Warren. It is a distance of roughly fifteen miles from Warren to either the (then) Smith Ranch on the South Fork or the Smead Ranch, up-river from Smith's on the South Fork. At the top of Warren Summit the road toward the river forks, and the northerly fork leads to the Smith Ranch, the southerly one to the Smead Ranch.

Approximately half way down the Smith Ranch fork is a sloping meadow now called Hays Station (Figure 33). This meadow is reputed to have been an extensive Chinese garden, from which produce was taken in to the miners at Warren. According to the informant, Pearl Willey Hitchcock, this garden was "probably" established by the Chinese in the early or mid-1870's. Carrey (1968:34) says



Chinese Gardener's Cabin said to be in the vicinity of the bald spot on the hill.

Hayes' old cabin is in the background with visible traces of the Chinese irrigation ditches in the foreground.

Figure 33 Present-day Hayes' Station

that Charles Hayes bought the area from the Chinese in 1902. One informant, Jim Bragg, was able to point out traces left on the ground of the old ditch system used to irrigate the gardens. He also stated that the Chinese did not live right at the garden site, but had buildings on the hill some distance above it to the south (Figure 34).

Apparently, the Hays Station gardens were not the only Chinese gardens in the area. Another South Fork resident, John Lawrence, recalls Chinese gardens and placer claims on a small bench on the north side of Smith Creek on the old Smith (now Hettinger) ranch. Lavelle Thompson of Albuquerque, New Mexico lived on this ranch in the 1920's after his father bought it. During a December, 1979 interview, he described the Chinese gardens as follows:

Well, if you go up the river trail 'til you come to China Creek...about in there above Indian Rock...Go right up, be about a quarter mile from the river trail--maybe not quite that far--and you'll see some little benched off places. They're almost invisible...you don't even notice them. One time we brought water out of China Creek to water those gardens. And one time there was some rhubarb there, in fact, we got some and transplanted it down at the ranch. And then the grapevine is incredible indeed. Hopefully there's some remnant of that. It's one of the oldest living grape vines in Idaho.

Elsensohn (1979:79) states that "...the Chinese had their gardens on the South Fork of the Salmon where they raised vegetables for the town. They also bought salmon from the local fishermen." Unfortunately, she does not elaborate on either statement. Trull makes reference to an 1883 Wood River News-Miner article about the Chinese in the vicinity of Hailey (far to the southeast of Warren and the South Fork) leasing land for gardening, and she states that:

From these gardens the Chinese would sell vegetables to all the mining camps and probably proved stiff competitors of the



Figure 34 Trace of Old Road to Chinese Cabins at Hayes' Station.

Chinese gardens of Payette and Weiser
Valleys for the trade of the Warrens
country (1946:53).

This statement is difficult to accept for two reasons. First, Trull has noticeably neglected to include the Warren and South Fork area in her work and, therefore, probably had no idea of either the Hays Station or the South Fork gardens; and second, the distances and terrain that would be involved in delivering fresh produce between the points mentioned would be prohibitive either by foot or by pack trains.

A small notice quoted by Elsensohn (1979:79) from the March 15, 1888 Idaho County Free Press seems to help solidify the relationship of the Chinese to the South Fork:

Frank Smith will be out from Warren in a week or two to clear the Milner trail. He will start in from this side and will have lots of company going in as there is a large bunch of Chinamen and several white men waiting to accompany him.

According to Lavelle Thompson, many of the present ditches on the Smith Ranch (of which the above-mentioned Frank Smith was the second owner) were the products of Chinese labor. One of Trull's informants also stated that the Chinese did much of the irrigating for ranchers in the Salmon, Idaho area (1946:67).

The single most lasting remnant of the Chinese in the Warren and South Fork area is the story of Polly Bemis. Polly Bemis is today a South Fork legend and the stories about her are endless. She has become part of the local folklore, and each raconteur tells his or her own version.

According to Elsensohn (1979) and Trull (1946), Charlie Bemis came to Warren from New England with his father about 1870 at the age of 18. The family was a well-educated one, and Charlie either couldn't do or didn't care to do hard work. He did work the mines for a while, however, and acquired some good claims of his own, most of which he eventually sold or leased, and came in to Warren to open a dance hall and gambling operation (Elsensohn 1979:14).

On this much, most sources seem to agree.

As to Polly Bemis, however, Elsensohn (1979) seems to be the only person who has taken the trouble to find out who she was before she became "Polly Bemis." She was born Lalu Nathoy on September 11, 1853, close to the Mongolian border in northern China. Later, in a year of draught and famine (probably sometime between 1868 and 1870), her father sold her to "brigands" in exchange for seed to plant the following year. These "brigands," in turn, sold her to a slave outfit which sent people to the New World. According to Elsensohn, "She was 18 when she arrived on the West Coast and probably 19 when she came to Warren" (1979;16).

Accounts by "old-timers" and various journal articles vary greatly as to how Polly (a name the miners in Warren gave her when she arrived) became Mrs. C.A. Bemis. The variations generally run from "Old Bemis won her in a poker game..." to "Old Bemis married her out of gratitude when she saved his life from a gunshot wound..." Since Elsensohn appears to be the most thorough, she will be cited here.

It seems that a man named Hong King owned the saloon next to Charlie Bemis' in Warren. This Hong King bought Polly for \$2500. It is not stated where he bought her, but Portland is implied. He then brought her to Warren to be his personal slave and dance hall girl. Bemis won her from Hong King in a game of draw poker, and Hong King subsequently "disappeared." At this point, however, no mention is made of marriage. Bemis gave her a cabin, and she started operating a boarding house at his place. This relationship continued for some 18 years when a shooting incident took place.

As Elsensohn tells it, a rough fellow named Cox had lost some money to Bemis in a poker game. The next morning, while Bemis was standing on his porch talking with someone, Cox came along and threatened to shoot out Bemis' eye if the money wasn't handed over by the time he (Cox) rolled a cigarette. The inevitable happened and Cox's shot missed an eye by a fraction of an

inch, the ball lodging in the boney part of Bemis' skull behind his left ear. A doctor was called in out of Grangeville who declared Bemis "too far gone to make it."

At this point, Polly stepped in, removed the bullet with a razor, cleaned the wound with whiskey and a crochet hook, and, after long weeks of special herbs and remedies, healed the man. The two were married in Warren on August 13, 1894, and subsequently moved to a small place down on the main Salmon River. Charlie died there in 1922, and Polly stayed on until 1933 when she became quite ill and was taken out to Grangeville, Idaho, where she died in November of that year (1979:17-40).

The Bemis story is pertinent to the history of the Idaho Chinese in general, and the South Fork area Chinese in particular, when it is shorn of all its "romance." Many boys and men left "good" homes and educations on the East Coast to go to the gold fields. Many of them opened gambling halls and, of these, many were shot over poker gold. But in Idaho, only Charlie Bemis dared first to care for and protect, and later to marry (and stay married until death) a Chinese slave woman.

In 1935, R.G. Bailey published his River of No Return. It seems that he was personally acquainted with the Bemises, and in his book he made the following statement (cited by Elsensohn 1979:26) which unwittingly seems to have summed up the feelings of past and many contemporary Idahoans as to Polly Bemis' fame. He said "She has a yellow skin but a white heart encased in a sheathing of gold"!

The Euro-American Ranchers

It was undoubtedly gold that brought Euro-Americans in great numbers to the Idaho Territory. Those not actually engaged in the search for gold were shopkeepers, freight men, saloon keepers, bankers and legal and medical practitioners, to name a few alternative professions. But whatever an individual's profession, it was initially the gold that enticed them.

Research for this study did not indicate that the area had been used by the trappers and fur traders earlier in the century, although there is no proof one way or the other. Local informants, when asked about the likelihood of the South Fork having been a popular area during this period concurred that "The South Fork's not a beaver river" (Jim Bragg, John Lawrence, personal communication, 1980).

That being the case, it can easily be inferred that the South Fork, like the rest of Idaho, was first "settled" during the gold rush era. As mentioned in the preceeding chapter, far to the north of the Salmon River country, in the Walla Walla area, there were already some white people settled when Pierce arrived in 1852. It was not, however, until 1860 that he made his strike within the Nez Perce territory in the heart of the Clearwater mountains, still a considerable distance to the north of the Salmon River country. He obviously spent considerable time prospecting the area before making his strike.

In 1862, near the present "town" of Warren, Idaho, some 15 miles west of the South Fork, James Warren made his big strike. When he originally came into the area is not known, but his strike immediately put the Warren District and the South Fork on the map for others.

Warren's strike was monumental enough that by 1863 both the nebulous central Idaho geography and its mineral glories were established facts. In his Volume V, Wheat (1963:98) has reproduced a beautiful 1963 map by Alonzo Leland called the "New Map of the Mining Regions of Oregon and Washington Territory." This is probably the first positive and accurate map of the South Fork and its environs as we know them today. Wheat himself credits the map as a

...cartographic milestone, representing for the first time with any degree of accuracy the mountainous parts of central Idaho, and applying to any number of streams, names henceforth to be regarded as established.

Oral history of the South Fork relates that a man named Sylvester S. Smith, usually known as "Three-Finger" Smith, established the Smith Ranch (subsequently known as the Thompson and currently the Hettinger Ranch) on the South Fork in 1853 (Lavelle Thompson and others, personal communication, 1980). No one seems to have any specific reference for this date. Again, to date neither proof nor dis-proof has emerged concerning this information. Its relevance to this study is this: 1853 is a very early date for white occupancy in Idaho in general, but especially for this study area. If this date should at some time prove factual, the ranch could well be one of the oldest continually operated private ranches in Idaho.

Where Smith came from is currently not known. Local informants and an April 29, 1963 Idaho Statesman article state that his wife was an Indian woman. This article stated that the couple had three sons, and Carrey (1968:27) states that there were four, but neither source makes any further mention of the mother.

One of the best sources of information is the old mining claim records books, now housed in the Idaho County Courthouse at Grangeville. Book one shows that on October 10, 1866, S.S. Smith, J.W. Poe, and four others recorded a claim they had located two weeks earlier (Figure 35). Also in 1866, A.D. "Pony" Smead (whose place was five miles upriver from the Smith place) and a partner took out a claim on a different ledge. Whether these were first claims by these men, or merely the first records they had had made, is not known.

According to Parker (1968:8), Smith was a veteran of the 1872-1873 Modoc War. This statement is without confirmation and, to date, none has been found. In 1871, Smith and Poe were still involved to some degree in their partnership, as witnessed by their joint sale of a claim that year. Also, Smith very likely had a family by the 1870's, since in 1890 his youngest son froze to death carrying mail over the Elk Creek Summit (Wilson 1963;

J W Poe & others } Pearce Lode
 Quartz claims } 3

The undersigned claim
 six claims of two Hundred feet each on the
 western extension of the Pearce Gold and Silver
quartz lode in Idaho Co Idaho Washington Dist
 Commencing Eight Hundred feet westerly from
 discovery stake and extending westerly twelve
 Hundred feet with all legal rights appertaining
 thereto Dated Sept 27th 1866.

J W Poe	N ^o 1	West- W ^o Taylor	N ^o 8	W
E S Smith	" 6 "	John Vallett	" 9 "	
E Levenish	" 7 "	Dan Berington	" 10 "	

Filed for Record Octr 9th 1866. at 5 o'clock P.M.
 Recorded Octr 10th 1866. At Pattersons Recorder
 by W A Shurtan

Figure 35 Record of 1866 Quartz Claim:

S. S. Smith, J. W. Poe, et al

Carrey 1968).

From the scant references available, it would seem that between the 1860's and the 1880's, lifestyles on the South Fork paralleled the availability of gold in the immediate area. Mining claims were turning or had been turned to ranches. As early as 1873, places that had begun as partnership mining claims had become known as ranches, individual designation being by the last name of the actual or alleged proprietor. Smith and Poe's claim was referred to legally as the Smith's Ranch. For purposes which will be seen later, it was fortunate that the writer of the bill of sale made the following description of the claim being purchased "...mining ground situated on the east bank of the South Fork of Salmon River opposite Smiths Ranch Idaho County I.T..." (Bill of Sale, August 27, 1873; Charles Brown to Levi May).

Nine days later, Levi May bought a ranch from Solon and Margaret Hall upriver about five miles from Smith. According to the bill of sale he bought

All of one Wooden Bridge [sic] across South Fork of Salmon River and Situated near Woodward's Ranch Idaho County Idaho Territory, also the Franchise belonging to the same; also all the land now occupied as a ranch near said bridge (Bill of Sale, August 27, 1873; Solon Hall and Margaret Hall to Levi May).

This document is interesting on two counts: first, both Solon and Margaret Hall were involved in the legal document; and second, since the bridge was under a franchise, it must have been a toll bridge.

At the time of this sale, it could be assumed that the "Woodward Ranch" was still being mined by the partnership of George Woodward, A.D. ("Pony") Smead, J.P. Rains and G. Dyer. According to Carrey (1968:38), while these men were still operating the claim, "...some Indians..." came along, and with some flour and a horse, Smead bought a ten year old girl to cook for them! Local sources cite the incident as the origin of Smead's name "Pony." Carrey goes on to say that "Smead later

bought the other men out and married the Indian woman, Molly" (1968:38). There is no mention of when any of these incidents took place.

In 1876, however, Smead did indeed buy the Woodward Ranch, but not from the "other men." The bill of sale for the ranch was from George Woodward to A.D. Smead, with no others involved. At some time, Rains had gone down toward the Salmon River where he started up a ranch near the mouth of the South Fork, on which he was killed in 1879 in the course of the Sheepeater Campaign (Bailey 1935; Carrey 1968). No mention has been found of the other partners.

A year later, in 1877, Smith and Poe (who had evidently retained sole ownership of the original claim) sold the Smith Ranch to a Frank Smith. Most local people claim that Frank Smith was Three-Fingers' nephew. Others argue that they were cousins.

On the 1879 Sketch Map of Middle Idaho Showing Trails Made by Troops in Sheepeater Campaign (Figure 36) three ranches are indicated on the South Fork: the Rains Ranch, the Smith Ranch, and the Johnson Ranch. Neither the Smead nor the Hall ranch is indicated. This may possibly be due to the fact that the map is part of the chronicle of a historic event, and, since neither of these ranches played a part in that event, they were not included.

The Johnson Ranch was apparently another mining claim owned by Hugh Johnson and a partner. Both men were killed on the place during the Sheepeater Campaign (Carrey 1968:67), which may have been the reason for its inclusion on the map. The above-mentioned map indicates that "Johnson's Ranch" is the place at the mouth of Elk Creek where Lt. Catley's troops camped on their march in to the Chamberlain country.

According to the diaries of a Private Hoffner (who took part in that march)

After a march of six miles we camped at an old ranch in a small valley, near scattering timber, on the South Fork of the Salmon River. There is

a field of potatoes here (Carrey and Conley 1980:186).

There is no way of knowing what Hoffner meant by "old." In those days when all of the Pacific Northwest, particularly Idaho, was "new" to the Euro-Americans, "old" may have had a connotation of no more than a few years. The place referred to is actually on Elk Creek, approximately a mile above the river, and was the Ed Anderson Ranch.

Two other ranches deserve mention here as they, too, were part of this early transitional era along the South Fork. These are Savage Bar, and the Willey (now Rebillet) Ranch. According to Carrey,

Savage Bar is named after the first locator, Henry C. Savage. This place was the scene of the murder which resulted in the first legal hanging in Idaho County (1968:35).

The event took place in 1886 and, since no family is mentioned in the article from the June 1886 Idaho County Free Press, it can probably be assumed that the act was the result of a miners' squabble.

It is not certain just when the Willey Ranch was established; quite likely during the latter 1880's, but possibly as late as 1893. Sim Willey and his wife lived in Warren for some 15 years before moving down to the South Fork. Three children were born in Warren, and six more after they moved on to the river (Pearl Willey Hitchcock, personal communication, 1979). The ranch may have been a mining claim that Willey bought from the original locator, or it may have been that he simply found the place, liked it and settled it. According to his daughter, "...everybody in Warrens in the spring would go up and down the South Fork and sit on the beaches; and they did that for years and years" (ibid.). She felt that this may have been how her father first came on the ranch.

This, then, was the transitional period on the South Fork; a period which could be said to actually have culminated in 1879

with the Sheepeater Campaign. The core of the white settlement along the South Fork can be said to have been the mining claims-cum-ranches from Smith's to Johnson's up to the time of the Sheepeater "War," and some time after this, down to Willey's (Figure 37).

The Sheepeater Campaign

There are numerous accounts available of what has come to be called the "Sheepeater War" (Bailey 1935; Elsensohn 1947; Carrey 1968), most of which are biased and inaccurate, depending heavily on local word-of-mouth traditions and soldiers' accounts.

The most objective account encountered to date is that done by Carrey and Conley in 1980. In the beginning of their chronicle they state that

Though gold miners had no compunctions about traveling through Sheepeater country at this [1879] time, there were a number of whites who had observed the financial benefits realized by civilians in the path of a military campaign against the Indians (1980:160).

The authors go on to cite correspondence between an officer in the Clearwater District, and Brigadier General O.O. Howard in the spring of 1870. This correspondence states that the people of northern Idaho are hoping for open hostilities between whites and Indians, and mentions a Boise merchant who is very anxious for hostilities since in the 1878 Bannock War he had gained "...some 25 thousand dollars worth of Government vouchers..." (*ibid.*).

Most accounts of this campaign cite the theft of some horses in Indian Valley (Figure 1) in the summer of 1878 "...some hours before dawn..." by Sheepeaters as the opening incident in the hostilities (Parker 1968:8). Parker's account goes on to state that three ranchers went after the perpetrators sometime after dawn. They followed the Indians into Long Valley where the latter, waiting in ambush, killed the three ranchers and wounded Three-Finger Smith who had ridden out with the ranchers. This

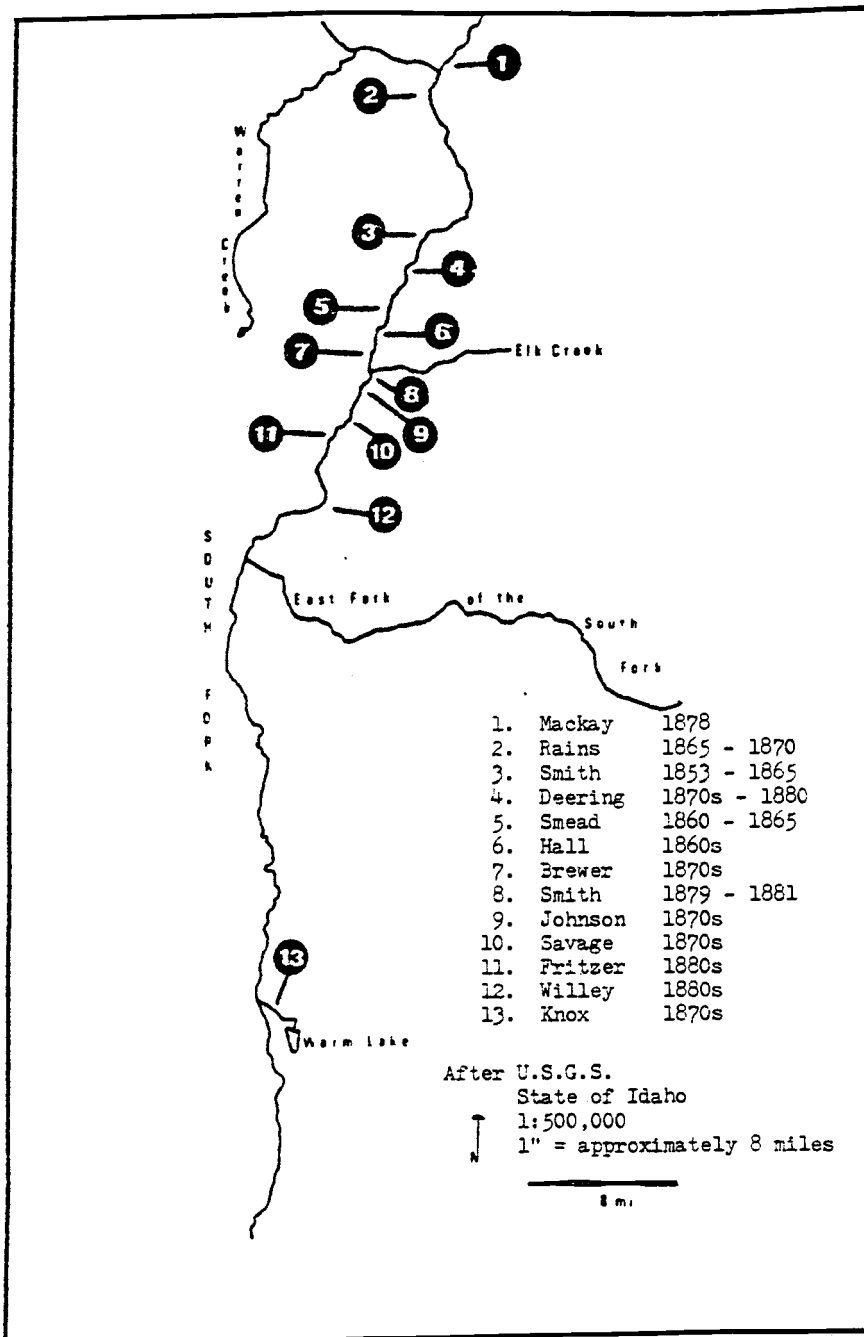


Figure 37 Early transitional ranches: 1860s to 1880s

version of Parker's might be called the "standard" version of the affair, and from it three questions arise. First, how did the ranchers know in the middle of the night that the raiders were Sheepeaters? Second, why did the Indians, especially if they were Sheepeaters, bother to sit around waiting in an ambush when they could easily have been losing themselves back in their mountains? And last, how did Smith happen to be on the scene?

In February of 1879, five Chinese miners were killed at their camp on Loon Creek near Oro Grande east of the Middle Fork of the Salmon River. Again, the deaths were blamed on "the Sheepeaters." Carrey and Conley state, however, that

It should be noted here that there was never any satisfactory evidence that the murders were the work of Indians, let alone Sheepeaters. There were white miners in the area, and killing Chinese was not unthinkable...(1980:161).

Following notice of this incident, Captain Reuben Bernard at Boise was ordered to proceed with troops to Challis as close to June first as possible. Before these orders could be carried out, Hugh Johnson and his partner Peter Dorsey were killed at their ranch on the South Fork. These killings likewise were blamed on the Sheepeaters.

Subsequently, troops numbering about 60 men under Captain Bernard set out from Boise. Troops numbering about 50 men under First Lieutenant Catley set out from Camp Howard at Grangeville. And, Lieutenant Farrow with seven enlisted men and 20 Umatilla "scouts" left Umatilla Agency, Oregon. All were headed for the South Fork country (Carrey and Conley 1980:161,162).

In their "Postscripts" to their account of the Sheepeater Campaign (1980:199), Carrey and Conley state that the Sheepeaters were

Subjected to personal interrogation by General Howard at the Vancouver Barracks in November, 1879. During the questioning they willingly admitted the attack on the Rains' ranch, but vehemently denied any connection with the murders

of the five Chinese miners or the deaths of Johnson and Dorsey.

The above-mentioned troops left their posts in June, of 1879. In August, J.P. Rains was killed at his ranch on the lower South Fork while putting up hay--purportedly by Sheepeaters. Thompson, however (personal communication 1979), says the incident occurred because Rains had hired the Indians to help with the hay-ing and then had run them off without paying them for the work. The troops were still moving around in the back country, and so were the Indians. There had been two small skirmishes with the Indians the undisputed victors in both instances. According to Carrey and Conley:

At this point Bernard realized that his supplies were exhausted, his stock worn out and famished, so he requested permission from Gen. Howard to return to Boise and refit in order to continue the battle. Bernard had covered 1,168 miles, fought snow for 37 days, and lost 63 head of stock (Carrey and Conley 1980:193).

It was late September before any contact was made with the Indians, and then it was a Bannock/Nez Perce man named Tamanmo who approached the soldiers offering to bring the people in for surrender. The day before he came in, the soldiers had "captured" a woman and her baby, and holding the baby hostage, had sent her out to send the people in. The total number of people surrendered was 51, "...of whom fifteen may be classed as warriors" (ibid.)!

The discrepancies speak for themselves. As was discussed earlier, the Sheepeater culture was predicated upon pacifism, and this pacifism was put into effect by simple isolation. It, therefore, seems exceedingly unlikely, especially taking into account the reduced population, that they would, of their own volition, have taken such extreme overt measures and, thus initiated a confrontation. A young Sheepeater man says that in fact, they did not.

According to Mr. Vic Mann, whose mother is a Sheepeater, the

campaign was, indeed, one of defense rather than offense. Five Indian men had been trapping all winter in the Little Salmon River country west of the South Fork, and were bringing their furs out to trade when they met four white men in a camp who wanted to buy the furs. The Indians didn't want to sell, so went on and were then attacked by the whites. The resulting skirmish left three Indians and three white men dead, and one white man (probably Smith) badly wounded. The two Indians left, went to report the news to the other tribal members, and then headed for the South Fork. There they found that a posse was hunting them. Parker (1968:16) says that after Rains was killed, Sim Willey's brother Norman took a volunteer posse of 18 men, all well-armed, out to track the Indians. The Indians didn't want to fight so they headed towards the East Fork of the South Fork, and from there back to the Big Creek country, where, eventually, they were captured (Vic Mann, personal communication, 1980).

Whether the trouble started with rebel Nez Perce and Bannocks who then joined with the Sheepeater people, as most authorities believe (Bailey 1935; Parker 1968; Carrey and Conley 1980), or with whites, or from a combination of the two, the results were all the same--the Sheepeater people were forced out of a homeland that may have been theirs for millennia and their culture was totally destroyed.

The Last Century

The East Fork of the South Fork (herein designated simply as the East Fork) plays a minor, if significant role in this study. Seen on the map (Figure 36), it enters the South Fork at about mid way in the course of the river. Living on the South Fork gives the strange notion that above the East Fork there is another river, not just the upper end of the same river. In a socio-psychological sense, this is true.

By the 1890's, the lower South Fork--i.e., the river below the East Fork of the South Fork, and including all those ranches

from Willey's to Rains'--was quite developed.

By 1891, the fore-runners of the roads which serve the lower South Fork today had appeared on at least one Map, C.H. Amerine's "Sectional Map of Idaho and Western Montana" (Preston 1978:34,35). In 1894, the Hall Ranch was in the hands of Ben and Minnie Day, and Minnie established a post office there to serve the South Fork community from March of 1894 to October of 1896. While the postal service remained, and the name to which it was addressed continued to be "Hall," the base of operations was shifted in the fall of 1896 from the Day Ranch upriver to the Willey Ranch, and Sim Willey became postmaster. This arrangement appears to have lasted for less than a month, when the post office was once more brought down-river. This time Amasa D. "Pony" Smead took it over and remained postmaster until Hall was discontinued in 1899 (Hall postal records, Idaho State Historical Society, Boise, Idaho). In 1897, Hall appears on the Century Atlas' map of Idaho and Wyoming and in 1900, on a map of Idaho by George Cram of Chicago.

According to the Cockrell Report on the Post Office Department for 1888 and the 1902 Postal Laws and Regulations, it was not very difficult for a person to establish a post office. One had merely to show cause for the service in the desired area and, from a poll of those to be served, choose a one-word name that the people agreed on. No mention was made of minimum population requirements. The First Assistant Postmaster General would then pass on the requests and the post office would be established. None of these requirements would pose a problem in the remote South Fork country.

Twice more postal service was established on the river. In 1904, postal service was resumed and in the same general area as the original Hall station. This time the postmaster throughout was Ernest W. Heath. The location was at the mouth of Elk Creek, on the ranch that Three-Finger Smith had originally settled

following the Sheepeater Campaign. Although, according to the existing Comfort postal records at the Idaho State Historical Society, this post office ceased to exist in 1906, Comfort appears consistently on maps as late as 1912.

The last post office on the South Fork was the Brewer Post Office which operated from April 9, 1914, until February 15, 1916. Annie Brewer was the only postmistress (Gary L Bradshaw, Boise Main Post Office, personal communication, 1980). The Brewer ranch was approximately a half mile down river from the mouth of Elk Creek, and on the west bank of the river.

Of the three postal stations, Comfort might be inferred to have been the most significant. As was mentioned earlier, above the East Fork of the South Fork there appears to have been little involvement by Euro-Americans during the years when the upper river was becoming established as a white ranching community and Warren was in its heyday. Then, in the late 1890's, a new group of miners began settling in the region of the upper South Fork.

In the latter 1890's, twin brothers Ben and Lou Caswell settled on Cabin Creek. They were from Michigan, via the Colorado gold fields, and had come to Idaho to try and make a strike. In 1895-1896 they did just that on Thunder Mountain, just north of Warm Lake and east of the South Fork. By 1899, prospectors were trickling in and large investors had begun mining operations on the mountain, but it wasn't until 1902 that the "boom" began. Thunder Mountain became a nationally acclaimed phenomenon, and was said to be a mountain of gold (Wells, n.d.).

According to Simpson ("Chronology," n.d.), by 1898 the "Village of Yellow Pine" had been established and there were prospectors working in the area. In 1900, due to the influx of miners bound for Thunder Mountain, the town of Roosevelt was established. Between 1901 and 1903 there were "...7,000 people getting mail at post office, 14 saloons, two or three hotels, seven or eight stores and numerous eating places." By 1905 it had dwindled to 1500 people (ibid.).

Fisher (1938:387) states that the hamlet of Knox on the South Fork near Six Bit Creek "...was established by a man named Knox, who had a way station on the old Boise-Thunder Mountain trail." Simpson (n.d.) says that this "road" was built in 1902-1903 because of the Thunder Mountain Rush. "This was a low standard wagon road, actually a trail wide enough for a wagon...After the mining boom was over, the road closed itself because of the steep grade and lack of drainage (ibid.).

Wells' very thorough account of the great Thunder Mountain rush (n.d.) indicates that although there were alternative routes provided, the older route through Warren and up the South Fork was more widely used. This then, may be the reason for the continuance of Comfort on the maps.

The place was aptly named, especially for a way station. From Warren to Comfort is a distance of some 20 - 25 miles and involves crossing the nearly 7,000 foot Warren Summit which, even in a mild winter, is covered with ten feet of snow. Descending to the river, the elevation drops 5,000 feet in some ten miles. If such a journey wasn't bad enough, from Comfort on, the trail ascends some 7,000 feet to the 9,000-foot Elk Creek Summit. Wells (n.d.) quotes an uncited source's description of this summit as:

The wind blows the snow up the long slope from this [Warren] side, whipping it over an almost perpendicular descent on the other side, thus forming a comb of snow 50 to 100 feet deep. This is continuously breaking off and making dangerous snowslides down into the valley, besides necessitating a long detour (p. 26).

In November of 1901, miners arriving at Warren en route to Thunder Mountain found themselves suddenly "snowed in" until the spring. Wells says that, "Unable to get to Thunder Mountain, impatient miners began to pile up in Warrens, ready to dash on in as soon as an opportunity should offer" (n.d.:21).

Established as Warren was by this time, it appears that both the town and the South Fork people reaped the harvest of two gold rushes. Prices were inflated and commodities were scarce. If the

South Fork bridge was, indeed, a toll bridge as the bill of sale implies, the profits would have been sumptuous.

The upper South Fork, however, did not see the gradual stabilization that occurred below the East Fork. In 1896, John Reeves settled on Reeves Bar (now known as the Reed Ranch) to work a placer mine, which he "later" abandoned (Ortman 1975:2).

In 1903, the town of Yellow Pine was established as a result of the Thunder Mountain rush. Of the four towns established out of that rush, Roosevelt, Thunder Mountain City, Marble, and Yellow Pine, only Yellow Pine remains today.

That same year, homesteads sprang up in the Yellow Pine vicinity on Johnson, Hennesy, Riordan, Trapper, and Hanson Creeks, and the East Fork. Chapman (n.d.:4) says that the Thunder Mountain area became home for "...renegade white men..." and that in ten years' time five known murders committed in the area "...with probably many more unreported..." (*ibid.*). The above-mentioned Reeves Bar saw two more settlers before the end of the Thunder Mountain rush. In 1906, Paul Forrester set up a cabin on the bar and ran a trap line along the South Fork during the winter; he abandoned both within a year. In 1905, a William Caldwell had set up a fair sized ranching operation on the bar at Camp Creek. He had a cabin, barn, fences, hay and oats, and people were calling the creek Caldwell Creek. In 1908, three years after taking out his claim, he was murdered while cooking breakfast (Ortman 1975:2).

Sources agree that by 1907, the great Thunder Mountain rush was over (Wells, n.d.; Simpson, n.d.). In 1909, an immense landslide that dammed Monumental Creek destroyed the town of Roosevelt, which, as a result of the catastrophe, is now the floor of Roosevelt Lake (Wells n.d.:42).

Throughout all the traffic and excitement up the South Fork via Warren in these years, the lower river remained essentially stable. One change of probable significance was made in 1902, the first big year of the Thunder Mountain rush. This change was

the changing of ownership of a place mentioned earlier as having been a Chinese garden site dating from the 1870's. Carrey traces its possession thus:

Charley Hays [sic] got the place, to be known as "Hays Station" from the Chinamen. They were raising vegetables for the miners at Warren. Hays had the place well improved at the time the Forest Service took it over for an administrative site. Hays failed to make homestead entry, and when he left it, it went to the Forest Service (1968:34).

This is somewhat erroneous; Hayes didn't just "leave" so that the land automatically reverted to the Forest Service. According to a Forest Service "report on Agricultural Settlement" dated March 16, 1906, Charles B. Hayes had a "squatter location" of 160 acres on which he had lived continuously since November 25, 1902. From later records it will be seen that apparently the Forest Service had begun looking for an "administrative site" closer to the South Fork than Warren and, to that end, was appraising any likely-looking properties with buildings and pasture. However, the Ranger at the time, David Laing, recommended "...that claimant be allowed to continue in possession and patent claim at proper time."

Some time between 1906 and 1908, one Warren E. Cook, a Forest Guard, appeared on the scene, and in a July 4, 1908 "Report on Proposed Administrative Site," Cook states that "This tract is of great value to the Forest Service as there is no other suitable place for Ranger Station close, Horse [sic] feed and vegetables can be raised much reducing expenses in this section." The "improvements" were purchased, and Hayes "relinquished all claim" to the property on that date.

This is an interesting case, since the Forest Service maintained the property for only a short period of time as an "administrative site." One informant states that he knew W.E. Cook, and that Cook had quite a reputation in the area. Apparently, he traveled around attempting to convince the local ranchers

and settlers to turn over their lands to the Forest Service, bringing to bear whatever pressure he felt would bring results in his favor (Bragg, personal communication, 1980). It seems that Hayes succumbed to this pressure.

Several as yet un-answered questions arise from this incident. First, was it merely coincidental that Hayes arrived in the area in 1902, or was it connected with the Thunder Mountain rush? Second, if the Chinese did sell their garden to Hayes, were they also on their way to Thunder Mountain? Or, had the ranchers' gardens supplanted the sales potential for the Chinese in Warren?

Following the Thunder Mountain rush, the socio-cultural nature of the South Fork seems to have begun sealing itself toward what it remains today. Following the Homestead of 1906, people began filing their claims, having their lands surveyed, and "proving up" on the land in order to get the legal title of ownership. In some of the older cases along the river, this action was undoubtedly prompted by two main factors. First, most of the original settlers, and those who came in after the 1890's, had, by the turn of the century and later, acquired families. In the event of their death, they wanted to know that these families would hold legal title to the property. Secondly, since the advent of the Forest Service, men wanted to be certain that the land they had worked for would go to their children if the children wanted it. If there had been no title, no matter how long the individual had been on the land, when he and his wife both died, the land would have reverted to the Forest Service (Bragg, Lawrence, personal communication, 1980). For this reason, it is generally not possible to get a date of original settlement from a Homestead Entry record.

By this period in time from the end of the Thunder Mountain rush and on into the second decade of the twentieth century, the South Fork, especially the lower river, had pretty well evolved into a definite community pattern. A few new people had "come in"

(see glossary) and some ranches had changed hands, but this was minimal (Figure 38). Since the nature of the settled places on the upper river had been more transitory from the outset, much of this land was in the hands of, or had reverted to the Forest Service.

From the second decade to the mid-1920's there was either an influx of people settling on the river, a rush of activity by those settled there to have their claims surveyed, or some of both. During that time, some 11 homestead entries were listed and surveyed. As was mentioned above, the dates can be highly deceptive. For example, while Frank Smith purchased his ranch in 1877, it was not until 1910 that he had it surveyed prior to acquiring a formal deed.

Since its inception, the Forest Service had been very active along the river. By 1919, it had acquired over 1,000,000 acres of the "Thunder Mountain Area." In 1924, a phone line was built from Knox to Yellow Pine and in 1924, "The auto road from Cascade to Yellow Pine, with a spur from Landmark to Deadwood was completed..." (Chapman, n.d.:5). All this, of course, was done along the upper river, and was largely done by the Forest Service for the Forest Service.

Down river improvements also were being made. About the time of the First World War, the trail from Warren Summit to the river was improved to wagon road status (Thompson, personal communication 1979). Later, Otis Morris of Warren (whose father's name appears on most of the legal documents during the original gold rush era in Warren) got a contract to put in a phone line. He strung the line from Warren up Slaughter Gulch and over to the Badley (Rains) Ranch. Morris did most of the work alone, taking fixed insulators and standing on his horse to afix them to the trees (Powers, personal communication, 1979). Eventually, there was a line clear up to the Willey ranch, although Morris didn't string it.

One particular section of the river seems to have had quite

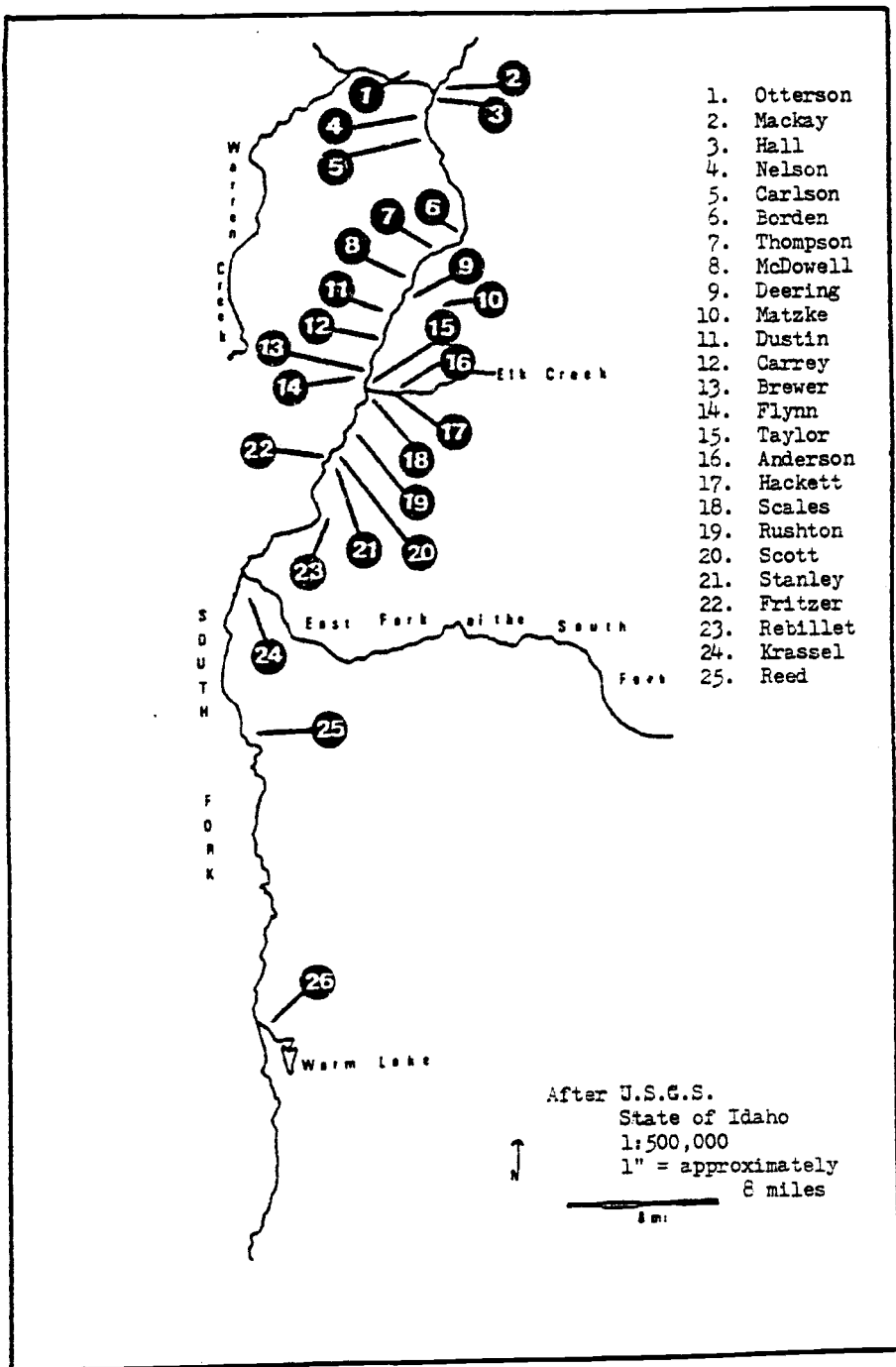


Figure 38 Established ranches: 1890s - 1920s

a bit of settlement on it; this is the area between Pony Creek and Savage Creek. Here, in particular between 1915 and 1925, there appears to have been considerable re-settlement and new settlement. As one informant stated, "...Just different people lived on them places; there was so many different ones..." (Pearl Willey Hitchcock, personal communication, 1979).

One place in this region was different than the others in that it wasn't just settled randomly. This was the Power Plant that was built by civil and electrical engineers on the South Fork to run power up to Warren to run the dredges (Thompson, personal communication, 1979). Carrey (1968:28) says this plant was built on the old Taylor place (Figure 38:#15). According to records in the state BLM offices in Boise, Idaho, permission was given to the Unity Gold Mine Corporation in Warren from the Federal Power Commission in 1923 to build and operate a power station on the South Fork, and lands were set aside for the lines. The power plant itself was on the property homesteaded by Three-Finger Smith after the Sheepeater Campaign. A local family was hired to operate the plant. Carrey (1968:28) says that "When the mines shut down, that was the end of the [Taylor] ranch."

During the years of the Great Depression, Warren was "secure," with two out of three dredges in operation (Thompson, personal communication, 1979). The South Fork residents, themselves, were not affected by the depression but by those who had suffered from its affects. One informant stated that the area near the South Fork bridge looked like a tent city during this time. People came in and just camped because there was nowhere else where a person or a man and his family could hope to get by on the barest minimum possible. Louis Rebillet says that when George Fritzer (born on the Fritzer ranch ca. 1903 and still there today) was asked how the Depression had affected him, he replied "What depression?" (personal communication).

By the 1940's, all of the original ranches except the Fritzer Ranch had changed hands, some more than once. Unlike other

real estate exchanges, these changes were not handled by agents, and often the parties were known to each other, or had connections by marriage, or some kind of "back country" tie previous to the sale.

In 1935, Bob Johnson began a regular mail route to Big Creek and Warren in conjunction with his flying service based at Cascade, Idaho. This service was taken over by Bob Fogg and Warren Ellison in 1946. Their service was out of McCall, Idaho, and they carried the mail in to Warren and Big Creek once a week (weather permitting) (Central Idaho Star News, November 8, 1978). Mail carrier contracts for ground travel between McCall and Warren, and Warren and the South Fork (two separate contracts) were in effect only those months of the year when the roads were passable. This arrangement is still in effect today. In 1970, the summer mail route between Warren and the South Fork, making a total of 80 miles, was run twice a week and served five patrons (personal knowledge as past mail carrier).

After a succession of owners, the original Smith Ranch was bought by Wallace McDowell, who had extensive business dealings in Warren. While he owned it, he built what is now the road from Hayes Station down to the ranch. A few years later, in 1951 and '52, the Forest Service built a timber access road from the Warren Summit down to Hayes Station (Thompson, Powers, personal communication, 1979).

Today, the South Fork inhabitants, for the large part, choose to maintain their isolated integrity. Of the 12 original early ranches along the South Fork, five are still in operation: the Mackay Ranch, the (original) Smith Ranch, the Smead Ranch, the Fritzer Ranch, and the Willey Ranch. These five places are now called Mackay Bar, the Hettinger Ranch, the Barkell Ranch, the Fritzer Ranch, and the Rebillet Ranch.

Of these five remaining ranches, Mackay Bar cannot be actually designated as a ranch, and until the early 1970's, it had little or no actual impact on the South Fork proper. Mackay

Bar is now owned by a Boise man, R.V. Hansberger and his corporation. In 1969, Hansberger also purchased the original Smith (known at the time as the Hettinger) Ranch. Mackay Bar operates solely and exclusively as a vacation spot for upper middle and upper class pleasure-seekers. Depending on the season, guided deer, elk, bear, and cougar hunts are offered as well as salmon fishing, jet boat tours, and trail rides.

Until recently, the Smith Ranch was maintained strictly as a ranching operation which supported Mackay Bar considerably. Stock was wintered and hay was raised and put up there. It was operated by back-country ranchers hired to operate it, and few if any Mackay Bar guests were even aware of its existence 15 miles to the south.

While it is still operated by competent ranching people, it has, within the last decade, become a small satellite operation of the Mackay Bar genre. According to informants, during the winter of 1979-1980, Mackay Bar's paying guests took 15 bears out of the area adjacent to the Hettinger Ranch! This is an exceedingly high number.

Aside from the remaining ranches, there are a few "old-timers" who have spent from 40 to 60 years on small established self-contained places on the river. Their ambitions and intentions, like those of the larger ranchers are basically to maintain the status quo. "River people" are upset at the turn of events. It is their feeling that such constant and unbridled intrusion by a comparatively steady flow of outsiders can only upset the delicate balance that exists between this river and its inhabitants (personal communications, 1980).

Consistent with the Sheepeater position a century before, there are indications that these people will go to whatever lengths to defend their isolation. The following conversation took place in 1979 during an interview with E.L. Thompson, whose father owned and with his two sons and daughter, operated the Smith Ranch from 1928 to 1944:

Interviewer: ...there's the complete introversion of that river...that people there, their only importance is the importance they gather to themselves as persons attached to the river.

Thompson: That's an absolute statement; a true statement.

Most informants agreed (Edmunson, Thompson, Rebillet, personal communications) that asking an individual about his or her background prior to living on the river constitutes a gross impropriety. It would seem that this total and voluntary submission to the locale and its environment, then, is the binding device that has created the cohesiveness of the inhabitants. Whatever their single individual differences may be, to outsiders they present a united front. There appears to be a total comprehension of motive.

As Tentchoff (1979) points out, this type of cohesion is an important aspect of other sub-cultures. While race or language usually play an important role, in the case of the South Fork peoples, the total adherence to a chosen environmental and socio-psychological refugium has seemingly rendered a random population into a small, but viable cultural entity.

CHAPTER VI SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the long history of human occupation of the South Fork country, there can be seen a certain pulsating phenomenon. That is to say that the country has been alternately open and closed--isolated and intruded upon--like the diastolic and systolic motions of the heart. These pulsations have been the effects of certain human events and activities outside the South Fork which, in one way or another, have made themselves felt along the river.

Until the pre-historic evidence can be searched out and examined, we can only speculate as to what forces pressed themselves into the region during pre-historic times. My own theory is that the Shoshoni (or a branch of the Shoshoni) people have a much longer history than is currently realized in this mountainous area, and that people from the north and west came into the region to hunt, to travel to the south, or both.

The Sheepeter people were strong advocates of a laissez-faire policy towards others. In today's terminology, they were pacifists. During the historical times, it is a known fact that the Nez Perce did use the Salmon River drainage country not only for hunting and fishing, but also for access routes as well. Although the Nez Perce and Shoshoni were traditional and bitter enemies and although the Sheepeter people were Shoshoni, I have yet to come across mention of any inter-tribal skirmishes or wars in the country. South of the main Salmon River, the Nez Perce appear to have been strictly a transient and seasonal population. Nevertheless, their periodic visits must have instilled a certain air of guarded protectiveness among the Sheepeter population.

In the early 1860's, a new and explosive element thrust itself into the comfortable isolation of the area and its people. A rush for gold. Gold brought white men and Chinese into the country by the hundreds.

For the native peoples, the soft familiar rhythm of the seasons was about to snap to a final close.

This new "diastolic wave" was perhaps the harshest because the opening was not anticipated and, therefore, softened, but was sudden and jarring. These were not family bands passing through on their way to the buffalo hunts in the east or to the Payette Lakes intertribal trade rendezvous. These were men not only of a different race, but also of a different and generally incomprehensible temperament. Later, when the Chinese came in, these white men in their fear and greed, often pitted "Savage" and "Celestial" against one another as scapegoats. It was during this wave that the area, because of the mining boom, became totally open to white settlement on the one hand, and on the other, crashed to an ignoble and final close for the native people.

The active beginning of the Forest Service along the South Fork in the early years of the turn of the century had both positive and negative affects on the inhabitants. Trail maintenance and the bringing in of the phone lines up and down the river was a boon to the inhabitants. However, the Forest's (as the Forest Service is known locally) hunger for property (such as Charlie Hayes' place), the monitoring of stock activities, and the strict eye on hunting and fishing nettled the inhabitants.

By the turn of the century, the area had once again "closed up." By then, approximately all the ranches that still would be operating in the 1950's had been established, and the South Fork country had once again settled itself into its cozy isolation.

Then, during the Great Depression, this isolation again was broken and another "diastolic wave" swept the people and the area. Once again, the South Fork was sought out as a haven by many people seeking to simply survive the financial catastrophe. Informants who had lived on the river during this era told me that whole families came in to the country, camping in their cars and trucks, and living day to day from fishing, hunting, and whatever trapping and mining they might do. In time, these "refugees"

left, and the river closed in on itself as it had before.

During the late 1960's, another group of "refugees" came into the country, but not in such force or numbers that they could actually be said to have re-opened the country. These were the "hippies"--the "flower children." I was living in the country at the time and I remember them clearly. They usually came in couples and were very dirty and very lazy. It was their intention to "live off the land" and they generally shrugged off our advice that this could no longer be done. They often came down in the fall, and by late fall and early winter, when it became clear to them that we had been right, they settled to live off the people on the land. Sooner or later, they would find a way to go back out as the solitude and ranch work was not to their liking. They made little or no impression on the inhabitants. I mentioned them here merely because they were a specific and identifiable group of people who, again, chose the South Fork country as a refuge.

Today, as we approach the turn of another century, the South Fork faces yet another "wave," but this time, again there is pressure. Once before a backcountry population was threatened by severe pressure and lost the battle unequivocally. That was just over 100 years ago, and it was the racial pressure brought to bear by the white newcomers on the Indian peoples. In 1879, the Indian peoples were forcibly removed from the area.

Today's pressure is not racial; in fact, no group is pressing to supplant the South Fork people as settlers or residents of the area. This time, the pressure is two-pronged: the government (as represented by the Forest Service) wants to own and thus control all of the backcountry lands, especially the lands in the Salmon River drainage; and a few well-to-do men also want to own or hold use rights to the land to exploit the high-priced recreation demand. There can be little doubt that this pincer action assault on the few remaining small private landowners can and eventually will rout the river people.

Conclusions

Because of the great lack of archaeological work in the South Fork locale, it is not currently possible to make any statements about the status of pre-historic peoples in the area. The most that can be said is simply that they were there. The "Who?" and the "Why?" will have to be left to speculation as the area is explored archaeologically.

Archaeological findings of the last two decades indicate that people have been inhabiting the Stanley Basin country for at least 9,800 years, and the Camas Prairie country at the southern base of Idaho's vast central network of mountain ranges for some 12,000 years (Pavesic 1978:8). These facts alone give a great deal of support to Swanson's belief that:

It [is] of at least equal value to assume that the Northern Shoshoni had been in the region for a long time, perhaps millenia, and that the spread of Numian peoples had been from the Northern Rocky Mountains southward and westward also millenia ago (1972:5).

It would seem reasonable to conclude that people have inhabited the South Fork (and general Salmon River drainage) country far beyond historic times, and that these pre-historic peoples could have been the prototypes for what is now termed the "Basin-Plateau" type of culture, but which, as suggested earlier, might now be referred to as the Montane Culture.

The two most striking reasons for this rationale, as elicited by this research, would seem to be the apparently unchanging continuity of living cycle and cultural style as is seen in the archaeological record of the mountain-dwelling people and the heretofore unrecognised fact that the high mountains were indeed populated over a long and continuous period of time.

The facts as presented in this paper plus a revised version of Hogg's 1981 map of northwest cultural delineations would seem to be good support for a recommendation that the terms "Basin" or "Plateau" or "Basin-Plateau" be replaced for this area by the

more realistic term "Montane" in regard to cultural affiliation and type.

Protohistoric and Historic Indian Groups

Whichever pre-historic ancestral groups may have inhabited the South Fork country, it is clear that in the historic period it was jointly used by the Nez Perce and the Sheepeater Shoshoni. The 1804 Lewis and Clark maps, drawn for the expedition by the Chopunnish (Nez Perce) clearly indicate the main Salmon River as a geographical boundary between them with the Nez Perce delineated to the north and the Shoshoni to the south of it. Evidence appears to indicate that while the Nez Perce certainly utilized the Salmon River drainage area, it was the Sheepeater Shoshoni who called it home. The South Fork country and all the rugged country from French Creek on the west to the Lemhi country on the east, and from the main Salmon River on the north to the Stanley Basin on the south was the home of the Sheepeater bands. It apparently was busily traveled and used by other groups as well, predominantly the Nez Perce. Although the two peoples have a long history of mutual animosity, in the case of the above-mentioned area, a belt of neutrality seems to have been established which might be likened to the political status of Switzerland in contemporary times.

Chinese and Euro-Americans

Even though Anglo and Chinese occupation of the South Fork locale can be documented nearly 125 years into the past, those places established in the 1860's and still operating today have had very little change of ownership, and almost no change of "purpose." Even so, those ownership changes that have occurred not only can be fairly easily traced legally, but also the continual and chronological solidarity of the owners can be clearly seen. This solidarity is often nearly as binding as geneological ties in other cultures.

It should be noted that this is much more the case on the

lower half of the river than the upper. The upper river seems generally to have followed the pattern of the Middle Fork country and the main Salmon River. This pattern can be traced back to the early mining era. Miners came into most of the Salmon River drainage country in the 1860's, and quite a few stayed and established ranches and residences. But in the main Salmon and Middle Fork, and to some extent the upper South Fork, these inhabitants sold out fairly early in the twentieth century either to the government (Forest Service) or to private recreational concerns. In either case, the solitary self-sustaining lifestyle was sold with the land.

The lower half of the South Fork presents a different image. While nearly all of the land once ranched and mined on the upper river is now owned by the Forest Service, the lower river is still ranched. In pre-white times, acquisition of certain goods (including horses) and prowess as a hunter and, later, even more importantly as a warrior, were paramount to social success. Today, acquisition of a fine vehicle and large bank account, prowess with the opposite sex, and skills in the world of business and finances are paramount to social success.

As with the Sheepeater people in the past, the contemporary South Fork people eschew the motivations of these pursuits. Their interests are not in keeping up with the Jones or in keeping ahead of the enemy. Their interests are in keeping abreast of their environment and remaining sound within its scope.

CHAPTER VII IMPLICATIONS FOR CULTURAL ISOLATION

All nations are geographical and political divisions of populations within which one group of people will emerge as dominant. I will not use the term "majority" in referring to dominant populations since, in many cases, this term is not only misleading but erroneous. Such is certainly the case in the United States, which is the setting for this thesis.

There are numerous sub-cultures within the United States including: Chicano, Indian, Cajun, Black, Deaf, Amish, and Jewish, to name the more prominent. Smaller groups which may be either "divisions" of larger sub-cultures or much smaller sub-cultures are: Navajos, Gypsies, Cubans/Puerto Ricans, Russians (Oregon's Woodburn area), Italians, cowboys, and backcountry people. Of these, the Indian, Chicano, Cajun, Black, Deaf, and hillbillies have maintained their own cultures in the midst of the dominant society for in excess of 100 years, some much longer.

In most instances of cultural isolation, the group is separated linguistically from the dominant society. Other factors may include racial differences, religion, food, type of housing, kinship interactions, dress, and lifestyle. Any or all of these things may differentiate one group from another.

While the "rationale" for cultural isolation may be sharp and clear to a member of any sub-cultural group, to a person who lives in and descends from the dominant segment of society this rationale may, at best, seem nebulous and in general incomprehensible. Perhaps it would be best to begin defining cultural isolation by what it is not.

Cultural isolation is not a negative reaction to pressure. Though often construed by outsiders as negative, isolation to whatever degree and other responses to pressures to "assimilate" are seen by the members of the pressured groups as positive means of remaining a cohesive socio-cultural unit. While it is

usually a reaction to pressure from a dominant group, it is not a group political stance assumed out of spite. And it is not a collective battle of wills between "the good guys" and "the bad guys." Cultural "isolation" is not an invented system which structures itself so that any one group can press for a "you were right--they were wrong" judgment from a hazily defined tribunal.

Rather, cultural isolation is an innate expression by a given group of people of Pride. This pride is a living thing, passed from generation to generation, and at its very core it can be said to be positive. When and if it takes on, or appears to exhibit, negative aspects (such as those mentioned on the previous page), it is the result of an undue, unwarranted, and unending outside pressure.

While the majority of the sub-cultures in the United States today are isolated or set apart by linguistic differences, a few are not. Some few can be said to be set apart by adherence to a particular life style which differs considerably from that of the dominant society. Among these are the traditional cowboys of the intermontane west (Idaho, Montana, eastern Oregon and Washington, Nevada, and Wyoming in particular; the traditional hillbillies of the Ozarks and Appalachians; "open" or politically active gay communities; communes; Mennonites; and, of course, the backcountry people, of whom the South Fork residents, past and present, can be considered archtypes.

It is very unlikely that a true "melting-pot" could ever occur in one national population; that is, that a totally assimilated nation of individuals with culturally diverse backgrounds could prevail. This country has made an unprecedented and unsuccessful attempt to that end for over 300 years and continues generation after generation to struggle with the issue.

A glance through popular periodicals such as The National Geographic, Smithsonian, and Geo, to name a few, will easily show a) that the general population appears to continue to be

fascinated by "mountain peoples" the world over; and b) that mountain peoples the world over appear to manifest a timeless tenacity for their traditional lifestyles and often rugged environments. Perhaps it is this very tenacity and solidarity in a world of constant and often overwhelming change which so fascinates the general populations who are so caught up in these changes.

In spite of this apparent fascination, mountain peoples tend to suffer a derogatory status from non-mountain populations. Consider the over-all attitude towards the peoples of the Ozarks and the Appalachians in this country. Leading a simplistic and fundamental kind of life in often remote or sheltered areas, these peoples are generally regarded by outsiders as "backwards" and "ignorant." They differ characteristically from the "sophisticated" lowland, urban populations of their own locale and of the nation in dress, in goals, in architecture, in religion (they are almost invariably very basic Protestant "fundamentalists"), in their closely intertwined family ties, and in their speech.

As a teenager in the late 1950s, I had occasion to be traveling from Oregon to southern Louisiana on the train. As we crossed Lake Ponchartrain coming in to New Orleans where my family was to meet me, I was combing myself and getting ready for the arrival when a tall woman began to talk to me. Since I was traveling on a train, I was listening in English, but the only thing I could pick up from what she said was that she seemed to be asking me something. Thinking I had made a mistake and she was Cajun, I started to talk to her in that language, but she didn't seem to understand me. Gradually I discovered that she was talking to me in English and that she was from somewhere in the Ozarks. It was a curious and unforgettable experience for me. I was accustomed to and familiar with a vast array of speech differences from various parts of the south, but what I was

hearing seemed to be more another language than simply accented English. I thought that, like Cajun, perhaps it was very old. Hodgson (1972: 120-123) says that the early settlers who became known as "billies" were Ulstermen (Scotch-Irish Presbyterians) whom James I of England had established in Ireland in 1610. One hundred years later a vast number of these people migrated to the New World to escape the poverty and persecution that they were suffering in Ireland. Hodgson (ibid. p. 125) goes on to state that "They sought isolation in the highlands, and for generations cherished stern independence and patterns of speech and song that were old before Shakespeare." Although Hodgson is speaking of the Appalachian mountaineers, MacLeish (1968:666) says that most Ozarkers migrated from the Appalachians in the early 1800s. Perhaps what I had heard and been fascinated by as a youngster was, indeed, a totally different English.

Because of its recent and therefore comparatively easy-to-trace history (less than 150 years) and because its culturally varied populations have all chosen similar lifestyles as dictated by the remoteness of the area, the South Fork could well be a valuable model for isolated mountain populations. Of the four populations studied for this thesis, the Sheepeater Shoshoni, the Nez Perce, the Chinese, and the Euro-American, all but the Chinese are characteristic mountaineer peoples. Until further studies are done--it is to be hoped preferably by Chinese scholars--on the early Chinese immigrants to this country, this study must regard the Chinese of Warren and the South Fork region not as classical mountaineers, but as an example of a population utilizing the area as a haven in times of stress. The same would seem to be true of the influx of population in the area during the depression.

Significantly, however, the Sheepeater Shoshoni, a portion of the Nez Perce, and the established Euro-American ranchers all fit easily within the general, overall characteristics of

mountaineers the world over and have been regarded with equal disdain by the major portions of their own cultural and/or racial groups.

In reading of various mountain cultures around the world, a number of characteristic similarities appear. These characteristics are either stated or alluded to in descriptions of the people by people who have traveled among and written about such diverse populations as: the Montagnards of Viet Nam (Sochurek 1968:443-487); the Appalachian Mountaineers (Hodgson 1972:118-146); the Highlanders of Scotland (MacLeish 1968:398-435); the Naga of India (Ripley 1955:247-264); the Ozarkers (Edwards 1970:656-689); and the Kirghiz (Shor and Shor 1950:673-706). Among these characteristics are strength of body and character, pride, poverty (as compared to the standards of the outside major populations), suspicion, mistrust, and/or disdain for "lowlanders" or outsiders, independence, self-sufficiency, friendliness, extreme family solidarity, and a strong desire that the children grow up, not only with these values intact but that they be willing and able to remain within the community and to pass these values on to future generations. These characteristics are observed to be true of the South Fork populations as well.

Still, mountain populations have traditionally been viewed by historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists as marginal peoples, barely clinging to lives of somehow enforced isolation. It seems that these learned opinions have come from nothing more than popular tradition which "scholars" have, until recently, done little or nothing to investigate in order to either refute or validate. The popular attitudes of lowland people for mountaineers have long been those of scorn and derision. Walker (1968:14) describes this phenomenon among the Nez Perce:

The nipehéme and saqánma bands in the Salmon River country are reputed to have relied predominantly on a fish and root diet well into the historic period, having little contact with

those bands around them that maintained large herds of horses. These two bands, particularly the latter, were located in deep canyon areas with insufficient pasture resources to develop the herds so characteristic of so many bands at the time of contact. Although there were economic differences of social importance within the nipehéme and the saqánma bands, these were less significant than the economic differences between those bands that developed a horse culture and those that did not. By the time of contact such nonhorse bands were known by the derogatory term enéynu ti.tó.qan, roughly equivalent to 'provincials.' On the other hand, those bands that went to the Plains regularly were known as the k'usáynu ti.tó.qan, equivalent to 'sophisticated people.' Among the horse bands there were many derogatory stories regarding the contrastive behavior of the provincial bands, such as their eating dogs and preferring huckleberries rolled in salmon fat to buffalo flanks.

How similar to jokes among lowland white Americans of "hill-billies" eating possum and turnip greens!

Among the Shoshoni as well as among the Nez Perce, buffalo hunting was a mark of sophistication. Liljeblad (1957:56) states that "As a mode of expression, 'buffalo eaters' became synonymous with 'well-to-do people'; a 'buffalo eater' would rank socially above a 'salmon eater'..." Both Liljeblad (1957:93) and Steward (1938:186,187) state that the mounted Shoshoni and later Fort Hall Shoshoni referred to the Sheepeater or Mountain Shoshoni as "salmon eaters" as well as "Sheepeaters." Swanson (1972:11) notes that the mountain people, tukudeka, "remained unmounted" and that they lived year round in the mountains. Liljeblad (1957:95) says that the Sheepeaters were characteristically a "rather conservative people" who were mocked and disapproved of by other Shoshoni for their slow "sing-song" speech and their tradition of cross-cousin marriage. Again how similar to the lowland white Americans' mockery of the "hill-billy drawl" and disdain for the very close interweaving of families among whom intermarriage is often inevitable!

Nor have the ensuing Euro-American backcountry people been exempt from these attitudes. Living without electricity, living under conditions which make road travel to the outside impossible from October to June or July, being periodically "weathered in" (weather conditions such that planes are unable to fly), being content and satisfied with one's isolated physical setting and one's business within it, raising children within these conditions are all viewed condescendingly by outsiders as "quaint," "dangerous," "foolhardy," or simply impossible.

Ethnocentricity is basic to all human groups. Pitifully, at its core generally lies the premise that "different" is "wrong." This is regarded as an equation in all human societies. Since mountain dwellers in any society are vastly outnumbered by the majority of the society, and since the mountaineer lifestyle is distinctly different from the majority, the above premise is applied.

It is a sad fact that scholars tend overwhelmingly to follow in the footsteps of their established predecessors often without carefully and openmindedly checking "facts" which may have been unwittingly erroneous, or which may--for one reason or another--have changed. Furthermore, scholars tend in general to be members of the world's majority populations, harboring, like others of their culture, age, and time, subtle but deeply ingrained opinions of phenomena which may actually be nothing more than a pervasive and longstanding cultural bias masquerading as "fact." Perhaps in this way, the accepted hypothesis among scholars that high mountain country is merely marginal country into which certain populations must have been forced by certain other populations has become so firmly established.

It is very unlikely that a true "melting-pot" could ever occur in one national population; that is, that a totally assimilated nation of individuals with culturally diverse backgrounds could prevail. This country has made an unprecedented

and unsuccessful attempt to that end for over 300 years and continues generation after generation to struggle with the issue.

The purpose of this paper has been to show that a specific mountain area was, indeed, an area of long and preferred human occupancy. If this is accepted, perhaps other "marginal" areas will be looked at again with the premise that while they may have seemed merely marginal to most, they were in fact chosen areas representing comfort, security, and prosperity to some.

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APPENDIX

GLOSSARY

BACKCOUNTRY	The geographical areas of Idaho now designated as "Wilderness Areas" and the vast and equally rugged areas bordering them. The entirety of the South and Middle Fork areas, and the country in between is backcountry.
BAR	A generally flat area of appreciable size suitable for sowing and/or building, which is on a level with the river.
BENCH	A generally flat area of appreciable size suitable for sowing and/or building, which is generally located at varying distances above the level of the river.
CULTURE	"All that which is non-biological and socially transmitted in a society, including artistic, social, ideological, and religious patterns of behavior and the techniques for mastering the environment." (Winick 1975:144)
DOWN-RIVER	In the direction of the river's mouth; in the case of the South Fork, north.
FLAT	A generally flat area of appreciable size suitable for sowing and/or building, which is generally on a level with the river.
FLATLANDER	A person who is culturally oriented to areas outside the mountains, especially the towns and cities, although people from the rural areas in the non-mountainous areas are also generally included. This is usually a derogatory or teasing term.
HILLBILLY	A term used by backcountry people to define themselves as a group and/or as individuals. This is complimentary when used by and among backcountry people.
IN	The state of being, for whatever period of time, in the backcountry, or on the river. Example: "I'm going back in to the river tomorrow" "He's been back in the country a year." "John went in two days ago."

- LOCALITY "...that space occupied continuously or periodically by a local group of people, a community. Further, archaeologically it is a geographical space small enough to permit the working assumption of complete cultural homogeneity at any given time." (Brauner 1976:20 after Willey and Phillips 1958:18).
- ON THE RIVER The location of a place or object, or the physical state of being for a person or animal in a setting adjacent to either bank of the specified river (South Fork, for example).
Example: "That place was located on the river about a quarter mile down from our place."
"They've been on the river 50 years."
If the river is a navigable one such as the Main Salmon or the Middle Fork, it could mean that a person is out in a boat.
- OUT The state of being away from, or going away from the river in the direction of "civilization." The term is a relative one, like "in." From the South Fork, both Warren and McCall are "out," but from McCall or Boise, both Warren and the South Fork are "in."
- PLACE An area settled by or lived on by an individual which is not large enough or does not have a large enough operation to be termed a ranch. The term "place" may be applied to a ranch, but the term "ranch" is not applied to a place.
- SHEEPEATER
1. The Tukudeka Shoshoni people who lived deep in the mountainous areas by preference and who formed a culturally distinct group.
 2. The name or term erroneously used by the majority of Idahoans, and many historians, to mean simply "culturally indistinct renegade Indians who 'hid out' in the backcountry."
- TO WINTER A backcountry verb meaning to spend the winter and usually used with "in" or "out."
Example: "Are you wintering in on the river this year?" "They always winter out in Boise."
Spring, summer, and fall have not become verbs.
- UP-RIVER In the direction of the river's headwaters; in the case of the South Fork, south.