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AMERICAN INDIANS AND YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

A Documentary Overview

by Peter Nabokov and Lawrence Loendorf

Color Scans
11/7/2002

AMERICAN INDIANS AND YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
PO Box 168
Yellowstone National Park
Wyoming 82190

IN REPLY REFER TO:

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AUG 28 2002

Dear Interested Party:

Yellowstone National Park is proud to send you the recently published report *American Indians and Yellowstone National Park: A Documentary Overview* by authors Peter Nabokov, Ph.D. and Lawrence Loendorf, Ph.D. This report was commissioned to investigate American Indian affiliations with the land and resources in the park. The National Park Service requires such studies to fulfill its mission of learning about its resources and to offer that information to visitors and researchers. The authors of this report sought to uncover American Indian connections with the park, principally through a review of documentary sources augmented by interviews with tribal members.

This inventory resulted in the identification of several American Indian communities with ties to what is now the park. These include the Assiniboine, Crow, Blackfeet, Eastern Shoshone, Kiowa, Nez Perce, Salish and Kootenai, and Shoshone-Bannock. Their histories and their uses of Yellowstone resources are examined, some in greater detail than others. The report identifies more than 70 ethnographic resources, including multiple species of plants; minerals such as obsidian and thermal mud; an array of animals; archeological sites; topographic features such as Yellowstone Lake and Obsidian Cliff; geysers and other thermal features; trails; mountains; and rivers, including the Yellowstone, the Snake, and the Firehole.

The report examines Yellowstone country as home ground, common ground, and contested ground. The subtleties of Native Americans' relationships with thermal features and the ecosystem are explored. The researchers became aware of one tribe's site of origin in the park and its association with the wellspring of the abundance we know as Yellowstone today. Through oral accounts from the Crow, Eastern Shoshone, and Shoshone-Bannock, they learned the origin of features such as Yellowstone Lake, as well as the water in it, the Snake and Yellowstone rivers, and the falls of the Grand Canyon. Many tribes provided their names for the thermal region, as well as for specific sites within park boundaries. Readers can learn about the role the Salish community played in replenishing the nearly extinct Yellowstone buffalo herd in 1902, as well as many other histories and multicultural traditions that are documented in the report.

Beyond the inherent value of this knowledge, the substantial information contained in the report has already been and will continue to be used as an indispensable reference by park managers and staff. It is foundational as the park engages in planning efforts such as the multi-year road reconstruction, as we deliberate the complexities of natural and

cultural resource management and preservation, and as we provide to 3.2 million annual visitors information about native peoples and their relationships with the Yellowstone ecosystem.

The authors acknowledge that this report is a work-in-progress, that it does not preclude the emergence of new ethnographic or archival information that might identify other Indian nations or that might corroborate or refute their reconstruction of tribal activities in the region. But, at the very least, the work has challenged some persistent misconceptions and has laid out the native role in the history of the Yellowstone landscape.

We hope that you find this report as useful an addition to your knowledge and understanding of Yellowstone National Park as we have. Additional copies, while available, may be obtained by contacting Rosemary Sucec, ethnographer, at (307) 344-2229, or at *Rosemary_Sucec@nps.gov*.

Sincerely,

Suzanne Lewis

Suzanne Lewis
Superintendent

AMERICAN INDIANS AND YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

A Documentary Overview

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Cover photograph courtesy Åke Hultkrantz
Cover background image by Crazy Mule, c. 1880 (Friedlund et al. 1996:11)
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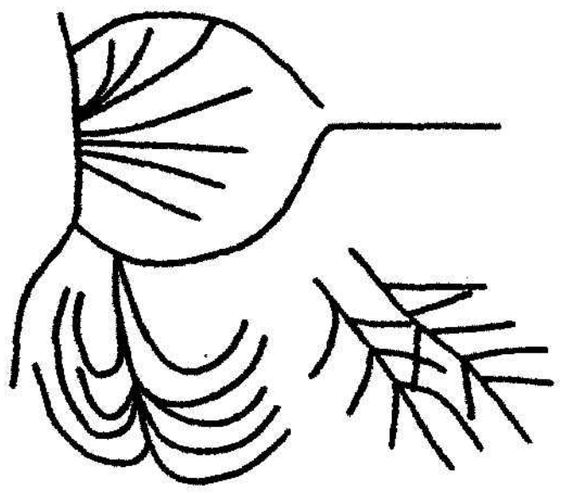

PREFACE

It is with trepidation that any new researchers attempt to add to the voluminous scholarship associated with the history of Yellowstone National Park, or to position their findings under the high standards established by over a century's worth of chronicles from such historians as Hiram Martin Chittenden, Aubrey L. Haines, Paul Schullery and Lee H. Whittlesey. In so far as the human history of the region is concerned, hardly a trail in Yellowstone National Park would seem to have gone undocumented, a ranger station unrecorded, a bridge unmeasured, a place-name unplumbed, or an unusual character even remotely connected with the place unprofiled. This goes equally for the natural history of this "crown jewel of the nation's park system." So it is with some hesitation that we suggest that a major dimension of the culture-and-nature history of our nation's first, largest and most famous natural reserve deserves a second look.

Many histories of Yellowstone National Park shuttle back and forth between topics associated with the historical or cultural aspects of the park since its exploration and establishment in the late 19th century, and topics related to scientific subjects deriving from the park's unique biological, geological and ecological attractions. One problem with the subject and themes of the "missing Indian chapters" of park history, however, is that until the present day the subject of American Indians and Yellowstone seems to have fallen into the crack that lies between those two broad areas of inquiry—between "culture" and "nature." The evolving place of American Indians in the long history of Yellowstone National Park turns out to have been underplayed over the years in part because of the Euro-Americans' ever-shifting notions and academic debates over how to categorize and characterize the Indians' role in the cultural history of North America in the first place. Over the years, the answer to the question of whether Indians were to be considered part of the "natural" or "cultural" history of the park seems to have been answered by default, by the implications built into its representations of Indians rather than by any conscious or overt inquiry.

As for any native "historical" relationships to the park, Indians have generally been confined to the dramatic incident when they engaged in warfare with the United States in the park—the Nez Perce misadventures in 1877. While any "cultural" ties have more often than not been observed in the negative: Indians steered clear of the park's heartland because of their fear of its geysers. Throughout a century and a half of scattered commentaries and uncoordinated representations on Indians and the park, this confusion about whether Indians were to be considered more a part of "nature" or "history" or "culture" has underlain the mixed messages concerning the relationships between the park and its Indians—with any finer tribal distinctions generally ignored in the process.

But this confusion about how to categorize Indians must have arisen from somewhere. Its roots sprang from the park's mandate, which was, initially, to provide a prototype for natural preserves that would save "wilderness," preserving its monumental landscapes that the New World enjoyed as competition with the man-made monuments of Old Europe, and, somewhat later, protecting the wildlife from developers and poachers. Yet during roughly the same era as Yellowstone was being conceived, as historian Mark Spence has perceptively pointed out, another sort of preserve with a different agenda was being created for the American Indians who had lived in or moved through the park. Rather than a *refuge* for preserving bio-

logical species, the Indian *reservation* was devoted to transforming cultural species under the guiding evolutionary theory of the day: Indians needed to be "assimilated" into the broader culture, and to abandon their ties to "nature." In the late 19th century this was considered the only humane alternative to killing them off. The grander role of the park in this broad context of western history was quite clear in the mind of Yellowstone National Park Superintendent General S.B.M. Young in 1907, when he supervised a report on the park which stated explicitly:

> Looking back a full century we find that the story of the Yellowstone Park is a sequential link in the chain of epochal events which commenced with the purchase by the United States of the then uncharted wilderness called the 'Louisiana Territory,' the subsequent expedition of Lewis and Clark, the discovery of gold, the conquest of the savages, and all the epic deeds which achieved at last the winning of the west [Raftery 1943:102].

From a contemporary perspective, the situation strikes us as a Gordian Knot of ironies, but one which remains tightly tied to this day. So long as Indians were seen as part of "nature," they proved to be the one species who were not allowed to stay in their natural habitat, because the part of them that belonged to "history" was a threat to the Euro-Americans who had risen sufficiently enough above their "natural" state to develop culture and keep it distinct from nature through the very invention of such preserves. But if Indians were to be considered part of "culture," then their claims to the region might compete with those of the Euro-Americans, which was unacceptable. At the same time, as scholars who began studying western Indian societies within this period started to write about the intricacies of and contrasts between different Indian "cultures," the ambivalence over how they were to be lumped together became more problematic. Early park officials were government employees with a growing exposure to and appreciation for scholarship, at least in the budding field of "natural" science. It was in their self-interest, therefore, to admit that to some degree Indians were part of "culture" and hence ineligible for any claims to a "natural" refuge like birds or mammals. At the same time, any claims their "culture" might have made to the Yellowstone National Park region could threaten the government's insistence that this was a pristine natural wilderness. Hence it makes some sense why officials never felt provoked to explain or explore Hiram Chittenden's observations in 1895 that, "It is a singular fact in the history of Yellowstone National Park that no knowledge of that country seems to have been derived from the Indians....Their deep silence concerning it is therefore no less remarkable than mysterious" (Chittenden 1895:8, 99). Appreciating the troublesome presence of Indians in Yellowstone National Park's history and ideology also helps to clarify why any cultural theories which did explain Indian absences from the park region might have been looked upon favorably, why funding for surveying the possible extent and intensity of early Indian occupancy or uses of the park and environs was never plentiful, and why no full time park cultural or archaeological advisors were appointed until the 1990s.

One reason for these unwritten chapters is that it was not considered to the park's best interests to acknowledge any Indian role in its cultural history. As we shall see, early Yellowstone officials went out of their way to get Indians to promise to stay away from the park. And hence, as Yellowstone National Park ranger Merrill D. Beal wrote:

> These agreements were widely advertised, and in order to further neutralize any fear of Indian trouble a policy of minimizing past incidents was evolved. The recent invasions were represented as unprecedented, actually anomalous. Indians had never lived in Yellowstone, were infrequent visitors because they were afraid of the thermal activity! It was not a conspiracy against truth, just an adaptation of business psychology to a promising national resort [Beal 1949:91].

But the received wisdom and recycled scenarios regarding the official picture of the relationships between different American Indian peoples and Yellowstone National Park can also be attributed to what are now called "paradigm shifts" in the history of the social sciences and in the discipline of history as well. Add to these shift-

ing angles of scholarly vision and interest the fact that public agencies, with meager resources and burgeoning clientele, are often a half-step behind new paradigms that trickle down from academia, and one can understand why our understanding of the roles played by Indians in the symbol-dense areas like our nation's parks—and Yellowstone above all—might be a bit behind the times.

In the body of this document we will assay some of the more down-to-earth reasons for the dearth of both archaeological and ethnographic data on the park. At the same time, we hope to offer sufficient evidence, teased from myriad sources, that the cause of conceptually, at least, reintroducing American Indians into the park's representations of itself is a task that remains possible and worth the trouble. To this end we have made the best possible effort, within our temporal and funding constraints, to revivify and contextualize what native narratives we could find, to conduct a fresh sieving of archival materials, to root out oft-ignored field notes of earlier ethnographers. We make no pretense at having produced anything close to a complete composite of the ethnographic resources of Yellowstone National Park.

Yet we caution future researchers or writers on Indians and the park to hesitate before making definitive statements about the loss of this or that tradition. As the examples of the Kiowa mythic narrative in Chapter 1 and Plenty Coups' historical buffalo hunt in the park in Chapter 3 suggest, tattered oral tradition can reveal an unusually strong life-force and can crop up in the most unlikely places.

The original version of this report concluded with a fifteen-page section called *Concerns and Recommendations* which combined the comments and attitudes of our American Indian consultants regarding various aspects of park policy with observations and additional data based on three summer seasons of field and library research. We sincerely hope that our ten recommendations will help to ameliorate any preexisting problems, or potential stumbling blocks that might arise, between Indians groups and park policies in the future. This *Concerns and Recommendations* section is on file and available for review with the Branch of Cultural Resources (in the Division of Yellowstone Center for Resources) at the park.

Acknowledgments

To produce this report we have depended upon the graciousness, patience, experience and scholarship of a great number of individuals and institutions. Here we would like to gratefully acknowledge the work of park officials, other scholars, native advisors and consultants, and additional personnel without whom this compilation would not have been possible.

To National Park Service regional Ethnographer David Ruppert we are grateful for support, counsel and patience. To Yellowstone National Park Superintendent Michael Finley we are thankful for the hospitality and support of his Mammoth staff, with special appreciations to Laura Joss, Chief, Branch of Cultural Resources and a patient and constant supporter; to Lee H. Whittlesey, Archivist and tireless respondent to phone calls and queries and for his constant encouragement; to Ann M. Johnson, Rocky Mountain Support Office Archaeologist, duty-stationed to Yellowstone National Park, for her solid critiques; to Vanessa Christopher, Librarian, for her assistance in locating archival sources and photographs; to Jim Peaco, park Photographer, for video-taping Dr. Hultkrantz and processing slide requests.

Our project consultants and regional interviewers were indispensable to collecting the raw data from which we have written this report. We are extremely thankful to Dr. Åke Hultkrantz, who with his gracious wife Gerry came to Red Lodge for a two-week trip through his old Yellowstone Country fieldwork sites. In addition, Dr. Hultkrantz granted permission to select from his photographs as well as to excerpt from his unpublished manuscript on the Sheep Eaters. To Aubrey L. Haines we are also indebted for access to his impeccably collated historical notes, and for his general readiness to share a lifetime's worth of Yellowstone knowledge, especially his notes on the trail system, and for his prompt written responses. For conducting interviews and independent research this document has relied heavily upon the work of alpine ecologist Jan Nixon, who also wrote our appendixed summary on plant data related to the park; on the efforts of Dr. Sharon Kahin of Dubois, Wyoming, whose interviews with Shoshone and Bannock consultants gave our Chapters 3, 4 and 5 a crucial ethnographic depth; and on the help of Jeanne Eder who accompanied our first season's field trips and contributed treaty data.

Although we want this document to reflect the combined voices of many Indian spokespersons and consultants, living and past, we also wish to respect the anonymity of our contemporary American Indian consultants. For now let us just profoundly thank, on the East, DT and SC of the Kiowa tribe, and GB, AS and JMC among the Crow. For the North we are grateful to TT, CB, TI and LA among the Kootenai-Salish, and CCB of the Canadian Blackfeet, and, for the West, to GE, LV, JS, CN, DSC and JLV. For the South we thank MG, ZE, FT, MJG, SW, AC and HW.

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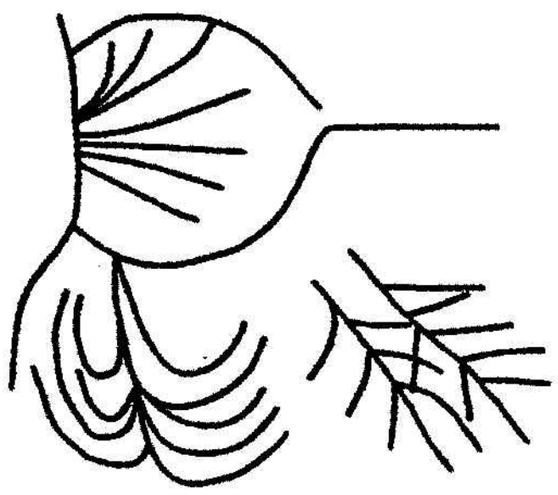


Introduction

The following overview of the role of American Indians in the region in and around Yellowstone National Park can only be considered as an interim contribution. On a trail already blazed by the likes of Åke Hultkrantz, Joel C. Janetski and Joseph Weixelman, our compilation of data about American Indians within and surrounding the park strives to open up a new evaluation of existing literature, to probe into undiscovered or under-used sources of archived ethnographic or historical data, and to invite a fresh survey of contemporary Indian voices and viewpoints regarding the roles that various Indian peoples played in the human evolution of the landscape and region on which now sits Yellowstone National Park.

At the outset we should also state that since we are trying to reconstruct and interpret the life-patterns of Indian peoples who neighbored on and acted within Yellowstone National Park we must extend our territorial range to what has often been termed variously "the Yellowstone ecosystem," the "greater Yellowstone," or "the greater Yellowstone ecosystem." Just as one cannot understand the bureaucratic, military or environmental history of Yellowstone National Park proper without an appreciation of historical issues related to the western Plains and the U.S. park system in general, even extending to political decisions made in Washington, D.C., that effected the park, so we have not limited our inquiries or reconstructions to the precise boundaries of the park. That the adjoining landscape was considered an inherent part of the park ecosystem was recognized early on by the fact that Shoshone National Forest was initially known as "the Yellowstone Park Timberland Reserve." Hence we are generally adopting the characterization of the Yellowstone ecosystem offered by lawyer-environmentalist Charles F. Wilkinson:

> ...the most commonly accepted definition seems to be an area of about thirteen [now 18–20] million acres. It includes Yellowstone and Teton National Parks, three wildlife refuges, some BLM and private lands, part of the Wind River Indian Reservation, and, perhaps most importantly, seven national forests. The ecosystem, as defined in this manner, touches more than two dozen jurisdictions. It also encompasses all of the plateau, the mountain systems that splay out from the park, and the headwaters of all the streams that flow out in all directions [Wilkinson 1993:176].

Specific Goals of this Study

By no means do we pretend to submit a definitive history of Indians in and around the park, for reasons which will be clearly stated below. What we have tried to accomplish in this document is to narrate in compelling fashion the results of our ethnographic inquiry and our summary of published or archival data, as both pertain to:

1. the archaeological cultures associated with Yellowstone National Park and its environs;
2. the so-called "Sheep Eater" culture who were the only recognized "permanent" park inhabitants before and during the historic period;
3. the historic tribal groups whose territories overlapped onto or impinged upon the later park boundaries on all four sides.

To meet these goals we have tried to extend currently existing summaries of Yellowstone's Indians by:

1. pursuing ethnographers' raw field notes and archived documents related to these historic tribes;
2. seeking out representatives of these same American Indian nations in an effort to incorporate contemporary Indian perspectives;
3. presenting these new or freshly contextualized data in the form of full-bodied, descriptive narratives rather than laundry lists of cultural or ethnographic resources.

Yellowstone National Park as Key Symbol

Discussion on practically any aspect of Yellowstone National Park can get you into trouble. This is because the park has proven to be a lightning rod for a wide range of American opinions, beliefs, experiments, attitudes and desires concerning what is arguably humankind's oldest discourse: the practical, philosophical and spiritual dimensions of the relationship between culture and nature. As our nation's highest-visibility, open-air laboratory where that relationship is constantly being tested, contested and redefined, what is a quiet conversation anywhere else becomes a raging controversy in Yellowstone. This is also because the natural properties and cultural history of the park are so unusual, resonant and symbolic that they lend themselves to multiple interpretations and incessant scrutiny. What is it about Yellowstone that makes it seem to focus and dramatize such a concentration of deep mythical or cosmic themes, American environmental values, and integrative concepts? What makes the park such a compelling—one might say almost mandatory—destination of pilgrimage for the American family? What is the unique compound of characteristics which make Yellowstone National Park—like the Alamo, Grand Canyon, the Vietnam Memorial or Yosemite—one of our country's key symbols?

Geographically, the lifeblood of the Yellowstone Plateau is the great river which gathers from streams pouring off the Absaroka crest and the Two Ocean Plateau to pool into the largest high altitude lake in North America before it presses on to the north. There is also a symbolic importance to the centrality of this spot on the Continental Divide, for the Two Ocean Pass Lake is the knot which binds together the continent: one of its outlets, Atlantic Creek, flows into the Yellowstone and thence eventually into the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean; the other outlet, Pacific Creek, eventually replenishes the Columbia and ultimately enters the Pacific Ocean.

When it is frozen over, the 136 square miles of Yellowstone Lake forms the largest ice sheet in the continental United States. As for the Yellowstone River, it extends into the longest undammed stream in the lower 48 states, stretching for 671 miles, draining a 70,102-square-mile watershed and eventually traversing an expanse greater than all of New England. In the initial high-altitude portion of the Yellowstone River's three main sections, it completes over half of its 5,800-foot descent within its first 100 miles. Here is where one can view the great canyons which, in combination with the dramatic effusions of its thermal field, have made it one of the wonders of the world.

Geologically, both Indians and Anglos immediately recognized the wonders of the Yellowstone Plateau as an on-going spectacle of the powerful forces which first produced and still can reform the earth's topography. Initially, this has less to do with the natural beauty of its lakes, peaks or valleys than with the ten thousand thermal features which are concentrated within the confines of the park, whose nearly nine hundred geysers contain over 60 percent of those on the planet. It is appropriate in a survey on Indian relations with and attitudes towards this unusual geological region to remind ourselves of this awe-inspiring power. We say this because Indians have often been charged with giving Yellowstone's thermal field a wide berth in their travels through the region, with dubbing it "taboo," "evil," a place of demonic forces. As observed by historian Robert H. Keller and natural resource specialist Michael F. Turek, however, these claims about Indian attitudes towards Yellowstone would prove to be merely the first and most strident examples of "The widespread misconception that Indians feared national park areas and had not used the land..." (Keller and

Turek 1998:24). And these authors point out how similar "myths" became attached to Mt. Rainier, the interior Olympic Peninsula, and the Southwest's Zion National Park, among other public sites.

But as has been documented by earlier writers and will be underscored in this report, "awesome," "powerful," potentially "dangerous" and "sacred" may be more accurate descriptors for Indian attitudes towards the thermal turbulence within Yellowstone National Park. Aside from how such reactions were filtered through the Indians' religious belief systems, however, their feelings of amazement and caution are not that different from those of non-Indians. Just listen to the sentiments of former Yellowstone Chief Ranger Dan R. Sholly on winter's tour just west of Canyon Village:

> Beneath where we were riding the earth's molten interior was only half a mile down. Yellowstone was born from volcanism and is still being shaped by its forces. About two million years ago, then one million years ago, then again six hundred thousand years ago, tremendously destructive volcanic eruptions occurred right where I was now freezing. The latest alone supposedly spewed out nearly 240 cubic miles of debris. The 28-by-47-mile caldera, or basin, which dominates much of the park's interior, was the result of the earth collapsing from so much lava...To think that just below my snowmobile was a bubble of molten terror as big as a small moon!" [Sholly and Newman 1991:43].

At Yellowstone the landscape never sits still. In 1959 one of the strongest tremors ever recorded in the United States, releasing the combined energy of 200 Hiroshima bombs, shook an area of some 550,000 square miles around the park. For visitors from whatever cultural background, the experience of being in Yellowstone National Park comes as close as anywhere on earth to offering a direct, personal witness to the very process of creation itself.

Ecologically, just as Father Pierre-Jean De Smet contended in the mid-19th century that, "The Yellowstone country abounds in game; I do not believe that there is in all America a region better adapted to the chase" (Chittenden and Richardson, eds. 1969:243), so Aubrey L. Haines would concur nearly a century and a half later that Yellowstone National Park contains "a more representative sample of the primeval fauna of the American West than is now found anywhere else" (Haines 1996:xix). Whether scientific fact or popular impression, in the American imagination Yellowstone National Park is one place in the country where one also seems able to find the full Ark of the West's faunal history, supposedly living naturally within their wilderness habitat, *in situ,* "as it was" before any humans—Indian or white—took control. Moreover, this is the primeval image which has consciously been promulgated in picturesque landscape paintings, photographs and verbal portrayals of the region and its natural wonders.

As one might expect of the discourse that erupts around any key symbol, however, others contest this view of the greater Yellowstone ecosystem as a natural wilderness overflowing with all manner of fauna. Despite the reality that many of the animal species one does view grazing throughout the park have had their behaviors modified and even partially domesticated by a hundred years of vacillating game-management practices, the older image of Yellowstone as the ultimate time-capsule game refuge has died hard. Although in other regions of America we are gradually realizing the degree to which human interaction, intentional and inadvertent, has affected the ecology, transforming such "pristine" locales into culturally constructed landscapes (Cronon 1995; Blackburn and Anderson 1993; Lewis 1973), in the past, at least, at Yellowstone the concept has been resisted because of the fierce symbolic hold the place still claims in American consciousness. Especially antagonistic to any notion of Yellowstone as some Garden of Eden has been Charles E. Kay, who has contended that "Historical records do not support the view that the Inter-mountain West once teemed with wildlife" (Kay 1995:121). In a series of papers, Kay has argued that many animal and plant species were actually in slim supply in the Yellowstone of pre-Anglo-American days. Furthermore, he suggests that "the idea that North America was a 'wilderness' untouched by the hand of man prior to 1492 is a myth created, in part, to

justify appropriation of aboriginal lands and the genocide that befell native peoples" (Kay 1996:84). And historian William Cronon also links the myth of virgin wilderness with this reality of Indian evictions in the West which opened up lands for national parks:

> The removal of Indians to create an 'uninhabited wilderness'...reminds us just how invented, just how constructed, the American wilderness really is. To return to my opening argument: there is nothing natural about the concept of wilderness. It is entirely a creation of the [non-Indian] culture that holds it dear, a product of the very history that it seems to deny [Cronon 1995:79].

But Kay's opinions have been vigorously challenged, point by point, by a number of scholars such as Ken Cannon, Paul Schullery and Lee Whittlesey, who have criticized what they consider to be his misreadings of and lack of proper historical analysis procedures for properly examining primary sources related to observations of animal life, his reliance upon minuscule sample sizes for the animal populations assessed (Schullery and Whittlesey 1999a:20), and his dependance upon arguable sources for demographic estimates of early Native Americans in the region (Schullery and Whittlesey 1999b:16). Cannon takes particular issue with using mid to late 19th century accounts for reports of game numbers earlier on—even though more than 90 percent of observers "expressed belief that game was abundant"—because of the external impact upon animal populations that already must have occurred by then (Cannon 1992:1–158). In the entire debate over the time depth of particular interactions between humans and environments across the American West, Schullery sees a mixed blessing:

> This discussion is valuable because it has compelled land managers and public-land users to recognize the important role played by humans in the pre-Columbian landscape. But it has also been used rather like a weapon in land-management debates. What began as an important corrective in our understanding of wild landscapes has become a blanket criticism of all wildland management. It is now apparently presumed that because Indians had many influences on many North American places, they had all those influences in all those places [Schullery1997:314–315].

Ethnographically, this northwestern corner of present-day Wyoming is also especially complex. For the Yellowstone Plateau is the convergence point for three out of North America's nine "cultural areas." To Clark Wissler (see below), the first scholar to subdivide North America into "culture areas," the park area initially was viewed as reflecting the life-style of classic, horse-riding Plains Indian peoples (Wissler 1914:pl. 33). Three years later, Wissler refined his continental breakdown so that in addition to this Plains influence on the east, he had pushed the Plateau region, or the "Salmon Area," closer to the park region from the northwest, and in addition recognized the influence of the Great Basin peoples, his so-called "Wild Seeds" area, directly abutting the park from the southwest (Wissler 1917:8).

Then, in a 1920 mapping of North American culture areas, the renowned anthropologist Alfred C. Kroeber budged the Plateau cultural influence even closer to the park (Kroeber 1920:167), and three years later he placed the entire southwestern half of park territory under western, or "Intermountain" influence, with only its northeastern corner more associated with the Plains lifestyle (Kroeber 1923:fig. 41), becoming even more specific in 1939 with his labeling of this western influence as "Great Basin" (Kroeber 1939:map 6, 55). But in Julian Steward's classic geographical distribution of Shoshonean groups (1938), the park was most clearly declared to sit on the general meeting place for the three cultural regions, with Plateau, Plains and Great Basin influences coming together in this upper corner of present-day Wyoming.

Once one factors in the impact of rapid historical change in and around the park area, the coming of horses, the advent of mining, the territorial adjustments of early Indian treaties, and of course the desire of early conservationists to stake out a natural preserve which might remain exempt from further development, the region of Yellowstone National Park is clearly revealed as a zone of extreme cultural complexity.

Historically, Yellowstone is the oldest and largest "natural" preserve in the United States, carved out of the high lava plateau on March 1, 1872, to protect its 3,448 square miles from poachers and developers and to launch the spirit of natural conservation across the country. As the nation's founding park, it came to occupy almost mythic status and appeal. As historian Richard White has written:

> The [non-Indian] United States was a young nation lacking both an ancient history and a cultural tradition rich in art, architecture or literature. Americans looked to scenery as compensation for the cultural riches they lacked...It became a matter of national pride that the new country set apart areas such as the Yosemite Valley of California or the Yellowstone country of Wyoming as symbols of national greatness. These "earth monuments," proponents claimed, rivaled in grandeur the monuments of Europe's antiquity" [White 1991:410].

The possibility that regions such as Yellowstone and Yosemite might have already spawned ancient *native* histories, cultural traditions or literatures was rarely considered or discussed. And if any government personnel familiar with these landscapes and their histories harbored misgivings about this erasure of prior cultural impact they were drowned out by the strident denials and appeals to national identity which have continued to keep Yellowstone in the public eye.

This dense layering of multiple but contested meanings has made Yellowstone National Park a patriotic symbol of the nation's paradisiacal origins, a lightning rod for the unending American debates between economic growth and environmental conservation, and a major mirror for self-reflection on how the country keeps reconstituting its cultural roots and public image. Whether the national discussion is about controlling animal demography, managing human-predator encounters, monitoring mining pollution, reintroducing endangered species, containing buffalo migrations, or responding to the moral or legal claims of indigenous peoples, so many hot button issues related to the concept of "national parks" seem to find their most newsworthy storyline in the Yellowstone Plateau. To the cultural scholar this constant swirl of multi-sided positions generated by Yellowstone National Park is symptomatic of the fact that from its inception the place was more than the sum of its parts. As anthropologist Sherry Ortner has written, it is only through a nation's "public symbol system" that members of a society "discover, rediscover, and transform their own culture, generation after generation" (Ortner 1979:94).

Furthermore, the convergence of unusual factors listed above constitute Yellowstone National Park as what Ortner calls a "Key Symbol," by which she means, "...we say such a symbol is 'key' to the system insofar as it extensively and systematically formulates relationships—parallels, isomorphisms, complementarities, and so forth—between a wide range of diverse cultural elements" (Ortner 1979:97). This is to say that Yellowstone National Park seems to occupy a central or key site in American consciousness where the on-going relationship between culture and nature is being worked out in uniquely American terms, and a place where the nation redefines itself in the process. Inevitably this report contributes to the complexity of this process by restoring to that discourse information about a host of American Indian cultures that interacted in practical and spiritual terms with the region.

Legislative Background to this Study

One overriding objective of this overview is to produce a document which offers managers of public lands a better understanding of the ethnographic resources under their control or on adjacent lands affected by their decisions, and to facilitate communications with any American Indian groups who enjoyed cultural or historical affiliations with that region. Of the successive pieces of legislation which have articulated the responsibilities between federal land management agencies

and their role in ethnographic resource management over the last twenty years, certainly the most significant is the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA), PL 95-341, of 1978.

This groundbreaking government initiative underscored the rights of Indian "access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites." Whenever management activities might threaten to limit religious practices, restrict access to important ethnographic resources, alter sacred sites, or affect Indian burials, AIRFA stipulates the need for consultation with Indian tribes.

One year after passage of AIRFA another important law, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) PL 96-95, Section 4c, of 1979, sought to protect religious and cultural sites which were at least a half a century old. This legislation stipulated that before any permit was issued which might do "harm to, or destruction of, any religious or cultural sites,...the federal land manager shall notify any Indian tribe which may consider the site as having religious or cultural importance." This act was recently reinforced in the case of Indiana resident Arthur Gerber who was charged with looting archaeological sites that contained human burials. Gerber appealed on the grounds that ARPA did not apply to his offense. However, the 7th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals held that ARPA was not limited to objects removed from federal and Indian lands, but was a catch-all provision designed to back up state and local laws protecting archaeological resources.

The 1966 National Historic Preservation Act protects sites that are significant to local, state or national prehistory, and includes clauses that protect history, culture, architecture and technology. In 1992, an amendment in Section 101(d) to the Act specifically states that sites of "traditional religious and cultural importance to Indian tribes or Native Hawaiian organizations may be determined eligible for inclusion on the National Register." Furthermore the National Historic Preservation Act requires federal land managers to identify and evaluate traditional cultural properties that could be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places before undertaking any action that might harm such sites. Standards and guidelines on archaeology and historic preservation were published by the Department of Interior, National Park Service (Federal Register 1983:Vol. 48, No.190) and reinforced, in relationship to traditional cultural properties, by the National Register Bulletin 38 (Parker and King 1990), but as King (1993:60) points out neither Bulletin 38 nor the 1992 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act did anything to change the original act with regard to traditional cultural properties.

In Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 it states that before federal land managers expend "any Federal funds on [an] undertaking or prior to the issuance of any license, as the case may be, [they should] take into account the effect of the undertaking on any district, site, building, structure or object that is included in the National Register." Federal land managers need to inform the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation of any proposed actions that may affect eligible properties. As emphasized above, these properties include "ethnographic resources," "sacred sites" and "traditional cultural properties" and as such this legislation is commonly employed for protecting them (Sebastian 1993). Therefore, several different approaches are used to define the eligibility of sites, under the following criteria:

1. a site can be eligible for an "important event" that transpired there;
2. a site can be deemed significant because an "important person" was associated with the location;
3. a site may be representative of a "type" of cultural or rare construction or location;
4. a site may be considered to possess "cultural value" if its significance to American Indian beliefs or customs "has been ethnohistorically documented and if it can be clearly defined [Parker and King 1990:15–17].

This list also means that locations or cultural features which play a major role in the mythology, cosmology or history of a Native American group are potentially eligible to the National Register. This includes sites "where Native American religious practitioners have historically gone, and

are known or thought to go today, to perform ceremonial activities in accordance with traditional cultural rules of practice" (Parker and King 1990:1). Traditional cultural significance is meant to imply any location "where a community has traditionally carried out economic, artistic, or other cultural practices important in maintaining its historic identity" (Parker and King 1990:1).

Another important piece of legislation affecting Indian resources on public lands was the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1980 (NAGPRA), PL 101-106. This law oversees the correct handling of unmarked Indian graves and human skeletal remains and establishes a means for tribes to ask for the return of skeletal materials, grave goods, sacred objects and articles of cultural patrimony from federally funded curation facilities.

Some federal land managers can feel overwhelmed with responsibility for traditional cultural properties and privately express hope that Congress will change or remove their obligations to protect sacred sites. But it is apparent that the reverse has been the norm, and Congress has actually strengthened the laws. In 1996, President Clinton followed the same lead with the issuance of Executive Order 13007. In Section 1 (a) it states:

> each executive branch agency with statutory or administrative responsibility for the management of Federal lands shall, to the extent practicable, permitted by law, and not clearly inconsistent with essential agency functions, (1) accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners and (2) avoid adversely affecting the integrity of such sacred sites [Federal Register 61 (104):26771-May 29,1996].

Given this twenty-year body of laws, it is also no longer sufficient for a survey of "cultural resources" of a particular area to be limited to the surface remains of earlier inhabitants which archaeologically trained specialists might peruse on the ground. Today a truly "cultural" survey has to go beyond even the updated definition of an "archaeological resource," as clarified and expanded upon in the uniform regulations of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, to wit:

> any material remnants of past human life or activities..., [including] but not... limited to: pottery, basketry, bottles, weapons, weapon projectiles, tools, structures or portions of structures, pit houses, rock paintings, rock carvings, intaglios, graves, human skeletal [remains], or any portion or [piece] of any of the foregoing items...[provided] such item is at least 100 years of age [ARPA 1979; Section 69.3(a)].

Today "cultural" or "ethnographic" resources must have an expanded definition, as suggested as early as 1982 in the draft of a Bureau of Indian Affairs manual bulletin:

> The term "cultural resources" may be broadly defined as the remains of human activity, both historic and prehistoric. Included within the term are: buildings and other structures, ruins, artifacts and other objects made by people, works of art, human remains, and sites and natural features that have been of importance in human events [Suagee 1982:16].

But Dean B. Suagee, one of the drafters of this original definition, even found it excessively limiting, and sought to add aspects of what folklorists call "expressive culture" to the category:

> The term 'cultural resources' might also be used to describe the 'intangible elements of our cultural heritage' such as language, myth, arts, skills, songs and dance. Such an expansion of the definition might well be appropriate because the application of cultural resources management to Indian concerns involves the preservation of living cultures" [Suagee 1982:16–17].

Due to the unusual multi-tribal responsibilities of this project, and the need for multiple research strategies in order to compensate for the long interrupted flow of data about Indians and the park, we are adopting the more expanded definition of "cultural" or "ethnographic" resources.

Interdisciplinary Research in Yellowstone National Park

The many different kinds of sources of data behind our diachronic investigation into the multiple Indian relationships with Yellowstone National Park have required us to adopt an interdisciplinary perspective. Blending field and archival research, our chapters have incorporated data, with differential emphases, which derives from work primarily within four disciplines, (1) Cultural Anthropology and Ethnography, (2) American History, (3) North American Archaeology, and (4) Folklore.

First, our study has been *Ethnographic* in that we have reviewed the published literature and, wherever possible, tracked down the unpublished field notes produced by scholars who conducted fieldwork among the ten major tribes with cultural or historical associations to the Yellowstone Valley ecosystem.

Second, our study has been *Ethnohistoric* as well, since a great deal of our knowledge of Indian activities and beliefs related to the park springs from documents generated by chroniclers with a greater interest in the historical rather than in the cultural implications of their material. This leaves to latter-day ethnohistorians the task of combing through this material to weigh whatever it may contain regarding Indian life-ways and world-views.

Thirdly, this supposedly "ethnographic" study has by necessity trespassed into the precontact time-frame normally reserved to *Archaeology*. It must include such data since the full role, chronological depth and geographical knowledge of the park by at least two of the major cultural groups covered by this report—the Shoshone and the Sheep Eaters—have highly presumptive linguistic and other affiliations with precontact populations who moved in and out of the region.

Finally, our study has also had to be *Folkloristic*, in that sifting through the wide and usually uncontextualized range of native narratives has required some basic knowledge of narrative traditions, characteristic themes and motifs associated with Indian groups who have been linked to the Yellowstone region.

Let us briefly review the history of these four areas of data within the context of cultural documentation on Yellowstone National Park and environs.

Ethnography and Yellowstone National Park

None of the American ethnographers from America's so-called "Golden Age of Anthropology," roughly covering the 1890–1935 period, centered their research within the greater Yellowstone Plateau. Nor did any of these fieldworkers seize the opportunity to work with the Sheep Eaters before or after they were pressured to evacuate the new park. During the park's emergent years, when efforts intensified to discourage Indians from trespassing over the park's new boundaries, no scholars staked out the plateau as a center for salvaging old travel routes or reconstructing Indian hunting, foraging or other cultural practices in the Yellowstone heartland.

However, a handful of earlier, pioneering scholars did collect ethnographic data from tribes in the wider neighborhood of the Plains, Plateau and Great Basin culture areas. Under government sponsorship, John Wesley Powell recorded aspects of cultural life from the Great Basin cousins of the Numic-speaking Shoshone, James Mooney worked with the Kiowa on their transformation from a northern to a southern Plains people, and James Teit collected folklore and other material among various Salishan peoples of the Plateau. But the self-consciously "scientific" recording of the social worlds of the region had to await the next, second generation of scholars who dispersed throughout the Plains around the turn of the century. Unlike most of their forbears, this was not a group of professionals in other walks of life—former military men, natural scientists or surveyors—who had been drawn to documenting Indian societies out of a sense of concern for their plight or because they admired their lifestyle.

Schooled by the founder-teachers of the emergent discipline of anthropology like Franz Boas and Livingston Farrand at Columbia University, and often closely allied with New York's Museum of Natural History, this new cadre of fieldworkers were united under the banner of "salvage ethnography"—the ambitious, urgent project

of talking with Indian old timers about the days not so long before when their peoples freely observed their traditions, foraged for wild plants, hunted buffalo and raided each other, before such data was lost for good. As Margaret Mead and Ruth L. Bunzel characterized this generation of schooled fieldworkers such as Alfred Kroeber who worked among the Shoshone, Robert H. Lowie who worked among the Crow, and Clark Wissler who worked among the Blackfeet:

> They were professional anthropologists, trained in methods of collecting and evaluating data. They were not interested in Indians *qua* Indians; their interests were much broader. They were concerned with varieties of man on earth, and Indians were one type of man. They sometimes spoke of the world of primitive men as their "laboratory." However, they were not quite so detached as they pretended to be; each one of them would defend the special excellence of "his" tribe [Mead and Bunzel 1960:340].

As with any particular cohort, these scholars also shared their blind spots. While visiting the newly established reservations to seek old warriors who often were happy for the audience, they largely ignored women's lives, overlooked tensions over the impositions of the government's reservation regimen, disregarded the younger Indian generation as already unaware of their heritage, and failed to record the detailed geographical knowledge of their native consultants. Indeed, they rarely credited the religious formulators and tribal historians of the peoples they visited with the ability to understand and articulate their own theories of tribal philosophy or religion. In these "informants," instead, they largely saw suppliers of facts which it was their responsibility to fit into the theories of the day. Their theoretical slant towards the pre-contact development of and interactions between these specific Indian societies was known as "historical particularism," as championed by the highly influential giant of American scientific anthropology, Franz Boas. This viewpoint held that for reconstructing the past of peoples without archived accounts and documents, comparisons must be drawn from neighboring regions where historical contact could be substantiated. But to make such careful comparisons some kind of logic, no matter how clumsy, had to be devised for characterizing such "areas" in the first place.

When Clark Wissler succeeded Franz Boas as curator of New York's Museum of Natural History in 1905 he also faced this dilemma: how to arrange the museum's exhibits in a way which did not follow the pre-Boasian theory that, as described in 19th century scholar Lewis Henry Morgan's famous phrase, all American Indian cultures has passed through an identical series of evolutionary steps "from savagery to civilization." Instead, Wissler came up with the notion of the "Culture Area," which argued that when specific Indian tribes lived near each other in a generally similar geographical zone and shared many more features with each other that were different from those in an adjoining geographical zone they could be said to constitute a particular "culture area."

Two additional concepts also sprang out of Wissler's concept of the "Culture Area." The first was the proposition that within each area was a "center" where the most characteristic people in that region had best exhibited and epitomized the diagnostic features of that culture area. Although none of Wissler's era appreciated it at the time, there also appears to have been a localized, high-altitude adaptation to the micro-habitat of the Yellowstone highlands which stood sufficiently apart to be singled out on its own and to fit this role in so far as this unusual region was concerned—the Sheep Eaters. A second offshoot of the culture area concept was the "age-area" idea, which proposed that this cultural "center" would also be the generative center for the diagnostic traits of its culture area, and that like a stone dropping into water, they would flow like ripples ever outward. This would also suggest that those traits which diffused the widest were probably the region's oldest—which, for the Plains culture area, for instance, would mean such cultural features as a form of women's dress, Sun Dancing, or the use of medicine bundles.

With all the population losses and tribal consolidations and relocations of the late 19th century, testing these sorts of secondary propositions in the Plains, Plateau or Great Basin was difficult at best, although one of Boas' students named Leslie Spier made a noble effort in his comparative study of

the Plains Indian Sun Dance. But in a small region like Yellowstone National Park, whose only full-time native inhabitants were being absorbed into the Wind River and Fort Hall reservation communities at this time, and whose authorities were actively discouraging all other Indians from leaving their reservations and maintaining the park as off-limits, such a study was never even considered. So whatever direct contributions our overview contains about the Yellowstone region from this crew of early scholars remains highly peripheral to their main focus, and consists of fragmentary asides about the Yellowstone gleaned from the margins of their published works and field notes. Furthermore, the park was and is something of an anomalous cultural world in that, as already stated, it lies at this juncture of those three great culture area traditions. So not surprisingly our following chapters will contain glimpses and samples of each of the Great Basin, Plateau and Plains world-views and cultural traits.

Of this group of foundational fieldworkers probably Robert H. Lowie (1883–1957) is the most relevant to the present study, for he worked among Shoshoneans to the south and west of Yellowstone National Park, as well as among the Crow to the east. A student of both Boas and Kroeber, his efforts went into assembling data but not into advancing over-arching theories. This was particularly apparent with Lowie's long-term investment in the culture of the Crow Indians, whose southern division, the Mountain Crow, enjoyed considerable interaction with the Yellowstone National Park ecosystem. Thus his investigations offer rich but uncoordinated data on the tribes who hunted or lived along the eastern, southern and western portions of the park. Lowie's work also exemplified his era, which saw the possibilities for collecting linguistic and social data quickly vanishing before the onslaughts of assimilation and modern life. For that reason these mostly-male scholars concentrated on "memory culture" as it could be retrieved through interviews with old warriors who still retained knowledge of the pre-reservations days of the 19th century. Among other scholars of Lowie's general generation working under the same general guidelines and with western tribes historically associated with Yellowstone National Park were Clark Wissler among the Blackfeet, Alfred Kroeber among the Arapaho and Verne F. Ray in the Plateau.

Working among the Blackfeet and Flathead, the documentation by ethnographers John C. Ewers and Claude Schaeffer understandably lacked many references to Yellowstone National Park, reflecting the lessened familiarity of these Blackfeet, Salish and Kootenai peoples with the region. Aside from contributions by John C. Ewers to the record of long-distance travels of the Blackfeet (1955, 1958), we were fortunate in obtaining from the Kootenai-Salish Culture Committee the field notes of Claude Schaeffer who elicited from Flathead elders a geographically specific sense of their old trail system that led them southward. Yet the historical emphases of this next generation of scholars like Ewers, Schaeffer, and Robert F. and Yolanda Murphy working on settlement patterns of Northern Shoshones and Bannocks (Murphy and Murphy 1960) was a welcome turn from the earlier synchronic studies. In this regard one must also cite the contributions of Swedish anthropologist Sven Liljeblad, who between 1940 and 1983 collected linguistic, religious and historical material almost exclusively among the Shoshone-Bannock of Idaho (Liljeblad 1972).

Often trained in sub-specialities of anthropology such as religion, folklore or linguistics, the efforts of some of the same or ensuing generation turned closer to the Yellowstone region. They were distinguished by being driven less to produce "laundry list" salvage ethnographies than by a tendency to address specific "problems" or "issues." An important fieldworker whose work among the eastern Shoshone touched on many issues related to the park's Indian history, for instance, was Demitri Boris Shimkin (1916–1992). A pupil of Robert Lowie, Shimkin's dissertation research on the Wind River Reservation starting in 1937 led to highly detailed publications devoted to the particular issues of ethnopsychology, ethnogeography, literary forms, and the Sun Dance (Shimkin 1939, 1947a, 1947b, 1947c, 1953). Going on to participate in the ethnographic field schools led by Warren d'Azevedo in the 1960s within the Great Basin native communities, Shimkin continued his forays into Shoshonean ethnography, studying social-cultural persistence among the Carson River people of Nevada (with Russell M. Reid (1970)

and Shoshonean linguistics (1980).

In marked contrast to the ahistorical tendencies of much Golden Age fieldwork, scholars of this later period who studied tribes with historical relations to Yellowstone National Park turned to cultural expressions of social changes during the reservation period. For instance, Joseph G. Jorgenson looked at the inter-reservation network responsible for the resurgence of the Sun Dance within the Shoshonean world, interpreting this religious phenomenon as a modern "redemptive" movement (Jorgenson 1972). This Sun Dance movement continues to grow and change today on the Wind River, Fort Hall, Crow Indian and other reservations. Providing a tighter ethnographic focus on one portion of this Sun Dance network, Fred W. Voget was not intimidated by Lowie's voluminous groundwork on the Crow from retracing how their modern-day Sun Dance was borrowed in 1941 from the Wind River Shoshone, and how it still flourishes (Voget 1984). Meanwhile, Deward E. Walker turned from "traditional" religious expression to study the factionalizing consequences of native Christianity among Idaho's Nez Perce (Walker 1985), while Omer C. Stewart collated a lifetime's worth of data from Yellowstone Plateau-associated tribes in his capstone history of the revitalizing rituals of the pan-Indian Native American Church (Stewart 1987). But both Walker and Stewart would also devote their ethnographic and ethnohistorical expertise to other park-linked tribes as well, with Stewart providing a useful unscrambling of conflicting assessments of Bannock territoriality (1970), and Walker arguing that with the horse the Shoshone-Bannock connection constituted a virtual confederation (Walker 1993a, 1993b).

As for casting a theoretical net over any ethnographic facts about Indians and Yellowstone, however, it is interesting that the scholar whose work most exclusively targeted the park was neither an American nor a trained anthropologist. In 1948 a young Swedish researcher schooled in history of religions named Åke Hultkrantz began his field studies with a five-week sojourn among the Wind River Shoshone, and would return intermittently for short stays until 1958. Despite his scattered fieldwork, Hultkrantz' prodigious output, his masterful bibliographic range and his inclinations as an ethnohistorian and summarizer of existing literature make him the most prolific scholar where Yellowstone National Park Indians are concerned (Hultkrantz 1956, 1958, 1961a, 1961b, 1968a, 1968b, 1974). At the same time, some of Hultkrantz' theoretical orientations may have inhibited fuller appreciation of the roles of Indians in the Yellowstone Basin region (1954, 1979). Until the still-unpublished study of graduate student Joseph Weixelman (1992), for instance, no one seriously challenged Hultkrantz' thesis about the "taboo" nature of Indian feelings about the park's thermal field. Yet Hultkrantz must also be applauded for recognizing that Sheep Eater descendants had not simply vanished, and he salvaged many of their traditions through interviews within the Sage Creek enclave of traditional Indians on the Wind River Reservation (summarized in Hultkrantz 1966–67, 1970b, 1981a).

Ethnohistory and Yellowstone National Park

Without necessarily broadcasting the fact, the work of numerous scholars and writers on Yellowstone National Park has inevitably been "ethnohistorical." This often misunderstood approach simply implies, in so far as scholarly goals related to Plains Indians have been concerned, nothing more complicated than the "intent to produce a cultural and/or historical study of an ethnic group as a whole (or a study of some aspect of that culture or history) either at a particular point in time or through a period of years that may extend into centuries" (Wedel and DeMallie 1980:110). As to how this ethnohistorical approach is actually put into practice, the job of historicizing an ethnic group faces its greatest methodological challenge when that group is a preindustrial, small-scale society which transmits its cultural knowledge from generation to generation primarily through *oral* traditions rather than by written documents and records.

Thus the "ethnohistorical" approach entails a sort of cultural translation. First one must search through the archives and libraries of one cultural group, which in contexts such as that of Indian-white relations usually means the writings and records of the "dominant" society, in order to find

glimpses of the pasts of other cultural groups. This also requires that in addition to the customary scrutiny and standards which regular historians apply to historical or archival materials in order to ascertain their validity, the ethnohistorian must be grounded in anthropological principles and the relevant ethnographic literature in order to evaluate the accuracy and social import of earlier observations, often made by amateurs, in order to interpret them within that other culture's contexts.

Taking an ethnohistorical approach to Indians and Yellowstone National Park has called for constantly shifting back and forth between the library and the field, striving to create more three-dimensional portraits of Indian societies "in time" by compiling and cross-checking archival and ethnographic data. Today this task has been raised to an even higher level of complexity, as scholars have come to realize that just because an ethnic group originates from a non-literate tradition does not mean it lacks its own sense of history or expressive modes for transmitting historical knowledge. To accurately identify and interpret the numerous non-Western ways of "doing history" entails the skills of a type of researcher whom Raymond Fogelson has dubbed, only half jokingly, as a "ethno-ethnohistorian" (Fogelson 1974). By this awkward term Fogelson means a scholar whose knowledge of the communicative traditions of particular non-Western, non-literate societies is sufficiently deep to allow them to detect not only when and what that society is remembering of its collective historical experience, but equally important, *why* it chooses to remember certain things in particular ways. Since for any culture, it is the choice of what constitutes a historical occurrence that illuminates its priorities and its identity, this deeper approach lets us better appreciate the native point of view. Relating this to Yellowstone National Park material, anthropologist Sven Liljeblad found the way that Shoshones blended the cultural and historical aspects of their past "truly astounding," and he provided the following example:

> There was, for instance, the old man who described quite accurately and in great detail the complicated manufacture of a sinew-backed bow, and who in the next minute declared that the flint arrowheads picked up by people in the vicinity were made by *nynymbi*, the dwarf who dwells in the mountains. There were those who remembered and could name all camping places along the trail —four hundred miles in length—to the buffalo-hunting grounds in Montana, but who were unable to give even an approximate date for the cessation of these expeditions, even though it occurred in his own lifetime [Liljeblad 1971:7].

But it took awhile for American anthropologists to interweave any of these historical perspectives, from either Anglo or Indian points-of-view, into their tribal profiles. As William Fenton has written regarding most of the early 20th century ethnographers working on ethnic groups associated with Yellowstone National Park, "The men on [Clark] Wissler's team proceeded as if historical sources were not available to them, and treated Plains culture in flat perspective" (Fenton 1952:329). Although Robert Lowie, one of "Wissler's team" who would produce over 2,000 printed pages on one of Yellowstone's major user tribes—the Crow—himself confessed that early fur trappers and Indian traders caught data he had missed, in his own work Lowie actually ignored all but the most easily accessible archival documents and primary sources which mentioned the tribe. Lending a tremendous boost to ethnohistorical studies of Indian groups connected to Yellowstone National Park and elsewhere however, was the passage by the U.S. Congress, in 1946, of the Indian Claims Commission Act.

The aim of this legislation was to provide a standardized procedure for processing the accumulating grievances of Indian groups over past inequities, such as the inadequate territorial surveys and unfair cost assessments which were part of the treaty-making process. By 1951 about 850 claims had been filed with the Commission, and were either dismissed, decided in favor of tribes, or proceeded to trial, and the Act was extended to handle a flood of new claims. Each of these cases, however, called for fresh research, for the careful preparation of expert testimony, and for the submission of comprehensive formal reports. Because they concerned such subjects as "how rights to property and power were determined within a group and the question of how Indians originally

used the land," a host of anthropologists, historians and other scholars were hired to write tribal summaries with information on political structure, kinship and property inheritance rights, range of food-gathering activities and attempted to assess and reconcile the widest range of primary sources (Horr 1874:10). Now descriptions rendered by the Lewis and Clark expedition, for instance, which encountered the Northern Shoshone in 1805 and described their subsistence practices, dress style and territorial and political organization, could add to fuller reconstruction of aboriginal life (Biddle 1962:221–263). The Claims Commission reports dealing with park-related groups included the Crow (Plummer 1974), the Shoshone (Malouf and Hultkrantz 1974) and the Nez Perce (Chalfant and Ray 1974).

Soon academia formally recognized this wave of government-funded research by using the term *Ethnohistory* more freely and, in 1952, launching a major journal by that name. According to folklorist Richard Dorson, "The function of ethnohistory so conceived is to provide a documentary history of the concealed and official inarticulate ethnic groups in American history" (Dorson 1961c:17), and Dorson broadened its subject matter to include traditions which may have questionable basis in historical fact but which exposed the attitudes of disenfranchised peoples. For historian Wilcomb Washburn a less political definition was preferred, in which the task of ethnohistory was, "original research in the documentary history of the culture and movements of primitive peoples, and related problems of broader scope," and Washburn explained that "It may be that the historian is too conscious of historical change, the ethnologist too little. It may also be true that the historian is too little aware of the social organization of the peoples he studies...Both could profit from greater factual knowledge of the past, and it is in this area that the ethnohistorian, from whatever discipline he may come, is expanding our horizons" (Washburn 1961:31, 40–41). Finally, as we discovered when contextualizing the work of Hultkrantz and others on Yellowstone National Park-connected tribes, anthropologist Nancy O. Lurie warns us that "even yesterday's ethnography sometimes becomes today's historical document requiring special assessments and tests of validity" (Lurie 1961:89).

But it took awhile for Yellowstone National Park scholars to take Indians society seriously and to try the ethnohistorical mode. Virtually ignored by Chittenden (1895), neither were Beal (1949) nor Haines (1996) equipped or much interested in teasing out those socio-cultural realities that lurked behind the Indian observations of Lewis and Clark, Osborne Russell or the records left by military surveyors. After dispensing with Indians in the obligatory early chapters of their books they quickly turned to ecological and administrative developments in park history, with a digression for the seemingly aberrant and sensational Nez Perce intrusion of 1877. Not until the work of Åke Hultkrantz, beginning in the 1950s (1957, 1961b), was there a serious attempt to blend social, historical and religious data on the park's Indians, and then he only featured the Shoshoneans and privileged their attitudes towards the geyser field. Aside from the noble efforts of Hultkrantz and the amateur historian David Dominick (1964) to reconstruct Sheep Eater culture-history, it is surprising that no scholars have turned over the park material until the recent spadework by University of California historian Mark Spence, for whom Yellowstone is one of three object lessons in a dissertation (1996a) about national parks (Yosemite, Glacier and Yellowstone) and American Indians.

Archaeology and Yellowstone National Park

The most immediate distinction of archaeological research in Yellowstone National Park is the unusual time-depth of archaeological awareness here, which is attributable to the antiquarian interests of the park's second superintendent of Yellowstone, Philetus Norris. As early as 1875, Norris (1880a) was collecting Indian artifacts and describing archaeological sites in the region along the Yellowstone River in Montana between Fort Ellis and the park, and throughout his administration Norris continued to catalog the area's old Indian sites and record its artifacts (Norris 1877, 1879, 1880b, 1881a, 1881b).

During the latter quarter of the 19th century Norris's appreciation for archaeology was shared

by members of early scientific expeditions in the West. Captain William A. Jones, for example, exploring for the United States Army Corps of Engineers, visited Yellowstone National Park in the summer of 1873. In his travels across Wyoming, Jones (1875) also collected Indian artifacts and reported the significance of Indian remains. It was Jones who reported the favored use of the old stone scraping tools or "teshoas" among the Shoshone women for processing hides and the significance of Yellowstone National Park obsidian in the manufacture of artifacts.

Exploring the headwaters of the Jefferson River in Montana within a few miles of Yellowstone National Park, J. W. Brower, a Minnesota surveyor who sought his fame through searching for the sources of rivers, found an archaeological site where he collected obsidian knives and spear points. In his journal, he pondered the makers of these ancient tools and contemplated that one day we would find evidence for evolving humans, perhaps the oldest in the World, on the North American continent:

> The endeavors of ethnologic students...utterly fail to determine any correct identification of the original stocks whence the Indian nations of America came, and the best evidence comes from the Indians themselves— "Spontaneous Man, who sprang from the bosom of the earth."
>
> The land of America has existed for a much greater time than 500,000 centuries, originally producing plant and animal life...Who can truthfully assert that all nations of men sprang from one original parentage, or that the Indians of America did not proceed from the soil of the Western Hemisphere? If America has the oldest land, why not the oldest race of men [Brower 1897:131]?

Although we have yet to find any evidence for human evolution in the Western Hemisphere prior to modern *Homo sapiens*, Brower's reflections remind us how strongly these early scientists were influenced by the writings and theories of Charles Darwin, E. B. Tylor and L. H. Morgan. While the treatises of Darwin were directed toward biological evolution, Tylor and Morgan focused on culture change in a paradigm known as "unilineal evolution," the theoretical scheme in which all human cultures were thought to progress through the same stages of Savagery to Barbarism to Civilization, with common features of material culture such as tools and housetypes associated with each stage. In his orders to the construction crews who were building Yellowstone's first roadways Norris alludes to his awareness of this theory and its categorical distinctions between "civilized" and earlier peoples:

> As all civilized nations are now actively pushing explorations and researches for evidences of prehistoric peoples, careful scrutiny is required of all material handled in excavations and all arrow, spear, or lance heads, stone axes, and knives, or other weapons, utensils or ornaments; in short, all such objects of interest are to be regularly retained and turned over daily to the officer in charge of each party for transmittal to the National Museum in Washington [Norris 1881b:7].

This official alert to his staff brought Norris numerous artifacts which he carefully packed and shipped to the Smithsonian Institution. They included hundreds of projectile points and other stone cutting and scraping tools, partial and complete steatite pots, an atlatl weight, and a stone plummet. In the fifth annual report for his tenure as superintendent, Norris (1881b) described some of these artifacts together with pen and ink illustrations.

In a visit to the Smithsonian Institution in August 1996, Loendorf found the artifacts sent by Norris as well as many more. Using the information on the artifact donor cards it is possible to gain some information regarding the origin of the artifacts. For example, Arnold Hague found a steatite pot and other chipped stone artifacts while he was doing geological research in the mountains along the eastern border of the park and delivered them to the Smithsonian for safe-keeping. When W. Hallett Philips studied park administration at Yellowstone in 1885 some of his time must have gone into hunting for Indian artifacts because several dozen stone tools at the Smithsonian list him

as donor. In 1908 S.V. Proudfit, an assistant commissioner for the U.S. Land Department who was in Yellowstone surveying boundaries, added more than a hundred Yellowstone National Park artifacts to the Smithsonian collections, many from materials gathered by Edward Fish, an assistant superintendent in the park.

Throughout this early antiquarian period, Obsidian Cliff was the best known site in the park, in part because the first road through the park passed underneath the cliff. But curiously enough, most of the artifacts donated to the Smithsonian came from other site locations in the park which probably reflects the prevailing interest in Obsidian Cliff as a geological phenomena rather than an archaeological site.

Over the first half of the 20th century artifact collecting seems to have remained a sidelight for Yellowstone National Park employees, as Merrill Beal writes:

> Experienced rangers who have reported these finds [Indian artifacts] to the author include David deL Condon, Lee L. Coleman, John W. Jay, John Bauman, Rudolf L. Grimm, Wayne Replogle, Lowell G. Biddulph, George Marler, and William Sanborn [Beal 1949:87].

Their artifacts were usually donated to the Mammoth Visitor Center museum for curation, and at least two of these individuals wrote about archaeological sites in the park. David Condon (1949) described an Indian burial which turned up during construction of a pipeline near Fishing Bridge while Wayne Replogle (1956) produced an important monograph on the Bannock Trail System through Yellowstone National Park.

Although there were occasional visits to the park by trained archaeologists who reported their discoveries on site forms and produced one published account (Shippee 1971), it was Carling Malouf of the University of Montana who directed the first funded research in 1958 (Malouf 1965). Archaeologists working with Malouf located and evaluated well-known sites like the Lava Creek wickiups and locations subject to high visitor use such as the Fishing Bridge area (Hoffman 1958). At Malouf's request Dee Taylor of the University of Montana took over the direction of the survey in 1959; two years later his field supervisor, Jacob Hoffman, compiled their findings for a master of arts thesis. More than ninety years after the park was founded, their two-year survey was summarized by Taylor et al. (1964) in what would become the first professional study on the prehistory of Yellowstone National Park.

Taylor followed a culture-historical paradigm which described and placed the recovered artifacts within a temporal and spatial framework. Even though many locations were not visited by his crews, 78 of the 195 sites reported through the research had previously been identified by Replogle during his reconstruction of the Bannock Trail System. An additional 53 sites were partially recorded by park naturalists with surface collections placed in the Mammoth Visitor Center museum (Taylor et al. 1964). All in all, 180 of the sites (92%) were surface scatters of chipped stone detritus with no other defining characteristics, 7 (4%) exhibited tipi rings on their surface, 4 (2%) were areas where chipped stone had been quarried, 2 (1%) were wickiup sites, while the remainder consisted of a single game drive site and a site with ceramics and chipped stone debris on the surface. Their age ranged from the late Paleo-Indian Period, dating to some 8000 to 9000 years before the present, to the still-standing wickiup structures which were almost certainly constructed during the Historic Period. Yet how easily such sites could be overlooked was recently evoked by the veteran Yellowstone chronicler, Paul Schullery:

> A few years ago I was scanning the hills above a meadow near Mammoth Hot Springs. I was looking for grizzly bears, but along a low slope on one side of a small drainage that emptied out into the meadow, two parallel rows of boulders caught my eye. Ranging in size from one to several feet across, the boulders ran downhill in lines so straight and perfect that there could be no doubt they were put there by humans. They had clearly been there a very long time, but nobody, not even the archeologists and historians I later asked, had noticed them. I took an archeologist to see them, just to confirm my suspicion, but the purpose of the boulder lines was pretty obvious to me. Crouching behind them, a hunter would have been well concealed from elk, deer, or bison as they descended

through the narrow draw and out onto the meadow on their way to the nearest standing water.

I started spending time in that meadow in 1972, and I glassed those slopes countless times looking for bears, but it took me eighteen years to notice those rocks [Schullery 1997:6].

The early 1960s opened a new era in the archaeology of Yellowstone National Park, when the Chief Naturalist assigned Aubrey L. Haines the task of preparing base maps on archaeology and history which were required for the park's master plan. Frustrated because the University of Montana study was not yet available, and in the absence of any other site records, Haines launched his own research program. In one phase he planned to visit artifact collectors, and take notes, photographs, and measurements for the important artifacts in their collections; in a second he envisioned survey in areas of the park which had been overlooked by the University of Montana crews.

To begin with, Haines (1963, 1965) recorded artifacts that had been found by hunters, guides and seasonal employees in some extremely remote and high-altitude regions outside the northern boundary of the park. A significant number of these artifacts were well-known "types" which archaeologists associated with Paleo-Indian societies dating back to 7000 to 9000 years ago when the mountains still retained remnant of glaciers. Other stone tools were dated to the altithermal, a hot, dry climatic period that followed the last major glaciers. Aside from the fact that archaeologists were surprised there were any artifacts at all in the mountains above timberline, two hypotheses that are still debated today were derived from these findings. One was the idea that the high mountain peaks were free of glaciers and therefore could serve as routes for travel for Paleo-Indians; the other was the possibility that the hot and dry climate of post-glacial times served to create a "sanctuary or a retreat" in the cooler, moist mountain region.

While these discoveries were highly significant, it was the other phase of Haines' research, the archaeological survey, that would remain most meaningful in terms of the Yellowstone National Park's Indian history. For Haines initiated the first research into the park's past which was premised on a settlement-and-subsistence paradigm. As he envisioned it, this two-fold survey would explore areas not covered by the University of Montana including:

> ...the Upper Lamar River drainage (mountainous, difficult country of great significance, I believe, as a hunting area...), and the Yankee Jim Canyon to Gardiner basin, which provided these peoples, and possibly earlier ones, with a wintering-ground of great importance. The two are interlocking parts of the puzzle [Haines memorandum 1962:1, Haines file, Yellowstone National Park Archives, Mammoth].

His proposed research hoped to locate any sites that represented the prehistoric seasonal use of the park, using a theoretical stance known in America as "settlement archaeology." Speculating that the mountain tops served as summer habitat while the lower river courses were favored for winter use, Haines expected to find temporary campsites, projectile points and other hunting tools in the Upper Lamar drainage with more permanent habitation sites featuring fire remains associated with winter encampments likely in the Yankee Jim Canyon to Gardiner area.

Lacking support from the National Park Service, Haines enlisted members of the Billings Archaeological Society for a field crew and set out to undertake the survey of Miller Creek area in the Upper Lamar drainage. Although his expedition did not reach all of its proposed locations, they were successful in finding thirty-four sites (Haines 1961). When Haines and his assistants not only made surface collections but undertook a test excavation at a site near the mouth of Miller Creek, the work drew the attention of Paul Beaubian, the Region Two archaeologist for the National Park Service. According to the Antiquities Act of 1906, the legality of collecting surface artifacts on federal lands was debatable. In practice, however, because the National Park Service issued Antiquities Permits, they were usually not required for government employees who collected surface artifacts in national parks. In fact, as outlined in the following memorandum from Superintendent Lemuel Garrison to the maintenance employees,

surface collecting was actually encouraged in Yellowstone National Park:

> I wish all employees whose daily work is out-of-doors to aid in the recovery of Indian artifacts for future museum use. Employees finding arrow points, stone knives, scrapers, axes or mauls, or fragments of stone or pottery vessels, or other objects of Indian manufacture, within the Park, should send such items to the Museum Curator at Mammoth [Garrison, Feb. 16, 1962; Haines file Yellowstone National Park Archives, Mammoth].

But excavation was a different matter. All archaeologists were required to obtain Antiquities Permits and file a research plan before undertaking excavations on federal lands. Even though Haines had employed extremely careful techniques and produced a report on his findings, when he got wind of this work, Beaubien wrote:

> Those representing the Billings Archeological Society have no academic training which would qualify them to conduct archeological excavations. I think any digging by them should be stopped to avoid criticism of the Service [Beaubien to Haines March 8, 1962; Haines file, Yellowstone National Park Archives, Mammoth].

Beaubien went on to suggest that archaeologists at the University of Montana might be available to assist in excavation projects. Unfortunately the distance between the University of Montana and Yellowstone National Park precluded weekend and other short-term expeditions, and the absence of trained archaeologists at other locations in Montana made it difficult to get any professional guidance. Haines continued to undertake archaeological projects outside the park, and in November 1962 he reported on his findings from the important Rigler Bluffs site located along the Yellowstone River near the town of Corwin Springs, Montana (Haines 1966).

This enterprising research had an impact on future archaeology in Yellowstone National Park. As noted above, Haines' work was the first application of the "settlement pattern" approach in the area. It also caused the archaeological community to look seriously at prehistoric sites in high elevations. From now on it was impossible for regional archaeologists to ignore the abundance and significance of the Indian remains in Yellowstone National Park and the surrounding mountains. Following Haines' work, two University of Montana graduate students shortly completed archaeological projects relevant to the park. On the upper Yellowstone River George Arthur (1966) conducted an archaeological survey, and although his research was not directly within the park, he recorded significant sites which Haines had earmarked as significant just to the south in the vicinity of Gardiner, Montana. At the same time Lewis Napton (1966) completed a complementary survey that included the upper reaches of the Gallatin River. In the process, Napton recorded and test excavated a wickiup site, 24YE301, on the western border of Yellowstone National Park. Both of the survey projects produced similar site types, within the same time range, as those reported from inside the park, and thereby verified a 9,000- to 10,000-year record of human use in the mountainous region of southern Montana.

Meanwhile a graduate student at the University of Calgary, Alberta, Larry Lahren, took a serious look at the Myers-Hindman well-stratified site near Livingston, Montana. His excavations turned up evidence for more than 9000 years of intermittent use, producing a chronological profile against which to compare other sites on the upper Yellowstone (Lahren 1971). Yet it was in the Shoshone River canyon, a few miles east of Yellowstone National Park, that Wilfred Husted of the Smithsonian Institution River Basin Surveys was excavating the most significant archaeological site to be found in the area. Named Mummy Cave for the presence of a mummified human burial in an upper cultural layer, the site contained extremely good stratigraphy with 36 separate cultural levels ranging in age from 9500 years ago until the Historic Period (Wedel, Husted and Moss 1968; Husted and Edgar 1978; McCracken et al. 1978). In addition to the large numbers of projectile points that provided chronological markers, the cave deposits had ample amounts of charcoal for radiocarbon dates. For the first time, the surface artifacts collected by Aubrey Haines and many others in the Yellowstone National Park region could be assigned ages with confidence.

A major role in the new archaeological interest in high altitude Indian locations was played by George Frison of the University of Wyoming. Among his Yellowstone-linked discoveries was an open-air camp about twenty-five miles east of the park known as the Dead Indian Creek site. Found in the Sunlight Basin, an intermontane region about 6,500 feet in elevation that is surrounded by higher mountains of the Absaroka Range, the site contained a half-dozen mule deer skulls with the antlers still attached that were believed to be arranged in a ceremonial pattern (Frison 1978:270–271, 349–350). Other bones from large mammals represent bighorn sheep and elk while grinding slabs and manos for processing plants were also recovered. Although it was not recognized at first, Frison (1991:100) now believes that a feature on the site likely represents a pit house, similar to others which have been turned up over past decades in nearby Wyoming basins. The Dead Indian Creek site was radiocarbon dated between 4200 and 4500 years before the present. The McKean-type projectile points which were found at the site are consistent with this date. Another fascinating characteristic about this location site is the estimation that, based on tooth eruption patterns in the mandibles, most of these deer were hunted between October and March. This strongly suggests that even though it is to be found in the mountains at a high elevation, the site's occupants lived there during the winter. Considering the evidence, the remains at the Dead Indian Creek site tell a remarkable story of a group of McKean-period hunters who lived and flourished in these mountains more than four thousand years ago on mule deer, elk and bighorn sheep. Furthermore they appear to have processed collected seeds, possibly making flour to thicken soup or to bake a mealy, unleavened bread, and they survived through the winter at an elevation where temperatures can drop to life threatening lows.

Whether the initial discoveries of Aubrey L. Haines in the early 1960s directly prompted others to begin looking for sites in the region is debatable, because during this time archaeology was enjoying popularity as a profession and more trained archaeologists were on the lookout for sites. Nonetheless it must not be forgotten that it was Haines who first reported the large number of significant archaeological sites in the high mountains surrounding Yellowstone National Park. Curiously the actual sites on which he reported have not been re-visited or studied by subsequent scholars.

Throughout this period, serious non-academic archaeologists also conducted research in Yellowstone National Park and the adjacent region. Instead of making surface collections and test excavations, their projects were directed toward taking surface survey notes, making sketch maps and photographing sites. Stuart Conner and Kenneth Feyhl of Billings were leaders in these endeavors, recording a number of sites along the Bannock Trail which included a significant location that featured a rectangular outline of stones thought to weigh down the hem of a wall-tent rather than a circular tipi. Furthermore, they speculated that this tent may have been in use at the time the Bannock were undertaking their final, escape journey through the park in 1878.

In addition, Conner began photographic recording of the year-by-year deterioration at the park's wickiup sites. He also documented the personal artifact collection of Vern Waples, a game warden who collected hundreds of projectile points together with their precise locations in the Beartooth Mountains to the northeast of the park. And together with Waples, Haines, Feyhl, and Conner also collaborated in their personally funded effort to identify more high mountain sites. The legacy left by Conner and his cohorts of duplicate sets of photographs, site reports and memoranda culminated one of the most important archaeological data-salvage programs for the Yellowstone National Park region (Stuart N. Conner, personal files and records).

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 dramatically changed the face of archaeology in the United States. After the 1966 Act, federal land managers were now required to locate and evaluate archaeological and historical sites that might be eligible for inclusion on a National Register of Historic Places. In order to perform these evaluations, it was necessary to first search the project areas for these "cultural resources," and thus funding became available to perform the recording and evaluation of sites. As Yellowstone National Park came into compliance with the Act, the Midwest Archeological Center (an archaeologi-

cal support unit for national parks located in the western states) carried out the mandated archaeological research. Some of the projects were completed by Midwest Center staff archaeologists while others were undertaken through contractual agreements (Lahren 1973; Reeve et al. 1980). Most notable among the latter were projects under the direction of Gary Wright, State University of New York, Albany (SUNY-Albany). Wright also completed research in Grand Teton National Park, concentrating on settlement and subsistence problems. A significant component of the research, culminating in Stuart Reeve's doctoral dissertation at SUNY-Albany, included studies of modern plants, native uses of plants and pollen studies to reconstruct past vegetation communities (Reeve 1986).

After research in Grand Teton, Gary Wright, Susan Bender and Stuart Reeve (1980) presented their thoughts on prehistoric adaptation to the mountain environment. Briefly, Wright and his colleagues suggested that areas like the shores of Jackson Lake served as base camps from which individuals or small groups set on expeditions to high elevations to gather plants, hunt animals and then return to the base camp. They recognized the significance of collecting and processing camas, an important root crop in the Yellowstone National Park region which ripens upslope as the snow melts on the mountainside. They also appreciated the significance of hunting bighorn sheep, an essential big game animal for natives in the region, who also migrate to snow free areas, up and down the mountains, through their annual cycle. Furthermore, they contrasted this model with prehistoric southwest Asia where grasses were collected and wild sheep were hunted but eventually domesticated. They argued that the difference between southwest Asia and Yellowstone National Park is that in the latter, the hunters and gatherers lived in base camps within a short distance of their prey, whether it was camas or sheep. As a result they never experienced the need to "bring" the species home for domestication. In sum, the model has distinct implications for the understanding of domestication, an essential underpinning of sedentary villages.

In 1977, Gary Wright and his colleagues completed research at the Sheep Eater Bridge site (Reeve, Marceau and Wright 1980), a large campsite on the Gardner River in Yellowstone National Park. Obsidian hydration dates for projectile points indicated the site had repeated use from about 7000 years to 400 years before the present. The proximity of the site to resources for hunting, fishing and plant collection suggested it may have been a base camp from which the expeditions went out to obtain these abundant resources.

In later research in Yellowstone National Park under the direction of Gary Wright, Ann Samuelson (1981) made extensive surface collections and completed test excavations at sites in the vicinity of West Thumb. Using the research for a master's thesis at SUNY-Albany, Samuelson concluded that the largest sites represented cultures from late Paleo-Indian times through the Historic period and the primary activities, based on the stone tool assemblages, were hunting and fishing. Studying the flaking debris Samuelson learned that stone tools were re-shaped and sharpened more often than they were manufactured at the sites. A large number of flake tools had notches along one margin, and Samuelson suggests they may have been used in manufacturing fishing equipment. Furthermore she believes, based on circumstantial evidence, that the sites in the West Thumb area were occupied through the winter with the hot springs offering warmth and open areas for grazing animals. According to her model the spawning runs of cutthroat trout in the spring would have also served as an attraction to the area.

In the decade from 1985 to 1995 archaeologists from the Rocky Mountain Regional Office and the Midwest Archaeological Center continued to complete archaeological studies in Yellowstone National Park. Most of the projects were aimed toward finding and evaluating archaeological sites associated with proposed construction projects, but after the 1988 forest fires, important sites were revisited to assess the damage from the fires (Johnson and Lippincott 1989).

The survey and evaluation of the Obsidian Cliff site has been a long-term goal in Yellowstone National Park, and Leslie Davis has been involved with the study of obsidian for its potential in dating as well as source analysis for over thirty-five years (Davis et al. 1995). In recent years, Kenneth Cannon has worked with others to try to identify the multiple sources of obsidian in the Yellowstone

National Park region. Cannon has also completed some blood residue studies, designed to identify the species of animal blood associated with the tool (Cannon 1995).

A few projects have been pursued at sites that are not within construction zones. Lamar Cave, along the Lamar River in the northern part of the park, has been excavated to construct the former animals that lived in the area. Although the site does not contain evidence of human use, thousands of bones from fish, amphibians, reptiles, birds and mammals were recovered in stratified deposits dating through the last 1600 years (Hadly 1990). The findings of archaeologists have also been used to assess the prehistoric range of elk (Kay 1990) and wolves and related prey species (Cannon 1992) in Yellowstone National Park.

Of course, archaeological research has also been undertaken at historic sites in the park. Sites exposed in the 1988 fires were investigated to reveal the remains of the former military administration, park concessionaires, Civilian Conservation Corps projects, road construction crews and tourist camps. During the recent changes in the administrative structure of the National Park Service, the duty station of an NPS Intermountain Field office archaeologist (Ann M. Johnson) was changed to Yellowstone National Park; she thus became the park's first archaeologist on the staff. Johnson continues to do archaeological projects motivated by construction, but for the first time the administrative archaeologist is now within the park itself. Johnson can employ archaeologists under her direction or administer crews through contractual agreements.

The history of archaeology in Yellowstone National Park is nearly as old as the park itself. Throughout this period, however, the pursuit of archaeological research has not been undertaken with the same vigor as other studies such as those associated with animals, plants or geology. As funding has become available in the past two decades, the research has been mostly confined to construction project zones. The most significant archaeological projects, completed outside the tourist areas, have been by avocational archaeologists. It is estimated that approximately 20,000 acres of the 2.2 million acres of Yellowstone National Park has been surveyed for sites and, while more than 1000 sites have been recorded, fewer than 60 have been evaluated through test excavation. It is clear that there are still many significant sites to be discovered in Yellowstone National Park, leading to more sophisticated analyses and altogether new interpretations of precontact Indian life in and around the region.

Folklore and Yellowstone National Park

Of all bodies of cultural data which might clearly reveal or indirectly reflect any American Indian connections to the greater Yellowstone River world, those connected with traditional oral narratives are the hardest to find and often prove most difficult to authenticate. The apparent dearth of such material has prompted park historian Lee H. Whittlesey to maintain that, "Other than for this story [the Northern Shoshone narrative of the Old Woman and the Basket of Fish described in Chapter 4], there is little reliable information or documentation on stories, myths or other folklore that may have been told by Indians about present Yellowstone National Park" (Whittlesey 1996:4).

An obstacle to assessing the meager amount of American Indian folklore purportedly connected to Yellowstone National Park is that one is often faced with the dilemma which folklorist Richard M. Dorson tried to articulate when distinguishing folklore from what he called "fakelore." By this term Dorson meant material that turns up in trademarket compilations which have been so edited, rewritten or invented wholecloth as to become "pseudo-fairy tales of dubious value for the serious student" (Dorson 1983:463). When encountering popular publications of collected stories supposedly Indian in origin Dorson offered the following words of advice:

> A couple of minutes handling the book of collected folklore can suffice to inform probing folklorists as to the general character of the goods they hold. Does the collection contain items of folklore as they were actually told, word for word, or are the tales or materials paraphrased? Are the tellers, singers, and carriers of the folklore—the informants—identified, and not just by names with some personal details?

> And a crucial point, do comparative notes accompany the folklore texts, either as an introductory headnote (preferably) or in an appendix? Are other essential elements of the scholarly apparatus present: tables of motifs and tale types; a classified bibliography, hopefully with descriptive critical comments; a full subject index with a breakdown of key entries; an informative introduction describing fieldwork methods? A few moments of thumbing through the pages will provide answers to these queries, and the folklorist can judge whether the book is a bona fide work worth serious attention, or one to be used cautiously, or to be disregarded [Dorson 1983:463].

The full range of Dorson's three types—*(a)* bona fide, *(b)* use cautiously, or *(c)* disregard entirely—are to be found in the alleged Yellowstone-linked material evaluated during our ethnographic overview.

Various reasons can be proposed for the paucity of Indian oral narratives related to the park. First, the material is out there but researchers have not been particularly interested in seeking it out from either the archives or from winning the trust of American Indians within native communities where it might be elicited. Second, the environmental setting of many traditional narrative genres, such as the classic "folktale," are rarely specific enough to pinpoint a locale. Third, the century and more of forced separation between Indians and the park's habitat lessened the relevance and reinforcement necessary to keep such stories and traditions alive. Perhaps a closer look at the inner constitution of Indian narratives may help us separate authentic fictions from inauthentic facts.

While oral narratives may represent one of the most responsive of all culture forms to changing historical conditions, different types such as myth, folktale and legend display adaptability or conservativeness in different ways. First, we shall take the category of "Myths," which folklorist William Bascom has defined as "prose narratives which, in the society in which they are told, are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past" (Bascom 1984:9). The only clues that one has concerning the authenticity of such prose narratives, for the examples possibly linked to Yellowstone National Park in this project, for instance, are *(a)* the degree to which they are prefaced or concluded with some hint that they are the product of a sequence of narrators, a tribal inheritance which may even have been ritualistically transferred from one storyteller to another within a particular family or social connection, and *(b)* the degree to which one can find other authenticated narratives that either corroborate plot elements (such as characters, actions, place names or geographical features), or narrative themes, which reinforce specific functions of the narrative.

It is their satisfaction of these admittedly loose criteria which we try to address wherever we insert Indian folklore into this overview, which justified for instance, our placing the Kiowa "Heart of the World" narrative and such Crow mythic narratives as the origins of Mud Volcano and Dragon Mouth, into Chapter 1. Their contrasting tribal renditions of the origins of certain thermal features struck us as sufficiently consonant with contextual data on these tribes' own senses of history and mythic events. On the other hand, the myth of world origins presented as told by "The present-day Indian inhabitants of the Yellowstone and Bighorn valleys, whose ancestors hunted bear, buffalo and elk in the Devil's Land now known as Yellowstone Park" in Louis Freeman's *Down the Yellowstone,* seems completely at variance with any Indian theology or folklore of tribes in the region, and almost certainly were invented by the author. It pits a spirit named Nog, the God of fire, against Lob, the god of rains and snows, in a contest over who will control this "most desireable section of Creation." In his wisdom the Great Spirit divides up its tenure into alternating, six-moon intervals controlled by each of them. For millenia, the story goes, their back-and-forth fight has continued, creating in the process beautiful seasons around the year around (Freeman 1922:1–3.) Clearly this faux narrative of ultimate origins fell into the category of myth, if a preposterous one. What presented us with a problem, however, was that some of our material, especially where Chapter 4 was concerned, did not neatly fit into Bascom's generalized categories. As described below, the Plateau narratives that present Coyote's earth-creating deeds seemed as much legitimate folktales as they did legitimate myths.

Leaping over the second narrative form of "folktale" for the moment, the third narrative genre described by Bascom, the "legend," certainly displays a more direct and overt flexibility to historical change. According to Bascom, "Legends are prose narratives which, like myths, are regarded as true by the narrator and his audience, but which are set in a period considered less remote, when the world was much as it is today" (Bascom 1984:9). But again, if any Yellowstone National Park-linked "legendary" narratives are to be taken as issuing from any Indian's mouth, some corroborative or contextual evidence must lend them credibility. In the absence of internal evidence that they possess some formal characteristics of native storytelling practices, and with the lack of any contextual confirmation, it is difficult to assess their authenticity. When considering Yellowstone National Park-connected Indian narratives this is crucial, because if it was not originally Indian-spoken there often may be a hidden agenda behind the storyline which can nonetheless lend valuable insights into non-Indian attitudes at the time.

For instance, one of the earliest questionable Indian legends relating to Yellowstone National Park is found in what is probably the park's first guidebook, Harry J. Norton's 1883 *Wonder-Land Illustrated; or, Horseback Rides through the Yellowstone National Park*. On page 31 there is Norton's early reassurance for prospective visitors to the park that, "Dangers from Indians there is none" (Norton 1873:31). Backing up his certitude of safety is his reference to a pervasive Indian belief that the thermal field is where the Indian's "Manitou displays his anger towards his red children." But then Norton serves up a second Yellowstone National Park-related piece of Indian lore:

> There is another tradition current among the Sioux and Crows to this effect: Some years ago, the Sioux and Crows, then friendly to each other, were en route to the Upper Yellowstone and Madison Rivers, on a hunting expedition, and while encamped in the second canon of the Yellowstone, nearly opposite Emigrant Peak, they were hemmed in at both entrances by the Nez Perces, Bannocks, and Flatheads (then, as now, at war with the Sioux and the Crows), and the whole party massacred. For this reason these tribes never ascend the river above the canyon named for fear of meeting a similar fate [Norton 1873:31]

Aside from the fact that there is no corroboration in physical evidence nor in other Indian narratives from any of these tribes for this particular fight, nor any record of these blood enemies, the Sioux and Crow ever being friendly enough to join hunting forces, as will be seen in Chapter's 1 and 2, there is ethnographic evidence of continuous Crow knowledge of the park, as well as the presence of long-used archaeological sites in the Yellowstone Canyon and Emigrant Peak region. One must suspect that this "legend" has been invented wholecloth or taken from another ethnographic context and distorted to support the positive, secure, non-Indian face which Yellowstone National Park, from its establishment well into the 20th century, has sought to present to potential clientele.

A second example of a highly suspicious "legendary" Indian narrative connected to Yellowstone National Park that we could not justify including in Chapter 1 also features Crow Indians. It is entitled "A Yellowstone Tragedy," and was published in the 1896 by the anthologist Charles M. Skinner with no attribution (Skinner 1896:204–206). It appears drawn from an apparently invented article headlined "A Thrilling Event on the Yellowstone" written by Charles Sunderlee in the *Helena Herald* newspaper for May 18, 1870, which was later picked up uncritically by the otherwise able folklorist, Ella E. Clark, and entitled "Defiance at Yellowstone Falls" for her collection *Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies* (Clark 1966:323–24), and which Aubrey L. Haines justifiably describes as "a gross falsification presented in the romantic manner best termed a Hiawatha treatment" (Haines 1996:339).

Accompanied by an early photograph of Yellowstone Falls, the Skinner rendition opens with the statement that while "the Indians" feared the "hissing and thundering" spirits of the geyser basin, they regarded the mountains at the head of the river as "the crest of the world" from which they could see the landscape where their deceased still lived on in happiness. It takes a bit of time before we learn the tribal identity of these natives, but

eventually we are told that "They loved this land in which their fathers had hunted," and it goes on, "when they were driven back from the settlements the Crows took refuge in what is now Yellowstone Park." But with white soldiers in hot pursuit "intent on avenging acts the red men had committed while suffering under the sting of tyranny and wrong," only a fugitive remnant of the Crow manage to gather at the end of Yellowstone's Grand Canyon. Just below the upper falls they hastily build a raft, and in a final suicide run, they plunge down the canyon. The solders suspend fire and watch "with something like dread" as the Indian "death-chant" is drowned out by the roar of the waters.

Apart from the fact that Crows were well-known for their friendship with whites, there are no substantiating Crow narratives in any scholarly or tribal compilations for this collective withdrawal by any portion of the tribe into the Yellowstone, nor any tribal prototypes for mass suicide, although tales of individual warriors engaging in displays of courageous self-annihilation do occur. One must conclude that the story is either a total invention or a misappropriation of another tribal story, set within or reframed inside of the park. However, the narrative still remains a revealing reflection of some segment of non-Indian attitudes or wishful fantasies about Indians and Yellowstone National Park at the end of the 19th century. It vividly dramatizes one version of the "Vanishing Indian" theme to be addressed in our last chapter, and hence deserves consideration as part of the full cultural history of the park, although without further comparative or contextual data it is useless as a reflection of Indian historical connections to the region.

A third, seemingly spurious, Yellowstone National Park "legend" seems generally to follow the prescription for such fakelore which W.E. Webb defined, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, over a century ago:

> As no remarkable spot in Indian land should ever be brought before the public without an accompanying legend, I shall present one...To make tourists fully appreciate a high bluff or picturesquely dangerous spot, it is absolutely essential that some fond lovers should have jumped down it, hand-in-hand, in sight of the cruel parents, who struggle up the incline, only to be rewarded by the heart-rending *finale* [Webb 1874:308–401].

The narrative in question is titled "Over The Waterfall" and concerns a Bannock Indian named Arropine, who supposedly became Jim Bridger's scout into the Yellowstone. Buried within an early western botanical guidebook, *Farm Friends and Spring Flowers* (1913), the one of three authors charged with supplying Indian narratives, Elizabeth Cannon Porter, asks that we take seriously a romance between Arropine, captive to the Blackfeet, and Blue Feather, a beautiful Blackfeet maiden (An equally questionable Indian romance situated in the park is that between Arquetta and Red Arrow, found in W. Allen's discredited book on the Sheep Eaters—Allen 1913:52–74). But Arropine has a rival, the crafty and cunning Blackfeet warrior, Rain-in-the-Face. As the lovers plan to slip away, Arropine says to Blue Feather:

> Beyond this lake lies a lake where fire and boiling water burst from the earth. Your people and mine believe that it is haunted by evil spirits so they never go there, but a miserable tribe called the Sheep Eaterss hide there because they will not fight and they are less afraid of the spirits than they are of our warriors [Paul, Barnes and Porter 1913:70].

They find fish and cook them in the boiling hot springs. They see the geysers spout and Blue Feather is terrified by them. They watch the rose-colored steam above the lakes and notice the plentiful game. Against her lover's advice, Blue Feather drinks from a purplish spring and grows sick. They are intercepted by her people but, unlike the self-destruction motif of the previous piece of fakelore, when they must face the test of canoeing over the falls, they manage to survive. The story ends, "After resting a little, the two were permitted to take their departure for the Bannocks in the North. Arropine knew all about the Yellowstone, and later acted as a guide for Jim Bridger, when the white trapper went to explore the wonders of geyserland" (Paul, Barnes and Cannon 1913:72).

Nothing about the story rings true, of course, but contemporary Indians might not take much

consolation from the fact that apart from recycling the stereotype about native fear of the geysers, the narrative does not close with symbolic fatalism and death reminiscent of the "vanishing Indian" theme mentioned above. For it evokes another demeaning stereotypical role for Indian males found in frontier literature, that of the Uncas or the Tonto, the loyal "Indian Scout" who blithely guides the white man to America's natural wonders—in this case the Yellowstone National Park region, which the story reminds us they had no use for anyway—for the white newcomers to do with as they may.

Finally, a fourth, equally problematic "legend" relating Indians to the greater Yellowstone region and its mountain-dwelling Shoshoneans originates from the collection of reminiscences, *Six Decades Back* (1936), by the Idaho popular historian Charles S. Walgamott, who claimed to have heard it from a Bannock woman named "Indian Mary" whom he met in 1875 at Rock Creek in southern Idaho. Again we have the romantic central plot of an Indian love affair, this one between a lovely Bannock known as "The Beautiful One" and her suitor, the great hunter named "Plenty Meat." After her father gives her in marriage to another, her true love mourns in a sacred cave in Snake River Canyon. When the new bride rebuffs her unwelcome husband, she runs away to her first and only love. But the furious mate takes revenge by using magic to age her into an old crone. From their hideaway cave the lovers relish the beauties of the Sawtooth Mountains, then visit Shoshone Falls, and finally enter a canyon-like "Lover's Lane" where her beauty is restored. They encounter enemy Blackfeet, who pursue them only to come upon a miniature encampment, featuring small arrowheads made of black, red and white obsidian. As the Blackfeet approached a "land that was on fire and so greatly feared by the Indians" (Walgamott 1936:116), they are so in awe that they leave the couple alone. The two are commanded by the Great Spirit to climb a peak near the Big Wood River until they find a "lake where the fish are red" and there they will establish "a tribe to be known as the Indians of the Clouds."

Living in happy isolation for a long while, Indians with ponies and rifles enter their world. They are bad Indians, we are told, who fall under the benign influence of these Cloud Indians. To make their own bullets the Great Spirit shows them where to dig out lead, and where to mine silver to craft into ornaments. They still survive on mountain sheep, however, or *Tukuarikus* (Walgamott 1936:119). But then "the beautiful one" has an ominous vision of the coming of the "Pale-Face and the "Iron Horse." Finally, one of their group named "Bloody Hand," a member of those horse-bearers who had joined them, reverts to type and kills a prospector for his horse and belongings. With the demise of The Beautiful One, the story ends as the white-hating Bloody Hand takes charge.

As the story's conclusion informs us that these people are the Sheep Eaters, presumably of the dangerous Idaho strain who in four years will assault whites, in effect non-Indian readers now have a prophetic, native explanation for the strong ambivalence they may feel about Indians in general, as both Noble Redmen *and* Bloodthirsty Savages. So while this narrative may be useless for examination as a plausible reflection of Indian thought, it is priceless for its insights into Euro-American psychology about Indians. Although surely a projective fantasy, like other stories collated into folklore collections this specimen of Yellowstone National Park fakelore has been accepted uncritically as a valid "legend" of the Northwest (Salmonson 1995:123–140). Yet some of its implications are patently clear: good Indians stay by themselves and stare at beautiful sunsets; bad Indians adopt white ways and want more of them. The good Indian is too pure to survive the modern world and obligingly becomes extinct in an age where history has replaced myth. But the bad Indian hangs around to compete with whites and bedevil history.

Some of the publications which purportedly tie together American Indian traditions and Yellowstone National Park also exemplify the fusion of the categories of myth, legend and folktale. But unfortunately they fail Dorson's prima facae conditions for separating folklore from *fakelore*. Either they appear to be outright fabrications, or they lack attribution and represent Indian narratives which were so rewritten that their cultural information and valid emotional associations are irrevocably distorted, and any links to native sources or preexisting folklore materials are impossible to

reconstruct. It is ironic that the sole mention of Indians whatsoever in a day-by-day Yellowstone National Park tour script in the mid-1920s drew upon such questionable lore. Yet even this tall tale evoked a negative link between Indians and the park, for as the tour moved through the Upper Geyser Basin, the script had the guide summarize some yarns told by the old scout Jim Bridger: "Another one accredited to Bridger is this: A portion of the park was cursed by an Indian chieftain so that everything was petrified, not only the trees and flowers, but also the birds and waterfalls. Even the sunshine was petrified" (Yellowstone National Park Archives, File N. 154.31, Lectures, Fiscal Year 1925, 1926, 1927). Other examples of park-related "fakelore" are to be found in such collections as Mary Earle Hardy's *Little Ta-Wish-Indian Legends from Geyserland* (Chicago & New York: Rand McNally & Co., 1914) or LaVerne Fitzgerald's *Black Feather: Trapper Jim's Fables of Sheepeater Indians in Yellowstone* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1933), that was greatly borrowed from Dr. William A. Allen's discredited book on the Sheep Eaters. (Also dismissible for bearing any legitimate connection to history of Indians in the park are such examples of popular culture as the song about Bannock chief, Pocatello, which is found in Dr. and Mrs. N.W. Christiansen's 1953 publication, *A Trip Through Yellowstone Park: Interesting Events Portrayed in Music*—whose lyrics are too insultingly stereotypical to bear repeating (Madsen 1986:121).

In many cases Bascom's second narrative genre, the "folktale," appears more susceptible to changing historical circumstances than myths. His definition of a folktale is "prose narratives which are regarded as fiction" (Bascom 1984:8). While specificity of place is rarely a strong element in this genre, their more everyday role in person-to-person oral exchanges often means that in times of conflict they can carry secret messages or subtexts that provide psychological reassurance to Indian listeners and underscore old Indian values. A good example from Yellowstone National Park-associated Indian tribes is the folktale which Robert Lowie collected from the Lemhi Shoshone at Fort Hall in 1909. While Lowie complained that when he asked about native lore concerning the visit of Lewis and Clark—after they had secured the invaluable services of their legendary Shoshone guide, Sacajawea, in North Dakota—he was told instead about a contest between Wolf (or Coyote) and Iron Man, known as the "father of the Whites" (Lowie 1909:251f). As he would write later, the experience made Lowie dismissive of the truth-value of Indian notions of history (Lowie 1917). But a deeper reading of this story shows the classic protagonist of most native folktale genres, the trickster Coyote, defending his Indian peoples against the not-so-overpowering white man.

As we shall see in the genuine story-telling traditions reflected in Chapter 4, while Coyote in most of his multiple-personalities functions as a destabilizer of authority and an uncontrollably and hilariously anti-social being, in the folktales of the California, Great Basin and the Plateau culture areas in particular he is often traditionally manifested in what Coyote scholar William Bright characterizes as his "bricoleur" role (Bright 1993). By this term Bright refers to Coyote's function as a transformer of the world, who defeats a primordial race of monsters and renders the earth safe for human occupancy while creating, through his beneficial deeds, the topographical features of the landscape as we know it today. Here Coyote is operating at a time when the earth is extremely volatile, a state-of-existence which Yellowstone National Park, more than any other location in the continent perhaps, exemplifies, and a fact which Indians, like any peoples who confront the place, would have processed through their native categories of conceptual thought.

But how are we to explain why we do not see more folktales referencing the park's stupendous natural phenomena—virtually none appear in Shoshone coyote narratives in Robert Lowie's *The Northern Shoshone* (1909), Sarah Emelia Olden's *Shoshone Folk Lore* (1923), or Rupert Weeks' *Pachee Goyo: History and Legends from the Shoshone* (1981)? One answer may be that the still-volatile landscape which Yellowstone National Park exhibits to the awe of the world is testament to the fact that in this unique spot, at least, Coyote's task of earth transformation is not yet ready for tidy framing in a narrative memorial. Within the primordial turbulence of Yellowstone National Park, clearly Coyote still has his work cut out for him.

To obtain a culture-history of the American Indian's Yellowstone Plateau which is truly "in the round," to borrow the late Wilcomb Washburn's phrase for successful ethnohistory, we have attempted to draw upon, cross-reference and combine the data yielded by each of these four subdisciplines of the humanities and social sciences.

Conditions and Constraints of this Study

For a number of reasons already mentioned, this overview of the ethnographic resources of Yellowstone National Park has been an uphill struggle.

First among the obstacles has been the aforementioned issue of the inadequate archaeological data base from which to build up the ethnographic data and against which to compare it for detecting cultural continuities and disjunctures. Since the present overview was not funded to conduct any original archaeological research, our only recourse in this document has been to return to the scattered reports and professional papers related to the prehistoric cultures within or immediately around the park and, in as disciplined a manner as possible, attempt to provide a fresh montage of the most up-to-date data regarding the lifeways of these aboriginal inhabitants.

A second barrier to ethnographically accessing the American Indian record on the park is the fact that after the late 1870s the abrogation of their interests in the Greater Yellowstone region (as elsewhere in the West) was federal policy in general. Although Thomas Jefferson warned in 1812 that any Indians who refused to assimilate or abandon their lands "would relapse into barbarism and misery" whereupon the Euro-Americans would "be obliged to drive them with the beasts of the forests into the stony [Rocky] mountains" (Letter of Jefferson to John Adams, March 1812, in Foley 1900:422–3), little more than a half-century later Indians were about to lose even that mountain retreat. For as far as any traditional hunting, foraging, trading, raiding or other cultural activities were concerned, as this overview will specify in chapter after chapter, by the early 1880s Indians were effectively banned from entry into Yellowstone National Park or from the exploitation of its faunal and floral resources. This time frame hovers on the far side of what scholars of preliterate traditions determine to be within oral history's reach, from 75 to 150 years—and the ability of even that stretch of direct oral memory is closely related to a people's continuous access to the landscape with its toponymic and mnemonic abilities to trigger historical memories (Bahr 1994:2–6, drawing upon Vansina 1985). But as Bahr's work with Piman historical materials from southern Arizona also points out, we must never forget that in the minds of many native peoples "myth" can also carry important and demonstrably "valid" historical information, in terms of both hard facts and cultural concepts and practices.

Recovering American Indian memories on Yellowstone proves to be a difficult, time-consuming and sketchy process, requiring extreme patience, archival skills, and the ability to overcome a backlog of Euro-American and American Indian attitudes. As if summarizing pervasive attitudes towards Indians while expressing the degree to which military policy towards them was common knowledge, a stage driver told Eliza and Annie Upham on their ride back from a tour around Mud Cauldron in Yellowstone National Park on Sept. 16, 1892, that the local natives were "no more to be trusted than a rattlesnake...were dirty and lazy," and he added in no uncertain terms that "Indians are not allowed in the Park" (Buffalo Bill Historical Center Archives: "Eliza A. and S. Annie Uphams' Excursion with the Raymond Party to The Yellowstone National Park In September 1892," pp. 37–39).

For tribe after tribe, this suppression of traditional ties to their old Yellowstone hunting and traveling grounds precipitated a century-long period of broken connections. Rendering the Yellowstone National Park off base to Indians during that extended time period meant that any Indian traditions of practical use, narrative folklore or historical memories related to the park area went unrenewed through the sort of periodic visitation and continued activities which Indians did manage to enjoy in less sensitive or less desirable areas. From generation to generation, without access to geographic reference points in and around the park by which to anchor and remember them,

the stories of Crows, Blackfeet, Flatheads, Bannock, Shoshones and quite likely other Plains Indian groups related to mythic origins or legendary events, as well as detailed accounts of plant-foraging, game-hunting, medicine-acquisition, spiritual activities or war-raiding, were thinned out with disuse or forgotten entirely.

With traditional links between Indians and the park effectively severed so early the data base derived from early anthropologists has also proven thin, the opportunity to recover contemporary ethnographic information is very rare, and our reconstruction has often been left to chasing shadows. It must also be stated quite frankly that this historical rupture between Indians and the park has left a legacy of bad feelings. This has clouded our efforts to develop the bonds of mutual trust and collaborative interest that are critical for effective ethnographic fieldwork.

In the informational vacuum created by these years of Indian absence from Yellowstone, a fourth problem for researchers has been the amount of misguided conjecture and negative stereotype which have filled the void. From the point of view of scholarship, this situation is not unlike that which anthropologist Verne F. Ray described for his reconsideration of the cultural importance of northwestern Plateau Indians. By the late 1930s Ray had finally collected a decade's worth of field and library data so as to challenge the prevailing scholarly opinion largely established by Herbert Joseph Spinden, which held that this culture area of the Columbia Plateau was only a transitional, impoverished patchwork of watered-down and borrowed traits from more influential, neighboring regions. In order to argue that "Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted" (Ray 1978:3), Ray finally compiled his landmark monograph to demonstrate how quite the reverse was true—but it took awhile.

Our overview of the "ethnographic resources" of Yellowstone National Park has developed much the same agenda. Due to misinterpretations about hunting and foraging "Digger" Indian groups which in no small measure were borrowed from derogatory characterizations of Native California and Nevada Shoshoneans and applied to the park's original inhabitants, then further exacerbated by misinterpretations of ethnohistorical data regarding the attitudes of the park's surrounding native groups towards its unique natural features, the story of the Indians' Yellowstone has remained largely misguided or untold. Any survey of the park's ethnographic resources must therefore wrestle with the following pieces of received wisdom:

1. The park was never more than thinly populated by Indians who had only marginal interest in its resources.
2. The only full-time residents of the park were isolated bands of Sheep Eaters who were timid, impoverished and were culturally underdeveloped.
3. The horse-riding Plains Indians who lived around the park shied away from its thermal areas because they were afraid of the geysers.
4. Once the park was formally established and the Indian wars ceased in the late 1870s Indians had no further interest in the park.

To their considerable credit the park and its historians have over the years periodically questioned these propositions and shifted position on them from time to time. But too often, however, quite a different strategy seems to have been adopted, which has raised a fifth obstacle to any ethnographic overview. This strategy has been simply to drop Indians out of the park equation altogether, to summarily ignore or excise their presence from the full records of park annals, or to frontload a summary account of them in an obligatory opening chapter of their books before whisking ahead to the more "serious" administrative or environmental sides to the Yellowstone story which thereafter never need to mention Indians again.

This subtler omission or negation of the possible roles and ongoing interests of Indians in the park seems a sanitized, modern counterpart to the earlier denial of their physical presence by official coercion. Yet in the long term it might be considered more effective, for its net effect has been to "disappear" the Indian story from the grand culture-history of Yellowstone.

When governmental recognition of Indians first peaked in this century, during John Collier's "Indian New Deal" in the late 1930s, ethnographers

were assigned to include Indians in their written summaries of park history, such as Glacier National Park (Beals 1935). Yet the official guidebook to Yellowstone National Park not once mentioned Indians in its text, and even omitted them when Obsidian Cliff was mentioned, while its chronological timeline forefronted General O.O. Howard's heroic pursuit of a lone Nez Perce Indian, Chief Joseph, and the sole book it advertised on Indians which was available in the park's bookstore was the certifiably bogus *Trapper Jim's Fables of Sheepeater Indians in Yellowstone* mentioned above (Fitzgerald 1933).

To be sure, it is unfair to apply today's standards for fair representation to yesteryear. But then what is one to make of the most recent semi-popular overview of Yellowstone National Park, *The Spirit of Yellowstone: The Cultural Evolution of a National Park* (Meyer 1996)? Written from a cultural geographer's point-of-view and published by an academic press, this recent work purports to focus "on Yellowstone's history as place, as a shared geographic and cultural reality, and its powerful and persistent spirit of place" (Meyer 1996:114). Yet its text devotes only *a single sentence* to the role of Indians in that "cultural evolution" or in the diversity of human responses to Yellowstone's "spirit of place." Unable to ignore Joseph Wiexelman's persuasive 1992 graduate work which fought against the persistent idea that Indians were unanimously afraid of the geysers and hence steered clear of the park, this isolated statement goes, "Recent scholarship indicates that Native Americans were the first to recognize the spirit of place unique to the Yellowstone region centuries before whites entered the surrounding areas" (Meyer 1996:32). Ignoring for the moment the fact that the finding of an Agate Basin point which was sourced to Yellowstone National Park and dated to about 10,000 years ago would mean that we should probably correct her "centuries" to "millennia (Cannon 1993:8)," Meyer's subsequent dismissal of Indians from the "cultural evolution" of the park may not responsibly reflect current official reconsiderations of their role but is clearly indicative of and reinforces a large sector of public and even scholarly opinion. And this opinion is hardly enlightened or altered by the books, signage, lectures, museum exhibits or multimedia presentations which are presently available to the general public in or around the park.

Correcting the Record: New Approaches

In this report we are attempting to deliver the best summary we can of "hard evidence" related to the roles of Indians in and around Yellowstone National Park. But under today's ethnological standards a comprehensive "cultural overview" demands more than that. First, we are taking seriously the "representations" of Indians whose lives have impacted on the history of Yellowstone National Park. Most especially will the reader notice this emphasis in Chapter 3, where we delineate the stereotypes which have attached themselves to the history of the Sheep Eaters, those one-time residents of the Yellowstone Plateau. Second, we are taking the liberty of occasionally providing circumstantial data where we have been unable to locate a mother lode of direct, hard information. Again the reader will most notice this approach in our chapter on the Sheep Eaters, where we have contextualized every scrap of information we could find about their material culture with information from adjacent native groups and sources.

Nor have we been content to recycle received wisdom and shopworn scenarios regarding the relationships between different American Indian peoples and Yellowstone National Park. We have tried to pay attention to the fact that previous writings and compilations of data were reflections of their particular times and agendas. At moments in this report we have been compelled to do more than take them at face value; we have tried to place older data within changing intellectual trends.

Under contemporary standards of ethnographic practice, any "ethnographic overview" also requires us to reexamine the ethnographic facts that non-Indians have generated out of their preconceptions and intentions concerning the relationships between American Indians and Yellowstone National Park. To accomplish this we must revisit the historical contexts for various "representations" of tribal groups related to Yellowstone National Park, whether those representations be official park communications, museum exhibits, public signage,

pamphlets on Indians for the general public, videos for general consumption, memoirs by park personnel, and so forth. Today any responsible cultural anthropologist or ethnographer must consider all of these "representations" as "ethnographic resources" which are equally relevant to the study of this topic as American Indian data. This self-scrutiny is necessary in order to clarify the political, economic or bureaucratic agendas which may have promoted these portrayals.

This is cultural anthropology's counterpart to what Gary A. Wright has argued concerning the efforts of archaeologists to understand Yellowstone high country prehistory: "...the first duty of an archaeologist is *not* (despite the dictum from introductory textbooks) to build a satisfactory absolute chronology for a stratigraphic sequence. Rather, it is to realize that the dates themselves are data that may be used for testing hypotheses..."(Wright 1982:158). The same must be said of the various forms of ethnographic data which are analogous to archaeology's "dates"; in both cases we must now recognize that the products of knowledge which themselves generate new knowledge must remain under our scrutiny, and therefore "are data" as well.

This revolution in contemporary ethnographic practice means we must always regard culture and our views of "it", in the words of the anthropological critic James Clifford, as "produced historically." Clifford goes on to emphasize that "Culture is contested, temporal and emergent. Representation and explanation—both by insiders and outsiders—is implicated in this emergence" (Clifford 1986:18–19). This is what the eminent anthropologist Paul Rabinow means by entitling his essay in the same groundbreaking volume where Clifford expressed his remarks: "Representations are social facts" (Rabinow 1986). And Rabinow winds up exhorting today's ethnographers to "...be attentive to our historical practice of projecting our cultural practices onto the other...We need to anthropologize the West: show how exotic its constitution of reality has been...show how their claims to truth are linked to social practices and have hence become effective forces in the social world" (Rabinow 1986:241). Reviewing Clifford's following clarion call for this promising new dimension of contemporary ethnography, it is hard to think of a better laboratory or new "dialogical" fieldsite than the past and present sets of relationships (and their representations) between American Indians and Yellowstone National Park:

> "...how are the truths of cultural accounts evaluated? Who has the authority to separate science from art? realism from fantasy? knowledge from ideology? Of course such separations will continue to be maintained, and redrawn; but their changing poetic and political grounds will be less easily ignored. In cultural studies at least, we can no longer know the whole truth, or even claim to approach it...But is there not a liberation, too, in recognizing that no one can write about others any longer as if they were discrete objects or texts? And may not the vision of a complex, problematic, partial ethnography lead, not to its abandonment, but to more subtle, concrete ways of writing and reading, to new conceptions of culture *as interactive and historical*" [Clifford 1986: 25, emphasis ours].

It is this give-and-take between what used to be called "hard data" in the days of positivistic ethnography, and the discipline's growing awareness over the past twenty-five years that we only know facts through their representation (which itself is always culturally and historically determined), which must, to some degree, inform this report if it is to meet the standards of a up-to-date overview.

Yellowstone's Indians in 1872

In the year of Yellowstone National Park's creation American Indian tribes of the Rocky Mountain West were in a state of tremendous upheaval, transformation and insecurity. Only one year earlier, the Indian Appropriation Act of March 3, 1871 (16 U.S. Stat. 544,566) had effectively reversed the government's Indian policy which had prevailed since the days of George Washington. Whereas the official status of Indians described variously as "distinct, independent, political communities" or "dependant nations" had acknowledged their semi-sovereign ability to sign treaties with the U.S. government, in this amendment which was tacked onto the 1871 Indian Ap-

propriation Act, the increasingly criticized and begrudging acknowledgment of Indian autonomy was now considered, in the words of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis A. Walker in 1874, "a mere form to amuse and quiet savages, a half-compassionate, half-contemptuous humoring of unruly children" (in Prucha 1985:16).

Although this Act did not extinguish the lasting terms or obligations associated with the some 370 preexisting treaties between the U.S. and a host of Indian peoples, from this day forward recognition of Indian tribes as nations or independent powers was outlawed, and negotiating any further treaties was forbidden. In terms of the history of Yellowstone National Park it is ironic that the very last U.S. treaty with Indians to implicitly affirm the political independence of a native group was with the very tribe whose fight to retain that freedom saw the first blood to be shed in a national park. With the signing of a treaty with the Nez Perce on August 13, 1868 (15 U.S. Stat. 693), what most Indians regarded as sacred pledges on the part of the United States to preserve Indian political authority were now regarded by the government as anachronisms.

It is also ironic that just as the federal government started protecting the nation's wildlife and scenic landscapes it was beginning to tighten her control over the region's native cultures who had survived on those animals and considered that country their own. The years that cluster around the birth of Yellowstone National Park were a major turning point for Indians in U.S. history, because now Indian nations shifted from the status of free-traveling, autonomous tribes to clusters of dependant, remnant natives who were sequestered on reservations administered by the Department of War. In addition, the year 1872 saw the government complete an about-face in its philosophy about how Indian reservations should be run. Until 1868 the War Department had been in charge of Indians, but with the ascent of Ulysses S. Grant to the presidency that year he instituted a policy of pacifying and assimilating Indians instead of making war on them, which was popularly known as the "Peace Policy."

This approach saw the replacement of military officers as Indian agents by appointments from religious denominations. Beginning with the placing of men from the pacifist Society of Friends in control of reservations in Nebraska, Kansas and Indian Territory, this shift from military to civilian authority was made official when Congress, in 1870 (16 U.S. Stat. 62; 16 U.S. Stat. 319) officially forbade military men from filling Indian agency posts. By 1872 candidates from a dozen religious groups were functioning as Indian agents for sixty-three of the nation's seventy-five reservation agencies. For tribes immediately associated with the greater Yellowstone ecosystem this meant that by 1872 the Methodists were assigned to place their men in charge of the Crow, Blackfeet and Fort Hall Indian agencies, an Episcopalian was running the Shoshone Reservation south of the park, and the Flathead were allowed to retain their strong ties to the Catholic church, while the Nez Perce were under the control of a Presbyterian.

For Indian peoples whose culture-histories linked them to the Yellowstone region, conditions on reservation and off-reservation life differed from place to place. But the new environmental, social and political realities taking shape by 1872 were momentous and disruptive for all these tribes. Aside from specifics to be described in the chapters to follow, these Crows, Shoshones, Bannocks, Flatheads and others were now facing the same grim realities: population decline due to disease, warfare and despair, disarray of established sociopolitical regimes and threats to the authority of traditional chiefs, loss of their once-reliable buffalo, swelling numbers of white ranchers, miners, railroad workers and settlers, greater opportunities for cross-cultural encounters or misunderstandings to flare into bloodshed, mounting pressures to yield their hunting grounds and familiar landscapes, and the destabilization of family unity by sending their children off to boarding schools and converting the parents to Christianity and farming.

In 1872 the quelling of rebellious western tribes was barely underway. A great body of Sioux tribes was momentarily flexing its muscles, having temporarily won back from the uncharacteristically conciliatory Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 their rights to the Powder River country. Within only two years George Armstrong Custer's exploratory expedition into the Black Hills would violate that document, however, and incite the last phase of the Great Sioux War. Meanwhile, this

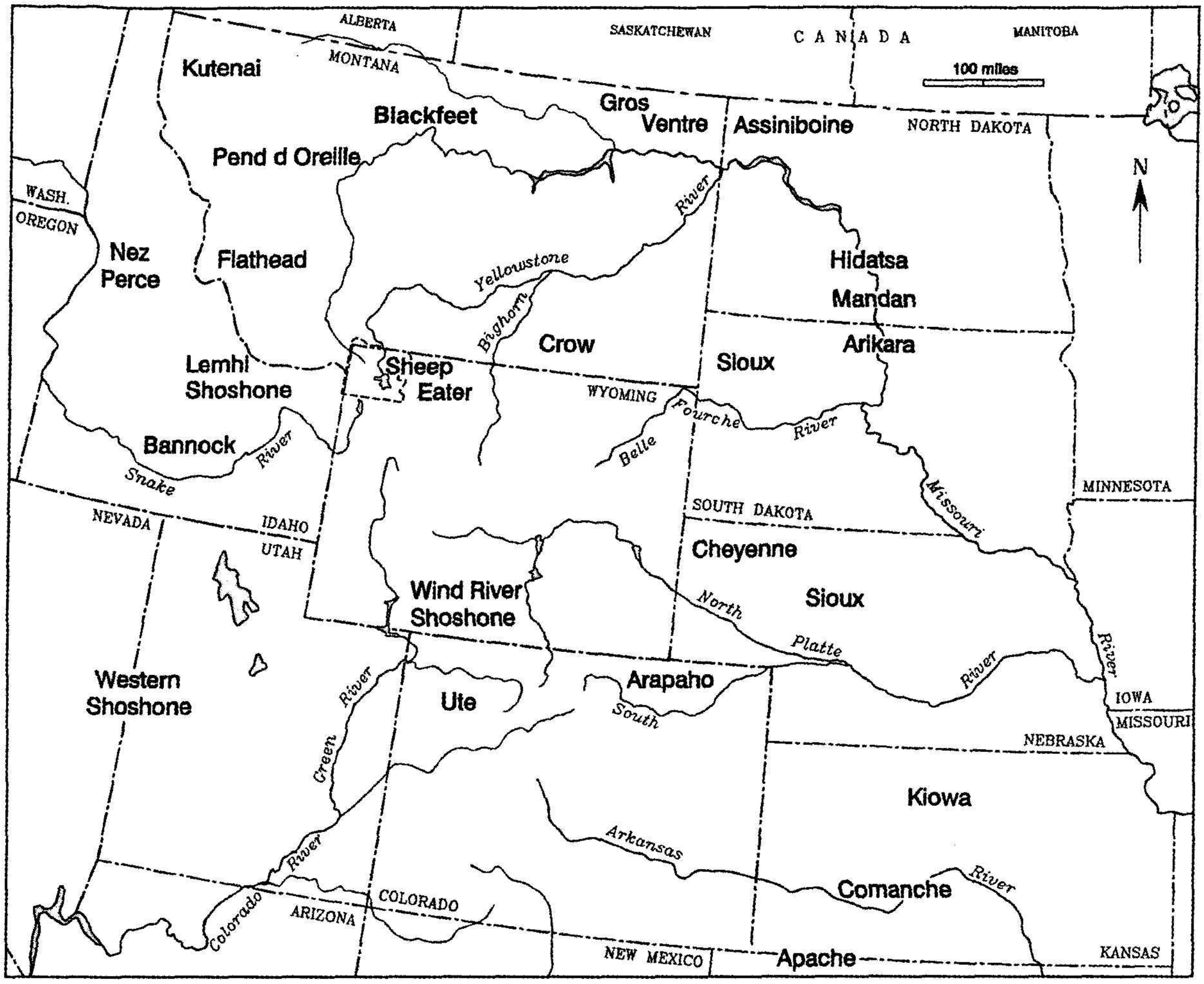


Figure I.1. Map of approximate tribal territories in and around the Yellowstone Plateau, c. 1850.

vigorous Sioux war machine was invading Crow country with such ferocity that in 1872 some of their white supporters believed the tribe to be on the verge of annihilation.

Not helping the tense atmosphere in the greater Yellowstone region was a widespread anti-Indian sentiment which spread from the muddy streets of Bannack, Virginia City and Deadwood in the west to the halls of Washington, D.C., in the east. During the 1868 debate over putting a stop to treaty-making with Indians, a congressman from Montana, James Michael Cavanaugh, voiced the hard line position:

> I have never in my life seen a good Indian (and I have seen thousands) except when I have seen a dead Indian....I believe in the policy that exterminates the Indian, drives them outside the boundaries of civilization, because you cannot civilize them [*Congressional Globe* 1868:2638].

A view with slightly more leeway was offered in 1872 by Ferdinand V. Hayden, the earliest surveyor of Yellowstone National Park:

> The present Indian policy, which doubtless looks forward to the localizing and settlement of these roving tribes, is ultimately connected with the agricultural development of the West. Unless they are localized and made to enter upon agricultural and pastoral pursuits they must ultimately be exterminated. There is no middle ground between these extremes...If extermination is the result of non-compliance, then compulsion is an act of mercy [Hayden 1872:263–264].

Besides the options of Indian compliance with assimilation, or resistance and extermination, was a third possibility. This was the likelihood that Indians would simply die off and disappear. Prevailing in the minds of sympathetic writers was the theory of the "Vanishing Indian," which held that their extinction as a race of people was inevitable due to the vicissitudes of land loss, warfare, alcoholism, and "the natural consequences of one race taking over another." The best that could be hoped for was to treat them humanely in their declining years.

This, then, was the tense climate in western Indian country when Yellowstone National Park was born. As the following two decades unfolded, most of the tribes lost members and freedom until they were left with little more than sheer survival on their minds. A clandestine bolt on a hunting trip might see some Bannock horsemen breech the boundaries of the park, but they were quickly hounded back to their reservations. Little wonder that over the generations Indians felt unwelcome there, and perhaps even blocked their memories and folklore concerning the place.

Organization of this Study

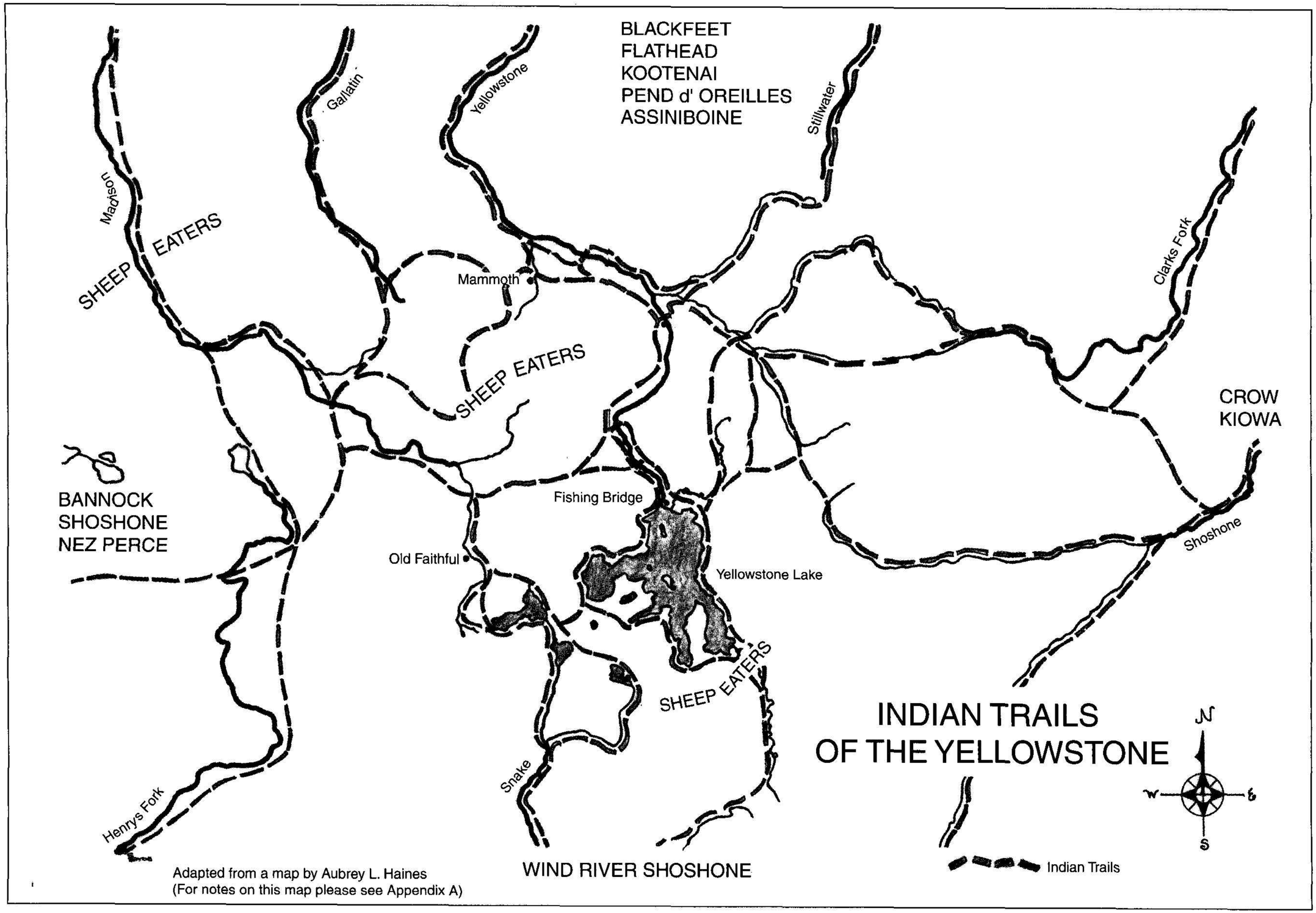
As an amalgamation of primary research materials, library citations and possible narrative approaches for adoption by interpretive programs in Yellowstone National Park, this document is avoiding a topical itemization of the sites, dates, topics and underlying themes related to our overarching subject of Indians and the park. Instead, we attempt to inject some narrative dynamism into our document by considering the materials on this relationship from five major geographical standpoints that more or less reflect historical experiences of the constituent Indian groups under study.

Hence we will move around the park from the various directions. Starting with the East, in Chapter 1 we introduce the Crows, who claimed a sizeable eastern portion of the park proper as their aboriginal territory. We also offer unusual data that suggests a possible Kiowa connection to the region, which is interesting given their close early historical friendship with the Crow. In Chapter 2 we cover tribes such as the Blackfeet, Flathead and Kootenai who freely penetrated the park for hunting or raiding or resource-collecting. For purposes of convenience we also concentrate our data on buffalo-and-elk hunting related to the park in this chapter.

We have placed the Shoshonean people known as Sheep Eaters in Chapter 3, at the center of the document, because they are believed to be the only Indians who were full-time residents of highlands in the park. Here we have benefitted immeasurably from the unpublished field notes of Åke Hultkrantz, who flew from Sweden to serve as temporary consultant for our project. The tribes in Chapter 4 also share the habit of using the park region as a shortcut to buffalo hunting grounds to the east. But they have a historical affinity as well, for warriors from the Bannocks, Northern Shoshones, Nez Perces and Snake River Sheep Eaters struck against white settlers and were forced to defend themselves against white soldiers until their deaths or surrenders.

The last profile, in Chapter 5, focuses on only one tribe, the Eastern or Wind River Shoshone. Like the Crow, their connection to the park is territorial—the bottom third of the plateau apparently lay within their traditional territory. In the same fashion that we summarized information on hunting from other tribes in Chapter 2, here we compile our diverse tribal data on root-digging practices, notably the camas root. We also seize the opportunity in this chapter to present data from other tribes on the controversy over Indian attitudes towards and uses of the park's thermal field.

This document originally concluded with a separate binder entitled *Concerns and Recommendations*. The ten recommendations to park managers and interpreters related to issues concerning park policy and Indians, and representations of cultural and historical ties between Indian peoples and Yellowstone National Park. They are on file with the Branch of Cultural Resources (in the Division of Yellowstone Center for Resources) at the park.



Adapted from a map by Aubrey L. Haines
(For notes on this map please see Appendix A)

CHAPTER 1

OCCUPANTS ON THE EAST: CROW

This chapter introduces those American Indian peoples whose cultural and historical interests played out within and along the eastern portion of the greater Yellowstone Plateau. Of these distinctive ethnic groups on the east, certainly the most notable in Yellowstone National Park history has been the modest-sized nation generally known as the Crow of today's south-central Montana and northeastern Wyoming. But the fortunes of other Indian peoples also touched upon the eastern and northeastern flanks of this mountainous region. Earliest would be the long sequence of little-known archaeological cultures whose activities left scraps of evidence such as can be found in the densely compacted layers of Mummy Cave, just outside the park's eastern entrance.

Of later encounters between historically known Indians and the eastern Yellowstone National Park region we have scattered evidence from early diarists and native oral (and pictorial) traditions. These nations include the Kiowa, Lakota and Cheyenne, who interacted with their neighboring tribes in both aggressive and amicable ways. Despite the fragmentary and inconclusive nature of this material, we should not exempt it from inclusion as we continue to assemble the bits and pieces that continue to surface each year and add to the slowly broadening story of Yellowstone's Indians. But the primary focus of this chapter will track the Crow as they used this landscape, virtually all of which, east of the Yellowstone River and down to the southern end of the Wind River basin, was recognized by the U.S. government until 1868 as a piece of their traditional domain.

Figure 1.1. Crow Indians at opening ceremony for East Entrance to Yellowstone National Park, Spring 1927. White Man Runs Him (right) and Max Big Man (Photo courtesy of Montana Historical Society, Haynes Foundation Collection #H-27006, J.E. Haynes, Photographer).

THROUGH THE "TIPI'S DOORWAY" TO THE YELLOWSTONE PLATEAU

Rising to a dark profile on the western rim of Bighorn Basin in northwestern Wyoming, the massive ranks of the Absaroka Mountains' front range face the dry basin and the rising sun. Looming above their green heights, dark clouds promise an interior of rushing streams, wooded draws and abundant wildlife. The semi-nomadic bands of Crow Indian kin units who seasonally traveled alongside and through these Abasarokas were undiscouraged by the seeming impenetrability of this buttress of the Yellowstone Plateau. At this

point it may be also important to stress that when we use the term "semi-nomadic," we refer to Plains Indian tribal movements that were rarely aimless wanderings, as early stereotypes of western Indian life-ways were often characterized. These travellings were generally part of regular, seasonal circulations which coincided with repeated stopovers at remembered locations for reasons of obtaining food or other material resources when they were most plentiful, as well as providing opportunities for mobile bands to coalesce during key moments in the given tribe's social or ceremonial calendar.

We have little hard data about when, where and why the first Crow Indians ventured into the Yellowstone Plateau, which may have occurred as early as the 17th century. We do know that in the tribe's pre-reservation heyday, a rather brief period between roughly 1620 and 1860, that branch of the tribe known as the Mountain Crow occupied northern Wyoming and southern Montana, and hunted east as far as the Powder River and west over to Livingston, Montana. As for their brethren who were known as the "Kicked In The Bellies" group, they preferred to winter down along the Wind River basin of south central Wyoming, and summer on the eastern flanks of the Bighorn Mountains up and down both present-day Wyoming and Montana (McCleary 1997:3).

In the early 19th century we begin to gather enough documentary glimpses of Crow activity in the Yellowstone region to be able to reconstruct some semblance of their movements. And with a strong contingent of old Mountain Crow and Kicked in the Belly descendants still residing within the Pryor District of today's Crow Reservation—and its proximity to Yellowstone—it is no surprise that here one still can find the occasional individual with some knowledge of the North Fork of the Shoshone River region, the Absaroka Mountains, and the high country byways which once led Crows into the attractions of the Yellowstone.

Even today a few members of the old Mountain Crow division of the Crow tribe heading into the Yellowstone Plateau can recall stories and place-names that link the region to their cultural past. They can describe how their migratory forefathers of the early 19th century made the turn by the narrow gap that remains the home of their mythic Little People just south of present-day Pryor, Montana, then dragged their travois down the broadening valley through the Arrow mountains until they spilled out upon the flatlands. Soon they began to enter the immense, V-shaped river canyons which served as portals into the highlands of what would become Yellowstone National Park. Contemporary travelers on Wyoming's State Road 120 heading south towards Cody cannot miss these openings that lead into the Shoshone National Forest, the Clarks Fork Canyon perhaps most dramatic of them all.

For contemporary Crow Indians driving on Alternate Route 14 towards the Yellowstone Plateau, a formation in the McCullough Peaks is still known for a famous Crow warrior called "A Bull Who Could Not Be Pushed Around," hence the site is referred to as "Push's Mountain" (*Páatchish Awaxaawé*). And both of those roads soon bring you close to the major landmark and favorite Crow vision-questing spot near the present-day town of Cody—the "Heart Mountain" *(Awaxaamnaasé)*. In older times, however, the Crows knew this promontory as "The Foretop's Father" (*Ihkapíliilapxe*) because a Crow man named Foretop once fasted up there. It is said that at one time two points jutted from the crest of Heart Mountain, but "an earthquake or something" destroyed the one on the west side, according to one Crow consultant (for pronunciation guide to Crow words see McCleary 1997:xxi–xxii).

The story behind this alternative place-name for Heart Mountain tells how this particular Crow vision-quester was instructed during his fast that he would live as long as the two points remained on the mountain. Thereafter The Foretop became renowned for his intense combats with Blackfeet, as part of the Crow effort to push them back into Canada. But after he was killed up in the northland and his people returned home, they discovered that there had been a big landslide on one flank of Heart Mountain, leaving only the fan-like uplift that resembles the distinctive brushed-up forelock so associated throughout the Plains with Crow identity that it is instantly recognizable on the native "ledger art" produced by many different tribes. Afterwards his people commemorated that mountain as being the "medicine father" who had

"adopted" The Foretop during his vision and helped him become such a successful warrior (GBT Interview, July 16, 1995).

Another important Crow historical site lies just to the west of Heart Mountain, the creek near Rattlesnake Mountain where the famous 19th century Crow chief named Blackfeet, or "Sits in the Middle of the Land," is said to have died in battle in 1877 and also to have been enshrouded atop a traditional burial scaffold. A little farther up from the Red Hills (*Shichíishe*) is the location known to whites as Sunlight Basin. According to the Crow, however, this was called "Yellow Crane's Land" (Apitshiilishisawe), named for one of their chiefs who regularly led his band there to hunt elk, deer, bighorns and even buffalo in the wintertime. South of present-day Cody is Carter Mountain, what Crows call the "White Bear Mountain" for the grizzly variety, or the "Bear With White on the Tips of the Fur" (*daxpitcheeiiáakeechiate*). Facing directly west from Cody one cannot miss the great canyon of the Shoshone River, or "Stinking Water River" to the Crows (*Aashíilitche*). But in the Crow imagination this avenue into the Yellowstone Plateau was also likened to the east-facing side of one of their buffalo-hide lodges, hence their old name for Shoshone Pass (between Cedar and Rattlesnake mountains), "Like a Tipi's Doorway" (*Bilíiliche*), which reminds one of the analogy that struck Jedediah S. Smith in the autumn of 1829, when he described this location as the "back door to the country divines preach about" (quoted in Bearss 1970:71).

Passing in the shadow of Cedar Mountain (*Awaxammaalahkape*) and through this narrow "doorway" one shortly encounters today's Buffalo Bill Reservoir, about thirty-seven miles east of Yellowstone National Park. Looking down into the gorge's turbulent waters, a Crow consultant pointed to a rim "just below the dam there" overlooking the rapids where the most courageous Crow fasters sought supernatural powers from the dangerous "beings in the water" (*Bimmuummaakoolé*). Before the creation of the reservoir, according to our consultant, this flat along the Stinking Water was where "the Sheep Eaters used to camp," referring in this case, interestingly enough, not to the Shoshoneans but to a branch of the Crow tribe known as "Those Who Eat Bighorn Sheep" (*Iisaxpúatduushe*).

That these well-watered terraces at the juncture of today's North and South Forks of the Shoshone River were popular with early Crows seems to be corroborated by statements from early Indians and whites alike. Said the great Crow Chief Sits In The Middle of the Land in 1873, "On Sheep Mountain [just southwest of the reservoir] white men come; they are my friends; they marry Crow women, they have children with them; the men talk Crow. When we come from hunting we get off at their doors, and they give us something to eat" (House Executive Document No. 89, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, p. 28). Further evidence of the Crow sense that this area was "the Indian's side of the Yellowstone" is found in comments by one "Mea-de-sesh, which, in American, means Two-bellied Woman," (known elsewhere as simply Two Belly) to a man identified only as Allen in a letter to the Bozeman Avant Courier newspaper (June 19, 1879, p. A2). " My people are hungry," Two Belly complained. "They want to go to the Musselshell to get buffalo to eat. White men drive cattle from Sheep Mountain through the center of my reservation. I do not want it done. They drive all the game out of the country. If they cross the Yellowstone up Sheep Mountain I want them driven back." And on September 6, 1808, George Drouillard, a fur trader, hunter and interpreter for the Lewis and Clark expedition, drew a map for William Clark and offered some verbal notes which Clark scribbled down. At the convergence of these forks of the Shoshone, or "Stinking" River, said Drouillard, "Ap-sha-roo-kee band of Crow Indian winter here where there is an abundance of dry grass on which their horses live during the winter...amount to 280 lodges of dressed leather or 2,240" (Skarsten 1966:265).

Our major Crow consultant's maternal grandfather, Comes Up Red (*Aliikusshiihishish*), had been born near here, at the "Place of Chiefs" (*Ammacheeítche*—near present-day Meeteetse, Wyoming, and the origin of that name). A member of the Crow sub-group known as the "Outer Edge People" (*Ammitaaashé*), Comes Up Red was quite familiar with this reservoir area and showed it to his grandson, who recalled:

> I think there was a trading post on the south side right about where that mountain

Figure 1.2. Crow consultant GBT, pointing to Shoshone River gorge, site of supernatural beings, 1995.

> comes right by the river there. There was an old cabin that was still standing. See those two peaks over there, just below that there was an old cabin right at the edge of the lake. It is probably in the lake now. It was standing in 1948, when my grandfather said that a man named Farthest Up The River had his camp there...There was always a trader here, ever since the early 1800s...my grandfather said that the white people first came into this area right here. They [his grandfather's people, the political band known as "When you Shoot an Arrow at a Buffalo and You Hit a Rib and it Ricochets Off" (*Shúiptache*)] knew more about white people than the rest of the Crow tribe. So they learned to speak English and learned to adapt to the white man's ways quicker...They were always the translators when they negotiate for treaties...they first traded with the traders, and then the trappers. So they had more contact with the white people...They intermarried with the Shoshones and were real friendly with them, whereas the other bands didn't get along with the Shoshones....[They wintered at this spot because] there was hardly any snow on the ground in winter time because of the winds. There were a lot of elk and deer and bighorn sheep [GBT Interview July 16, 1995].

Past the Stinking Water gorge the North Fork of the Shoshone valley opens into the funnel that narrows just past present-day Wapiti, as the riverside roadway followed by ancient Indians and today's tourists alike climbs through pine forest. Driving through this region towards the park our key Crow consultant recalled his family carrying on an entrepreneurial relationship with Anglo-Americans. As a boy, between the age of eight and thirteen he wore Indian regalia and danced for tourists outside Cody's Irma Hotel, many of them bound for Yellowstone National Park. Then, on their own recreational drives into the park proper, his family often enjoyed a rest stop just outside the park's eastern entrance:

> ...the Crows used to come to Pahaska Teepee. The old owner way back in the '40s and '50s was real friendly with the Crows. They used to come and he would feed them for free. He had a big dining hall for his employees. If you came in there at lunchtime or in the evenings, they would feed you for free and then he would ask them to dance for the tourists. I don't know if they ever do that [any more]. That was way in the '50s. All of the people in Pryor used to know him...He even had an Indian name [GBT Interview July 16, 1995].

Once he was approaching the park perimeter, this consultant noticed familiar places, as well as plants which his family would gather on the way. However, when it comes to understanding how the mobile groups of Plains Indians like the Crows identified and utilized the natural resources they found on the Yellowstone Plateau it may be useful to make a slight distinction between those floral, faunal and geological resources which were an ostensible object of their movements, and any natural resources which they recognized en route and took advantage of along the way. At a spot where the road cuts between two angled ridges, for instance, our consultant remembered that his parents referred to this spot as "Buffalo Fence," or "Boundaries for a [old time] Buffalo Jump" (*Binnaxché Bishée*), which commemorated how the narrowing ridge lines resembled the drive lines that were demarcated by rock piles or dead-fall fencing into which Crows in the pre-horse days would drive buffalo, prior to crippling them over a sheer cliff or trapping them for easy shooting in a box canyon or makeshift corral. Recalling this old place-name also caused the consultant to re-

call an incident related by his father which took place deeper within the park proper:

> My grandfather told me one time they were chasing some Bannocks. I don't know what the reason was, but I guess they wanted to kill them...and the Bannock got into the Firehole River. They stayed there and they kept chasing them. When they finally came out, the horses' feet were real soft from staying in that water. So that was kind of a trail that they used to hide their tracks. You could take that and get out of the mountains. They called Firehole River the "Long Opening in the Ground" (*Hachkaawúushe*)...like an entranceway to a cave [GBT Interview July 16, 1995].

As for the foraging for plants that took place en route from the east towards Yellowstone Lake, this consultant also pointed to the broomweed that was in flower at that season of our field trip, what the Crows call "What the Buffalo Won't Eat" (*Bishéewaaluushisee*) [*Gutierrezia sarothrae*], whose dried leaves and flowers Crow people still store in jars in kitchen cabinets for brewing teas for any number of purposes, from sore muscles to helping pregnant women have easier childbirth (McCleary 1995:2). Other plants which this consultant recalled collecting en route to and within the park included horsemint (*Bahpuushé*) [*Monarda* species], which warriors who had counted coup on the warpath would make into crowns for wearing on their victorious parades through their home camps, the sweet grass which was used for incense (*Bachúate*) [*Savastana odorata*], and highly prized forms of tree lichen, such as the compact "yellow plant" (*Baaapáashiile*) [*Everina vulpina*], serving both as headache medicine and perfume, and the "black

Figure 1.3. Crow women picking berries, 1913. Location unknown. (Photo courtesy of Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives #79-8487.)

tree lichen," whose hair-like tufts were likened by Crows to a buffalo's beard [*Aletoria fremontii*]. Other northwest tribes, such as the Kootenai and Nez Perce, also prized this particular plant, for flavoring their boiled camas mush, and as a curative for upset stomach, indigestion and diarrhea (Hart 1976:11).

But the Crow also collected minerals in the area. While our principal consultant described only generally how Crows in the East Yellowstone area "would also get tipi poles and arrowheads...and Bear Root," specifying a "certain place near the Firehole River [where they may have obtained] obsidian or chert or something like that," he was more specific when it came to "paint":

> There is a bubbling, the Painted Pot, or something like that, that is what it is called...Anyway, it is here in the Yellowstone Park. It is dark brown when it is bubbling, when it is boiling and bubbling. If you get it out, as soon as it is dry it is pure white. That is what they used to refinish the white buckskin. When my mother was still alive that is where she got hers. We harvested certain things here. That is why they would come. It is easily accessible....we just used a coffee can, and then we would just dip it out. We had to ask permission to do that. They finally knew us, because we were there constantly [GBT Interview July 16, 1995].

This anecdote of gathering thermal residue for a whitening agent for hides echoes a fuller notation of such practices by the Wind River Shoshone. In the report of Captain William A. Jones of the Corps of Engineers, who followed the Shoshone River route into the park in late summer, 1873, one reads:

> The material employed [for paint] was usually an ocherous ore, and much of the earthy hematite from the Green Spring locality on Pelican Creek was collected and used for this purpose. The green, slimy cryptogamic vegetation from the same spot was also daubed in stripes and patches on the horses in some instances [Jones 1875:278].

And curious speculation about Yellowstone as an inspiration for Indian artistry comes from the writings of Joseph Dixon, chronicler of the "council" expeditions funded by Rodman Wanamaker between 1908-09. Intended to reconcile former warring tribes under the banner of American citizenship, the highly-publicized Wanamaker events blended the collecting of nostalgic memoirs by battle-scarred veterans of the Indian wars, solemn secular rites of inter-tribal peace and friendship, and posed photographs which evoked both the "noble savage" and Vanishing Indian images. Hypothetical and romantic as Dixon's following words sound, at least they represent a rare example of idealizing rather than demonizing the Indian's relationship to the Yellowstone thermal field, and therefore are worth recording as one type of Indian representation associated with the park. At one point Dixon speculates that the Plains Indian's "colour scheme" might have originated:

> ...with the dazzling array of colours, beyond the genius of the proudest palette, to be found in the marvelous formations that surround the great geysers of the Yellowstone, colours more exquisitely beautiful than the supremest refinement of art. Every-whither down the cone-shaped mounds are tiny steam-heated rivulets interlacing each other, edged with gold and vermilion and turquoise and orange and opal. Indian trails have been found also interlacing each other all through this wonderland. Deep furrows in the grassy slopes of these ancient footprints are still plainly visible [Dixon 1925:22].

To help us imagine how the Crow parties followed their old trails into the Yellowstone mountains, we might call up the memoir of early Crow Reservation homesteader, Frank Tschirgi, who watched the tribe's extended families load up for their summer treks into the nearby high country. (This description also resonates with the standing stockpile of used tipi poles which one can still see today in a grove just north of the Soda Butte Creek road in the park's Lamar Valley):

> They used to move from their reservation or winter range in long caravans. I have seen these caravans a mile long. Upon arriving at the foot of the mountains they would unpack and discard their tepee poles. They packed their equipment on the

backs of ponies and climbed the mountain trails on horseback. The discarded poles left at the foot of the trail accumulated from year to year, and although they were discolored by smoke, they were used by the early settlers for various purposes, such as roofing and corral material [Tschirgi 1904:31].

Background on the Crow

Who were these Plains Indians named Crows and how did they come to know and claim the territory that fell into the region of today's Yellowstone National Park? An offshoot of older horticultural ethnic groups who had lived along the Middle Missouri in present-day North Dakota, the most recently proposed scenario for Crow ethnogenesis in the west has these native pioneers striking out from the region of present-day North Dakota in two waves, about 125 years apart.

First to venture west were the so-called Mountain Crow around A.D. 1550, to be followed about 125 years later by the River Crow. It was the combination, then, of these Siouan-speaking divisions and their constituent bands and cross-cutting clans, which, say non-Indian scholars, produced the tribe whom the French first encountered in the 1740s and named the "beaux hommes" (handsome men), or the "gens de corbeaux," from a mistranslation of one of their own self identifications, "children of the large-beaked bird" (*Apsáalooke*) (summarized in Voget 1984:3–10; Hoxie 1995:36–42). This would have been shortly after the Crow had acquired horses.

But that is the non-Indian's story. Among the Crow themselves one hears a more complicated set of explanations for how they become a discrete ethnic group on the Plains. One of the most common accounts tells of a wandering tribe who eventually came under the leadership of two brothers, No Intestines and Red Scout. In one variant, when they both vision-quested together at Devil's Lake, North Dakota, No Intestines was instructed by his vision to search for the seeds of the sacred tobacco, while Red Scout was told to settle his followers along the Missouri River and grow corn (McCleary 1997:16–18). As No Intestines led his people on their wanderings for the promised seeds, the migrants experienced all the corners and climates of the great plains. Some versions of the story include possible early knowledge of the Yellowstone National Park area, for it is said that after finding the area around Alberta, Canada, too cold, they headed south, passed the Great Salt Lake, and then headed to the east before swinging back north into Montana, "passing through the place 'where there is fire,' perhaps Yellowstone National Park or a fiery coal pit" (Voget 1984:7), which another respected historian of the Crow calls "land-of-the-burning-ground" (Bradley 1991:42) or "Land of Vapors" (*Awe Púawishe*).

Finally, at Cloud Peak, the highest crest in the Bighorns, which the Crow call the "Extended Mountain" (*Awaxaawakússawishe*) and which they consider the center of the world, the fourth of No Intestines' visions told him that he would notice the sacred tobacco seeds because they would be twinkling like stars. That was when the Crows "made their home in Montana and Wyoming, with the Bighorn Mountains as their heartland" (McCleary 1997:18).

Once in place, these newcomers began to develop their regional subdivisions, some of which probably reflected earlier, historical or social subgroups within the Crow tribal fold. Of the three social divisions which became more defined in the new landscape, the second-largest, the River Crow (*Binnéessiippeele*, or "Those Who Live Amongst The River Banks"), probably had the least cultural knowledge of or subsistence interest in the Yellowstone Plateau and its environs. While on occasion their fairly independent village groups or sub-bands might range along their southern boundary, the Yellowstone River, they were generally to be found farther north, all the way up to the Milk River (McCleary 1997:2).

Rather, it was members of the tribe's largest division, popularly known as the Mountain Crow, who considered—and one still hears the claim—the region near present-day Yellowstone National Park as part of their aboriginal territory. Among some older Crow people themselves, these Mountain Crow are still referred to as *Ashalahó*, or "Where There Are Many Lodges." As for the Mountain Crow offshoot which coalesced as the tribe's distinctive third group during the historical period, they are formally called "Home Away

From The Center" (*Ammitaalasshé*), although a more common and colloquial designation is "Kicked In The Bellies" (*Eelalapíio*), a name which derives from an incident when the Crows first encountered horses and one member of this rather large band was kicked by a colt (McCleary 1997:2–3).

These three divisions, then, make up the Plains Indian ethnic group which the tribe self-describes more precisely in most formal settings as *Apsáalooke* (or "Children of the Large-Beaked Bird"), a translation affirmed by most Crow scholars (Medicine Crow 1992:2; Hoxie 1989:122; Lowie 1956:3; Frey 1987:11)—all the while, however, referring to themselves in private conversations among themselves as simply *Bíiluuke*, which means "Our Side" (McCleary 1996:1–3).

There is some confusion regarding the origin of the Crow name that Lloyd (Mickey) Old Coyote clarifies:

> ...our tribal name in our language is Apsaalooka—of which there are at least sixteen different spellings. French trappers, hearing that we were children of a large-beaked bird, gave our tribe the nickname of Crow, something which we at first resented but in later years have accepted. In reality the large-beaked bird, now extinct, belonged to the raven family, a bird having a long split tail, although some *white authors have mistakenly said that the bird was the sparrow hawk.* [Old Coyote and Smith 1993, emphasis ours]

During the Crows' very earliest negotiations with the white man, band affinities for certain habitats would influence which leaders could speak authoritatively for which territorial claims (for a useful historical overview of Crow association with the Yellowstone Valley, see Heidenreich 1985). Hence it is not surprising that in regard to their interests along the eastern flank of Yellowstone National Park one would hear Mountain Crow spokespeople like the famous Sits In The Middle of the Land articulating the Crow ties to that particular landscape. In name if not in social reality, these divisional distinctions have continued through the 20th century, as outsiders learned when the Crow factions who were bitterly opposed over the sale of land rights for Yellowtail Dam on the Bighorn River in the 1960s became publically identified as Mountain and River Crows.

"Better Than A Book": Earlier Natives of Yellowstone

Long before the eastern migrants who came to be known as the Crow favored the "doorway" outside of Cody as their avenue into the Yellowstone Plateau, older generations of native Americans felt at home in this valley that led in and out of Yellowstone National Park. We are somewhat familiar with these unnamed native occupants thanks to a remarkable episode in American archaeology which captured the world's imagination over thirty years ago.

In the winter of 1959–60 the newly hired director of the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, an art historian and writer named Harold McCracken, went to Washington for a talk with the well-known Smithsonian Institution expert on Plains Indian prehistory, Waldo R. Wedel. Based on his excavations a decade before in the Cody vicinity, Wedel confided to McCracken that there was a good chance that promising Indian sites, with very old remains revealing permanent occupation at higher elevations, might be found deeper in the Absaroka range. Two years later, hopping rides on fire-fighting helicopters, McCracken cast his eye over the inaccessible high country west of Cody. With the help of a local trapper, hunter and amateur archaeologist and historian named Bob Edgar, the two men spotted a few old hunting grounds and campsites, including one dauntingly elevated elk pasture which they found to contain arrowheads that Edgar guessed probably dated to 5000 B.P. But it was actually using ground transportation and driving along the easily accessible U.S. Highway 20 only twelve miles from the Yellowstone National Park's East Entrance that enabled Edgar to make the discovery that would put the Absaroka Mountains on the map of America's prehistory.

In mid-July, 1962, Edgar pulled into the northerly road shoulder and then strolled about forty feet through brush to a natural rock shelter that overlooked the highway and the North Fork of the Shoshone River that raced alongside it. Of-

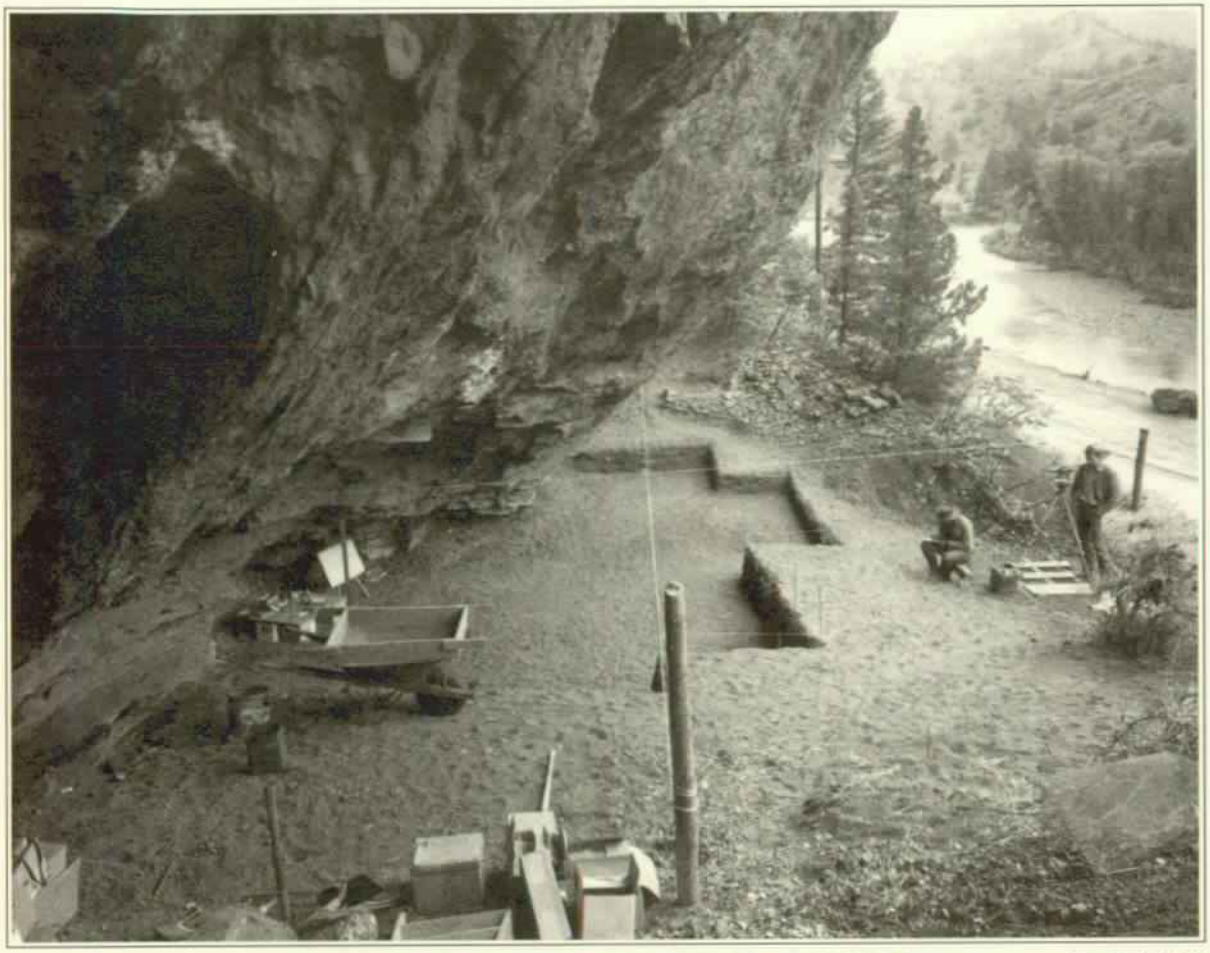


Figure 1.4. View of cave floor during the excavation. MS 29 of CL #1-2-3, 1963 (Photo courtesy of Buffalo Bill Historical Center Library).

fering natural protection for generations of white trappers, road crews and exploring kids of families visiting Yellowstone National Park, the cliff face protected a forty-by-eighty foot patch of ground. Edgar found the dirt kicked up and the walls gouged with graffiti. To one side of the shelter, vandals had recently dug deeply enough to produce a heap of discarded dirt. No sooner had he hunkered down to drag his fingers through the pile than Edgar turned up a fragment of an arrow shaft, apparently sliced off by a shovel. Lashed to one end was a side-notched projectile point which had been chipped from agatized wood around a thousand years earlier.

With an excavating permit shortly in hand, McCracken and Edgar staked their scientific claim to the site. As they peeled back the floorings of the cave, in the third cultural layer down from the top they came upon a human foot, and soon they had exposed an entire individual, a male buried in a knees-to-chest position who was wrapped in a garment made of mountain sheep skin. This organic material produced a carbon-14 date of about A.D. 724. While this discovery, which gave the site its popular name, was certainly spectacular, the greater importance of the rock shelter was only revealed over time.

During the winter of 1965, McCracken contacted the Smithsonian Institution to find an archaeologist to oversee the final excavation. Fortunately he found Wilfred Husted, an archaeologist seasoned by excavating caves in the nearby Bighorn Canyon region. As work progressed grid by grid and inch by inch, every portion of the entire floor fill of Mummy Cave was meticulously scraped up and sifted, with samples stored for future analysis. The crews moved ever downward through evidence of earlier river beds and ever

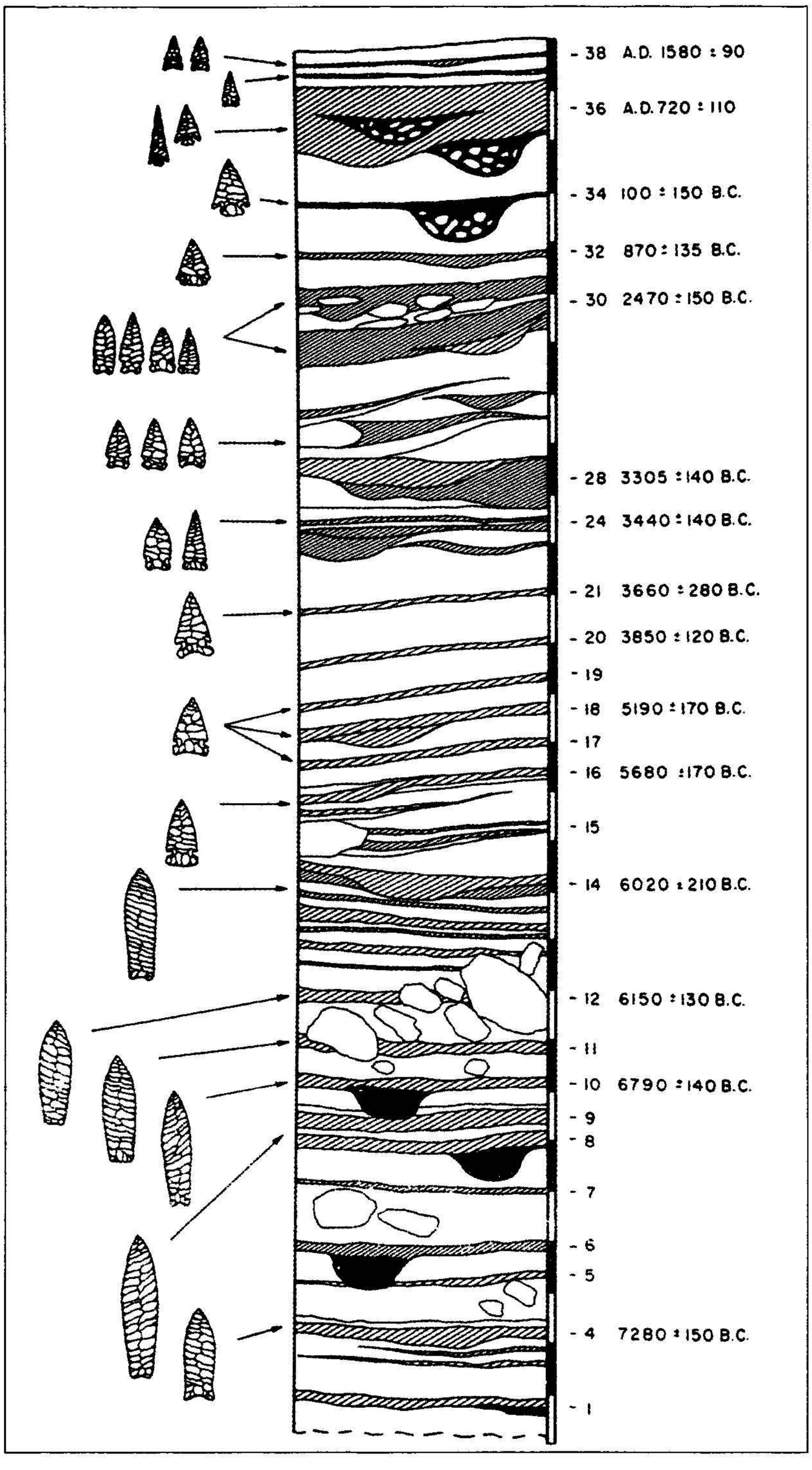


Figure 1.5. Profile of human occupation layers at Mummy Cave. Projectile points change from Paleo-Indian lanceolate forms at deepest layers up through side-notched and then stemmed forms. (Courtesy of Buffalo Bill Historical Center.)

older campsites with their fire hearths, plant and animal remains and associated human artifacts of stone and bone. Before their excavations ceased the archaeologists had penetrated 33½ feet into the ground. Their work had distinguished 38 culture layers and produced a chronology of 26 carbon-dated samples. They had established clearly that the most recent Indian builders of fire and cookers of meats had camped there around A.D. 1580, but that the oldest they had identified (from Culture Layer No. 35) had used the shelter around 7280 B.C. This meant that for over 9,000 almost-continuous years the sun had warmed American Indians who slept, ate and socialized beneath the

protective west-facing ceiling of this large, natural room. When Bob Edgar reflects back on the experience of digging back through time, he says it was "better than a book."

Since the report on Mummy Cave was published in 1978 there have been attempts to revisit the large amounts of data collected in during the expedition [in much the same way that Nevada's remarkably parallel site, Spirit Cave, has recently undergone reanalysis, see *Archaeology Magazine*, September/October 1996]. Even though the original 24 layers or "lenses" of occupation identified by Bob Edgar and his crew were increased, upon more refined analysis by Wilfred Husted, to 38 layers—and in the corrective process reversing McCracken's approach of counting from the top down to starting instead with the oldest bottom level upwards, as was approved U.S. government procedure established during the River Basin Surveys—it is the opinion of Susan Hughes that even this "might be a conservative estimate." Indeed, she points to the level 3 identified as representing a single occupational episode by both McCracken/Edgar and Husted as "actually a very thick layer composed of four or five thinner layers" (Hughes 1988:47).

In her 1988 and 1994 syntheses and updates on the Mummy Cave trove, Hughes reports on a host of refined observations and opens up new vistas for laboratory analysis. Recent work on the burial itself, for instance, suggested that it was a male between the ages of thirty-five and forty, who stood about 5 feet 5 inches tall, who had recently eaten cooked food, and who was probably buried in late spring. Furthermore, the placement of a ram sheep skull placed upside down near a line of stone slabs has been speculatively associated with a complex of hunting rituals found among other Rocky Mountain high-altitude dwellers. The artifact assemblages also suggest varied cultural affiliations, with the majority of projectile point styles associated with long periods of sustained occupation in northwestern Wyoming, but also with the presence of materials such as steatite beads, harpoon tips, fishnet weights and composite cane arrows which are more commonly linked to the Great Basin traditions. As new approaches in "behavioral archaeology" tend to worry less about building iron-clad chronologies, and to look instead at how modern laboratory techniques such as pollen analysis can help us reconstruct the human activities at such occupation sites, the rich data from Mummy Cave will remain a "book" about the deep history of Native American cultures related to the Yellowstone Plateau which will be reread and rewritten.

Zones of Power: Crows in the Thermal Field

When a contemporary, traditionally minded Crow arrives at the shores of Yellowstone Lake today, it is not uncommon for him to light a cigarette, puff four times, and to pray. In the 1930s and '40s, according to one of our consultants, a recreational drive into the park would continue on to the geyser region, and this act of supplication would be repeated. When one asks about the older Crow reactions to the geysers, it is predictable that consultants today are well versed in the non-Indian argument that their forebears were terrified of the hot, spouting and noisy waters. Regarding this picture of Indians cowering in fright at the geysers as a stereotype which brands earlier Indians—and by extension, themselves—as superstitious or simple-minded, today's native peoples often deny that their ancestors harbored such feelings of terror. Despite the fact that the argument about Indian abhorrence and avoidance of Yellowstone's geysers is distorted and one-dimensional, and that it has been strongly challenged by a Yellowstone Association-funded brief to the contrary prepared by Joseph Weixelman (1992) and to be summarized in Chapter 5, it remains to be clarified in this chapter just what were the complexities of Crow (and Kiowa) attitudes towards a cluster of environmental features that anybody might regard as highly unusual, obviously volatile, geologically procreative and potentially dangerous.

After more than a century of their being discouraged from maintaining an on-going relationship with the hunting grounds and the possibly religious areas of the park, it is not surprising that our data on Crow attitudes towards and usage of its thermal features is thin. However, some glimmers of such information can be teased from the

literature, as well as from the memories of living Crows once their distrust is overcome about why an institution that once discouraged them from using the region would now want to learn about their traditions regarding it. The investigators of this report first ran across Crow attitudes towards the geyser region in the mid 1960s, from the memoirs of a River Crow named Two Leggings. When this old warrior described his youthful war parties to the Dutch-born ethnographer William Wildschut in the 1920s, he recalled one trip into the Yellowstone National Park area. Upon approaching one hot spring near Yellowstone Lake they guessed at first that the bubbling sounds and smoky emissions were issuing from an enemy camp. Instead, they were astonished to find the boiling waters, and Two Leggings added that his men "did not like the place" (Nabokov 1967:20). Here we must also remember that being a member of the more easterly, River Crow division of the tribe, it is understandable why Two Leggings might not have been more familiar with the volcanic field.

About seventy years later, when Joseph Weixelman sought to test the thesis put forward by the Swedish historian of religions, Åke Hultkrantz, to the effect that most Indians were afraid of Yellowstone's geysers, he struggled to obtain additional Crow testimony. Unfortunately, according to the head of the Crow Cultural Commission at the time, John Pretty On Top, the 1989 airing of a segment on public television's *Sesame Street* program had featured the program's anthropomorphic creature, "Big Bird," visiting the Crow Reservation. Many Crows were so insulted by the representation of their community on the show that they suspended communications with outside investigators. Nonetheless, Weixelman was able to chat with Pretty On Top, who claimed that the geysers and hot springs held little terror for the Crow; he even had heard of elders who recalled traditions of the region involving use of the hot waters, but this was not the time for further investigation.

When it came to recalling personal ties to the Yellowstone region, however, it was often common for 19th century Crows to think personally rather than generically, to consider this or that *place* through identification with specific individuals and specific experiences, rather than by covering an entire geographical region with some overarching characterization or generalization or even proprietary claims. Hence, to many Crows—Mountain Crows especially—with personal ties to the generations of their late 19th century ancestors, when contemplating the entire Yellowstone National Park region and its unique landscape the name of one deceased Crow often sprang to mind. This man was known as The Fringe, and the stories of his powers arouse awe and respect to this day.

This was the case when author Frank Bird Linderman asked Plenty Coups, himself a Mountain Crow leader, "Who was then the most powerful Wise One in your own time?" Almost immediately Plenty Coups thought of The Fringe, and he told Linderman the story of his famous fast on an island in the middle of the healing "medicine water" near the Wind River (*Hutchaashe*). The Fringe had reached the island "by walking a pole which two friends helped him place from the shore" and then climbed a nearby hilltop to make his fasting bed. His friends noticed that on the third day of his vision-quest he had disappeared, and that on the fourth he suddenly showed up back on the shore. During that interval The Fringe had visited the home of a spirit who had given him a very special, water-connected medicine. Through this experience he received the special powers to heal wounds and thereby to possess many horses in payment from his patients, powers from the supernatural Otter and White Bear who had appeared to him. Thereafter, Plenty Coups told Linderman, "...when we passed the Medicine Water, we each dropped in a bead, or something else very pretty, so that the [dream] Father of The Fringe, and his Woman, might have them" (Linderman 1962:299–307).

From one of his key informants, Gray Bull, the anthropologist Robert Lowie obtained this individual's Crow name, *Dap'ic* (or, in current orthography, *Daappish*), which he also translated as "The Fringe." In addition, Lowie learned that he was reputedly the most renowned of the category of *akúuwashdiive* (in current orthography, *akuuwashdiiua*), or "wound doctors" (Lowie 1922:376–378). During this project we collected additional information about this healer, whose unique association with Yellowstone National Park

will be mentioned shortly (GBT Interview, July 16, 1995). Our consultant claimed The Fringe was a Mountain Crow belonging to Long Horse's band, who was born about 1820 and derived his name from the long fringes that hang down from an old-time, rawhide headdress ornament. His death came in the 1860s, during a smallpox epidemic, when he refrained from using his curative powers to heal himself; our consultant speculated that this was because he did not want to live with a scarred and ugly face.

To obtain his powers from the "water beast," our consultant said that The Fringe was one of those courageous fasters who sought power at present-day Shoshone Dam. Although his vision creature did emerge at that time, it was not until a later fast at Thermopolis hot springs that he reappeared and told The Fringe, "you have shown me your fortitude, and your willingness to suffer, so I am going to give you my powers." According to this account, The Fringe would partially immerse his patients in the water so that an otter, his medicine helper and the only water-dwelling animal considered by Crows to be beneficial towards humans, could swim around and bite the wounds and heal them.

In one of his feats, The Fringe was even able to walk on water. In addition, he convened with the chief of all water beasts at an underwater lodge at the headwaters of the Missouri River. Two other stories connected with The Fringe revealed his remarkable gifts for restoring injured warriors on the brink of death. According to our consultant, it was the preexisting fact of such powers which caused Crows to lend credence to what they heard from the first Catholic priests to arrive in their country: "...they told them about these things, and they could draw parallels about Fringe and what happened. Fringe was actually alive at that time. When they were told about Jesus walking on the water, they thought he was another great medicine man."

As with our project narrative, most written accounts have The Fringe's most famous fasting episode taking place at Thermopolis, and therefore only providing an analogous example of the greater complexity of Crow reactions to thermal areas within the park. But at least one other story associated with The Fringe does place him squarely in the park. This is a narrative which came to light when another old 19th century Crow warrior, actually a competitor of Two Leggings in the search for war honors, was interviewed about 1915 for photographer-author Edward S. Curtis' volume on the Crow, and their conversation turned to the subject of the Yellowstone geysers.

The Crow narrator for Curtis was Hunts-To-Die, a Mountain Crow who was born around 1838 and knew the northern perimeter of the park well, having fasted as a young man on Red Lodge Creek in the Beartooth range (Curtis 1909:201). With the aid of a Carlisle-educated, mixed-blood Crow interpreter named Alexander Upshaw, Hunts-To-Die talked with the Curtis fieldworker, Fred Meyer, about the man he called simply, "Fringes." Although after Frederick Webb Hodge edited Curtis' original writings for his 20-volume work, *The American Indian*, this portion was not included in the published volume on the Crow, one copy of the original typescript which is found in the Seaver Center Library at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History included the following fragments regarding the Yellowstone National Park area:

> The Great Geysers at Yellowstone are called *Bide-Mahpe* or [*Bimmaaxpée*, meaning "sacred" or "powerful" water]. Fringes fasted at this place for several days and nights. While fasting at this place the name "Water Old Man," *Bide-issakku* or [*Bilísaahke*], was given him. The Otter transformed as a medicine-man, and revealed the secrets of doctoring people who are wounded. The medicine otter would take its patient into this sacred water and the different little creatures would work wonders. He had a stuffed otter and would make the animal dive, and also the patient [L.A. County Museum/Seaver Center Library/CURTIS PAPERS/ Box 4B/Unlabeled Pile #1/Folder #14].

Next Hunts-To-Die provided some hints of the underlying system of Crow conceptual categories which are often elusive in early ethnographic writings on the tribe. In these references to the origins of Yellowstone Lake's water and shoreline driftwood we catch a suggestion of Crow causal thought:

> The great Yellowstone [Lake] gets its water by waves. There is a little ridge and if the ridge wore away the whole country would be overflowed. The eagles built their nests on the mountains of these lakes. The feathers, breath feathers, would form as driftwood... [L.A. County Museum/ Seaver Center Library/CURTIS PAPERS/ Box 4B/Unlabeled Pile #1/Folder #14].

Returning to the subject of the powerful medicine man, The-Fringes, Hunts-To-Die recalls the renown he achieved by virtue of the water-connected powers he had acquired at thermal sites like Thermopolis and Yellowstone:

> ...It was Water Old Man (Fringes) who gave such names among the Apsaroke [*Apsáalooke*] as Medicine Water, Otter Moves Always (meaning: lives forever), and Otter That Stays in the Water. He would doctor people by taking them to water. He used stuffed otter to do wonders. He claims there are different elements in the water which have life, and it is through them people get well when he doctored them...
>
> The man [Fringes] came back to his people and by his wonderful power as a healer all people loved him and he was regarded a very sacred man. When a person is shot in battle and still has little breath in him he generally pulled through and got them well. He lived to be very old. Not only as medicine man, but was a very able warrior among his people. He died only a short time ago [L.A. County Museum/Seaver Center Library/CURTIS PAPERS/ Box 4B/Unlabeled Pile #1/Folder #14].

Finally, Hunts-To-Die offered a more generalized view of the Crow relationship to the Yellowstone geothermal basins. What is so fascinating about these comments is that we find the old warrior turning the old debate of just who was afraid of whom at the Yellowstone geysers on its head:

> The Apsaroke [the Crow tribe] know the great geysers of the Yellowstone National Park. Only few go there to fast. All men who fasted there claimed to have seen many strange beings. *They* [meaning the spirits] would expose themselves when no one was around. *They* seemed to have no fear of the poor people who go there to fast...[emphases ours].

From this selection it appears that for Hunts-To-Die, at least, it was critical to emphasize the fact that it was the spirits that lived here in Yellowstone National Park—spirits who in his mind are clearly perceived as benevolent and helpful rather than malevolent and dangerous—whose potential "fear" *of human beings* was at issue, rather than the reverse. But this "fear" was allayed when the Crow supplicants rendered themselves as "poor," needy vision questers who momentarily divested themselves of clothing and cultural identity in order to be receptive to their "adoption," as the Crows generally conceived of it, by potential supernatural guardians. According to Hunts-To-Die, that appears to have been when these "strange beings" that inhabit the geysers felt comfortable about coming to their rescue, and when Crows were able to harness the inner powers of Yellowstone.

Crow History and the Yellowstone Plateau I: (1805–1871)

As with their feelings towards the Bighorn Mountain range, in the high country of the Yellowstone the Crow people found all the things they prized on earth. Today's Crows will illustrate the enduring role that mountains still play in their sense of identity by pointing to a highly symbolic event which can be witnessed each year during the final day of their Crow Fair, on the third weekend in August every year. During that afternoon's climactic "Parade Dance," a lengthy procession of traditionally attired Crows move in stately fashion around the powwow grounds at Crow Agency along the Little Bighorn River. Stopping four times for elaborate giveaways to friends, relatives, clan relations and special guests, at each stop hundreds of Crows in full dance regalia turn their bodies in unison towards the direction of the closest range, the Bighorn Mountains to the south. With great solemnity they then lift their eagle-wing dance fans or raise their arms in a corporate salute to the

mountains—the original source of all that is good. Hence it is no surprise that the ethnographer Edward S. Curtis characterized them as "A powerful tribe of mountaineers" (Curtis 1909:xi).

In this historical review of Crow association with the Yellowstone ecosystem during the historical period documented by outsiders, an early suggestion comes from a journal entry for September 14th, 1805, by Francois Antoine Larocque when he was at the westernmost terminus of his grand tour of the northern Plains in 1805. Camping on an island in the Yellowstone River only a few miles east of Billings, the French trader was told that "...in winter they [the Crows] were always to be found at a Park by the foot of the Mountain only a few miles from this or thereabouts. In the spring and fall they are upon this River and in summer upon the Tongue and Horses [Pryor Creek] River" (Larocque 1910:45).

One Crow teenager who observed Larocque's visit was named Sore Belly (*Eelápuash*]; a quarter-century later this young man had matured into one of the tribe's leading chiefs. It was then that Sore Belly gave his following, oft-quoted overview of the tribe's environmental preferences. Even though he was a River Crow leader, it is Sore Belly's description of his people's affection for mountain country, such as they found on both sides of the Bighorn Basin, which is emphasized:

> The Crow country is a good country [because] the Great Spirit has put it exactly in the right place. It has snowy mountains sunny plains...and all kinds of...good things for every season. When the summer heats scorch the prairies, you can draw up under the mountains, where the air is sweet and cool, the grass fresh, and the bright streams come tumbling out of the snow banks. There you can hunt the elk, the deer and the antelope when their skins are fit for dressing; there you will find plenty of white bears and mountain sheep [Bradley 1923:306–307].

During these scantily documented years one finds occasional sightings of Crows deep in the heart of Yellowstone. During the summer of 1830, for instance, there is an unconfirmed instance of some fifteen Crow families visiting "wonderful boiling springs" at Mammoth in the company of a Frenchman named Louis Bleau (Whittlesey 1988:94, after Sharman 1902). But a more definitive tie between the tribe and the Yellowstone country is found in the description of Crow territory written somewhat later by the Pennsylvania fur trader, Edwin Thompson Denig.

As one of many employees of the American Fur Co., whose posts ranged from Blackfeet country in the northern Rockies down to Ft. Union near the mouth of the Yellowstone, Denig interacted with Crow Indians, among other northern Plains native peoples, for nearly twenty years—from at least 1837 up to 1856 when he moved to Canada where he died in two years later. His detailed characterization of their aboriginal territory was:

> ...through the Rocky Mountains, along the heads of Powder River, Wind River, and Big Horn, on the south side of the Yellowstone, as far as Laramie's Fork on the River Platte. They also are frequently found on the west and north side of that river as far as the head of the Musselshell River, and as low down as the mouth of the Yellowstone. That portion of their country lying east of the mountains is perhaps the best game country in the world....Some of the springs near the head of the Yellowstone are bituminous, sending forth a substance like tar, which is inflammable. Others are sulfurous, and one or two boiling. The water in the last is hot enough to cook meat well enough to fit it to be eaten. The Indians describe others to be of poisonous nature to animals, 'tho the same water is said not to affect the human species' [Denig 1961:139–141].

When it came to an even more precise picture of Crow territoriality, Denig described what sounds generally like the separate tribal divisions already delineated above. While one group headed by one "Big Robber" wintered around the head of the Powder River, "the largest band" led by a "Two Face" clung to the Wind River mountain region. A third group, under the rather loose control of "The Bear's Head" "travels along the Yellowstone from the mouth to its head." Denig also added that every summer the Crows enjoyed a major trade fair with the Snake and the Nez Perce "on the headwaters of the Yellowstone."

What lends credibility to Denig's delinea-

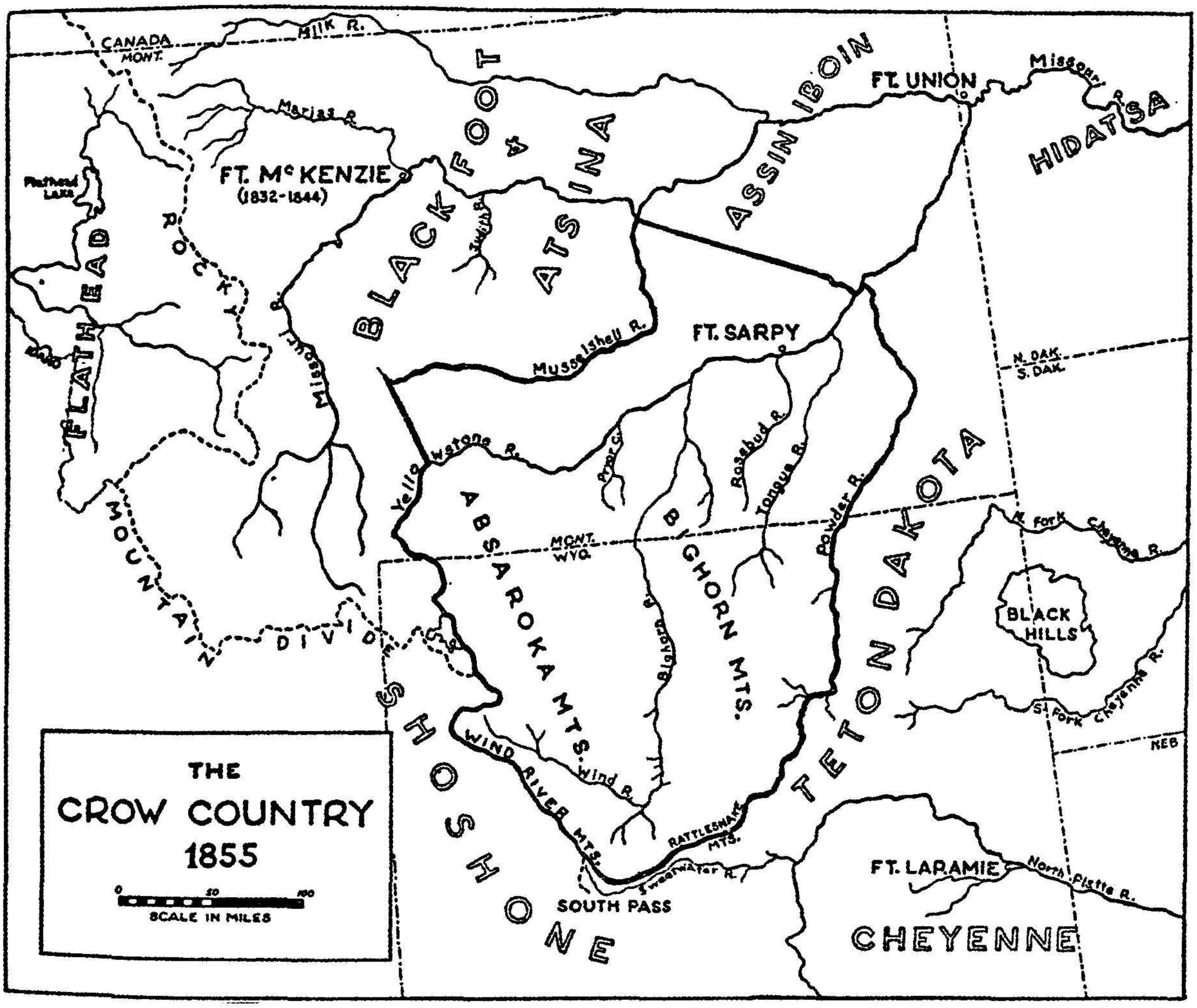


Figure 1.6. Map of Crow Indian Country, c. 1855 (from "Of The Crow Nation," by Edward Denig, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 5, Anthropological Papers No. 33, p. 21).

tion of Crow territory is that it generally echoes the description of their holdings that was codified, for the very first time, during the great Ft. Laramie peace council of 1851. Denig's own reputation as an expert on Crow Indian culture made him an influential advisor to Father Pierre Jean De Smet, and may have even influenced the priest when he attended, together with a contingent of Hidatsas, Arikaras and Assiniboines, that grandest of all Plains gatherings—although the Crows had actually arrived there before him in the company of another trader, Robert Meldrum. Since they had grown anxious about the Sioux breathing down their necks along their eastern boundary, and as there were no River Crows in attendance, during the Ft. Laramie discussions the tribe apparently accepted a more Mountain Crow slant on their geographical rights and hunting grounds.

In its final form the official definition of "Crow country" in the ratified 1851 treaty entailed about 38 million acres which were bounded on the west by the Continental Divide—thereby according to U.S. law legally annexing virtually three-fourths of what in about twenty years was to become Yellowstone National Park. Its northern border was the western curve of the Musselshell River, plus a surveyor's line drawn from its mouth on the Missouri River straight to the mouth of the Powder River, where it pours into the Yellowstone. Then the Powder River also served as the primary eastern boundary, while farther down the Rattlesnake Hills of the Sweetwater Uplift at the bottom of the Wind River Basin lay the southern terminus of Crow domain.

At the time, according to Edwin C. Bearss, "The Crow were undoubtedly pleased with the treaty, because it confirmed them in possession of 'the best game country in the world.'" Today some Crows appear to feel much the same. During an interview three years ago with a highly knowledgeable Crow elder, historian Mark Spence found the man:

> ...emphatic that the Crow still have hunting rights based on the 1851 treaty, which they have never given up. Sits in the Middle of the Land agreed that the United States could have that area for a price, but the price was never met. The park area was very important thoroughfare for hunters coming to the Plains. But it was a two-way street. The Crow would go back the other way, meet with Shoshone for games, competition, hunting, socializing. While they were at their first two reservation agencies, Livingston and Absarokee, the Crow did a lot of hunting in the western portion of their reservation, in Beartooth, Meeteetse and Yellowstone. Bison, elk, deer were all hunted in the Yellowstone area. On a trip into Yellowstone ten years earlier FS saw lots of knife-sharpening marks for those hunters on their way down to get buffalo. [Here another family member allowed that he would like to "go in there and kill an elk to challenge those hunting laws," and that during the Yellowstone fires he took a buffalo skull from the park in defiance of the laws against it].
>
> [In addition] Yellowstone and surrounding were very important fasting areas. Its an obvious place for this because the mountains are so high. He could see fasting beds on some of the ridges. Very important spiritual place. At this Mrs. FS added that she had the same feeling and knelt down to pray in the park because "the Maker looks down and he knows that some day we will be hunting there again" [Spence Interview, FS and family, July, 8, 1994, Wyola, Montana].

But despite lines drawn on crude maps, in the years following this first Ft. Laramie Treaty, other enemy tribes did not honor such imposed territorial divisions. The Teton Sioux only intensified their military pressure on Crow country and the white man's trading posts that served Indians in western Montana and Wyoming. The Blackfeet were of like mind, viewing the posts in Crow country as a prime target. Wrote Indian Agent Vaughan in 1854:

> Scarcely a day passes but the Crow country is invested with more or less parties of Blackfeet, who murder indiscriminately any one that comes within their reach. At Fort Sarpy so great is the danger that no one ventures even a few yards from his own door without company and being well armed [Annual Report of Commissioners of Indian Affairs 1854:85].

Matters got so bad that finally, in 1855, the American Fur Company felt compelled to close their major outpost along the Yellowstone, Ft. Sarpy. Now the Crows were forced to travel many miles north from their homeland, to Fort Union along the upper Missouri in Assiniboine country, for the weapons, tools and ammunition which had been promised in the 1851 treaty and on which they had grown increasingly dependent. As the fur trade continued its decline over the late '50s and early '60s, the tribe's fortunes were rapidly falling at the same time that it was facing mounting Lakota aggression on the east, and additional pressure from the influx of gold prospectors and Oregon Trail adventurers from the south.

Yet during these years Crows apparently kept moving freely through Yellowstone high country, and even staging the occasional raid on outsiders they were upset to find there. On his second trip into the park area in 1864, a prospector named John C. Davis first "saw plenty of Indian signs" and then claimed that a "section of [the] party was attacked by a hostile band of Crows, and a man named Harris was killed" (*Louisville [Ky.] Courier Journal*, April 18, 1884, p.12). If Davis' tribal designation was accurate, this would be highly uncharacteristic of the generally conciliatory tribe, and perhaps evidence of their desperate straits at the time.

To U.S. authorities, however, the Crow plight was but a minor ripple in the alarming instability into which the entire Plains had been thrown by the waves of incoming pioneers and miners, and by the widespread Indian intransigence which this emigration had aroused. They felt that new meth-

ods of pacification, both on the battlefield and the treaty table, were clearly in order. When the tribe was pressured into attending a second major treaty conference at Ft. Laramie, in late 1867, its major spokesperson was the Mountain Crow leader, Blackfeet, or *Awé Kúalawaachish*, meaning "Sits In The Middle of the Land."

At six feet two with a muscular build, he was an imposing orator and a fierce defender of his people's aboriginal territory. Today the Crow remember him as their major "Chief of All Chiefs" during the diplomatically crucial decade of 1867–77 and Crows identify the geographical significance of his Indian name with their sense of a chosen people who found their promised land in the very center of the Great Plains (Bernardis 1986:50–52). This feeling is deeply established in tribal consciousness, as evidenced when the chief's peer and second-in-command, Iron Bull (*Uuwatchiilapish*), also known as White On The Temple (*Itchúua Chíash*), who gave William Clark a version of the Crow creation story which climaxed with the Great Spirit leading the Crow to the Yellowstone river landscape and saying, "This is your country; the water is pure and cold, the grass is good. It is a fine country, and it is yours…I have made all this country round you. I have put you in the center…"(Clark 1885:137–138). At about the same time Iron Bull was quoted as offering similar sentiments about the sacred establishment of Crow territory:

> This is the earth the Great Spirit made [for] them. The Piegans he put them there, indicating a point in the line of the circle he made, then the Great Spirit made the Sioux, the Snakes [Shoshones]. Flat-heads and many others and located them all around the earth. The Great Spirit put us right in the middle of the earth, because we are the best people in the world [Father Prando to Cataldo, 26 September 1883, Gonzaga College Jesuit Archives, page 5 of translation from the Italian by Paul Gehl, Newberry Library, Chicago, courtesy of Dr. Frederick E. Hoxie, Director, McNickle Center for Indian History, Newberry Library, Chicago].

To lure the Crow to Ft. Laramie for the great council of 1868 the government sent them invitational bundles of tobacco. Although while en route to the meeting Sits In the Middle of the Land's group of delegates were attacked by Cheyenne, when they finally sat down to treaty-making business at Ft. Laramie they faced a more serious threat to their territory than they had ever encountered on the battlefield (Bradley 1991:94). Despite such convictions about their preeminent position in the Plains, in the concluding session of the drawn-out negotiations that stretched into the month of May, the Crows finally agreed to a radically shrunken reservation. Through this Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 the tribe lost all their lands in Wyoming plus all the acreage north of the Yellowstone River and east of the 107th meridian. Out of their original 39,000,000 acres they had only 8 million acres left. Later Sits In The Middle of The Land would complain that he was shocked how much territory had been surrendered and complained that it was a "misstatement" of the verbal agreements they had made at Ft. Laramie. Were second-hand shirts, rusty kettles and poor quality stockings a fair trade for the loss to his Mountain Crows of the bulk of their old Yellowstone hunting grounds, he would ask? Now the great bend of the Yellowstone River itself served as the tribe's northern perimeter—with the domain of their archenemies the Blackfeet located much too close for Crow comfort, directly on the river's opposite shore (Bradley 1991:96).

Still, at this time the Crows along with other Indians were not overly cowed by these new territorial constraints. When two hunters were killed on the Upper Lamar valley in 1868, no one was sure which tribe to blame. But when the Washburn Expedition entered the park two years later, they had no hesitation in identifying the Indian band of twenty-five lodges which they tracked along the Bannock Trail to its ford at the narrows near Tower Fall as Crows, nor in associating the fifteen "wickey ups" a mile from Tower Junction with the "Crow" trails they had been pursuing across the Yellowstone Plateau. Contrary to other reassuring reports that Indians had been cleared out of Yellowstone's thick woods, the expedition also found "recent" camps, freshly used trails and "old Indian" lodges throughout the region. Obviously Indians felt free and able to travel in and out of the Yellowstone Plateau as they pleased.

Five years after the Ft. Laramie Treaty of

1868, Sits In The Middle of the Land had second-thoughts about the agreement. In the following excerpt from his lengthy remarks he would also feature a key metaphor for how his people imagined their territory:

> I went to Fort Laramie; the old Indians signed the treaty. We came back to the camp and told the young men, and they said we had done wrong and they did not want to have anything to do with it...*When we set up our lodge poles, one reaches to the Yellowstone, the other is on White River, another goes to the Wind River; and the other lodges on the Bridger Mountains.* This is our land and so we told the commissioners at Fort Laramie, but all kinds of white people come over it and we tell you of it, though we say nothing to them. On this side of the Yellowstone there is a lake; about it are buffalo. It is rich country; the whites are on it; they are stealing our quartz; it is ours, but we say nothing to them...When we were in council at Laramie we asked whether we might eat the buffalo for a long time. They said yes. That is not in the treaty. We told them we wanted a big country. They said we should have it; and that is not in the treaty...They said "Will you sell the Powder River country, Judith Basin and Wind River country?" I told them "No;" but that is not in the treaty...[House Executive Document No. 89, 43rd Congress, lst Session, pp. 28–42, emphasis ours].

Crows and Yellowstone National Park: Loss of a Landscape (1872–1996)

During the months that the proposal to establish Yellowstone National Park was being debated in Washington in 1872, it is not surprising to observe how little reported discussion there was concerning any Indian rights to the region, or even about the possible cultural remains of Indians within the projected "natural" preserve. In so far as the Crow Indians of Montana were concerned, of course, the government assumed that any Crow 1851 treaty rights to all lands east of their Elk River [Yellowstone] and the Wind River Basin almost down to the Stillwater had been wrested from them during the subsequent treaty they had signed in 1868 at Fort Laramie. Shrunken by three-fourths, the new map of their reservation had yanked their southern perimeter entirely out of the proposed park, running it north of and just parallel to the present-day Montana-Wyoming state line.

Yet in 1871, when the Crows were slowly acclimatizing to life at their first reservation agency at Mission Creek near present-day Livingston, Montana, they still clung to a sliver of land that would be later accessioned to Yellowstone National Park. Unfortunately, it was to this very region, near the headwaters of the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone, that prospectors had found silver and gold. Since the fall of 1869 there had been bloody ambushes between miners and Indians furious about outsiders digging into their land; Crows were accused, for instance, of the grisly killing of Jack Crandall—discoverer of the first gold strike, and his companion named Daugherty—in which their severed heads were found impaled on upright mining stakes (Hansen and Funderburk 1962:2–3). Now an annual council of the tribe agreed about sending an urgent message to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Washington, asking for protection from the Sioux on the one hand, and from prospectors rushing into the Clarks Fork area on the other.

In 1872, those branches of the tribe more closely connected to the Yellowstone Plateau region—the Mountain Crows and the Kicked-In-The-Bellies—were still smarting from this loss of traditional access to hunting, foraging and raiding grounds. But there were others reasons why, in 1872, the Crow were probably not much concerned about Washington's plans for the country's first national park. At this time the entire tribe was in an anxious state of division and dislocation. While the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 had established reservation boundaries for the division of the tribe known to whites as the Mountain Crow, the less well-to-do division known as the River Crow had only an un-ratified treaty and were in a state of relative homelessness. In accord with that treaty, the tribe's first reservation agency had been constructed on Mission Creek near modern Livingston, Montana in 1869.

Getting used to this new reservation lifestyle

Figure 1.7. Crow Indians at Yellowstone National Park, Lamar Valley, during 1927 buffalo roundup (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #Yell 37795).

at the Mission agency, in the year of 1872 the River Crow were using the Mission Creek agency as a refuge from the diseases prevalent among the Gros Ventre along the Milk River as well as from incessant marauding by the Sioux. In 1879, wrote the agent, "This summer, for the first time in their history, the Crows have remained upon their reservation" without any problems (Augustus R. Keller to Hon. E. A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 1, 1879, Box 9, Records of the Crow Indian Agency, Federal Records Center, Seattle, Washington). What was left of Crow holdings within the confines of the fledgling Yellowstone National Park in 1880 was referred to as the "Montana Strip," which Agent Keller advised the government against selling, citing the Crow rights by treaty to it and the fact that they:

> seldom go above the lower canon [first or Rock Canyon] because of the presence of so many whites above the canon which has destroyed the game to the extent that it is impossible for them to live there. They do, however, go above the Boulder because of that locality being good grazing and the vicinity being one of the best game regions in the Reserve" [Keller to Hayt, June 19, 1879, Box 9, Records of the Crow Indian Agency, Federal Records Center, Seattle, Washington].

But as suggested by this communique, at this point three factors were crowding in upon the Crows' free and open use of this area. The first concerned the policy against poaching animals in the park, which was being vigorously enforced by the second Superintendent Norris in order to check the dwindling numbers of bears, elk and deer whose decline had become drastically apparent since 1875. While white poachers might have been well aware of the rules they were breaking when they trespassed into the park for hunting and trapping, to the Indians this white man's notion of a "wilderness game preserve" where game and later even plant procurement was banned would have sounded very strange.

The second intrusion began as more of an ominous shadow than a material substance, but in the long run it would severely aid and abet the Indian loss of territory. This was the laying of railroad lines across Indian country. Already the Union Pacific had been a major factor in the final extinction of buffalo in the southern Plains. Now the entrepreneur Jay Cooke, whose wealth had derived from Civil War loans, underwrote the goal of the Northern Pacific to run its trains from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, and railway surveyors had reached the Yellowstone River in 1871 (Bradley 1991:100). Temporarily stalled by the financial panic of 1873, the Northern Pacific finally penetrated the heart of Crow country by the early 1880s. A prescient promoter, Cooke was soon boosting the visits of famous eastern artists like Thomas Moran and Albert Bierstadt into the Yellowstone country, whose monumental scenes, one might add, would idealize the landscape while erasing the Indian presence.

At the same time a third pressure on Indians was becoming unbearable. This was the influx of miners along the Clarks Fork, who had increasingly called for the wholesale eviction of Indians from their sluicing streams. In the summer of 1862 the first Montana gold strikes were made on Grasshopper Creek, in the western reaches of the territory; within two years mining camps under names such as "Bear Gulch, Clarks Fork, Emigrant Gulch and Mill Creek" cropped up in the westerly portions of the Crow Reservation. After the 1868 treaty, of course, these pockets of aggressive frontier industry were more clearly illegal trespassers, but the Crow agent still doubted seriously whether there were enough troops in all Montana to keep whites out of any mountains. After Major E.M. Baker's troops and some prospectors attempted to protect the Northern Pacific survey party from the Sioux who were marauding near Bozeman in 1872, the prospectors and their cattle began to stir up the Crow by settling on the Boulder River, clearly ignoring their reservation boundaries (Bradley 1991:102).

But the miners would not be impeded from invading Crow country or, from moving up the Rosebud Fork and higher into the mountains under their folk theory that, as Crow elder Barney Old Coyote has phrased it, "the bigger the mountains the more the gold." Yet it was federal policy to encourage such mineral exploitation, so in 1880, the government asked the tribe to sell off the western corner of the reservation, from the Absaroka Range in the west across the Beartooth Plateau and past Rocky Fork. Even before the treaty formally went into effect on April 11, 1882, impatient miners had infiltrated the surrounding valleys and constructed a smelter. And just over the Beartooth Plateau miners had already organized the backwater settlement of thirty to forty cabins into Cooke City—named to entice Jay Cooke into laying a railroad line, which he failed to do (Bradley 1991:114; Haines V. I, 1977:267; Haines personal communication, October 15, 1999).

Now the "white people," to whom Sits In The Middle of the Land referred in 1873, were firmly and legally in charge of the major old Crow pass up the Yellowstone River. This 1882 agreement also extinguished Crow rights to that remaining segment of the park north of the forty-fifth degree of latitude and east of the Yellowstone River. We may never know exactly the sorts of behind-the-scenes pressures which caused the eventual capitulation of the Crows to this final surrender of northern Yellowstone National Park land. In the case of the Crow it stands to reason that the campaign among the mining interests to clear any impediments, Indians or otherwise, from the lucrative Clarks Fork mines had reached fever-pitch.

As if to hammer home the humiliation of the Crow loss of political and territorial authority, when the Northern Pacific Railroad celebrated the completion of its line with a branch connection into Yellowstone National Park, some Crow leaders were invited to attend the last-spike ceremony in full regalia. Perhaps it was appropriate that the historic tribe with the clearest legal rights to half of the park were represented at the Gold Creek celebration in early 1884. In the symbolic dramatization of willing capitulation which ensued, it was the genial Crow Indian named Iron Bull (Bernardis 1986:52-53) who spoke for his people. Second in rank to Chief Sits In The Middle of the Land and well-known for his hospitality to whites and indigent fellow tribesmen alike, he was assigned the role of handing the metal spike to Henry Villard, president of the Northern Pacific Railroad.

And after dutifully performing his role, Iron Bull reportedly told the assembled crowd:

> This is the last of it—this is the last thing for me to do. I am glad to see you here, and hope my people of the Crow Nation are glad to see you, too. There is a meaning in my part of the ceremony, and I understand it. The end of our lives is near at hand. The days of my people are almost numbered; already they are dropping off like the rays of sunlight in the western sky. Of our once powerful nation there are now few left—just a little handful, and we, too, will soon be gone" [*Livingston Enterprise*, March 28, 1884].

We may never be sure about the possible ironies that underlay Iron Bull's words, or the degree to which the carefully choreographed ceremony whose meaning he says he understood full well was pre-scripted to fit into the "Vanishing American" theory which prevailed at this time (Dippie 1982; and see Chapter 5). This bit of wishful thinking held that the Indian population across the nation was on the wane, and it was only a matter of time before they would be a thing of the past. Whatever was the case, the ambivalent presence and double-edged speech of Iron Bull represented the first of various occasions when fully costumed Indians would be invited into or around Yellowstone National Park in order to grace, and perhaps to authenticate, solemn occasions such as the opening of gateways or the naming of mountains.

Over time the Crows would be asked to cede more land as well. In 1891 they felt the more direct might of the railroad lobby, as the Montana & Wyoming Railroad Company fought for a more direct route to the Clarks Fork mines. While legislators were able to ensure that it would only come within a mile of Yellowstone National Park and no further, they did manage to win full right to lay rails across Crow country (Haines II 1977:40). Of Crow feelings about these early land losses in and near the park we have scanty information. However it is recorded that in 1907, when the survivor of the Custer fight, Curley, objected to yet another proposal to open up more of the Crow Reservation for non-Indian settlement, he revealed to the officials the depth of his people's feelings for their traditional landscape:

> The soil you see is not ordinary soil—it is the dust of the blood, the flesh and bones of our ancestors. We fought and bled and died helping the whites. You will have to dig down through the surface before you can find nature's earth as the upper portion is Crow. The land as it is, is my blood and my dead; it is consecrated and I do not want to give up any portion of it [Garber 1916:28].

Connections to the Kiowa: Close to "The Heart of God"

When it came to learning as much as possible about different Plains Indian responses to the thermal field of Yellowstone National Park, an unexpected outcome of our research was a purported Kiowa Indian connection. We place this material in this chapter because, according to oral traditions recorded by numerous fieldworkers, there existed a comradely, proto-historical connection between the Crow tribe and the early Kiowa (Mooney 1979[1898]:153–156; Scott 1911; Lowie 1915:597; Old Horn and McCleary 1995; Parsons 1929:XIX; Voeglin 1933:470–474).

The following narrative came to light in late 1994 during our chance encounter with Kiowa culture researcher and member of the tribe's Business Committee, DDT, in the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archives in Washington D.C., where we were hunting for photographs for this project. Upon learning of our study of the Yellowstone region this official informed us of a narrative known to the family line of one SC, a Kiowa Indian from Anadarko, Oklahoma, which, surprisingly enough, linked the creation of aboriginal Kiowa territory to the Yellowstone Plateau.

Perhaps the knowledge of this northerly region by the early Kiowa, who eventually settled around Rainy Mountain in western Oklahoma, should not have sounded so far-fetched. In his probe into early Kiowa history James Mooney interviewed elderly tribal members in the 1890s and learned that their traditions located them "in or beyond the mountains at the extreme western sources of the Yellowstone and the Missouri" (Mooney 1979[1898]:153). Within the oldest

memories of these informants were such impressions as an intensely cold region, a place of deep snows, and a people with compressed heads whom Mooney identified as the Flathead. It was while these early Kiowa were living at this location that two rival chiefs got into an argument and the tribe split up. The followers of the one moved to the east, setting up residence near the Crow along the Yellowstone, while the other group remained in the mountains.

Perhaps the most compelling connection between the Kiowa and Yellowstone National Park comes from Hugh Scott, a 7th Cavalryman who was stationed at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1889. Scott met many of the old Kiowa warriors who remembered a homeland in what they call *Gâ'i K'op* or the Kiowa Mountains at the extreme sources of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers. The exact identity of the Kiowa Mountains is no longer known, but thanks to Scott we know these mountains were near Yellowstone National Park. The Kiowa came from:

> The headwaters of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers near where the Kiowa Mountains are and the geysers of the Yellowstone Park which they describe as shooting hot water high in the air—and which no Kiowa has seen for some generations—and probably has heard little of from white people but he describes that country in a way it can be recognized [Scott nd., no pagination].

This strongly suggests the Kiowa lived near the park, and that the "Kiowa Mountains" are probably the Gallatin Mountains or Madison Mountains of southern Montana.

From the scholarly perspective, the broad outlines of this account for Kiowa ethnogenesis are echoed within the summary recently provided by the ethnohistorian Nancy P. Hickerson:

> When the Lewis and Clark expedition ascended the Missouri River in the summer of 1805, they reported that the 'Kiawa' in seventy tents, were located on the headwaters of the Platte, very near to the Yellowstone Valley, the territories of the Crow, *and the traditional place of Kiowa emergence* (Coues 1965[1893], 1:58–60). ...In their early years of trading in the north, the Kiowa could have been witness to a wave of spectacular ceremonial events, as the Sun Dance complex spread through the tribes of the region. They became friends and trading partners of the Crow, lived among them for periods of time, and eventually intermarried...Eventually, the Kiowas also adopted these ceremonies and adapted them to their own needs. This process was completed when the Kiowa Cold People, after sojourning in the north, eventually reunited with their southern congeners. They brought with them a vision of a new type of tribal unity, promoted by an annual gathering of bands and heightened by the drama of a great ceremonial [Hickerson 1996:86–87, emphasis ours].

At the same time, native accounts offer some corroboration for this scenario of Kiowa genesis and intimate knowledge of the north country. In the 1930s, when the Smithsonian linguist John Peabody Harrington was interviewing Kiowas in Oklahoma, he was surprised to learn that they retained important place-names for both the Yellowstone and Black Hills regions (Harrington 1939). Their term *Kaaek'oup*, for instance, referred to a location in the far north, at least three hundred miles west of the Black Hills, which Harrington conjectured might apply to "the main range of the Rocky Mountains at the Three Forks, and said to be so called because the Kiowas once lived there" (Harrington 1939:167). As for the Kiowa term for the Yellowstone River itself, most of James Mooney's oldest informants concurred with *Ts'oousa*, meaning "several rocks stand planted," although when Mooney originally noted the word he had unnecessarily added the postpound, *-p'a*, meaning "river," after the place-name. Together with the even more intimate residue of Black Hills topographical knowledge which Harrington found among living Kiowas, it appears highly reasonable that their northland experiences could have left an abiding mark on Kiowa cultural memory.

Finally, modern Kiowas claim similar ancestral ties to the Yellowstone region. In writing of his people's origins, the Pulitzer Prize-winning Kiowa Indian novelist, N. Scott Momaday, has said, "Nomads, they had come upon the Southern Plains at about the time of the Revolutionary War, having migrated from the area of the headwaters

of the Yellowstone River, in what is now western Montana, by way of the Black Hills and the High Plains. Along the way they had become a people of the deep interior, the midcontinent—hunters, warriors, keepers of the sacred earth" (Momaday 1976:28). And according to native consultants of The Kiowa Historical and Research Society who were authorized by their Kiowa Tribal Council to contribute to a collective project on the tribe's culture history in 1975:

> The Kiowa saga began long ago in the north country. In the land of the Yellowstone the Kiowas felt great personal power. They faced the sun, learned the trails, and conquered the mountains. After many years, however, they became restless in the Yellowstone vastness.
>
> Westward and north the panoramic sweep revealed ranges of mountains stretching against the horizon in shades of green, brown, purple, and misty blues. In that direction the past tribal experience was compatible with the demands of the earth and their friends—the Flatheads.
>
> Eastward and south lay vast unknown prairies and unfriendly tribes, but also millions of life-sustaining buffalo. Though legend recounts that some Kiowas chose the northwest route, the bulk of the tribe turned east and southward for what proved to be their great trek through the land of seemingly limitless prairies abundant with buffalo [Boyd 1981:9].

From that point this narrative leads into the story of "why most of the tribe left the plains," and an account of "The 'Pulling-out' Band Legend," which opens with the sentence, "Long ago two chiefs led a Kiowa hunting party in the land of the Yellowstone in the north (Boyd 1981:9)." After a dispute between these chiefs over the udder of a slain antelope, one of these chiefs leads his faction, the Kuato or "Pulling Out" band, to the northeast, and they are never heard from again, whereupon the victorious chief led his "main body of Kiowas" southeastward toward the Black Hill country (Boyd 1981:9–10).

Yet our investigation turned up a more detailed picture of mythic Kiowa origins which was also more geographically precise in situating the events within the Yellowstone Plateau. This narrative came from SC, a 47-year-old Vietnam War Veteran and painter who is an enrolled member of the Kiowa Tribe. In the winter of 1986 his tribe commissioned this man and two other Kiowa artists, MCB and PB, to illustrate the mythic and historic background of their people. Each of the ten panels measured six-by-eight feet and are currently displayed in the Kiowa Tribal Museum at the Kiowa Tribal Complex in Carnegie, Oklahoma. According to SC, it was MCB who "illustrated the early history of the Kiowas, the Yellowstone, what we call the Yellowstone period, up until the Kiowas moved down to the southern Plains area" (Personal communication, July 17, 1995).

During this mural project, SC was approached by ST, a Kiowa elder and tribal historian, now deceased, who "related a story to me concerning the Yellowstone area and requested that the story be illustrated in a painting." The story rang a bell, and our consultant believes he may have heard it earlier, perhaps from his father, a well-known Kiowa storyteller. But the version told by ST was related in "great, great detail...[he] also described the location [in Yellowstone Park] to me." In 1993 our consultant attempted to write the story down, but as he says he has not yet produced a final draft, he preferred to relate it orally on tape rather than read from his written version. Reproduced here in its entirety, SC entitled the following account, "Close to the Heart of God: Kiowa Yellowstone origins narration."

> There was a man who the Kiowas say was one of the greatest Kiowas who ever lived, but no one remembers his name so only for the purpose of this story I will call him Kahn Hayn (ph) which means "No Name" in the Kiowa language. Kahn Hayn was orphaned as a young child and he didn't marry. He didn't have any offspring and no immediate family, so his status in the tribe is described as being *kah ah*, or "poor". But he was a great hunter and a warrior, and he had a big heart and he was always working for the greater welfare of the Kiowa people and helping to provide for those who were less fortunate than him.

Figure 1.8. Kiowa Consultant SC with family visiting Dragon's Mouth, site of "Heart of God" narrative 1993 (Photo courtesy of SC, Anadarko, Oklahoma).

When Doh Ki [also known as *Doyem Daw-k'hee* or "the Earth-maker" (Boyd 1981:2)], or God, put all the people on the earth he placed them here and there in different areas according to how well they could fit in, in those areas. But after that was done there were still several groups of people, different tribes who didn't have places to call a homeland, and the Kiowas were among this group of people. One day a bush spoke to all these people and called them all together in one area. When the Kiowas arrived at this spot they discovered that the voice was the voice of God, or Doh Ki. Doh Ki explained to this gathering that he had one place left on this earth that didn't have anybody living there. But to get to this place, one of them had to go through a very difficult and dangerous journey to arrive there.

Doh Ki then had these people move to a place that Kahn Hayn thought was somewhere near the end of the earth. There was no vegetation there, no animals, no insects. Nothing moved about the ground or in the air. There was only dirt and rough stone formations, and here and there clouds of steam shot out from holes and fissures in the ground. Doh Ki called everyone around one of these steaming pools, and that was the most disturbing sight in this desolate place. There was a large deep cauldron of boiling water that surged and smashed against the jagged rock walls. It made a loud fearsome thumping noise, the cauldron did. It sounded like a great beast was just below the surface fighting to break free from the cauldron and tossing waters about violently.

Most of the people ran away immediately from the dreadful sight and sounds, and only a handful of chiefs and warriors from the various tribes stayed there, and Kahn Hayn and a few other Kiowa men were among them. Doh Ki then pointed down into the cauldron and told the remaining men that the surrounding land would belong to the tribe of any man who would dive down into the crashing waters. This created a good deal of excited discussion among these men and some began to back away because of fear, and many left because they felt this land, this country was useless and it wasn't worth risking their lives for.

Because of his strong belief and faith in the goodness of God, of Doh Ki, Kahn Hayn knew that there was more to this, to this offer, than what they were seeing and hearing, because Doh Ki didn't play tricks on the people. He constantly tested them, but his rewards were always good and lasting. Kahn Hayn related his feelings to the other Kiowas and said he had decided that he would try this thing, he was Kah Ahn and if this didn't work out right he wouldn't be leaving any family behind, and there would be no one to mourn his passing.

So he stepped over to the edge of the cauldron. He looked around one last time, but there was not much to see in this desolate landscape except his fellow Kiowas watching him with expressions of dread and apprehension. He then looked down into the boiling water, he closed his eyes and pushed himself off and down into the unknown.

Kahn Hayn first felt the extreme heat of the water, this started a small panic within him. The thumping sound that they'd heard was instead above the cauldron now, [there] was a terrible pounding all through his body and made his head feel like it was

about to burst. He had a sense that he had dived deep into the hot pool and his thoughts were raised in about what he was supposed to do next. He was wondering if there was something in this pool that he had to reach for, and if so he had to find it real soon because his lungs were beginning to ache, and his skin was getting numb from the heat of the water, and he felt like he was blistering from the intense heat of the water. Now, all of a sudden, while he was going through all these different emotions, something else struck him, just horrified him, and increased his panic. When he entered the water he was tossed about so much that he lost all sense of directions. He wanted to open his eyes to try to find his bearings, but he was afraid that his eyes would be burned like his skin was being burned, and he also felt himself being banged and scraped against the sharp, rough walls. But he couldn't tell, from the angle of the walls, he couldn't tell if he was near to the surface or deeper down into the cauldron, his air was starting to give out and all of the heat and pounding was causing him to lose all hope for his situation.

So just as he felt himself losing consciousness he decided just to let himself go to whatever death had in store for him. So he stopped his moving about, his thrashing, and he let himself go limp and he waited for death to overtake him. He didn't realize that at the time he was near the surface of the water of the cauldron.

When he stopped struggling his body floated up and broke the surface into the cool, sweet air. As he rolled over and began to gulp in the fresh air, he felt himself being lifted from the water by a lot of hands, and the next thing he heard [was] a lot of excited yelling and victory cries that the Kiowas were making.

And then he opened his eyes and he saw the most beautiful sight any human has ever seen. Doh Ki was not around any longer, nor were all the other tribal people who were gathered around as he dove into the cauldron. The only ones that were there were the Kiowas, and they were all trying to explain at once about the miraculous thing that Kahn Hayn had accomplished. The landscape was no longer barren and desolate but was now filled with a thick, rich forest of tall, beautiful trees. The distant mountains were partly covered with snow and small streams and creeks flowed down from the mountains, and they turned into rushing rivers which in turn cascaded into large bodies of water lakes. Also, there were now many large and small animals of all types moving through the forest, across the landscape, and on top and along the waters and waterways. The place that Kahn Hayn left as he dove into the cauldron was now transformed. This became the land that Doh Ki spoke of. This was now the most beautiful and abundant of all places on the earth, and this became the Kiowas' homeland.

Following this journey that Kahn Hayn made, the Kiowas stayed and feasted and celebrated for days and days, and they made many prayers in gratitude to Doh Ki for his gift that he gave to the Kiowas. Kahn Hayn became the chief of the Kiowas, and he had his choice of any young woman from the tribe for wives.

The Kiowas lived in, around this area for many years, and when Kahn Hayn finally died the Kiowas took him back to that cauldron and they buried him nearby. And then, gradually, the Kiowas began to move away from there into other areas.

They say that because of what Kahn Hayn did at that time, and because of the Kiowas' deep faith in God, that the Kiowas would always be preeminent, or paramount, to all other peoples, all other tribes, and that we would always remain closest to the heart of God, *Orbah Hah*. That's all.

In the limited published corpus of Kiowa oral tradition there is some corroboration for this narrative. SC himself came up with one of the three variants for the story, "How the Kiowa Became Paramount," which were collected by the noted anthropologist and folklorist Elsie Clews Parsons in the late 1920s. In Parsons' third version, out of

nowhere a mysterious voice issues a challenge: "'Whoever jumps into this pool of water, will get something,' and that was, to live in the centre of the world (Parsons 1929:15)." What is dangerous about the pool are vaguely defined "sharp points" sticking from the water, which are described as "sharp as cattails." Everyone else in the vicinity is too afraid to jump, but when a brave Kiowa leaps into the pool he plunges down and through to "the other side," winning the reward "to live in the centre of the world (Parsons 1929:15)." Then the voice went even further and prophesied that if the Kiowa ever died out, "there would be no more life on this earth. When the Indian race and language come to an end, there will be no more life on earth (Parsons 1929:15)."

According to our consultant, his people have a name for the places where these mythic events occurred. He says that "the name that we Kiowas have for that Yellowstone area is *Tung Sa'u Dah*, which means "hot water," or "the place of hot water." Furthermore, he identified the specific location or "cauldron" where the protagonist he calls *Kahn Hayn* ("No Name") had his near-death experience as The Dragon's Mouth, next to Mud Volcano, north of Yellowstone Lake.

Continuing Crow Ties to Yellowstone

With the estrangement between Crows and the Yellowstone Plateau region that commenced with the Treaty of 1868, it is difficult to reconstruct any lingering connections in the 20th century between the tribe and the park. Our principal Crow consultant did recall one of the few forms of native enterprise open to Indians in the general area—dancing for Yellowstone-bound tourists at Pahaska Tepee or Cody's Irma Hotel. But his family was not the only Indian entrepreneurs who have attempted to eke out summer earnings by presenting versions of native culture for tourists in the Yellowstone region. Although Yellowstone National Park never seems to have encouraged or commercially exploited its romantic association with locally derived Indian images and icons in the outgoing manner that Glacier National Park did with the Blackfeet Indians, Yosemite National Park with the Miwok Indians, or Grand Canyon National Park with the Hopi and Havasupai Indians, over the years there appear to have been sporadic attempts to encourage or allow Indians from adjoining reservations to display wares or exhibit dances for visitors. Although the facts are few and far between, the historical record contains a few glimpses of Indians performing as Indians within the park.

From the late 19th century come a few hints that the idea of Indians exhibiting their culture in the park was periodically entertained. One tawdry instance comes to light from a letter in the park archives dated July 5, 1896, in which an Indian from an unidentified tribe complained to a "Captain Anderson" at Fort Yellowstone that he had been ordered to leave the park after being cajoled into buying whiskey for a soldier. In order to avoid eviction, the Indian then took a job cutting wood and doing carpentry offered by a Mr. Waters at "Thumbs." But when some acquaintances asked him to "dance a war dance" and he "got a butcher knife in his teeth and danced" he was fired. His letter pleaded that he was "an Indian boy I work for my own living," but a notation penned on his letter indicated that he was a "deaf and drunk Indian" who was merely excusing "the circumstances that led to his being expelled from the Park" (Yellowstone National Park Archives #2586).

Three years later Mr. E.C. Waters, President of the Yellowstone Lake Boat Co. which was located in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, received permission through the park's Acting Superintendent from the Secretary of the Interior "to locate Indians [in their wigwams] on Dot Island in the Yellowstone Lake from June 13th to September 15th, for exhibition to the tourists in the park." But Interior Secretary E. A. Hitchcock also stipulated that the Indians:

> "...who may best be secured from the Crow Agency, Montana, are entirely willing to go...[and that the company will make satisfactory arrangements] for the proper care, protection, and remuneration of the Indians taken, and that it be distinctly understood that the company will pay all the necessary traveling expenses in getting them into the reservation, and

returning them promptly to their homes at the close of the season" [Yellowstone National Park Archives, Letters Sent, Vol. 8, April 15, 1899].

Within the time constraints of this research project no confirming documentation could be found as to whether any Indians actually pitched any tipis on Dot Island.

But other opportunities did lure Indians to perform as Indians within the park. The well-known writer James Willard Schultz arranged for a "very interesting ceremony" at the Yellowstone geyser region in late spring, 1916. Entering by the Cody Road, the Indians were to present "the first ceremony of its kind given by the Crow Indians in the last 20 years," and a proposed film of the proceedings was considered to be compatible with an on-going "Shoshone project" related to the "See America First" promotion of recreational tourism in the country (National Park Service Archives, 1912–18 Roads/Trails, Folder #342 "Opening Roads 1916, from letter by C.J. Blanchard, Statistician for the United States Reclamation Service to P.S. Eustis, Passenger Traffic Manager of the Burlington Railroad, May 6, 1916). In 1924, for instance, a number of Arapahoes and other tribesmen, the old warrior Goes In Lodge among them, participated in the controversial filming of the Hollywood studio production, *The Thundering Herd*, within the park (Wind River Mountaineer, V. 7, N. 1, Jan-March 1991). It is not clear whether this experience was the springboard for a "colorful pageant" which was held the following year near the buffalo ranch in the Lamar Valley between August 30th and September 6th. As described in the Yellowstone National Park's annual report for 1925, each day witnessed a "western frontier round-up celebration:"

> The tame buffalo herd of over 700 animals, a score or more of Crow Indians from the nearby reservation dressed in the regalia and war paints of other days, and a few real western cowboys made the round-up a thrilling representation of the old days of the west. Visitors to the ranch during "buffalo plains week," as it was called, were taken from the ranch headquarters to the site of the round-up in the stagecoaches of former days, drawn by four and six horses. The Indian camps were of great interest to visitors. Typical camps with their tepees, open fires, travois, and handiwork of the tribe, and peopled with braves, squaws, and papooses, were a vivid reminder of the fact that not so many years ago the ancestors of these very Indians roamed and hunted over the lands in this vicinity [Annual Report for Yellowstone National Park 1925, p. 16, Yellowstone National Park Archives].

But a more durable relationship between the park and Indians seems to have been underway only two years later, when an enterprising Crow Indian named Max Big Man was apparently presenting Indian material for tourists within the Yellowstone National Park. Born in 1886 of a Gros Ventre father and Crow mother, after attending the Crow Agency boarding school Big Man had struggled to become an independent rancher before signing on with the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad in 1926 (Hoxie 1995:329). A meeter and greeter to outside visitors to the reservation at the Crow Agency train stop, and an aspiring political leader of the "progressive" stripe who often escorted Chief Plenty Coups and other old war chiefs to public functions, Big Man was also a promoter of Indian culture presentations for the Custer Battlefield Association and briefly left Montana to participate in a Columbia Broadcasting System radio series for Children in the Chicago and New York schools. But within the state he "frequently talked and danced for White men's and women's groups, including visitors to the Crow Reservation and nearby Yellowstone Park" (Heidenreich 1979:55). As Big Man personally wrote Mrs. Jesse Schultz Graham in early February of 1927:

> I am planning now to go to the Park [Yellowstone] this coming summer where I am going to have different dances and little games that would interest the White people. I have a good tepee and I am trying to let the White people see how the Indians used to live in the old days, and lecture on different things. When I was a boy in school, I saw a show, and ever since then, I have taken an interest in shows and plays. I know just about what the White people would like to see and what inter-

> ests them, because I have talked to different tourists and have learned from the questions they ask me [Big Man, in Heidenreich 1979:45].

Big Man's entrepreneurial relationship with the park would continue in various capacities at least until 1932, when he told stories and was featured on the cover of the in-house park organ, *Yellowstone Nature Notes* (Big Man 1932). Apparently this visit, or another around the same time, inspired Big Man to write an article for a reservation newspaper. Opening with his memories of the stories older Crows told him as a boy, about running buffalo over cliffs, Big Man was especially interested when Charley Murphy, a Livingston rancher, had shown him actual jump sites near Murphy's Ox Yoke Ranch. Over the following days, attended by Fox Movietone cameramen, Big Man and Yellowstone National Park rangers, including one mixed-blood Flathead ranger who chided him about continuing to wear his hair long, rode their horses into view of elk, mountain sheep and buffalo. "As I was looking down," Big Man mused about the similarity between old days and the present, "I again thought about the stone age days of my people... As we came down from the mountain, the men were placed all along the trail, so the buffalo would not turn away from us and go over the mountain" (*Hardin Tribune*, January 13, 1933).

As for Big Man's relationship with Mrs. Graham, daughter of the well-known popular writer about Blackfeet Indians, James Willard Schultz, they appear connected through their efforts on Mrs. Graham's grand pageant, *Masque of the Absaroka*, which hired Crow actors to launch a public dramatization of Crow origin mythology. Mention of this cultural production is appropriate here because of the strenuous efforts in late 1926 and early 1927 by its director, Jessie Louise Donaldson, to stage it within Yellowstone National Park (File Folder in YNP Archives, PAGEANTS, N. #139.91, Fiscal Year 1927, 1928).

Planning for the *Masque* appears to have originated in 1926, when Ms. Schultz and two friends took the train to Crow Agency in order to solicit the collaboration of the tribe's Chief of Police Victor Three Irons and Max Big Man in a drama to be presented "at Montana State College to tell the story of the Crow Indians" (Big Man, in Heidenreich 1979:43). After a rocky start, a musical presentation apparently cobbled together from Crow origin narratives and aspects of Tobacco Society ceremonialism was staged with a sizeable Crow cast in Bozeman. Although Ms. Schultz appears to have left the show by this point, it was still being heavily promoted in the closing months of the year by Miss Jessie Louise Donaldson, who managed to win its endorsement by a string of such distinguished Indian writers and sympathizers as George Bird Grinnell and Frank Bird Linderman.

After a detailed projection of the mutual responsibilities and considerable investment in terms of money and personnel involved in mounting the Crow-acted *Masque* in Yellowstone National Park, itemized by Ms. Donaldson in a letter to Park Superintendent Horace M. Albright, the superintendent felt compelled to draft a somewhat discouraging reply. Although he apologetically admitted that his earlier letters to Donaldson had been encouraging about the idea, and also commenting that the National Park Service remained "very much interested in productions such as you are planning," he now worried that its scale and costs might be prohibitive (Albright to Donaldson, January 20, 1927; Yellowstone National Park Archives, Mammoth). In fact, a typed confidential memo between park officials affixed to one piece of official correspondence to Donaldson suggests that the park staff actually harbored more substantial doubts about the project. It reads: "To me, the attached doesn't seem to be suited for presentation in a National Park. I really can't see a great deal of connection it has to the Yellowstone and, of course, the Indian problem is going to be a hard one to solve in case they want to use real Indians. How does it appeal to you?" To this communication, Albright replied, "It can be worked out, I think, although we may have some troubles" (Albright file December 29, 1926; Yellowstone National Park Archives, Mammoth).

Whatever were the private connotations behind this mention of "the Indian problem" and "real Indians," the park appeared to have avoided the obligations which presenting the *Masque* would have entailed, although Mr. and Mrs. Albright apparently did attend its presentation in

Figure 1.10. Crow Indians during dedication of Plenty Coups Tablet on Cody Road (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #YELL 37805).

Independent Indian craft-vending never seemed to gain a foothold in the park. Although before the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916, commercial stores in Yellowstone National Park were selling arrowheads to tourists, our research was unable to come up with evidence of more direct marketing of cultural identity until the 1920s, when the few Indians like Big Man temporarily joined commercial ventures within the park. While on March 9, 1937, the newly conceived Arts and Crafts Board of the U.S. Dept. of the Interior attempted to impose an Indian-made-only policy for "Indian jewelry" sold in the national park retail outlets, there appears to have been no encouragement that these "genuine" Indian materials be of local or even regional origin (J.C. McCaskill, U.S. Department of Interior Indian Arts & Crafts Board General Manaer, to Eleanor K. Geary, Yellowstone National Park Company, April 28, 1950, YNP Archives, Memos and Correspondence, 1942-1951, Box #C-33). There is even anecdotal evidence that at least one Indian was actively discouraged from developing an entrepreneurial presence in the park. According to a story purportedly related to Alston Chase by a former North District Ranger in Yellowstone, "Not long ago" an Indian businessman wanted to position a tipi-shaped gift shop near Roosevelt Lodge. When the Indian learned that his concession permit had been denied because the building would detract from the lodge, which was under nomination for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, the Indian is said to have asked in so many words, "How can a white man's building be more historical than an Indian tepee?" (Chase 1987:107, ft. 48—Chase remembers hearing the story from Ranger David Spirtes, personal communication July 30, 1995).

When our principal Crow consultant accompanied his family into the Yellowstone National Park area, they were the ones who were now, formally at least, in the category of tourists. But that did not mean that they forgot their oldest cultural memories of the Yellowstone region, which included that category of Crow prose narratives that explained how the world in its present form was first created.

Among the oldest of Crow story-cycles is that which relates the deeds of Old Woman's Grandson (*Káalisbaapitua*), a character who functions in the classic role of "culture hero." Not surprisingly, we also find this important character prominent in the folklore of their old kinfolk, the Hidatsas, to the east, as well as in that of their neighbors, the Mandan. As the offspring of the Sun and a Crow Woman, in the Crow version Old Woman's Grandson is usually described as raised by a powerful and often demonic grandmother figure following the death of his human mother. Af-

ter maturing to young manhood with remarkable speed, he undertakes the killing of a generation of monsters who rule the world. When he has finally readied the world for human occupation, he often turns into the north star, while his grandmother becomes the moon.

For the Crow people at least some of the environmental characteristics that define Yellowstone National Park apparently came about through the heroic deeds of this mythic personality. One narrative from the Pryor area discusses the origins of two features possibly from the Mud Volcano area. This version of the basic narrative originates from a southern River Crow man named Sharp Horn, who passed it on to his son Comes Up Red, who told it to his son, whose son, GBT, related it for our study. During our interview with this consultant he described the following episode as a portion of the longer cycle of stories about the mythic deeds of Old Woman's Grandchild. The first time GBT told the story it came out like this:

> ...there was a part where the boy kills a big buffalo bull who sucks in people. A giant buffalo bull that sucks in and eats people. When the boy killed that giant buffalo bull, he turned him into that. That's what he turned into.
>
> Then he put a giant mountain lion right next to it to keep him in check. To keep the bull from coming back. That is what the old people said happened. The old giant buffalo is the one that sucks out the hot blast of air. And then that other hole makes a growling sound. So they say that is the mountain lion that keeps the buffalo bull in check [GBT Interview, July 16, 1996].

A bit later in the interview GBT elaborated on the story, remembering some additional details:

> ...my father was told by his grandfathers that this [the thermal region of the park] was where the Grandchild, the Old Lady's Grandchild, fought all of the beasts and killed them, and turned them into mountains and hills after he killed them. Then he turned the giant buffalo into a geyser's formation. I guess Colter's Hell [GBT later identified Colter's Hell as Mud Volcano and Dragon's Mouth] is the present name for it. It blows hot air out, and for twelve miles windward of it all of the trees are dead. Even animals would die in the old days. But it is not as strong as it used to be. He said I will turn you into this, and then he put another geyser formation there. The other geyser formation roars all of the time. It just makes a sound. He said that was a mountain lion, to keep the buffalo bull in check, from coming back to life again and harassing the Crows. That was the reason [GBT Interview, July 16, 1996].

Another mythic narrative told by the Crow and associated with the park was related by this consultant directly on the shores of Yellowstone Lake. It links the earlier theme of the death-of-the-monsters with the strongest variety of supernatural medicine a Crow can receive—that bestowed by the Thunderbird. In terms of the Crow conceptual categories which make up the culture's world-view, this narrative also ties together the three forces and environmental features which still today make the Yellowstone region so unique—the benevolent high mountains, the threatening depths of the great lake, and the hot rocks whose power only a human being can harness. Our consultant received the rights to this story from the man who had adopted him into the Crow Tobacco Society, FR, who had heard it from his own grandfather. But he prefaced it by emphasizing that "Our legends say that the Sun created the first Crow on Yellowstone River, which we call Elk River. The Crows have always lived here." In this narrative and the one to follow—in both of which Yellowstone Lake seems to play almost a character role—we will also catch an echo of the relationship between birds and the lake which Hunts-To-Die mentioned earlier in his equation of driftwood with eagle feathers:

> The story begins when the Crows were camped at the junction of Pryor Creek and the Yellowstone River. A man was sitting on a high hill on the east side of Pryor Creek one day. He was making arrows and looking out. He was the lookout.
>
> Suddenly from out of the sky the Thunderbird came and grabbed him by his hair. When he grabbed him he said "Do not be afraid." So this man was not afraid when the Thunderbird grabbed him. Then

he brought him over here to overlook, Overlook Mountain. It is on the southeast side of the lake where we are at right now.

So the Thunderbird took him to the top of the mountain. His nest was there. So he put him in the nest. He said, "what do you need for food? What do you need to stay alive." The man said, "Bring me a young buffalo," and he said, "I need water." He [Thunderbird] said "all the water you need is here." So he brought him a young buffalo calf. When the man finished eating he asked the Thunderbird why he brought him there.

He said, "this is my nest. This is where I live." Then he showed him Yellowstone Lake, which the Crows have no name for except that we call it the Big Lake, the Large Lake. He said, "Down there monsters live in the water and nearby. When I lay my eggs, and the fledglings come out, on the third day that they come out, all of the beasts come and they eat the little ones. I am constantly at war with these beasts."

He said, "I know you are my allies, because I know that you constantly fight these monsters also." He said, "I want you to kill...there is one certain one that always comes up and eats the fledglings when they are three days old." He said, "I will bring you anything that you need to kill this water beast that lives in the lake."

So the man fasted, and he didn't know what to do at first. He said, "You have greater powers than I. How is it that you cannot kill this beast?" He [Thunderbird] said, "Our powers are about the same and that is why I cannot kill him." He said, "You have reason, you have your mind to reason. You can think out a way to kill him. That is why I brought you here."

So the man fasted, and thought, and finally he saw in his dream...he was told how he could kill this beast that would eat the three-day old Thunderbirds. He was told to dig pits, and to build big fires, and to put rocks on it. Certain sized rocks, that he could pick up with a forked stick. He was told that the monster, when he came up the mountain, would open his mouth. He said, "Throw as many hot rocks as he could into his mouth. And then dig another pit and put hides in it. Great big hides, and fill it with water and boil it. When it is boiling, make sure that you have a way to pick it up. Put saplings around it so that you can pick it up. When it is close enough pour the hot water into his mouth. That way you will kill him, you see."

So the eggs were about ready to hatch. When they hatched, they had everything ready. All of the rocks, and all of the wood that they needed for the fire. Then on the third day, they saw the beast coming up the mountain. So they got ready, and they built a big fire and got all of the hot rocks that they needed, and they also boiled water.

Then when the beast came up, the man would pick up the hot rocks with his stick and would throw them into his mouth, as much as he could. Then when he got close enough, he poured this hot water into his mouth. Then steam came out of his mouth, and then he tumbled down into the lake. When he hit the lake the water splashed, and went up about as high as the mountain, when it hit the water.

They say that the man who killed the last dinosaur....which doesn't mean anything in our language anymore, it is so old. They say that was the last dinosaur. They have never seen any dinosaurs after that [GBT Interview, July 16, 1996].

The second narrative which GBT associated with Yellowstone Lake he heard from both his grandfather, Comes Up Red, and also from a man named George Goes Ahead,

There was a war party. A man named [?] —I don't know what it means, I guess it's too old to translate—led a war party. They came to Yellowstone Lake. Although they were fearful of it, they did not want to go into it, they are drawn to it because of its power, and the mystical quality.

They came to the lake and they saw a swan, way down, almost in the middle of the lake. This war party leader said he needed

Figure 1.11. Crow consultant GBT at Yellowstone Lake, checking over park cultural sites with Lawrence Loendorf, 1995.

> the feathers of this swan. In his vision he was told to get certain feathers and the swan's feathers fit the description. So he asked if anyone could swim out there and get this swan. All of the men were scared. They did not want to swim out there and get this swan.
>
> But there was one young boy in the war party. He was willing to go out there. He said, "Older brother, let me swim out there. I can swim out there and get that bird for you." But they didn't want him to go. Because all of the men were supposed to be brave and courageous and they showed their fear. They didn't want to be put down by this young boy. They said, "No, don't go out there, you don't know what you are getting yourself into."
>
> Finally he said, "Just let me go out there a little ways. If something bad happens, I can swim back." They said go ahead. The young boy swam into the lake and went out there and caught the swan, and came back with it. Then all of the men to show their courage swam to the lake and came back. After that they were not as fearful as they were of the lake [GBT Interview July 6, 1995].

Although this second story is also about a Crow contest with the dangers of Yellowstone Lake, it concerns a more psychological and physical conflict with place than the previous narrative, which dealt with a supernatural encounter with "spirit-beings" of the location. When Goes Ahead spoke to our consultant of this story of the war party and the swan, he had envisioned it occurring "in our time, in our era, [but] my grandfather said it was way back." This subtle shift in temporal context seems to problematize whether the latter narrative fell more into the category of a "myth" like the first story, a genre which according to canons of folklore scholarship refers to prose narratives which "are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past" and are regarded as sacred truth and take place in a far different world (Bascom 1984:9). Or did it belong more properly in the category of "legends," which Bascom says are regarded "as true by the narrator and his audience, but they are set in a period considered less remote, when the world was much as it is today?"

When our principal Crow consultant tried to resolve the dilemma about what sort of narrative this final story was, like many contemporary Indians he reached for the English language category which he felt would hold greatest truth-value for his non-Crow listeners. Of its storyline about the commencement of a new, more equitable kind of relationship between his people and earlier spirits associated with Yellowstone Lake, he stated simply, "It was part of our history."

CHAPTER 2

WAYFARERS FROM THE NORTH: BLACKFEET AND FLATHEAD

It is an inescapable fact that after well over a hundred years of their absence from the Yellowstone Plateau, documentation on the precise topography which was covered by parties of Blackfeet, Flathead, Pend d'Oreille and Kootenai who penetrated the greater Yellowstone ecosystem is hard to come by. This means that any place-names for the plateau and its entryways, or oral traditions and accounts of cultural practices which might link these tribes and the park area proper, are rare. For unlike the Crow to the east and Shoshone to the south, the hunting territories of these northerly tribes, as delineated at least in early treaties, rarely overlapped that of Yellowstone National Park—although these distinct ethnic groups certainly claimed hunting rights to vaster territories than their reservation areas today. Furthermore, these Indian travelers left scantier material evidence of their experiences in the Yellowstone region—with the exception of the occasionally dropped or discarded tools or weapons, which are next to impossible to identify as to tribal provenance even if one is lucky enough to locate them today.

Figure 2.1. Yellowstone Park Superintendent Horace Albright adopted by Crow Indians at the Gallatin Gateway opening to the north of the park, 1927 (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #Yell 37799-2).

And finally, during the historical period many of these northern tribes people were actively trying to cover up their tracks, since their purpose was often to hunt and forage or travel without notice, and to take horses, furs or weapons from any enemy tribes people or non-Indians who were traversing, trapping or camping in or around the park area. Nonetheless, we have gathered and organized what information we could uncover concerning their movements, and their possible cultural associations and claims with the region, and more will surely come to light in the future.

Up and Down the Yellowstone: A Northern Entrance

Parties of Indian travelers such as the Flathead and Blackfeet reached the northern rim of the Yellowstone Plateau through the Bridger or Flathead passes out of present-day Bozeman, or they arrived there by dropping south from the Crazy Mountains by way of the Shields River. These two access trails which then brought them into the inner sanctum of present-day Yellowstone National Park could hardly stand in greater contrast.

The first trail opened two-thirds of the way west along the park's northern perimeter and offered a relatively gentle gateway to the high country. In its broad curve between the Absaroka and Gallatin mountain ranges, this was the long welcoming corridor of the upper Yellowstone River valley which would eventually lead them directly into the park proper. At this point the Flathead, Pend d'Oreille and Blackfeet, who would have already ventured many days from the upper ranges of present-day Montana, eventually entered the trough of the Paradise Valley, about thirty miles long and ten to twelve miles wide, just south of today's Livingston. Here was also one of those unusual moments when it was necessary to head "down" in order to go "up" against the river, as the Yellowstone flows north into Montana.

As the traveling Indian parties paralleled the river, moving steadily upstream by means of easily traveling flat terraces and halting occasionally in the shade of cottonwoods along its banks to feed their horses from its nourishing inner bark during the winter, they were probably well aware of the presence of older Indian encampments all along the way. Just past Livingston, for instance, they passed between deserted old Indian sites positioned on both opposing ridges of the river. The camp location on the western bank (Brawner I and II, 24PA503) was recent enough to have had cooking hearths used by their own relatives, but according to archeological estimates the site on the opposite ridge (Myers-Hindman, 24PA504) would have seen Indian fires nearly nine thousand years before then (Lahren 1971).

Among the thousands of old Indian sites along this major native trade route into Yellowstone National Park, according to archaeologist Larry Lahren, is the terrace above Emigrant where one can still pick out miles-long rows of stones—remnants of an old Indian buffalo jump (in Billings Gazette, July 6, 1995, p. 4B). Such locations would have made Indian travelers like the Blackfeet feel at home; back north their yearly round involved stopping at fixed winter campsites when the buffalo were fat and prime for driving the animals into the boulder drivelines they called *piskun* (Barrett 1921:23). In one of its rare references to any Indians whatsoever in the Yellowstone valley, an early guidebook to Yellowstone National Park mentions how early white settlement in the fertile Paradise Valley attracted "Indian marauders." But since this was only ten years after the Nez Perce troubles in the park, the guide immediately felt obliged to assuage any anxieties with an all-clear advisory: "But fear of Indian attack has now forever passed away" (Hyde 1887:18–19).

Long appreciated as a rich archaeological area, as early as 1893 William S. Brackett described the "Indian forts" he noticed on the river benches above this stretch of the Yellowstone River, and the tipi rings that lay farther into the mountains. He also stressed other "interesting remains left by Indians who lived and hunted in this fertile valley as late as the year 1876" which he found in local ranches, especially at one which lay "opposite Emigrant Peak, where I am writing" (Brackett 1893:127). Continuing upstream through this Park County corridor, archaeologist Lahren guesses there are an average of "two or more archaeological sites per square mile."

hone warriors of an entire Crow band, thirty lodges strong, which were led by a camp chief with the name of "The Red Lodge," and which included his brother, "The Yellow Lodge." The tragedy occurred along the banks of Red Lodge's present-day Rock River, which was referred to by the Crow as "Fast Current" (*Biliiliikashee*) (Old Coyote and Old Coyote 1985:7).

As for the trail whose traces still ascend the side of the present-day Beartooth Pass, here Indians like the Crows, Blackfeet, Assiniboine and others would have faced a much harder road, for it forced them to clamber back and forth up the single-file footpath which lifted 2,000 feet at a sheer incline. Once this exhausting ascent to nearly 11,000 feet above sea level was accomplished, the subsequent leg to the Cooke City area and the present-day park entrance would have seemed like a breeze. Anyone who tries to hike that old Indian route today can quickly appreciate why the early Cooke City miners probably preferred the easier, if lengthier, supply route which tracked the Yellowstone River farther north. At the same time it might be a mistake to hypothesize only meager Indian use or even occupation of these granite, snowy highlands with their mirror-like lakes simply because non-Indians today find them cold, forbidding and grizzly-infested. Former game warden Verne Waples found hundreds of arrowheads and other artifacts around these lakes, and old Indian sites continue to turn up on the Beartooth Plateau, as archaeologist George Arthur has written of the region:

> Several large private collections of artifacts recovered from high elevation sites in the Beartooth Mountains west of Red Lodge, Montana, add further support for Early Period occupancy throughout this large area. The Early Period artifacts suggest, inferentially, that similar environments and cultural events existed during this period on both sides of the Rockies and throughout the mountains of Southern Montana. A similar cultural homogeneity is inferred for both the Middle and Late Prehistoric Periods, so that the Rocky Mountains may not be considered a barrier to culture [Arthur 1968:53].

While there has been little archaeological effort to reconstruct the skimpy remains of this steep Beartooth Pass footpath, we do have other clues that Indians were at least familiar with its alpine habitat. Near the head of Little Rock and Bennett Creeks on the plateau and beside Leg Lake, in 1891 a Red Lodge cowboy found a crude log "stockade" which one U.S. ranger conjectured may have been built by early trappers and their Indian wives who conceivably led them there (Rollinson 1942:138–139). Additionally, we know that tribespeople around the Yellowstone Plateau could be quite familiar with areas distant from their immediate terrain: just as it was Crows on the Yellowstone who first informed mountain man Tom Fitzpatrick of the whereabouts of the important pass (South Pass) through the Wind River mountains in order that his trappers could easily find beaver streams on the other side (in Hafen 1981:339), so it would be Wind River Shoshones and Sheep Eaters who apparently guided Lt. Gen. P.H. Sheridan's first military expedition across the Beartooth Plateau in August 1882 (Gregory 1882:19–35).

Place-names can also provide indirect linkage between cultural groups and specific geography. In a 1979 affidavit by Walter F. Columbus, in which he remembered his days as transit man on a surveying crew between Red Lodge and Cooke City in the summer of 1920, Columbus stated that the sole mountain place-name on their maps at the time was Beartooth Butte. "I recall talking to some old-timers in Cooke City," testified Columbus, "who said that Beartooth Mountain was named by Indians because of a prominent rock which looked like a bear's tooth. They did not say what tribe of Indians but there was a tribe of Sheep Eaters who were familiar with the Yellowstone area" (Columbus, November 6, 1979). From the Crow Indian perspective comes a bit more detail, thanks to information provided by tribal historian Joseph Medicine Crow. Responding to a request for information from a public information specialist at the Helena National Forest office regarding the origin of the Beartooth placename, Medicine Crow sought out some elderly Crows, and then wrote back:

> Unfortunately the old tribal historians, keepers of tribal annals and oral traditions, are gone now and I must find people who had recalled the old story tellers mentioning certain events, etc.

One old lady related that her grandmother used to refer to the whole mountain area around Red Lodge as DAK-PIT-CHAY IGOTUSH, meaning 'Bear's Small Teeth'. Several other informants agreed with this version; but none of them is certain about the origin of the description. I am inclined to believe that such a description is based on a distant view of the whole area, particularly the jagged looking horizon which may resemble a bear's teeth from a side view.

Another informant, raised by his old grand parents, recalled his grandmother using the words DAK-PIT-CHAY ITAGOTUSH, which means, 'Bear's Tusk' or 'Bear's Small Tusk'. This informant believes that this description referred of a particular rock formation in the mountains but later the whole area was known by singular term...

It is feasible that the original Crow description of a particular rock formation resembling a bear's tusk or fang in time was used to include a general area. This would take place after 1700–25 when the ancestral tribe of the Crow Indians came into this area after a long migration trek taking nearly 100 years [Medicine Crow to Helena National Forest, February 20, 1980].

To this hint of Crow familiarity we can add a piece of Blackfeet data regarding the Beartooth Mountain locale. On a map for which a Blackfeet "Chief" named *Ac Ko Mok Ki*, or "the Feathers," provided information to a Hudson Bay Co. fur trader in 1801, the Indian offered some interesting glimpses of the broad extent of Blackfeet familiarity with the Plains (Moodie and Kaye 1977). Along the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains he clearly indicated *Ki oo pe kis*, or "Bears Tooth," by which he apparently was referring to the same mountains mentioned by Medicine Crow above, lying at Latitude 45 degrees north in the Absaroka Range. And when it came to identifying the entire range by a single promontory he seems to have effected the submersion of the singular into the plural which Medicine Crow suggests was the same process that gave the mountains their name today.

Then Stuart W. Conner added a final piece of evidence for an old Indian presence on the Beartooth Plateau. From Vern Waples of Red Lodge, Montana, he heard the following story, which also illustrates the pool of local lore which formal studies and surveys too often overlook. It seems that in 1936, shortly after the Beartooth Highway was completed, Waples was searching for a conical timber lodge which he, in turn, had heard about from Dominick Reno, who ran a store at Beartooth Lake. Looking near the USFS fire lookout on the west side of the Beartooth Highway and overlooking the Clarks Fork valley, Waples found a circle of 13 buffalo skulls "in pretty good shape" (Stuart Conner, personal communication, August 11, 1993). No additional information or photographs have come to light about this site. Although none of these circles has been found in Yellowstone National Park, such ritual circles of buffalo skulls are known on the high Plains; some say Indian hunters laid them out as a magical way to attract buffalo (see painting of buffalo skull circles by Alfred Jacob Miller, Barsness 1977:86).

The foregoing discussion is not meant to imply that these routes, up the Yellowstone River and over the Beartooth Pass, were the sole means of access for northern Indians into the park landscape. As some northern Indian visitors quietly told Park Service officials when they were visiting in 1993, "We used those major trails, but we had many ways of getting into the park" (David Ruppert, NPS Regional Ethnographer, personal communication, August 9, 1996). Members of tribes as far north as the Canadian border did travel widely and over extremely long distances, and they frequently entered the park or passed within the rain shadow alongside it. As their own narratives and recorded geographic knowledge, as well as the chronicles of non-Indians, make very clear, tribesmen from the Blackfeet, Flathead, Kootenai and Assiniboine nations could penetrate the park's mountainous perimeter and circulate within it at will. Or they skirted its eastern or western boundaries on long-distance travels farther south, in order to make the annual Green River trade rendezvous in Shoshone country, or even to venture still deeper into the Southwest and beyond to Mexico.

Blackfeet Towards the "Many Smoke"

In the chronicles of Indian-white as well as Indian-Indian relations related to the Yellowstone Plateau in the first half of the 19th century, few tribes are as associated with hit-and-run raids as the Blackfeet, who hailed from country along both sides of the U.S.-Canada border. By at least 1775 this sizeable tribe had become a linguistically-homogeneous Plains Indian group who were already major players in early European exploration and economic exploitation of the northern Plains. All of their three politically independent divisions spoke dialects of the same Algonquian stock, but only one of them possessed territories which spilled over the lands of the United States and Canada. Yet distance rarely deterred any of their warriors from going wherever they wanted.

Today the members of the tribes collectively but incorrectly known as Blackfeet are increasingly preferring to be known by their old name, *Natsitapii*. According to Reeves and Peacock, they are composed of three tribes, the Kainaa, Piikani and Siksika, with the histories of sub-groups of these tribes, such as the South Piikani who traditionally hunted, collected plants, camped and conducted ceremonies in Glacier National Park, each following their own, unique trajectory (Reeves and Peacock 1995:3). The most northerly division of the three tribal groups were the *Siksika*, whose upper boundary was the Northern Branch of the Saskatchewan River. Between the Battle and Bow Rivers lay the land of the Blood, or *Kainawa*. But the territory of the third division, the *Piikani*, stretched along the mountains and dropped well south of the border, past Glacier Park and, say the early scholars George Bird Grinnell (1912) and Walter McClintock (1910), actually extending well towards the Yellowstone River (Steward 1934:3). One band of Piikani, known as the Small Robes, even developed a special affinity for the southland, intermarrying with Flatheads and settling near the Musselshell River (Ewers 1955:216-217).

In the late 18th century David Thompson heard of a sizeable Piegan war party which, unable to locate any Shoshones to raid, had ventured farther south to intercept a Spanish column of pack animals. Descending upon them, the Indians forced the Spaniards to flee. The Blackfeet tossed away their cargo, which turned out to be silver ore, and drove the animals an estimated 1500 miles home (in Ewers 1958:197). The validity of this account is underscored by explorer Alexander Mackenzie, who characterized the Blackfeet of 1800 as an adventuresome, far-ranging people, "who deal in horses and take them upon war parties towards Mexico, from which they enter into the country to the south-east, which consists of plains" (quoted in McClintock 1910:3). It is also reinforced by a story reported by James Doty of a Blackfeet trip in the mid-1840s which took three years and transported about five of their chiefs to Taos and Santa Fe (Ewers 1955:198-199).

Obviously the Blackfeet warriors could strike wherever they desired, from the Rockies to the Mississippi, from northern Canada down through the southwestern deserts, with stabs into the Yellowstone Plateau in between. And fairly clearly they were familiar with its interior. While accompanying some Blackfeet on a hunt in the Missouri-Yellowstone country in spring, 1865, a Jesuit priest named Father Xavier Kuppens was regaled by a chief named Big Lake "on the beauties of that wonderful spot." His curiosity was so great that Kuppens persuaded some young warriors to guide him into the park area, whereupon they escorted him directly to its "chief attraction"—the Grand Canyon and the Firehole basins (Kuppens 1962:7).

Around 1800, when the Blackfeet made their earliest historically documented entry into the history of the Yellowstone Plateau, they numbered conservatively 15,000 strong (Mooney 1928:13), with one estimate of the size of their available warriors at the time reaching 9,000 (Jenness 1932:324—quoting Alexander Mackenzie in 1801). By then, thanks to their fortuitous acquisition of both the gun (from European traders at the northern Plains posts) and the horse (from southern Plains Indian middlemen in the tribal horse trade), they had already succeeded in flexing their muscles on their southeastern borders through Shoshone country and on into the Bighorn Mountains of the Crow. This burst of expansionism wound up pushing the Shoshones all the way back into their old Wyoming hunting grounds,

Figure 2.3. Pelican Creek, site of Osborne Russell's 1839 battle with Blackfeet (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #YELL 37880).

as the invaders attempted to occupy the territory in between. "Gradually," writes Åke Hultkrantz, "single bands of Blackfeet reached the Yellowstone Park (probably along the Gallatin and Yellowstone), and in the middle of the 19th century they claimed the plains next to the Rocky Mountains clear down to Yellowstone Park" (Hultkrantz 1957:142, corroborated by Schultz and Donaldson 1930:27).

Entering the park area to trap beaver but more commonly to maraud the fur caches of American trappers for resale to British traders (Spence 1996:22), the Blackfeet never pretended to call the Yellowstone region their own, in the fashion that they laid spiritual claim to the Rocky Mountain highlands of Glacier National Park and the Badger-Two Medicine region (as excellently documented by Reeves and Peacock 1995). At the same time, they did accord the area special respect, according to interviews by Joseph Weixelman with Blackfeet elders:

> George Kicking Woman identified the lands of Yellowstone as sacred, although not to the Blackfeet directly. Because they were sacred to others, they were treated as such by them. When passing through Yellowstone on the way to the basins of the Snake or Green rivers, they would stop to pray with their pipes or leave tobacco. Prayers might have especially been said for a safe journey since travel was dangerous in the nineteenth century [Weixelman 1992:55].

By what routes the Blackfeet made their predatory forays into and around this landscape we have only a spotty record. But thanks to James Willard Schultz, there is one intriguing anecdote about a Piegan war party which traveled directly into the heart of what is now Yellowstone National Park. There they are said to have come upon what they took at first to be the smoke from a slew of campfires. But after night fell they could detect no flick-

ering flames, and only later did they discover that what they had seen was the steam rising from the hot springs. Hence their name for the park's area of thermal activity: *Aisitsi*, or "Many Smoke" (Schultz 1962:377).

Even some contemporary Blackfeet can recall hearing of such long-distance travels. One Blackfeet consultant, CCB, a Liaison, Program and Exhibition Development employee at Calgary's Glenbow Museum, recalled a story told him by his grandfather, Mark Mayfield, who belonged to "Chief Old Sun's clan" of the northerly Blackfeet and who died in 1991 at the age of 94:

> One day, he told me, they used to go as far as the Mexicans, go all the way down and come back. I would look at him and think, he was crazy, how could they get there? He said they would start when the grass starts to turn green, and sometimes they take a whole year to get back. Long, long time ago, a group of them were going south and came upon a huge lake. One old chief was very hot and went to the hills. He was cooling himself—it hardly ever snowed there—when behind him came a ripple. Through his legs came this monster and it burned or did something to him. The chief said to the Thunder God that he didn't do anything. Can you help me in stopping this creature? Then thunder came down, and a huge tornado sucked up that monster, and they left. The following year when they came back by the place where this happened [on the return trip to the north], there was no water left at that place [Phone Interview with Blackfeet consultant CCB, August 22, 1996].

Although after considerable searching we have been unable to find more geographically-precise versions of the trails followed on such Piegan adventures to the south, a general picture of Blackfeet long-distance travel has come from Brings-Down-The-Sun, a Canadian Blackfeet man who was interviewed by the amateur scholar and photographer Walter McClintock in 1905. The old man said that his people customarily used two main routes for their major journeys. One led them northwards out of Calgary, Alberta, up into the Barren Lands of the Northwest Territory and beyond to the Yukon—"as far as people live," in the old man's words. However, the Old North Trail which took them in the opposite direction bordered the southern mountains, and even extended "south into the country inhabited by a people with dark skins, and long hair falling over their faces (Mexico)" (McClintock 1930:435). Fast-moving war parties would ply these routes, but also whole families and bands traversed them as well. As one Blackfeet memory of the tribe's last, unsuccessful journey to make peace with the Shoshone describes these families on the move:

> When we traveled, if you were with the head ones, you could not see the last ones, they were so far back. They had more horses than they could count, so they used fresh horses every day and traveled very fast. On the twenty-fourth day they reached the place where Owl Bear had told the Snake they would camp, and put up their lodges along the creek [Grinnell 1961:130].

The father of Brings-Down-The-Sun told McClintock about one of these long voyages to visit the dark-skinned southerners which was undertaken in the early 19th century by a man named Elk Tongue and his wife. In Elk Tongue's case, the ultimate purpose of the odyssey was neither for raiding or hunting but turned out to be the quest for powerful medicine. Down in the hot country a "South Man" sold him an extremely sacred "Dancing Pipe," which was to be used on important occasions, in conjunction with its medicine bundle. One feature of this bundle's ceremony was its power to grant practitioners, through gazing into the ritually-eviscerated body of a badger, a glimpse of whether they would die young or live to enjoy old age. But because this foreknowledge too often saddened people, the "South Man" discouraged its new Blackfeet owners from trying it out (McClintock 1930:435–436).

While on such missions the Blackfeet war parties seized every opportunity to ambush their old enemies, whether they were the Shoshones or the Crows. Brings-Down-The-Sun remembered one "picture writing" created by his father which recorded such a far-reaching military expedition led by a young chief named Calf Robe. After "traveling southward along the Rocky Mountains," Calf Robe's band crossed the Yellowstone and entered "the country of the Snakes" with whom they skirmished, barely escaping with their lives (McClintock

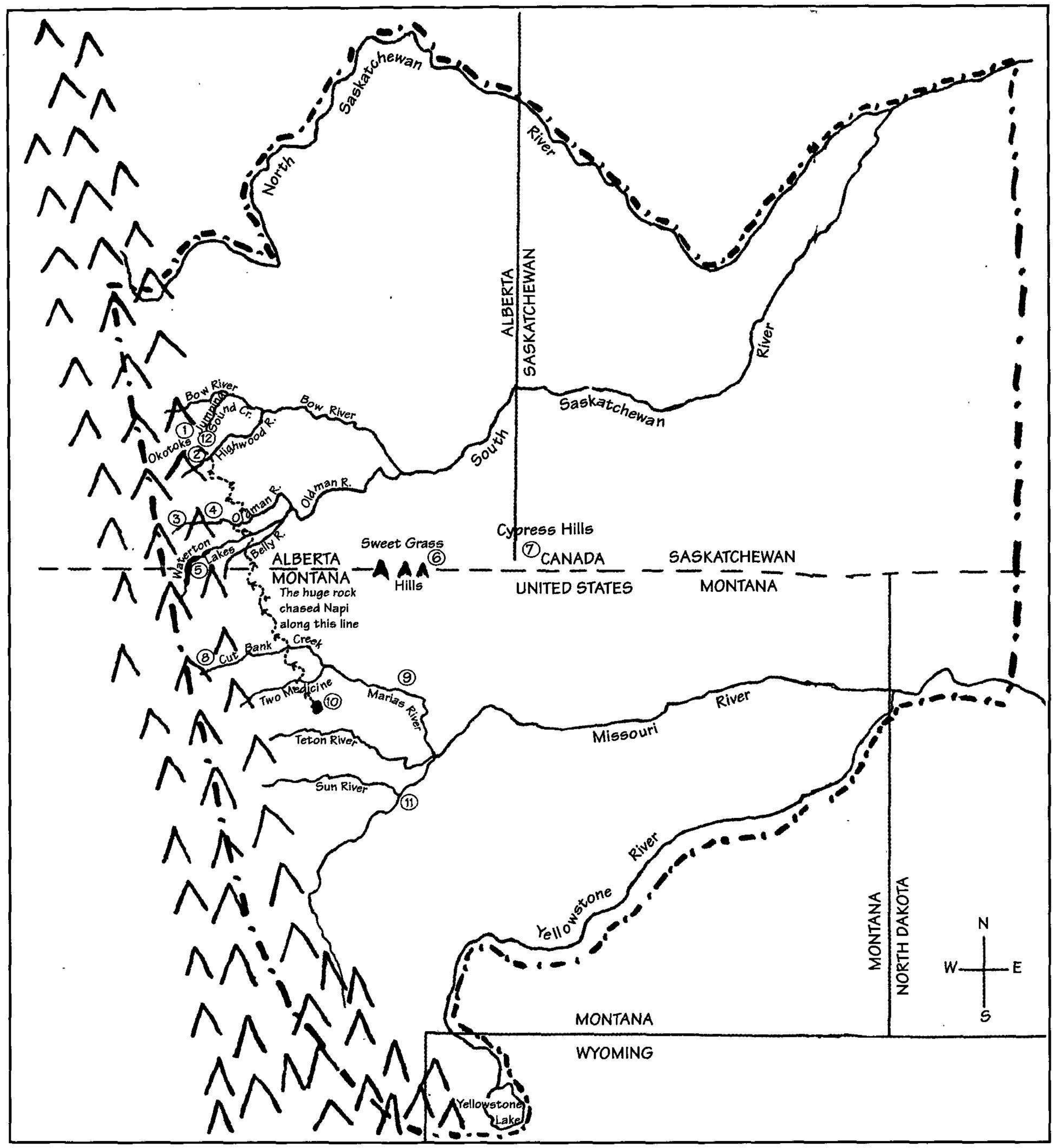


Figure 2.4. Map of Piegan-Blackfeet aboriginal hunting territory, which includes portion of Yellowstone National Park within southern perimeter (From The Sun Came Down *by Percy Bullchild, 1985 n.p.).*

1930:469). Thanks again to the prolific chronicler of early Blackfeet travels, James Willard Schultz, we have yet another description of such a long-distance journey to the south, a narrative which Schultz heard first-hand from a Blood chief named Eagle Plume.

Departing for his raid upon the Crows, early one morning the young Eagle Plume led nine warriors from their tipis along the "Belly River" to the banks of the "Bear" [Marias] River, which they crossed near a large, sacred red rock on its northern shore "just above Great Northern Railway Branch."

After praying to this rock for success on their raid, they then crossed the "Milk" [Teton] River below the breast-shaped butte which lent the stream its name. At the junction of the "Pile of Rocks" [Sun] and "Big" [Missouri] rivers, the young men, by now very hungry, forded the latter stream and camped for a few nights at "Rock-Ridge-Across", the site of present-day Great Falls, in order to hunt for buffalo.

Successful at obtaining meat, they then pressed onward, crossing the "Yellow" [Judith] Mountains through the gap and soon reaching the "Dried Meat" [Musselshell] River. Shortly after wading this river they glimpsed the outline of the north end of the "Bad" or "Unfaithful" [Crazy] Mountains, halting at the head of the "Bad" [Shields] River that they knew flowed into the "Elk" [Yellowstone]. They were aware they were close to their destination, and before long, "where Elk River comes from the mountains [probably near Big Timber] into the plain, we saw rising the smoke of many lodge fires, of a big Crow camp, of course" (Schultz and Donaldson 1930:217–224).

According to Brings-Down-The-Sun, his people might be away on such journeys for many months, which most likely led them through or just skirting the Yellowstone Plateau, and eventually brought them into the far southwestern country from whence they brought back the rare materials which were native to those foreign landscapes. But their absences could also stretch far longer: Elk Tongue's trip took four years—twelve months of steady traveling to get there, and eighteen months just to get back because he chose the longer detour through the "High Trees" or Bitterroot country in order to avoid any Crows, Sioux and Cheyennes who might be lying in wait along their main North Trail. There was tremendous rejoicing when the Blackfeet warriors finally returned home with their spoils and stories like those reviewed here.

While on the road they also visited time-honored locations for obtaining natural resources they could not find at home. It was on the Little Bighorn River (*Khpaksi Tuktai*, or "Ash River"), for instance, deep in Crow country, that they interrupted their raiding long enough to hunt for wood for their bows and arrows and ash for their pipestems (Schultz 1962:373). Along the way they also paid special attention to any mineral paint deposits which figured in their "mental maps" of the countryside, as will be described below.

Aside from such written accounts and their direct interviews, the other genre of native Blackfeet source material that allows us to appreciate the breadth of Blackfeet travels and territorial awareness are their visual renderings, either pictographic drawings which usually require interpretation by the original artist, as Brings-Down-The-Sun mentions above, or their infrequent maps. One is the cartographic document also referred to above which was prepared by a Blackfeet man named *Ac Ko mok ki*, or "The Feathers." The Indian may have first sketched it in the ground or the snow when he met the Hudson's Bay Company Trader named Peter Fidler at his post on the Saskatchewan River in February, 1801, possibly in response to a request from Fidler, who then apparently copied it in his notebook (Ruggles 1991:62–65; Information courtesy of Mark Warhus and the Newberry Library, Chicago, from exhibit description for A.N. Arrowsmith's "A map exhibiting all the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America, January 1st 1795, additions to 1802"). What The Feathers depicted was an area that extended at least 500 miles south, down into central Wyoming. On the east, he illustrated the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers and then indicated his people's range past the Rocky Mountains all the way to the Pacific Ocean. In its entirety this constituted an area of about 200,000 square miles, to which the Indian then appended a census for the 32 Indian groups living in the region, even showing their relative locations and giving the number of tipis for each as well.

From this document one obtains vivid evidence of Blackfeet trading and warring routes that led them from western Canada down along the Rockies—through or edging along the Yellowstone National Park region—to Shoshone country and the central Wyoming tribes as well as east to the trading rendezvous at the Mandan, Hisatsa and Arikara villages long the middle Missouri. To cover the full journey from north to south, according to *Ac Ko mok ki*, Blackfeet horsemen took thirty-three days. Also the map reveals tribal names for such sites along the Absaroka front range as "The Rattle" (Rattlesnake Mountain), "The Heart" (Heart Mountain), "Bull's

Nose" (the Bull Mountains) and "Warm Water River," (almost certainly the Shoshone River).

Yet even a cursory re-examination of this map suggests that with a little closer awareness of Shoshonean social groupings the Blackfeet knowledge regarding these and other Yellowstone Plateau-associated tribes might be interpreted a bit more precisely than the decoding which accompanied its 1977 publication might suggest. For example, #17 on the map, or the "Fish eating Indians" is probably the *Agaidika*, or Lemhi; #18, or the "root" eating Indians very likely refers to the camas eaters or some other Shoshonean group; and #19, or the "Wood Indians" could well be the Boise Indians, otherwise known as the *Yahandika* or ground hog eaters.

Nor did this impulse on the part of Blackfeet to depict the territory known and covered by their forefathers cease in the 19th century. As recently as the 1980s, the Piegan Blackfeet storyteller Percy Bullchild, in his collection of traditional narratives entitled *The Sun Came Down*, included his hand-drawn map of his people's territorial boundaries, positioning a clearly-labeled "Yellowstone Park" within its southern extremity (1985). But another way to get a sense of the continuity of Blackfeet awareness of the greater Yellowstone region throughout the first half of the 19th century is to tabulate some reports of their incursions into or just past this area.

Today, of course, we cannot be sure whether any of these Blackfeet parties took advantage of the earthen paint deposits to be found at key points along

Blackfeet in or around the Yellowstone Plateau

1787 Fur trader David Thompson hears from a Blackfeet warrior about his people's first horse-stealing raid into Shoshone territory (Thompson 1916:342–343).

1808 On a branch of the Jefferson Fork, near the Missouri headwaters, fur trapper John Colter barely escapes from a large Blackfeet war party (Chittenden 1964:28–29).

1809–10 Blackfeet push Missouri Fur Co. trappers away from the vicinity of Yellowstone (American State Papers VI, Indian Affairs II, pp. 451,453).

1826 Northeast of Yellowstone Lake, near West Thumb Geyser Basin, Daniel T. Potts describes two Blackfeet attacks from one "large party" (Haines 1996:42).

1826 In area of Yellowstone's springs, a trapper and his party are driven onto the plains by Blackfeet (Hultkrantz 1957:142, after Crampton 1932:5, after letter in *The Philadelphia Gazette*, Sept. 1927).

1828 En route to a peace parley with Shoshones in the south, Blackfeet Chief Crowfoot and fourteen warriors ambush a white man (Dempsey 1965:8).

1829 Between the Yellowstone River and Devils Slide, a party of fur trappers (including young Joe Meek) is attacked by a party of Piegans (Chittenden 1895:39–40).

1832 A battle between Blackfeet and fur traders, with Bannock friends, at the Pierre's Hole rendevous site (Replogle 1956:37; Norris 1879:988).

1834 Accompanying Crows for buffalo hunt a half day's travel from No Wood Creek, trapper Zenas Leonard is attacked by Blackfeet (Brown 1961:55–56).

1839 Near Pelican Creek outlet into Yellowstone Lake, Osborne Russell's camp is ransacked by Piegans; he never returns to the region (Russell 1965:101–105).

1839 Just north of Yellowstone Lake, at Indian Pond, the trappers led by Baptise Decharme clash with a large body of Blackfeet (Hamilton 1905:94–95; Norris 1882:40-45).

1844 On western shore of Yellowstone Lake a large group of trappers from north battlewith Blackfeet (Chittenden 1895:45).

1845 Reports of Blackfeet leader Painted Wing and 275 warriors pursuing Shoshones who stole their horses into geyser area (Linford 1947:251).

1865 Belgian Jesuit Francis Xavier Kuppens is guided to Yellowstone Grand Canyon and Firehole basins by Piegan warriors (Haines 1996:89).

1867 Prospecting crew and trading post entrepreneurs detects signs of hostile Blackfeet near the Upper Falls of Yellowstone River (Haines 1974:37; Brown 1961:170–171).

their southern trek. As seems to have been the case with the Flathead, did these warriors dig into ochre seams near the Missouri River to wrap up in special paint-bags for the trip home (suggested by Claude Schaeffer field notes, Glenbow Institute)? Or did they stop at one time-honored Blackfeet spot, reportedly near some "warm springs" on the Yellowstone River, to offer the customary prayers to a renowned medicine man before digging deep into a cut-bank for yellow paint (for Blackfeet paint-collecting practices, see McClintock 1910:207–224)? Once they approached the park, might these Blackfeet visitors have also ventured a quarter of a mile beyond those wood-covered pits on the talus slope opposite Electric Peak, just outside the park's northern entrance, to utilize the quarry which local whites would later call Indian Paint Cave, with its premium-quality red and yellow clay and pick marks which indicated the work of other native excavators (Walt Allen, Gallatin National Forest Archaeologist, personal communication, August 15, 1996)? And within the present park boundaries and perhaps following Obsidian Creek to Lake of the Woods, did these Blackfeet then turn southeast to Amphitheater Springs, the source of Lemonade Creek, in order to extract any of the abundant vermillion paint which Indians are known to have obtained in that vicinity (Bach 1973:165) or in red and yellow paint deposits found in the fissure opposite the mouth of Hellroaring Creek which park Superintendent P.W. Norris noticed had "evidently been visited by Indians in modern times" (Norris 1881b:54)?

We may not know about their possible use of these mineral resources, but we have a more probable speculation that they kept their eyes peeled for any edible foods or useable plants they found along their path. Coming up the Yellowstone River the Blackfeet were surely struck by certain obvious differences between some biotic communities and those back home. But moving through the sagebrush grasslands on the valley bottom in the right season, along Mill Creek, Big Creek or similar tributary streams, they would easily find bushes of ripe serviceberries, gooseberries, raspberries and chokecherries. As the aridity of the sun-beaten ground increased en route towards present-day Mammoth, they would also discover clumps of prickly pear cactus, while even in the driest portion of the park, around Mammoth itself, only a short distance up the side canyons, brought them to the sites of old "ghost" beaver dams which featured richer soils, more moisture and ample foraging opportunities.

On the "People's Trail": Flatheads Remember Going South

Other northerly tribes with cultural memories or fragmentary knowledge of the upper Yellowstone and environs were the Flathead, or Salish-speaking people, of Montana, and their immediate native neighbors. Since there exists no evidence of any sort that this nation ever flattened their heads—as did their linguistic brethren along the Columbia River—the term Salish is often preferred. In Carling Malouf's opinion, their aboriginal center was at "Three Forks"—the confluence of the Missouri, Madison and Jefferson Rivers, and in the Gallatin Valley to the south, even though they hunted and raided as far east as present-day Billings and into the Wyoming Bighorns. Although the earlier scholar James A. Teit placed them as far east as the upper Yellowstone Valley. "Parties of Flathead," he wrote, "also visited the mountain Snake, especially the Lemhi, and they also visited Shoshoni bands on the Yellowstone" (Teit 1930:269, also 303–306]).

As for the closely-associated (Upper) Pend d'Oreille, they were once actually part of the Salish nation (and the two still speak mutually intelligible languages). Before they were concentrated on a separate reservation in Washington State, they could be found around Flathead Lake, the Bitterroot Valley and the Upper Clarks Fork River between present-day Missoula and Butte, Montana (Malouf 1998:297). At the time of Yellowstone Park's inception these Pend d'Oreille numbered around 1000 souls. Just west of Salish territory proper lived the linguistically related Coeur d'Alene, whose established permanent and temporary camps throughout the Spokane River system but who also could be found along portions of the Clearwater and Clarks Fork streams (Palmer 1998:313). Reduced from an estimated 3,000 to 4,000 in 1780 to about 320 members in 1853, the Coeur d'Alene foraging grounds probably overlapped in amicable, mutual-use fashion with that of their surrounding linguistic cous-

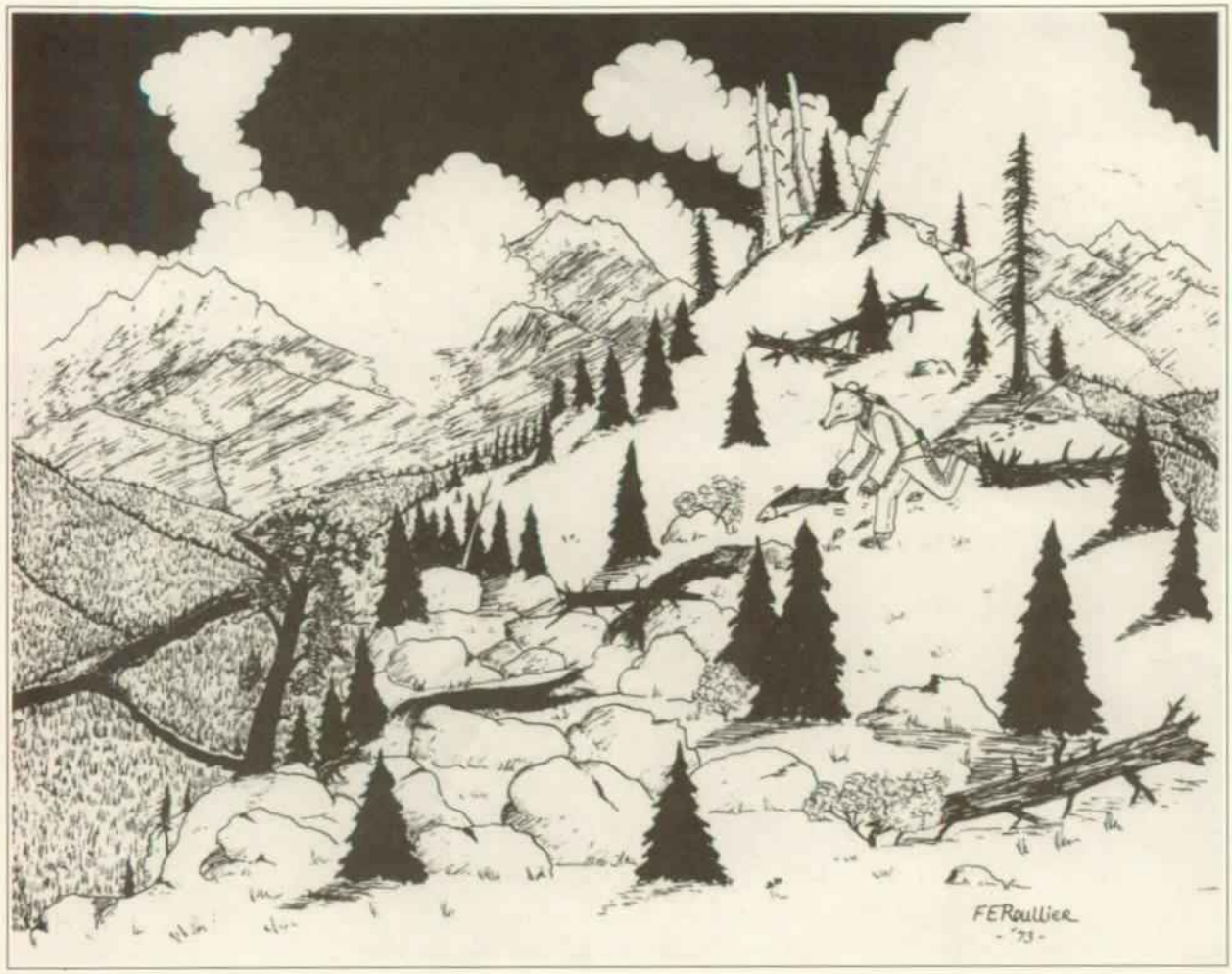


Figure 2.5. Folklore from tribes to the north and west of Yellowstone National Park both feature the mythic being, Coyote, striving to procure fish for the Indians on either side of the Continental Divide in the greater Yellowstone ecosystem. But while Coyote is only successful in establishing smaller fish for highland dwellers on the western side, as this illustration by Flathead artist Frederick E. Roullier shows he fails entirely to capture salmon for Indians on the "dawn side of the mountains." This explains why it will largely be buffalo that these Plains peoples will pursue in the future (from Coyote Tales of the Mountain Salish *by Harriet Miller and Elizabeth Harrison, from narratives they recorded from Pierre Pichette. Rapid City, South Dakota: The Tipi Shop, 1974, p. 19).*

ins. Finally, one must include in this particular corner of shoulder-to-shoulder Plateau Indian peoples the linguistically unique Kootenai, whose traditional lands north of the Montana Salish extended into Canada but who undertook long-distance buffalo-hunting expeditions into the Plains, and whose American branch drew closer to the Flathead when the Jesuits created their St. Ignatius Mission in 1854 (Brunton 1998:224–234). From the early reservation period through today, their historical experience has increasingly been shared with that tribe (except that, as Brunton also notes, they have "tended to belong to a less-acculturated, traditional group…somewhat isolated on the northern end of the Flathead Reservation" (Brunton 1998:234).

The extent of southern visits by these Flathead was made somewhat more precise by anthropologist Carling Malouf, whose early fieldwork was largely devoted to the tribe, and who states unequivocally that "they went as far as Yellowstone National Park" (Malouf 1967:4). What Malouf argues as the principal motivation for their relocation into the

Bitterroot Valley was the intrusion, as early as the 1600s, of Shoshonean Indians from Idaho and Wyoming who began marauding up from the south once they were emboldened by the horses and leather armor they acquired from the Spanish. Some oral traditions also support knowledge and use of the park to the Flathead. According to interviews by the bilingual Flathead interpreter, Pierre Pichette—who talked in the 1930s on behalf of narrative-collectors Bon Wheadon and Claude Schaeffer with such reliable tribal elders as Paul Antoine, Victor and Mortine Vanderburg, and Baptiste and Louis Lumpry—the ancestors of the Flatheads expressly sought out the obsidian quarries in Yellowstone National Park (Clark 1966:87). Although in 1833, Warren Ferris recalled that his Pend d'Oreilles guides were "appalled" by the geysers, and that one Indian remarked that "hell, of which he had heard from the whiteman, must be in that vicinity," one of Pichette's stories shed a more positive light on the park. The narrative featured the trickster figure, Coyote, in his familiar role in the plateau as landscape transformer, and protector and culture-bearer for human beings.

But before summarizing Pichette's story, which anthologizer Ella E. Clark entitled "Coyote's Prophecy Concerning Yellowstone National Park" (Clark 1966:86–90), we must first address the issue of its authenticity. As for assessing the bonafides of storyteller Pichette, what we know about the man attests to his competence as a traditional narrator. Born in 1877 on the Flathead Indian Reservation's Jocko Agency near the present-day location of Arlee, Montana, when he died in 1955 it was said that "Pichette had made an enormous contribution to the preservation and understanding of the culture of his people" (Miller, Harrison and Pichette 1974:7). His cultural knowledge came through his family but was certainly deepened by personal tragedy: at the age of fifteen while a student at the mission boarding school in St. Ignatius, Pichette contracted measles and lost his eyesight.

Thereafter the boy became a tribal intellectual. Pichette had been only a year old when his mother, an enrolled Pend d'Oreille and Kalispell woman named Mary Sabine, passed away. Instead of living with his father, however, an enrolled Spokane named Modess Pichette, Pierre was raised by his maternal

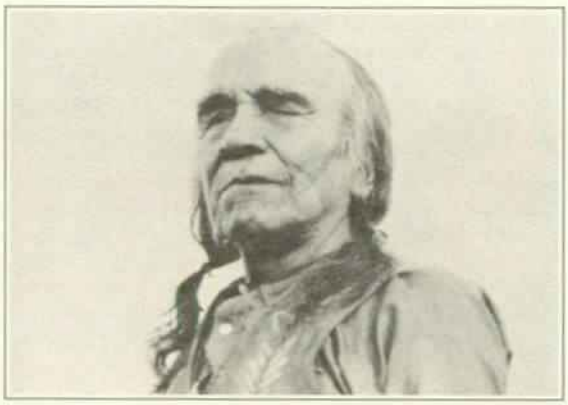


Figure 2.6. Pierre Pichette, Salish-Kootenai oral historian and storyteller, (from Coyote Tales of the Montana Salish *by Harriet Miller and Elizabeth Harrison from tales narrated by Pierre Pichette, illustrations by Frederick E. Roullier, Rapid City, South Dakota: The Tipi Shop, 1974, Page 7).*

grandmother, also named Mary, who is believed to have been among Chief Arlee's band when it gave up its beloved Bitterroot country and moved to the Jocko Agency after 1872. From his grandmother young Pierre absorbed many narratives—mythic, legendary and historical. Once he became blind, he taught himself to read and use a typewriter in Braille, and thereafter became renowned among his people for his bilingual skills, his clear memory, his gifts as a public orator, and his collaboration and correspondence with numerous scholars on matters of Salish-Kootenai tradition. Furthermore, his reputation for truthfulness and linguistic accuracy made him a valued interpreter for his tribe throughout their eventually successful land claim hearings. This background would seem to validate Pichette's credibility as a trustworthy storyteller, which is reinforced by the fact that the well-respected anthropologist-historian Claude Schaefer considered Pichette sufficiently knowledgeable to engage him as a key informant, and used him to obtain detailed data on Flathead camp moves.

One might also examine the credibility of the document's interlocutor. We have no detailed information on the late Ella Elizabeth Clark's interviewing practices. An English professor at Washington State University in Pullman, Washington, Ms. Clark's career focused on collecting Indian texts

from the Pacific Northwest and the Rockies. She obtained her material from both field interviews and library research. For a professional evaluation of her work, however, we contacted the two major scholars of Northwest Indian narratives, Dr. Jarold Ramsey and, through Dr. Ramsey, the dean of American Indian linguistic studies, Dr. Dell Hymes. First, from Dr. Ramsey:

> Without knowing the details of the charges and biases against Clark's work, I'm afraid I can't give you a very sharp-edged comment. But I'll venture this. In looking at and sometimes consulting her two main collections of Indian narrative texts (from Pacific Northwest and the Rockies), I have never found any evidence that she "made things up" or even embroidered her materials...My feeling about her work has always been something like this: that she deserves some credit for recognizing and trying to promote the study of traditional Indian oral literature as literature, in a time (30's to 50's) when few scholars were following that line; and she also deserves credit for undertaking quite a lot of folkloric field work—she worked, for example, on the Warm Springs Reservation in Central Oregon, near where I grew up. When I began to work on my own anthology, *Coyote Was Going There: Indian Literature of the Oregon Country*, I thought of her as a worthy predecessor and rival in the cause of gaining serious literary attention for the transcribed oral traditions of the Far West [Personal communication, August 11, 1998].

As a consideration for this project, Dr. Ramsey mentioned our concerns to Dr. Dell Hymes and reported the following:

> No sooner had I mailed my letter to you—couple of days ago, then Dell Hymes called from his place in Oregon. He says he never knew Ella Clark, but has always considered her Indian collecting and editing honest, careful, and valuable within what now seem like its limits (re: concern with native literary conventions and assumptions and with questions of translation and textualization). He's as puzzled as I by the opposition you've encountered to her work [Personal communication, August 13, 1998].

The main thrust of these two positive testimonials concerns Clark's field collecting, which are endorsements echoed in Dr. Marius Barbeau's review of Ms. Clark's *Indian Legends of Canada* (Barbeau 1962). But perhaps her care with the vetting of received texts did leave something to be desired. In his August 11, 1998, letter Ramsey added "...she does cast a very wide and sometimes unaccountable net for her materials," and cited a Wasco Indian story which Clark copied from another work, a source which Ramsey assessed as "romanticized and utterly shaky as to its provenance" (Personal communication, August 11, 1998). We sensed this same discrepancy in Clark's materials between those she collected personally and those she lifted from earlier publications. For instance, in our search for Northern Cheyenne materials connected to Yellowstone National Park we were intrigued to locate a purported Cheyenne creation story for the "Land of Great Fire" accompanied by a color photograph of Minerva Terrace at Mammoth Hot Springs, in a 1995 coffee table publication (Milne 1995:89). Upon reaching the author, however, we discovered he had lifted the narrative from an anthology of Indian narratives coedited by Ella E. Clark (Edmonds and Clark1989). Inspecting that publication led us to a third work from which Ms. Clark had, in turn, uncritically borrowed this story. Edited by an Eastern Montana College professor of Education, Hap Gilliland, this pamphlet, *The Flood*, was first published in 1972 (Gilliland 1972). But upon reaching the author and inquiring about the geographical specifics of his narrative he admitted that the original story he had heard from his Northern Cheyenne consultants (neither audio-taping nor preserving his handwritten notes) had been geographically vague. "So I think I added those places there, to make it more specific. Yes, I know I did" (Personal phone communication, September 4, 1998).

Another way to assess whether such a narrative is "authentic" might be to examine its plot and to judge its conformity with other aspects of Flathead and Plateau Coyote narratives and storytelling techniques. The story opens with Coyote leaving a well-known spot in Flathead geography: the sacred springs above the "medicine tree" near the town of Darby in western Montana. This is where Coyote

chased a bighorn ram across an arroyo so that its horns stuck in a ponderosa pine tree that is still revered by Flathead people. In fact, the entire narrative is anchored by authentic Flathead places; for at the very end of the story the plum trees, which Coyote creates out of his horse whip for the benefit of people, now provide the Flathead name for what the white man calls the Jocko River, near the town of Dixon, Montana. And in the tale Coyote behaves according to type: he is thin and gaunt but relentlessly traveling. We learn that Grizzly Bear has convened a great "gathering of the tribes," but Coyote hears about it too late and must race to the location for this event "in a valley of what is now Yellowstone Park," an area known to teem with these dangerous animals.

But instead of walking right in, Coyote stays unnoticed with an old woman nearby. As is the typical number symbol for Indian folklore of this region, four times he has her make requests of Grizzly Bear, the leader of the gathering, twice for his best food, twice for his best drum. Finally getting Grizzly Bear's instrument, Coyote then summons supernatural powers to kill him. When the people then want Coyote for their new chief, he promotes Golden Eagle instead. As if in exchange for the thankful gift of a horse from the people, Coyote responds with a glowing verbal portrayal of the thermal region which sounds at odds with the forbidding image reported by Ferris:

> In generations to come, this place around here will be a treasure of the people. They will be proud of it and of all the curious things in it—flint rocks, hot springs, and cold springs. People will be proud of this spot. Springs will bubble out, and steam will shoot out. Hot springs and cold springs will be side by side. Hot water will fly into the air, in this place and that place. No one knows how long this will continue. And voices will be heard here, in different languages, in the generations to come [Clark 1966:89].

Coyote's fight against grizzly bears is told in two of Pichette's other narratives (Miller, Harrison and Pichette 1974:46–49, 54–57) and is an extension of the ubiquitous Plateau theme of Coyote conquering dangerous beasts or supernatural monsters to ready the world for human habitation, as evidenced in Deward Walker's collection of Coyote-versus-Grizzly stories from the neighboring Nez Perce (Walker 1994:103–120). The Flathead have him killing them on behalf of human beings and so do the Nez Perce (Walker 1994:107–109, 116), and like the Flathead story, the Nez Perce even suggest Coyote trying to use Grizzly's own power against him.

Aubrey Haines and Lee Whittlesley are reluctant to accept this Coyote tale as authentic. As for Haines' objection that the "modern" element of the horse negates the narrative's authenticity, Plains Indian folklore contains frequent references to the supernatural origin of horses, in stories which almost proudly ignore their historical origins in Euro-American society. For example, the Pawnee told of a young man who dreamt of their creator, Tirawa, opening the sky and dropping the first two ponies down to earth (Dorsey 1906a:123). Among the Cheyenne, when the people led by their culture hero, Sweet Medicine, are camping at Devil's Tower, he predicts the day when an animal "will carry you on his back and help you in many ways" (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:40). The Piegan linked their version of the widespread story of the woman who marries a star with an account of how the Great Chief of the Sky World made a horse from wet clay for their offspring to ride (Bradley 1923:298–299).

But both this horse element and the Yellowstone National Park forecast in the Pichette narrative exemplify a deeper creative twist often found in American Indian folklore, which Plateau Indian folklore scholar Jarold Ramsay calls "retroactive prophecy." By this term Ramsay refers to the genre of stories that often claim special knowledge, or forecast aspects or consequences of Indian-white interaction or even cataclysmic events which, in reality, have already happened or are already known. However such stories are recast as prophecies which existed long before, and result from "Indian mythologies endeavoring to preserve the continuums of the old ways in the face of their apparent utter disruption" (Ramsay 1983:164). In this particular case, from a non-Indian point-of-view the Flathead originator of this story would have retooled information he had heard about the Yellowstone thermal

features in order to give his people the indirect credit for knowing about this "treasure" of a place, since it was *their* culture hero who generously gave it to people from all over the world, who would then flock to it (which can be read as a rare Indian endorsement of a multi-use policy). From a Flathead perspective, however, the narrator is only doing what comes naturally, attributing the world's wonders to the four-legged demi-urge whom they have always acknowledged created the known world for them.

Furthermore, like some of the examples cited by Ramsay, this Pichette narrative actually seems to be spliced together from two time-frames: the "Myth Age" in the first part of the story, where Coyote kills the Grizzly Bear, and the second part, occurring in the more "Historical Age," where people thank Coyote for saving them with the gift of the gray horse, and then Coyote's final prophetic words about Yellowstone National Park as if in reward for their gratitude. Just as no one can say that the aforementioned stories of horses were not grafted onto older narratives on the spot, we cannot be sure whether Pichette himself invented his last section as well. But what Ramsay's essay argues is that this creative process of trying to make novel phenomena consistent with tribal worldview has been a persistent impulse throughout the American Indian world ever since Euro-American and Native Americans first began interacting. From Native American, or cultural anthropological perspectives, then, the above narrative would appear wholly consonant with traditional Indian storytelling mechanisms and motivations, even if historians doubt its consistency with chronological sequences or tidy associations between regions and tribes. (Among those who remain highly dubious about the authenticity of this Clark/Pichette narrative is park historian Lee Whittlesey who regards its closing section particularly as sounding Euro-American and concocted or at least rewritten by a popularizer (Clark) who was a teacher of English literature and neither a trained ethnographer or linguist.)

Now we return from Flathead folklore to their history. It has been hypothesized that the Flathead split from their Salishan-speaking relatives to the west at an early date (Turney-High 1937:11–21). Thereafter they became known in Montana for blending their adoption of many key Plains Indian traits, such as utilization of the horse (receiving them from the Northern Shoshone sometime after 1730–40—Ewers 1955; Malouf 1957), buffalo hunting, and the conical tipi, with key characteristics of the Plateau cultural world, such as foraging for tubers with digging sticks and creating collective vision-inspired ceremonies such as the Blue Jay Dance. Never a very large tribe, the Flatheads were down to about 600 souls in 1806, if we believe Lewis and Clark. Due largely to their incessant strife with the overpowering Blackfeet, however, by the time they signed the treaty of Hell Gate in 1855 their numbers had almost been reduced by half again.

The Flathead hunters of the early 19th century who left the Bitterroot Valley in search of buffalo to the east faced a rougher and longer road to their old hunting grounds than the one they had once undertaken from their earlier homeland at Three Forks, but they surely were acquainted with the route. Their fairly detailed recollections of this long-distance trek, which would have been the major phase of a journey that subsequently could have brought them to the Yellowstone region, were narrated in the 1930s, through interpreter Pichette, by elders Paul Antoine and Louis Lumpry to the ethnographer Claude Schaeffer (Claude Schaeffer Papers, Glenbow Museum, Calgary, courtesy of the Kootenai-Salish Culture Committee).

By about 1800 it had become their customary practice to launch upon biannual quests for buffalo meat, following what the Salish called *Sinkakatiiwax*, which translates as "The People's Trail." For this journey they generally allowed at least ten days, and eventually it took them to the headwaters of the Musselshell River. Starting the first stretch of such an expedition the Salish party would bid farewell to their campsites which were located in the vicinity of Stevensville, Montana. Moving north up the Bitterroot Valley, they headed for the present site of Missoula. There they turned east, following the trail along Petty (Pattee) Creek which flowed between old Fort Missoula and today's University of Montana campus.

Riding along this creek as it cut through the hills to the "Missoula river" (Clark Fork of the Columbia), they forded it just east of its junction with

the Big Blackfoot River, and then continued to follow its northern banks for a distance of "nine miles above Bonita." At this point they crossed the river to its southern shoreline, rode eastward past Medicine Tree, and finally arrived at the present town of Drummond. Sticking to the southern shoreline, they dropped about halfway to Garrison before crossing the river once again and pursuing the southern course of the "north fork" (Little Blackfoot River) towards the hamlet of Avon.

Now they forded this river, keeping to the southern banks as far as Elliston, where they again waded back across, sticking with its northern shore until they reached a place "where two creeks empty into the river, one from the north and one from the south." At this point the party would turn up the northernmost of these creeks (possibly Dog Creek), which they shortly abandoned, however, to head directly east through a pass (possibly Mullen Pass) in the Continental Divide—although Schaeffer's consultants said that they could also have chosen to cut directly east a little earlier so as to use MacDonald Pass through the divide (probably following Tenmile Creek after that). By either route, they soon found the Missouri River, which they crossed just east of the present-day state capital of Helena.

To the Flathead Indians the Missouri River was known as *ep iyu ntwe?tkwus*, which meant "river of the red paint." At a well-known site just to the north of where their trail actually traversed the Missouri they often dug out the reddish hematite which they used in ceremonial activities and to paint their tipis. If this expedition was taking place in the fall usually they could have forded the river without assistance. But if it was summertime, said Schaeffer's narrators, they would have to make "tipi-skin boats." Had they then wanted to strike out for the Yellowstone Plateau, it would have been an easy matter to continue to follow the Missouri River due south to Three Forks, and from there stick with the Madison to the park's present western entrance. However, none of Schaefer's informants, at least, mentioned this option.

From the Missouri the hunters headed into the Big Belt Mountains, which they traversed by means of a pass [possibly Deep Creek] before riding by a "Fort Logan," still maintaining their course due east

Figure 2.7. Kootenai-Salish Consultant, TT, at Obsidian Cliff.

so as to cross directly between the Little Belt Mountains (Castle Mountains) and the Crazy Mountains. Picking up the South Fork of the Musselshell in this widening basin, at last the men would gain their first sight of the desired buffalo herds. According to the Flathead informants, once the party had entered this river plain and edged farther along the well-timbered Musselshell, they had to remain ever alert, for surprise attacks by Blackfeet or others might come at any time.

Penetrating the "Smokey Ground"

It was at this point, Schaeffer's informants did add, that had they wished the Flathead hunters (sometimes accompanied by the Pend d'Oreille) might have decided upon the additional trek down to the Yellowstone. This they accomplished by dropping a little further down the Musselshell before turning southeast on their southern trail. Without further explanation as to the significance of the date, they said that this latter route was used "more frequently previous to 1877"—which, however, would have been when these Flathead surely knew that military activity over the Nez Perce war was intense and uncomfortably close-by.

Unfortunately Schaeffer elicited no further details for what might have been the next leg of this journey to the Yellowstone Plateau, nor about any possible routes they followed within the current park. One amusing story told by a Kootenai, however, gets

natives from northern Montana at least partway to the park. Remembering humorous "firsts" among his people, Baptiste Mathias told Thain White that it was "down towards Red Lodge" that one traveler to the south picked up a five-pound lard bucket. When he returned home he put a cover on it. As curious onlookers gathered around to see the strange metal container, he whipped off its cover to astound them with reflections of their faces in the metal base. "They offered him all kinds of things but he wouldn't sell it (White 1952:4)."

Even after all this time of removal from the Yellowstone environs, our recent interview with a Flathead elder confirmed the general outline of the Schaeffer claims about southern travels, and places his people's geographical knowledge squarely within the park. A forestry technician for the Flathead Tribe, LA, was born near Arlee, Montana, sixty-two years ago, in the house of elder SR. As he remembered the stories of old people like his grandmother, LV, her brother, JV, their stepmother, SM, and especially his grandmother's aunt, MC, the Flathead would gather in the vicinity of Stevensville for the summer. But come fall they scattered into foraging bands made up of two or three families, with some "ending up in Yellowstone in the fall" (LA Interview, June 4, 1996).

It was LA's belief that if they did gather enough food during the fall, "they might stay all winter, they liked the hot waters, I guess." They had taken so long to get there, he thought, that they took their time before coming home, since the region provided sufficient elk, buffalo, fish and roots for their survival. Sometimes, he said, their fellow tribesmen might not see a family for a year or more, and occasionally never—"which meant they maybe met up with Crows or Blackfeet." LA himself remembered one summer trip when he was a little boy, when his family ventured deep into the Bob Marshall Wilderness and came upon a clearing at the "place of meadows" (*L-qul-qo-le-wh*) with a group of Salish already camped there. Today that memory of a "circle of five or six tipis" remains for him "like a dream." After talking with the campers for a few hours, his parents returned to their own camp.

When the family groups finally returned to the Bitterroot in the fall, LA said they told stories of what they had seen in the southland; "they talked about this hard stuff like glass," and about the arrow points (*ta-pa-mi*) and spear points (*noo-loo-loo-moo*) they found there. In addition, the consultant remembered three place-names associated with the Yellowstone region:

1. *K ali ssens*, for "Yellow Stone."
2. *n' aq es ocq?etKw* for " "Hot Water Coming out of the Ground" or "hot springs" (which the Salish were not loath to visit, whether at Lolo Hot Springs or Hot Springs, Montana).
3. *mo'mo'tu'lex* for "Smoke from the Ground," presumably associated with steam issuing from the thermal beds.

Indian Hunting and the Greater Yellowstone

While this chapter offers a good opportunity to introduce multi-tribal usage of large mammal resources in and around Yellowstone National Park, by no means are we suggesting that the Blackfeet or other groups dropping south into the park enjoyed any special advantage or claim over other tribes where the activities of buffalo or elk hunting were concerned. Quite the contrary, nearly all the native groups featured in this study—and quite possibly others as well—hunted in and around the Yellowstone Plateau. But due to cultural or environmental reasons some tribes may have had a wider range of options for bringing other staples such as fish or camas into their regular diet. With the exception of our discussion of bighorn sheep, however, we will collapse much of our hunting information into this chapter—much as we will condense our material on the use of camas roots into Chapter 5—in part for reasons of convenience. Yet there may be another justification as well. For as will become clear, it may have been in part thanks to one of these northern tribes that Yellowstone National Park was able to resuscitate its threatened buffalo population in the first place.

Before turning to this most prominent animal symbol for Yellowstone National Park, however, we will touch on information which has come to light during our research regarding Indian hunting of elk

in and immediately around the park. One 19th century account comes from Theodore Roosevelt, perhaps the most high profile of Yellowstone National Park boosters but at the same time an inveterate hunter. During one elk hunt into the Two-Ocean Pass region of the Wind River Mountains, before the area was protected within the U.S. National Forest Reserve, Roosevelt ran into a large hunting party of Shoshones on horseback, who were split into bands of eight or ten members each. According to him:

> Their method of hunting was to organize great drives, the riders strung in lines far apart; they signaled to one another by means of willow whistles, with which they also imitated the calling of the bull elk, thus calling the animals to them, or making them betray their whereabouts. As they slew whatever they could but by preference cows and calves, and as they were very persevering, but also very excitable and generally poor shots, so that they wasted much powder, they not only wrought havoc among the elk, but also scared the survivors out of all the country over which they hunted [Roosevelt 1892:718].

Some days earlier on this expedition, Roosevelt had also briefly stopped at the encampment of an old mountain man with profound knowledge of the Teton country by the nickname of "Beaver Dick", who occupied a buffalo-hide tipi with "his comely wife and half-breed children" with their sizeable herd of horses nearby (Roosevelt 1892:714). This individual's full name was Richard Leigh, and we are grateful that park historian Lee Whittlesey provided our project with a typed summary of Dick's notations on Indian hunting from his personal journal of experiences in the Pierre's Hole-Henry's Fork areas adjoining the park.

British by birth, Dick came to America as a teenager, and ventured west in the early 1850s. Shortly after arriving in the Teton country, around 1862 or 63 he married a Shoshone woman, but tragedy struck thirteen years later when his wife and six children all died from smallpox (Whittlesey 1996:23). The legendary reputation of Beaver Dick's prowess as a outdoorsman would find its way into the popular novel, *The Virginian*, by the Wyoming hunter and author, Owen Wister. As Whittlesey has quoted from Dick's own broken-English diary, the guide seemed "to have had a sense of the importance of his own history with the Indians, for he wished fervently at one point that he could somehow 'give to the world my experience [sic] in Indan [sic] life and the rocky mountains so that thay [sic] could understand it'" (Dick Journal entry for September 12, 1878).

During the years of 1875, 1876 and 1878, even as most Plains Indians were being actively discouraged from leaving their reservations, Dick periodically bumped into Indians hunting not far from the park. As edited by Whittlesey, these comments offer some sense of the forays by various tribal representatives into the general Yellowstone area:

> On June 8, 1875, Leigh traveled down Pine Creek in the Snake River Range above present Swan Valley, Idaho, and reported that "Indians [h]ad run the elk and scattered them" there.
>
> On August 25, 1875, Leigh was confronted with four Indians at his cabin and boat near the mouth of South Teton River who wanted passage across the river. They told him that 'the [other] indans that was out hunting the teton range [h]as got a big scair [scare] dan thay say thare is war parteys of the seux [Sioux] Indians in the [Teton] range and it is making these Indans go for the[ir] reserve in duble quick [time].' Here we have a rare reference to Sioux Indians in the Tetons and a confirmation of Bannock/Shoshone use of the area for hunting.
>
> Below present Swan Valley Idaho, on September 12, 1876, Leigh ran into two lodges of Indians camped on Snake River: "I talked with them they ware [were] shoshones hunting elk and deer but was making very poor work of it thay [h]ad killed 2 deer and no elk and [h]ad beene out 6 weeks."
>
> On October 12, 1876, while trying to get his cabin built near the mouth of South Teton River (present Rexburg, Idaho), Dick noted that he stopped hunting because "the Indans was hunting all around us."
>
> On September 5, 1878, while at his home near

the mouth of South Teton River, Dick mentioned that Indians were "scaterd thrue [scattered through] the timber hunting elk" ["A Pre-1905 History of Large Mammals in Pierre's Hole, Idaho; Jackson Hole, Wyoming; and the Bechler Region of south western Yellowstone," November, 1994, draft manuscript by Lee H. Whittlesey, forthcoming in P. Schullery and L. Whittlesey, *History of Large Mammals on the Yellowstone Plateau*].

While these sightings of Indians in the 1870s involved elk hunting, by far the greatest symbolic attention given to animals in the park has been to its buffalo, the creature whose likeness is emblazoned on the National Park Service official seal. Today one can observe meandering herds of Yellowstone buffalo grazing and switching their tails in broad daylight by the roadside down the Lamar Valley. But in the park of yesteryear, according to a 19th century geologist who knew the place well, it would have been "most unusual, save in midwinter, to find them [buffalo] in open valley or on the treeless mountain slope (Hague 1893)." This striking contrast in habitats can be explained of course by the changing adaptive processes, in which today's buffalo have become accustomed to the incessant gazes, even meddling, by gawkers and the intrusion of their vehicles. But it can also be explained by the fact that we are probably speaking of different subspecies of buffalo, as the Indians who had personal experience with both strains must have recognized full well.

When wayfaring parties of Indian hunters or raiders pursued buffalo within Yellowstone National Park or its enfolding mountain ranges they were hunting an animal (*Bison bison athabascae* Rhoads) that contrasted in singular ways from their cousins of the Plains (*Bison bison bison* Linaeus). These so-called "mountain" or "wood" bison were generally tougher and faster, while their fur was darker, finer and curlier (Meagher 1973:14–15). They were also somewhat smaller than the Plains buffalo, and quite skittish, having a keen sense of smell which alerted them to anyone who came too near. The preferred habitat of the Yellowstone herds was described by geologist Hague when he was working in the park a hundred years ago, "They haunt the most inaccessible and out-of-the-way places...living in open glades and pastures, the oases of the dense forest." These woodland bison were almost surely the species which earlier Indians drove over cliffs eastward into the Bighorn Basin or into catchment pens just south of the park. Wrote a correspondent for *Live Stock Markets* in 1931, the last of these subspecies was killed in the Bighorn mountains in 1885, and he added the following anecdotal comments about the strain:

> They [woodland bison] grazed largely on willow and browsed on the leaves, shoots, bark, and twigs of trees. This gave the flesh a peculiar aromatic flavor, and you very soon tired of the meat. It was a great source of meat when the overland railroads were built. The hides made good robes, but the leather was not good. It was spongy [Burnett 1988:23].

Not until 1989 was the site of an actual Indian bison kill discovered within the park proper. Four years after the bones of a bull began eroding from a cliff of billowing steam vents above Yellowstone Lake at Steamboat Point, a team from the Park Service's Midwest Archaeological Center carefully exposed nearly the entire animal, including bones with butchering marks and obsidian flakes from the cutting tools which made them. The kill site was dated at around A.D. 1200, and quite possibly was chosen by the Indian hunters because of the nearby steam vents as a comfortable, warm place to camp, and also so that they might corner the animals against the lakeside cliff (*The Lincoln Star*, September 24, 1993, p. 1, 6). As to exactly when the different Indian groups might have made their last buffalo hunts in the park area, little is known since, after 1872, those forays were clandestine, and sightings of trespassing Indians were sketchy and infrequent.

However the following rare account of a Crow pursuit of buffalo at a known location within Yellowstone National Park was elicited by a WPA fieldworker in the early 1940s. The story came from a part-Indian cowhand and former stage coach driver named Horace La Bree who in 1929 talked with the prominent Crow leader Plenty Coups about what the elderly Crow chief believed was the last Crow hunt to transpire within the northern reaches of Yellowstone National Park (Howard 1941:3–5). That year the two old men got together when they were

both honored guests at a celebration at the park's northern entrance at Gardiner. Plenty Coups had been hoping to chat with La Bree because something about the landscape around Gardiner had jogged his memory of an experience he associated with his father, Medicine Bird. It concerned a buffalo hunt, and he wanted to check it out with someone with a good familiarity of the countryside. About eighty-one years of age at the time, Plenty Coups retained this image of long-ago Crow hunters chasing animals up a particular creek that split into two forks, and then trapping the buffalo against a high rock or mountain.

Fortunately La Bree was able to pinpoint the stream Plenty Coups was talking about. It was Buffalo Creek, and he knew where the later-named Hellroaring and Coyote Creeks, the two streams of Plenty Coups' memory, poured into the Yellowstone. Their conversation about the location also triggered Plenty Coups' further recollections about the hunt. As it turned out, he had been about twelve years old at the time [c.1860], and now, in telegraphic phrases translated from the Crow language, Plenty Coups recollected the experience for La Bree:

> The Crows were hungry—in need of meat—food—clothing—The buffalo were becoming scarce--a bunch had gone into the Park—and they could not reach them—they spotted a herd of some two or three hundred—going up—towards these mountains—cross the Yellowstone—This was just what the Indians had hoped they would do.
>
> As Plenticoups explained—that his father knew the lay of the country—where the two creeks came into the Yellowstone—back of which was a high cliff—of a rocky kind(.) The Crows—kept right in pursuit of the bunch of buffalo—running them—between the two creeks—right up against the rocky cliff.
>
> Of course—there was only thing the animals could do that was to mill around at the foot of the Cliff—then try to return—and the Indians had their game corralled.
>
> This was the last hunt of the wild buffalo herd—in that locality. So Plenticoups told them [Howard 1941:4–5].

According to Plenty Coups, directly below this hunting location and across the Yellowstone was the expanse known as Buffalo Flat, which one can find today just north of the Northeast Entrance Road (Whittlesey 1988:29). One of seven named plateaus that taken altogether comprise the Yellowstone Plateau, it was in 1870 that a group of prospectors first named it Buffalo Flat, because "we found thousands of buffalo quietly grazing" (Henderson Diary, Yellowstone National Park Research Library, p. 50). This description accords with Plenty Coups' impression of the place, for it was his recollection that in earlier days here "the buffalo would gather--to sun themselves. Often many were killed on this spot" (Howard 1941:5).

Aside from its rarity as a description of an uncommon Crow method of driving and hunting bison in Yellowstone, Plenty Coups' account is also provocative because of its location. The spot near where the two creeks run into the Yellowstone River would also seem around five miles or so from a buffalo-hunting site identified in the late 1950s during a preliminary archaeological survey of the park by J. Jacob Hoffman. He called the location "The Slough Creek Compound, 48YE420" (Hoffman 1961:28–30). As Hoffman described the terrain of the half-mile by quarter-mile site, "It consists of a series of knolls and terraces overlooking Slough Creek and two intermittent streams that enter the creek from the north" (Hoffman 1961:24).

The combined evidence of rock piles, a rock wall, evidence of camping and butchering, and "a natural cul-de-sac on the south side" of the creek were all indications that Indians had taken temporary advantage of the natural topography to drive buffalo into a spot for easier killing and processing. Hoffman even found some intriguing post holes on the creek's northern bank, which could have been part of the animal-drive complex, although he could not be sure whether they were dug during the historic period or not. While the bison bone deposits that protruded out of the Slough Creek banks were not terribly extensive, Hoffman, citing Mulloy (1958), felt this was in accord with the characteristically thin animal remains at other game compounds which had been associated with late prehistoric or historic times on the northwestern Plains. Suffice to

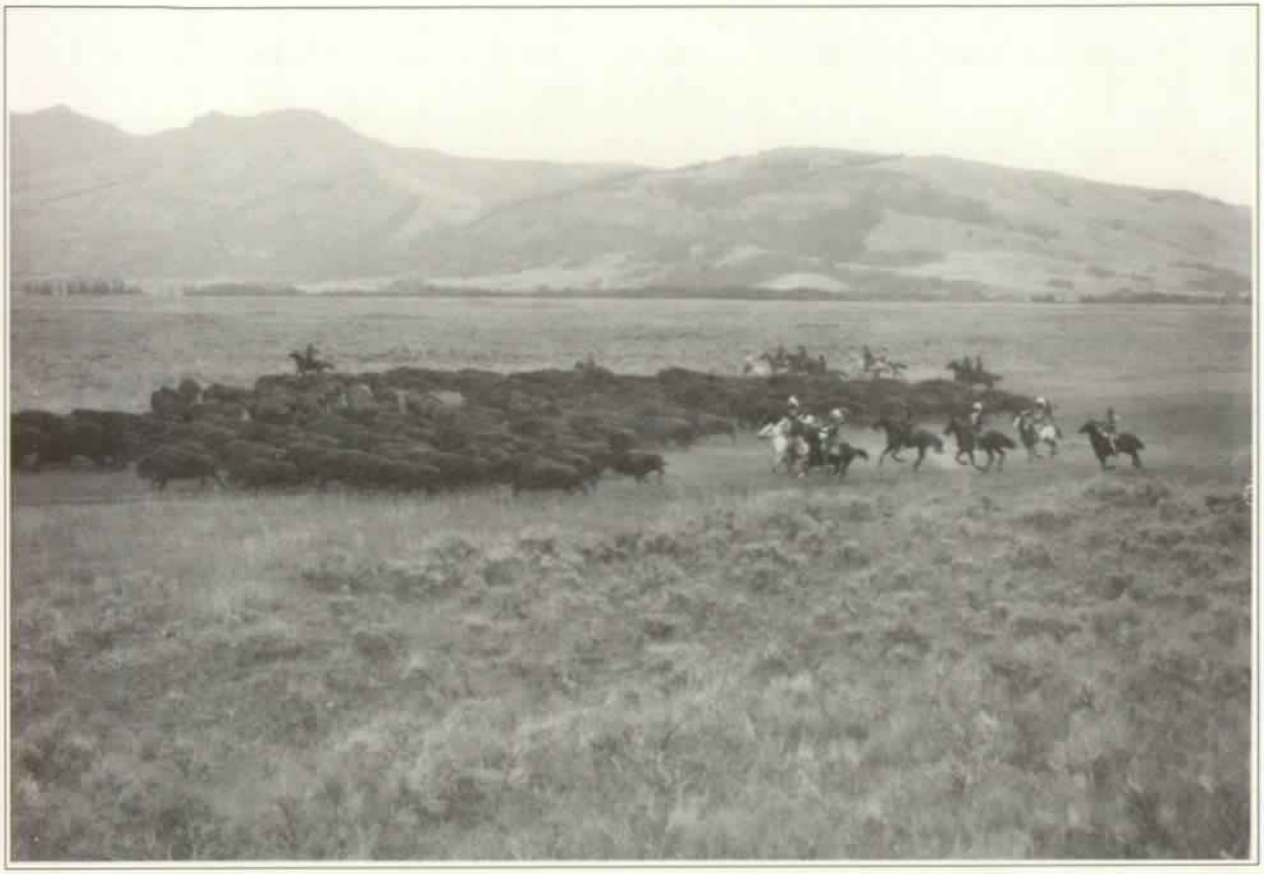


Figure 2.8. Crow and Shoshone Indians driving buffalo in Lamar Valley for filming of The Thundering Herd *(Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #YELL 27919-1).*

say, however, that such cross-referencing between personal memory and archaeological reconstruction in the same immediate vicinity is unusual in the annals of Plains Indian culture history (for an excellent Crow Indian account of buffalo jumps, and the importance of the early leader, Running Coyote, in initiating the first Crow technique of running buffalo over embankments, see Medicine Crow 1992:86–99).

Yellowstone National Park was also the setting for another Crow reminiscence about buffalo hunting. In early fall of 1932 Max Big Man—see Chapter 1 for biographical information—was visiting the park to participate in the buffalo roundup at Buffalo Ranch. Before the roundup he visited the Mammoth museum, helped to interpret its elk hide painting, and related the following "real" Crow story, possibly to explain why his wife had not joined him in the park for the roundup. Although he never clarified whether its account of the vicissitudes of Indian buffalo hunting took place within Yellowstone National Park proper, the park officials considered it interesting enough to publish, and so do we:

> My grandfather once told me a real buffalo story. He was not my grandfather, but my grandfather's brother, but he was always kind to me and I call him "grandfather". He said, "I was riding along with my wife and could see the buffalo hunters. Some of the buffalo came very near to us. One of the faster ones, a three-year-old, came right next to us. My wife said, 'You had better chase it and get some nice fresh meat.'
>
> Very seldom, at that time, was a woman ever on a buffalo hunt. Sometimes a woman cannot keep up with buffalo; sometimes get killed. Woman supposed to stay at home. But I was leading the buffalo off, —a war-whoop—, look to the right of me, and shot an arrow. I did not want to be very far from

my wife and because my wife was along I did not have the right skill.

When I wounded the buffalo I was on a little knoll and I looked back to see if my wife was coming. When I turned I stopped and I heard a noise and the buffalo was right at me. I leaned over quick to help my horse start. Too late! The buffalo hit me from behind. Mean fellow! I was thrown. I lay very still. Buffalo might not see me. Alas! he caught me and threw me high. I fell right next to a cut-bank, rolled over, but did not get into that ditch. Buffalo caught me again and struck on my head. Crawled over to deeper place. Got up and gave war-whoop. Wife coming closer.

'Don't come near,' I yelled, 'buffalo is mad!'

I ran to a nearby tree and climbed it. Buffalo came on. War-whoop given in different places. I look around. In different places I see streaks of dust with spots on the end coming toward me. The riders killed the buffalo. I got down. The blood was streaming from my face and leg and I could see a tendon hanging from my leg. I fainted.

When I came to that night I heard a noise like running water. The Medicine Man was directly over me and his medicine was buffalo meat. Medicine Men had buffalo horns on. I thought it was the buffalo once more and again I fainted. When I came to a second time they had stopped crying and gave me water! I was hungry.

'He must be near death', they said, 'asking for food.'

No matter how sick an Indian is, he is fed buffalo meat. If he asks for food then he may be going to the Happy Hunting Ground.

The Medicine Man said, 'Feed him', and they gave me meat and I ate just like a sound man.

It did not have bad effects; there are my marks. There is the mark on my forehead, touch that, and there is the scar on my leg. Touch that. This is the proof of my story. It is true. Ever since that lesson I make my arrow count.

Never take a wife on a buffalo hunt. Whenever you do a thing, leave out other things. Concentrate!" [Yellowstone National Park Nature Notes, V.9, N. 10/11, October/November, 1932:45–46].

How Indians Saved the Yellowstone Buffalo: Version I

In more aboriginal times, or roughly before A.D. 1750, these mountain buffalo which ranged throughout the Rocky Mountain region and its intermountain valleys were part of a continental buffalo population of all subspecies which has been estimated at sixty million animals (Thornton 1987:52). Although by the 1840s most of the buffalo were gone from the wider Plains, reports from the Yellowstone Plateau from the 1870s suggest that a sizeable number could still be found. In the case of the mountain bison, at least, the early vision of Yellowstone National Park as a safety zone for animal species quickly being hunted to the verge of extinction seems to be valid. Especially on the upper Lamar River, this sequestered domain seems to have provided one of their last refuges.

In his survey of Yellowstone National Park with the Ludlow reconnaissance expedition of 1875, the naturalist and popular writer George Bird Grinnell encountered hide hunters running thick throughout the area, whose access by means of the new railways set the stage for a final assault against big game in the Rocky Mountain west. A year later Grinnell would advocate that Congress pay attention to "the terrible destruction of large game, for the hides alone, which is constantly going on in those portions of Montana and Wyoming through which we passed. Buffalo, elk, mule deer and antelope are being slaughtered by thousands each year, without regard to age or sex, and at all seasons. Of the vast majority of animals killed, the hide only is taken. Females of all these species are as eagerly pursued in the spring, when just about to bring forth their young..."(Grinnell 1972:118).

The impact of this overkill on the unprotected

buffalo of Yellowstone National Park would be assessed in 1889, when William T. Hornaday's census would discover only 200 of these animals still surviving under lax federal supervision (McHugh 1972:294), with the larger population on the North American continent estimated at down to 1,091 buffalo for that year (Thornton 1987:52). [An irony of Hornaday's report was that he would blame Indians for this decline, claiming that "up to the year 1880 the Indians of the tribes previously mentioned (Sioux, Cheyenne, Crow, Blackfeet, Assiniboin, Gros Ventre, Shoshoni) killed probably three times as many buffaloes as did the white hunters" (Hornaday 1889:505f.). And Hultkrantz comments, "So speaks an inveterate Indian hater, a person who is out to free his white compatriots from the charges of having extinguished the precious American buffalo" (Hultkrantz 1981b:133).] When dire predictions of the near extinction of the Yellowstone herd due to rampant poaching reached the U.S. Congress, the unique symbolic power of this park to focus and highlight public debate became vigorously evident. Quickly the politicians drafted the first federal law to protect buffalo, which was signed by President Grover Cleveland in May 1894, and backed up by penalties of $1,000 fines or even imprisonment.

As an additional effort to preserve the Yellowstone herd, one year after it was estimated to number hardly twenty-five animals struggling for survival in 1902 controlled groups of the Plains subspecies were introduced into the park. These newcomers apparently were drawn from two sources. The first came from a small herd which Charles Goodnight of west Texas had gathered from wild strays he found near Palo Duro Canyon in the 1870s. The second were a group of eighteen cows which had belonged to another private refuge for buffaloes which was co-owned by two mixed-blood Indians, Michael Pablo and Charles Allard, in northern Montana.

At first this fresh blood was not intended to replenish the meager remnants of free-range mountain bison who still hid out in the nooks and crannies of the upper Lamar Valley. Until at least 1915, these newcomers were relatively quarantined, herded under careful monitoring and corralled together at night. But around that year these subspecies began to intermingle and crossbreed, until by the 1970s it was estimated that since the preponderance of surviving bulls originated from the mountain-type population, "the wild strain in the present bison population would seem to be 30–40%" (Haines 1970:29).

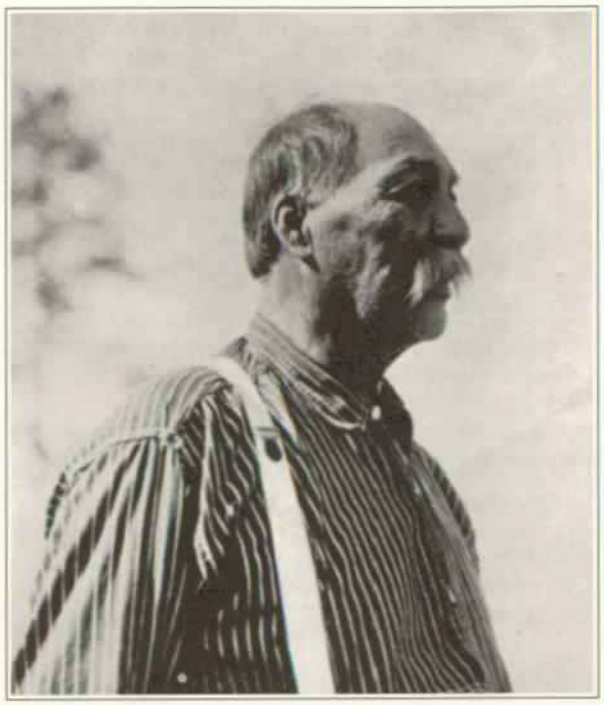


Figure 2.9. Michael Pablo, Flathead Indian rancher, early supplier of buffalo to Yellowstone National Park (from A Short History of the American Bison *by Martin S. Garretson. The American Bison Society, New York, 1934, p. 56).*

But how were these Plains buffalo which were brought into the park in 1902 originally saved from the unprecedented intensity of mass hunting in western North America, which saw the millions of buffalo which roamed free at the onset of white contact in 1541 reduced to a few hundred by 1900? The following account is a blend of material supplied by Francis Haines (1970: 6, 34, 148, 219–222) Ernest Thompson Seton (1929:658) and Martin S. Garretson (1938). Apparently the Pablo-Allard herd, which by the turn of this century is estimated to have supplied "more than 80 percent of the buffalo in the United States," was an especially strong force in their rescue from the brink of extinction. As mentioned above, this was also the group of animals which con-

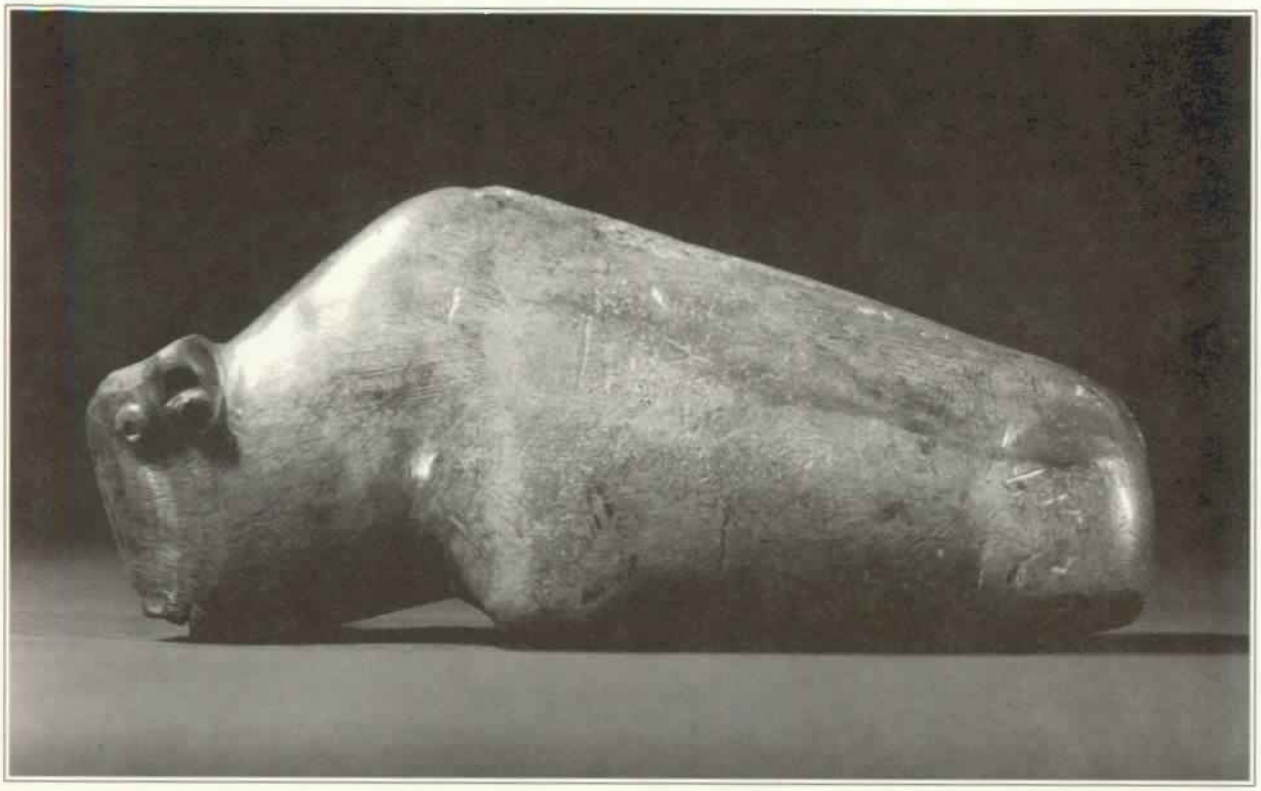


Figure 2.10. Effigy of buffalo found in Absaroka Mountains, (Photo courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog #77-13300).

tributed to the new breeding stock for Yellowstone. And it was also these animals whose preservation can be traced back to Montana's Flathead Reservation.

Of all the four original breeding herds which ensured the survival of buffalo before the turn of the century, the first two appear to have been captured and preserved by Indians; as Martin S. Garretson of the New York Zoological Society wrote, "It is a singular fact, and contrary to general belief, that we owe much to the Indians for saving the buffalo from extinction" (Garretson 1938:215). In the first case it was a group of Indians hailing from the Winnipeg area who captured a bull and four calves just north of the Canadian border in Manitoba and sold them to a local trader.

But the other situation involved a member of the Pend d'Oreille tribe named (Sam) Walking Coyote, who in the spring of 1873 joined a friendly band of Piegan hunters along the U.S.–Canadian border, near the Milk River, not far from present-day Buffalo, Montana. After killing a number of adults, the men noticed six stray, motherless calves plus two bulls and four cows hovering for company around their horses. In tandem with a rancher who was planning to drive a herd of cattle 150 miles to Flathead country, Walking Buffalo and his new animals made the mountainous trek south.

Once he was home in the Jocko Valley, Walking Buffalo released his buffalo on open cattle range. Eleven years later, when the herd had grown to thirteen or fourteen animals, he sold ten of them, at $250 a head, to the newly formed partnership of half-Piegan Michael Pablo and the part-Indian Charles A. Allard. By the time of Allard's death in 1896, the herd had grown to about 300 animals. A portion of this stock were sold to a Kalispell rancher, who provided the startup group for the National Bison Range located in Moise, Montana. Yet another bunch went to Howard Eaton, the rancher to actually supply the eighteen cows for the replenished first herd at Yellowstone National Park. In this roundabout way, then, even the Anglo-American version of the hybridized Yellowstone National Park buffalo herd has some Indian roots.

Origin of Yellowstone National Park's Buffalo: Version II

The foregoing narrative has been pieced together from non-Indian accounts of the many-stranded origins of today's buffalo herd in Yellowstone National Park. But, on the Kootenai-Salish Indian Reservation an account of the partial saving of ancestors to this herd has been preserved within a longer, three-part narrative, which also fits within an older, more complex tradition of the intimate relationship between the Flathead Indians and the buffalo. Early in 1977 these stories were related on tape by an 87-year-old elder and famous storyteller named Blind Mose Chouteh, and were translated by Dolly Linsbebigler in 1992. A portion of it is reproduced here courtesy of the Kootenai-Salish Culture Committee, and was permitted to be incorporated into this document so long as it was *not reproduced in any form without the express approval of the Kootenai-Salish Culture Committee*. All three of the summaries of the Chouteh narratives to follow feature the family line of a part-Kalispel, part-Salish man called Blanket Hawk, whose name apparently referred to the protective neckpiece of hawkskins which he habitually wore into battle.

1. The first narrative places Blanket Hawk as a young man in the middle of an especially harsh Montana winter, when his people are camped away from their valley home and out on the plains. Soon the chiefs cast around for medicine men with the supernatural power to bring warm weather and make the snow melt. Although Blanket Hawk and his friends propose a Jump Dance, an older medicine man dismisses the idea as futile. When the children who are the last to be given food are threatened with starvation, the leading chiefs plead with Blanket Hawk for help.

Staying in his own tipi, Blanket Hawk conducts his Jump Dance to attract the warm, Chinook winds, and afterwards he predicts that come the following morning nine buffalo will enter the camp, only to be followed by a much larger herd. At around sunup the camp is awakened by barking dogs. and everyone comes out of their lodges to see the presence of nine buffalo bulls standing and waiting in the midst of camp. They are quickly slaughtered, and then the warm weather also moves in. Everyone is relieved and happy again, the narrative has the youngsters throwing snowballs, all sit down to meals of boiled and roasted buffalo meat, and the remainder of the flesh is dried for later use. And then still more buffalo appear, assuring an adequate food supply for the future. The people survive and return home.

2. By the opening of Chouteh's second story the character known as Blanket Hawk is now a full-grown man. Again the Salish are out on the plains getting their annual meat supply, however now it is spring—"when the wild roses were in bloom," as they phrase it. As they return home from their successful hunt, they camp for three days in Blackfeet country. It is then that Blanket Hawk apparently gets the unique idea of initiating a minimal form of animal husbandry. As he explains to his friends and his mother, "I am going to ask the Chief and the people. I am going to tell the Chiefs and leaders if we can bring back some buffalo." After smoking with the chiefs, he discloses his plan for having buffalo always close by so that his people will be safe from distant enemies like the Crees.

But half of the chiefs argue that it is important to make such long journeys because it is good to be able to fight other tribes, and worthwhile to travel so they can hunt and "pass the time." However the other half of the leaders side with Blanket Hawk. When they cannot arrive at a consensus, Blanket Hawk finally abandons his idea: "I quit asking. I will be silent. The buffalo can stay here on the plains. Maybe you like our people getting killed by the different tribes of Indians. Maybe you like us to get tired by coming here to hunt buffalo for our food."

The next day when they break camp, "The buffalo surrounded the people who were moving. The buffalo stayed close by, going along with the people; and some stayed near *Atatice?* (Blanket Hawk) and his friends." But since the other camp members would not allow the buffalo to join them, Blanket Hawk must part with the animals, and as the story continues:

> His friends mounted their horses. And Atatice? was last. Before he mounted on his horse, he made sounds, saying, "Qeyq, qeyq-eeee." He waved to the buffalo, as if to separate the buffalo. He said to the buffalo, "Go

on, it is your destiny, whatever may happen to all of you buffalo. They would not let you go back with me. It is up to you, whatever happens to you and whatever happens to me. That is all." And Atatice cried, His friends also cried. They regretted to part with the buffalo.

The buffalo turned towards the east (rising sun). They went in different directions.

> The men were crying as they moved on forward. As they were crossing over the mountains, they looked back and saw the buffalo, saw the black forms of the buffalo moving along.

Thus ended his second story. But before Chouteh moved to his third narrative he interjected a somewhat shocking anecdote which may shed light on the deeper meaning behind this unusual affinity between the human being Blanket Hawk and the buffalo as an animal species. It seems his wife brought a buffalo head into their house in order to butcher it up and boil it. Blanket Hawk was playing cards with friends at the time, and turned to her, aghast at what he saw. Immediately he begged her, "Don't, don't, don't. Take the head outside and fix it, chop it up, because I have always told you all not to prepare it inside of the house. You will hurt me."

Ignoring his plea, she continued chopping on the head. Suddenly Blanket Hawk began to suffer from a nose-bleed. But fairly soon he was vomiting up blood. When she did not cease sawing away on the head, he shortly collapsed and died.

This taboo against bringing a buffalo head into the house is interestingly similar to that which inhibited the Crow elder, FS, from allowing one into his house in Wyola, Montana. That was when one of the authors of this report showed up with a large buffalo bull skull from an animal he had hunted in Black Canyon on the Crow Reservation in 1962 while working with the Crow tribe's Fish and Game division. It was needed for FS's medicine pipe bundle ceremony, but at the same time the restrictions associated with FS's rock medicine bundle would not let a buffalo head remain under his roof. In the case of this Flathead Indian, Blanket Hawk, we might infer that his close tie with the buffalo world, whether or not due to the fact that the buffalo was his guardian spirit acquired by means of a vision quest, was based on respect for the creature as a species, or obligation to it as his supernatural guardian. In the two narratives already cited, such a special relationship had been clearly evidenced. However, power works for you or against you; in this story the continuing insult shown to the animal under Blanket Hawk's own roof sealed his gory fate.

3. Next comes Chouteh's third narrative concerning the symbiotic relationship between humans and buffalo. Now our protagonist has shifted from Blanket Hawk to his son, a young man by the name of *Susep tatati*, or "Hawk." In this story there is more of an abbreviated sense of a memorandum, and less of a well-developed narrative. Without any preamble we are told that Hawk is a "big-sized boy" and we sense that he seems to have inherited something of his father's personality or inclinations, for we immediately learn that, "He brought back two buffalo from the plains country," and that his intent is to keep them alive. After his father's death, his mother, Sabine Mary, had remarried a man named Samuel. It was near their house, just north of the old Dixon Agency, that this particular buffalo herd began to increase and multiply.

But while the boy was away on a trip, two men showed up at his parent's place and offered to buy the entire bunch. Chouteh gives their names as the aforementioned Michael Pablo and Charles Allard, and recalls that they paid a thousand and several hundred dollars for the entire small herd. As the story continues from there:

> The buffalo were herded, going by way of Dixon, Ravalli and came through here. They were driven by way of where the present bridge is now. There were a lot of buffalo.
>
> When the buffalo came over the hill and the Indians here saw the buffalo, they shouted, hollering with excitement. The Indians kept shouting as the buffalo went by.
>
> Charles Allard and Michael Pablo already had a herd of buffalo. They wanted to increase their herd. They were the only two people who had any buffalo.
>
> Maybe it was two days later, maybe it was

> later that [Hawk] returned and missed the presence of the buffalo. He looked around and found the buffalo gone.
>
> When he got home, he asked his mother, "Where are my buffalo?"
>
> "They are gone," his mother told him. "Your [stepfather] sold them. They were driven off several days ago. You have some money in the amount of a thousand and several hundred dollars. Your stepfather has your money. We are using some of it for food, bought groceries."
>
> [Hawk] cried, he felt so bad. That was the end of that [Tape 95, FCC Transcripts, Courtesy of Kootenai-Salish Culture Committee].

From both this account of the Blanket Hawk family, and the earlier story of Walking Coyote, one gets the sense that the Pablo-Allard herd, which was beneficial to the controlled reestablishment of buffalo in the park, possibly received two infusions through Plateau Indian donors. But from the rich, latter account, we also get a deeper sense of the sorts of mysterious personal affinities and cultural ties that linked Indians and these animals. Most importantly, as far as the history of Yellowstone National Park is concerned, these narratives now help us to appreciate that crucial relationship between American Indians and Yellowstone's buffalo in both biological and cultural terms (for an account of Flathead use of buffalo, see Appendix C).

Connections between the animals of the Yellowstone Plateau and American Indians did not end with the establishment of the park, even though both of them fell under increasing control by the Department of the Interior after 1880: the animals were held in game refuges while the Indians were held on reservations. With the congressional outcry over the decline of wildlife across the west, uncompromising protection and natural replenishment of wild stock came to dominate park policy in the 1890s. But this strict approach was eventually followed by a second period of highly controlled giveaways of elk and buffalo. A major donation of buffalo for the Crow tribe in 1934 came after energetic lobbying by the new native superintendent of the Crow Indian Agency, Robert Yellowtail. In this case the Yellowstone National Park herd symbolically paid Indians back, so to speak, by supplying 69 cows and 8 bulls for a new herd to be pastured on rich grassland in the Bull Elk and Black Canyon highlands of the Crow Reservation. Trucked about 350 miles from Yellowstone to south-central Montana, Yellowtail furnished the trucks and raised $750 for other expenses. The park also provided buffalo to start up another Indian herd at Pine Ridge (Sioux) and for feeding needy families at Wind River (Shoshone).

But the Shoshone were also interested in obtaining Yellowstone buffalo to feed their spirit as well. As a tourist who visited the Wind River community suggested to the park superintendent that same summer of 1934:

> ...they (members of the Fort Washakie Indian council) remarked how hard it was to get buffalo heads and pelts for their ceremonies; (they said) that you had given them one last year but that they were persuaded not to come asking again this year, even though you would have been more than willing to have given them one from surplus...Fort Washakie Indians wish very much to have a little bison herd of their own. They have blind canyons where they could winter them; plenty of range they say. And since these animals mean so much to these plains tribes, it hits me as something worth talking over with you—this idea of giving them live bison instead of dead 'uns. Maybe just a reasonable start. I think I believe they'd come

Figure 2.11. Elk carcasses in Yellowstone National Park before distributing to Indian reservations, 1930s (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #YELL 28591-2).

Figure 2.12. Indian schoolchildren being fed Yellowstone National Park elk, 1930s (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #YELL 109352).

> with pomp and ceremony to drive the bison over the hill and to the tribal lands. It might make a grand story from the park publicity angle; and from the Department of the Interior and its two divisions, Parks and Indian Affairs, angle. New Deal slant [Denver, RG 75 BIA, NA-RMR, Wind River Agency, General Adminstrative Records, 1890–1960, Box 237, folder 920].

Nothing came of this idea, but in the case of elk, increasingly the park found itself with surplus carcasses after periodically culling them in order to bring the herd within the constraints imposed by the available winter food supply. Initially, the live animals and or carcasses were parceled out to zoos, state parks, rod and gun clubs and paternal organizations, but it would take over forty years for them to be distributed among needy Indian groups. Four animals which were donated to Washington's National Zoological Park in 1892 began the process, and the increasing annual shipments continued intermittently through 1967 (Yellowstone National Park Archives, Box N-6, 4, File: "Distribution of the Elk Shipments").

According to park records, the earliest elk carcasses to feed indigent Indians entailed about 150 head which went to Crow Indian Agency in 1935; the following year that tribe received 384 with the Pine Ridge Sioux agency getting eleven. But it appears to have been in 1942 that the park archival records accessed by this project seem to reflect intensified efforts to route elk carcasses to reservation agencies requesting food assistance. Some of these animals originated from the regularly confiscated remains of animals killed illegally, but most were the result of a major program to reduce the park's northerly elk herd, estimated at around 13,000 head, so as to bring the stock within the carrying capacity of the park's winter food resources. The 321 animal carcasses distributed that year to Indians wound up on eleven reservations, with Fort Hall getting 16, Wind River getting 50, and 70 apiece to the Blackfeet and Crow. From park correspondence with both Wind River and Blackfeet agencies it also appears that hides and hooves for arts and crafts projects were requested along with meat (Yellowstone National Park Archives, Animals (cont.), Box No. N-20).

The next and final records we have of such elk reduction and meat distribution to Indians occurred in 1961–62, as "Plan 1" in the park's program for reducing the 5,000-member northern elk herd by half involved the distribution of 2,655 animals to nearly 41 reservations, schools, hospitals or missions to benefit Indians (Yellowstone National Park Archives, Final Reduction Report, 1961-62, Northern Yellowstone Elk Herd).

❂ ❂ ❂ ❂ ❂

Those older, more subsistence and religious-based Indian relationships with buffalo were evoked at the end of the winter of 1996–97, as losses to Yellowstone National Park's herd due to especially harsh ice storms, freezing temperatures, footloose animals, and motor accidents cut the population by over two-thirds. About 300–400 animals were winter killed because of heavy weather, 41 more were struck by vehicles, and another 1,080 which wandered beyond the park perimeter and were feared to contaminate neighboring cattle with brucellosis were shot by Montana officials or sent to slaughter. Of the original 3,436 bison in the park at the beginning of the winter of 1996–97, there were only 1,089 animals left in and around the park as of an aerial count on conducted on March 18, 1997. It represented "the largest slaughter of wild bison this century" (Ravndal, April 6, 1997 draft, p. 1).

For their part, American Indian groups responded to these crisis conditions in three ways. One Indian response was spiritual, as various tribes people joined the protestors who gathered on March 6, 1997, to pray for buffalo welfare as the full dimensions of this crisis in wildlife management became clear. Members of the Inter Tribal Bison Cooperative convened their National Day of Prayer for the buffalo in three locations. The Indians selected their date to fit within the very week that the park was celebrating its 125th birthday, but it also coincided with the shooting of the 1,000th animal to wander outside the park. One of the prayer groups gathered at the Capitol Building in Montana's state capital of Helena. In Washington, D.C., President Bill Clinton was offered a pipe by tribal elders. Yet back near the park's northern entrance in Gardiner, Montana, the Montana State Department of Livestock killed 14 buffalo the very same day and Prayer Day coordinator, Rosalie Little Thunder, was arrested for trespassing while trying to say a prayer for them. As Lakota Gerald Millard summarized the mounting sense of Indian (and non-Indian) sorrow and outrage in his remarks on the Capitol steps in Washington:

> The snow, once white, is yet again red with blood. I am here to speak for the thousand who have passed over to the spirit world and also those yet in danger. I have come to demand the stop of the genocide against my relatives of the Tatanka Oyate, Buffalo Nation [Brian O. Daley, in the Casper Star-Tribune, March 20, 1997].

A second Indian response was equally traditional but based on subsistence rather than religious impulses. The one-time hunters of Yellowstone Plateau buffalo, the Shoshone of the Wind River Reservation, argued for the park breaking its old rule against hunting in the park to allow Indians and only Indians to cull buffalo within the park.

Given the idea of a buffalo breeding refuge introduced in the recently translated Flathead narratives which we have reviewed above, the third Indian response may be considered equally "traditional," even if it was couched in modern terminology. About forty-one different tribes established the Intertribal Bison Cooperative, spearheaded by founding president, Fred DuBray, from South Dakota's Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation. This group proposed building a $2 million buffalo compound on the state's Fort Belknap Indian Reservation in northern Montana for quarantining all buffalo who tested negative for the brucellosis disease. "To avoid any contamination of tribal cattle," said a press report on the proposal, "1,280 acres would be encircled by two 8-foot high game-proof fences and a third fence of barbed wire" (*New York Times*, April 13, 1997, p. 18).

The buffalo crisis in Yellowstone National Park made national television news and became the subject of instant documentaries on cable channels. Within the park it inspired intense discussions. The National Park Service's Intermountain Field Office in Denver contracted with Virginia Ravndal to draft a social/cultural study of Indian and non-Indian opinion about the bison/brucellosis issue. During preparation of an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) a new bison-management plan was discussed with a host of tribal representatives. The park also organized a special, three-day course in September 1998 on American Indians and Cultural and Natural Resources Management, reaching out to Indian participants. Greater efforts were made to inform Indian tribes who claimed historical and cultural "affiliation" with Yellowstone National Park about archaeological and ethnographic projects. By the year 2000, when a final draft of the buffalo management plan was finally signed, "The list of tribes that have expressed concern or interest about bison has grown to 84," according to Laura Joss, out-going Chief of Yellowstone's Branch of Cultural Resources (Joss 2001:13).

Northern Indians at the Geysers

When researcher Joseph Weixelman was interviewing Indians in 1991 for his report on traditional native attitudes towards the Yellowstone geysers, he visited the Assiniboine Reservation at Wolf Point, Montana. There he picked up some of those tantalizing fragments of personal narratives which, in the past, were conceivably richer in descriptive detail and cultural significance. According to one Assiniboine, a man named Leslie Four Star, the area "where water spouted from the ground" marked the

southwestern boundary of traditional Assiniboine territory, and Four Star maintained that this boundary was confirmed by where the French placed the tribe.

> Furthermore, Four Star had a dim memory of his mother-in-law's grandmother who recalled a trip she took to Yellowstone, which he claimed would have taken place "in the late 1700s or early 1800s" (Her husband, he maintained, was born in 1832). At the place where the water spouted from the ground Four Star speculated that his relatives had probably "prayed...thanked the Great Spirit and asked that the water doesn't come any closer" [Interview: September 15, 1991, 11:30 A.M., Wolf Point, Montana].

Weixelman was also able to talk with an 86-year-old Assiniboine named Chief Blue Bird, who was considered "spiritual leader" of the tribe. As a young man he had known a much older fellow tribesman named Walking Bull, said to be the step-grandson of Yellowstone Kelly, who had unwittingly visited the Yellowstone thermal region. According to Chief Blue Bird, Walking Bull had traveled far. He got lost and was gone for over a year. Eventually he came upon a place where smoke came from the ground. His instinctive reaction was to say a prayer. Touching the nearby water he discovered that it was hot. But when he put his hand in some water not far away, it was cold.

"Maybe it was Thermopolis," said Chief Bluebird, "maybe it was Yellowstone." Later Walking Bull found a place that was flat and white and tasted like salt. He brought this salt back home and the people put it on their meat, and it tasted good. But his people did not believe the rest of "those wild stories" (Interview: September 14, 1991, 10:00 a.m., Wolf Point Lutheran Rest Home).

The End of Northerly Indian Visits to Yellowstone

Twelve years before the last reported speculation in 1867 that Blackfeet were possibly marauding within the park, the American Blackfeet signed a treaty with the U.S. government which, for the most part, put a damper on the tribe's forays into the Yellowstone highlands. It was Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens whose series of treaty councils through the northwest helped to pacify the region for the railroad.

In the so-called "Judith Treaty" of 1855, the Blackfeet signed a pact with Stevens which accepted a hunting ground "from the valleys of the Three Forks of the Missouri River, east to the upper waters of the Yellowstone, an area of 30,000 square miles" (Lewis 1942:62). Although this agreement seems to have inhibited most of the tribe's long-distance missions into the proximity of the park, it merely shoved the locales for increasingly bitter Blackfeet-settler conflict farther to the north.

Only smallpox, hunger and the infamous Baker massacre of Heavy Runner's camp of Piegans in early 1870 finally broke Blackfeet resistence to the subsequent treaty proposals that had tried to evict them north of the Missouri. By the time they agreed to a reservation near Browning, Montana two years after the establishment of Yellowstone National Park, their intimate memories of its haunts twenty years before were already getting rusty. (Although, ironically, in 1920 and 1921 the government would push for using Blackfeet tribal funds to complete a highway linking that reservation, and Glacier National Park, directly to Yellowstone National Park—Kappler, *Laws* Relating to Indian Affairs, 65th Congress, Sess. III., Ch. 119, p. 305 and 66th Congress, Sess. II., Ch. 75, p. 249).

As for the Kootenai-Salish relationship to the park region, consultant TT said:

> Our people always had a connection with that [greater Yellowstone Region]... Even in the valley where Bozeman is today, in Belgrade, Manhattan, Livingston, and all that area, Helena, Townsend, Great Falls, all that area, Butte, the Beaverhead, the Dillon area, all those areas are basically Bitterroot Salish aboriginal territories. That's where they lived for thousands and thousands of years. That was before any white contact, before any fur traders got there, before anybody. Basically all the way to where the Crow Indian reservation is, and the Northern Cheyenne Indian reservation is, our aboriginal territories went all the way up to Canada, all the way to Montana and Idaho and Yellowstone Park, a vast, vast aboriginal territory [TT Interview, Pablo, Montana, August 22, 1995].

CHAPTER 3

RESIDENTS IN THE HIGHLANDS: SHEEP EATER

This chapter is devoted to reassembling and reassessing what scraps we have of information about the lifeways of the mountain Shoshoneans or "Sheep Eaters," and to restoring some dignity in the written record to their cultural milieu and their world-view. It borrows almost entirely from the work of other writers and their native consultants, with some of their efforts remaining unpublished. Even though the following descriptions will sometimes seem to be framed within a "timeless present," we must never forget that, like all Native American societies, the Sheep Eaters of Yellowstone National Park were also a people of history. That is, their modes of adaptation to their high-country habitat certainly underwent change and development before the coming of Euro-Americans, and those adaptations only accelerated afterwards. Furthermore, at the close of Chapter 5 we will return to Sheep Eater history as it interacts with that of the Wind River Shoshone.

If there is a time frame to the following summaries of their customary modes of hunting, foraging, housing, cooking, tool-using, social organization or religious practices, it might be around A.D. 1850. Yet we will feel free to move back and forth in time in order to enrich our sometimes circumstantial profile of their culture. But we also feel compelled to contextualize these Sheep Eat-

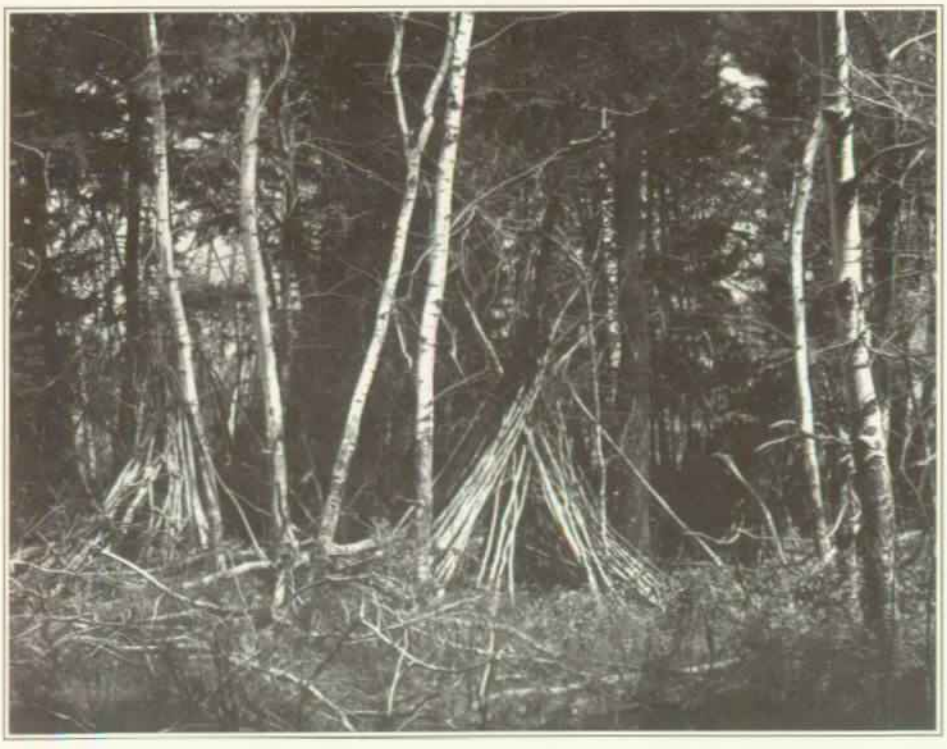


Figure 3.1. Indian lodges near Sheepeater Canyon Bridge, Yellowstone National Park, 1915 (Photo courtesy of Haynes Foundation Collection, Montana Historical Society, #H-6066).

ers in deeper time, by presenting the various, competing archaeological conjectures about their longer-term societal development. By way of introduction, then, let us briefly review some basic facts that we do have about these people before detailing their material culture, social organization, and religious world-view.

Properly known in the Shoshonean language as *Tukudika* (Murphy and Murphy 1986:306), *Tukuarika* (Hodge 1910:835) or *Tukadudka* (Steward 1938:186–187), which translates as "eaters of meat [or in this case bighorn sheep]," the Sheep Eaters are among several other groups of Shoshonean-speaking Indians that were recognized and distinguished among themselves primarily by their dominant food pursuits. Two other important Shoshone groups who frequented the region in and around Yellowstone National Park included the "salmon eaters," or *Agaidika*, and the "buffalo eaters," or *Kukundika*. However, once Euro-Americans entered the Rocky Mountain region they imposed different names to these groups. (*a*) The Lemhi, also frequently referred to as the Northern Shoshone, included a western group of Sheep Eaters and the Agaidika or "salmon eaters." (*b*) The Eastern Shoshone or Plains Shoshone included primarily the Kukundika or "buffalo eaters." (*c*) The Sheep Eaters, sometimes called the Mountain Shoshone, lived throughout the warmer months in Yellowstone National Park and the adjacent plateaus, following the bighorn sheep as they moved off the high country to seek shelter in the winter. To confuse this issue even more, much of the early literature on these Shoshoneans lumps them all together as "Snake."

With all the population losses, group mergings and fissions, re-namings and forced relocations experienced by the highland Shoshoneans featured in this chapter after their earliest contact with Euro-Americans in the late 18th century, it is often hard to trace and distinguish their separate histories over the years. It is important to remind ourselves that the confusing, multiple references in scholarly literature and government documents to the Sheep Eaters, the *Tukudika*, the Mountain Shoshone, or the Mountain Snakes, are probably talking about the same people. At the same time, however, we will offer a cautionary word when the Sheep Eaters of the 1870s are mentioned, for in that decade popular characterization seems to have tarred two different groups of Shoshonean-Sheep Eaters with the same derogatory brush, and created a bit of historical confusion in the process.

As for their linguistic identity, scholars concur that these Shoshonean groups of present-day Wyoming and Idaho spoke mutually intelligible dialects of the Central Numic division of the Uto-Aztecan language stock, with only minor variation between them. We get a hint that sounds of Sheep Eater language were somewhat more singular than the others, since they were reported to have a decidedly "slow, singsong speech" (Liljeblad 1957:95), but we have little idea how that actually sounded. The Bannock, a tribe closely related to the Shoshone, speak a northern Paiute language from the western Numic Division of Uto-Aztecan.

These high-altitude-dwelling Shoshoneans inhabited the mountainous regions of Wyoming, northern Idaho, and southern Montana, and are often described as the only permanent residents of Yellowstone National Park. But it should also be understood that "permanent" does not mean that the Sheep Eaters lived in stationary villages or fixed locations. They were semi-nomadic hunters, whose family bands generally followed the migration of the bighorn sheep in much the same way year after year. This pattern was recognized early on by Yellowstone National Park author Charles Phillips:

> Their distribution in the Park was determined largely by that of the mountain sheep. Col. Norris found a recently deserted encampment in the Lava Creek canyon [on Gardner River south of present Bunsen Peak] and named the basalt wall above Sheepeater Cliffs in consequence. Gen. Sheridan's party which entered the Park at Snake River found them in the vicinity of Mt. Hancock and Mt. Sheridan, but the five who accompanied the expedition had never seen the geyser regions. The shores of Yellowstone Lake seem to have been a favorite summer camping ground where they could vary their diet with fish. The flat open country around Indian Pond ("Squaw Lake") was much frequented and the discovery of a number of obsidian

> implements and arrowheads during the construction of the Lake Shore road would indicate that the promontory between the Thumb and Lake proper was also used as a camp site [Phillips 1927:38–39].

Today the Plains Shoshone or Eastern Shoshone, along with descendants of Sheep Eaters, reside in Wyoming on the Wind River Reservation. In Idaho's Fort Hall Reservation one finds the Lemhi, Bannock, and other subgroups of Shoshone, together with others of Sheep Eater ancestry.

What follows, then, will constitute a circumstantial outline of Sheep Eater culture history. But before that profile we must first look at what earlier chroniclers thought they knew about Yellowstone's resident Indians, and also at the legacy of distorted information they left behind.

Stereotypes About Sheep Eaters

Few American Indian groups have been saddled with as many demeaning and dismissive descriptors, heaped on them by non-Indian writers over the years, as have the Sheep Eaters of the Yellowstone Plateau and mountainous environs. Even the California Indians who were historically vilified by the pejorative term "Diggers" did not have it as bad, for they were not incessantly compared to any "more advanced" native neighbors. However, the Sheep Eaters, often by inference, were negatively compared to the more aggressive, horse-riding Plains or Plateau Indians around them. It was as if, even though Plains Indians were far more threatening to Euro-American interests once they elevated themselves onto horses in the early 18th century, those Plains equestrians at least had managed to rise a rung on some evolutionary ladder when compared to their high-country neighbors. They still had to be conquered or killed, but to their credit these Plains Indians astride their horses were noble, even admirably pugnacious, foes. By contrast, the Sheep Eaters were repeatedly described as reclusive, generally fearful of confrontation, traveling afoot, dependant upon their dogs, and hence were demoted almost to subhuman status. Even the literature relating to Yellowstone National Park reveals how deeply this evolutionary prejudice underlay common opinion about ethnic distinctions within the greater Shoshonean fold:

> The Shoshone Nation was in general characterized by the small stature of the people, who were timid and not of the comparatively high mentality of other neighboring tribes. A few of the tribes of this nation rose over the general plane of development, were mounted, and occasionally met their enemies in open combat . . . Despite the fact that these Indians were considerably above the average of this nation, they held the Blackfeet to the north in wholesome respect [Mills 1935:22].

Within this comparison between Plains and Mountain Shoshonean Indians lurked the strong echo of an antiquated 19th century theory of societal development. This theory held that all cultures ascended through identical "levels" of cultural growth. Thus they could be compared on their upward advancement, from a level of "savagery" to that of "barbarism" to that of "civilization," with sub-phases in between. Each level was associated with such diagnostic categories as social organization, housing, and subsistence practices. In the case of our comparison between Sheep Eaters and Plains Indians, for example, this meant that they were an example of an arrested development: their wickiup encampments were less evolved than that of a tipi village, their use of dogs lay beneath that of their horse-raising neighbors, and their reliance on roots and sheep placed them behind the meat-eating habits of the buffalo-hunting horsemen. They were considered an example of what early anthropology dubbed a "survival," stone-age remnants who never developed beyond an earlier, more primitive strata of human development. (Conversely, these buffalo-hunting Plains Indians could find themselves demoted on the Euro-American's evolutionary ladder as well, when their seasonal, nomadic utilization of a Montana region was placed on a rung lower than that of sedentary gardening peoples of North Dakota with their permanent earth lodge villages, in an instance when militarism lost out to agriculture as the decisive criterion (Miller 1981:109).

One of our earliest depictions of the Sheep Eaters comes out of an experience in September of 1832, when Captain Bonneville and his party of trappers were searching for a route over the Wind River Mountains. To the west of present-day Lander, Wyoming the travelers encountered a band of Sheep Eaters. While editing Bonneville's journal, Washington Irving occasionally embellished the material, so we are not certain to what degree this description is exclusively Bonneville's. But we are aware that Irving was also personally familiar with Sheep Eaters, because he mentions an 1811 run-in with them in the Snake River country (Irving 1964:271), and through conversations with trappers he may have gathered more bits of information. As Bonneville/Irving write in this classic early account:

> Notwithstanding the savage and almost inaccessible nature of these mountains, they have their inhabitants. As one of the party was out hunting, he came upon the track of a man, in a lonely valley. Following it up, he reached the brow of a cliff, whence he beheld three savages running across the valley below him. He fired his gun to call their attention, hoping to induce them to turn back. They only fled the faster, and disappeared among the rocks. The hunter returned and reported what he had seen. Captain Bonneville at once concluded that these belonged to a kind of hermit race, scanty in number, that inhabit the highest and most inaccessible fastnesses. They speak the Shoshone language, and probably are offsets from that tribe, though they have peculiarities of their own which distinguish them from all other Indians. They are miserably poor, own no horses, and are destitute of every convenience to be derived from an intercourse with the whites. Their weapons are bows and stone-pointed arrows, with which they hunt the deer, the elk, and the mountain sheep. They are to be found scattered about the countries of the Shoshone, Flathead, Crow, and Blackfeet tribes; but their residences are always in lonely places, and the clefts of the rocks.
>
> Their footsteps are often seen by the trappers in the high and solitary valleys among the mountains, and the smokes of their fires descried among the precipices, but they themselves are rarely met with, and still more rarely brought to a parley, so great is their shyness and their dread of strangers.
>
> As their poverty offers no temptation to the marauder, and as they are inoffensive in their habits, they are never the objects of warfare; should one of them, however, fall into the hands of a war party, he is sure to be made a sacrifice, for the sake of that savage trophy, a scalp, and that barbarous ceremony, a scalp dance. These forlorn beings, forming a mere link between human nature and the brute, have been looked down upon with pity and contempt by the creole trappers, who have given them the appellation of "*les dignes de pitie'*," or "the objects of pity." They appear more worthy to be called the wild men of the mountains [Irving 1961:192–193].

Another famous early description of the Sheep Eaters comes from an articulate Rocky Mountain trapper named Osborne Russell (1965:26). His meeting with a handful of them took place in the Lamar Valley of Yellowstone National Park in 1834. Skillfully edited and geographically retraced with maps prepared by Aubrey Haines, Russell's commentary offers important details of Sheep Eater material culture, which will also be cited in our sections on their technology, and he appears somewhat impressed by the Sheep Eater lifestyle:

> Here we found a few Snake Indians . . . who were the only Inhabitants of this lonely and secluded spot. They were all neatly clothed in dressed deer and Sheep skins of the best quality and seemed to be perfectly contented and happy. They were rather surprised at our approach and retreated to the heights where they might have a view of us without apprehending any danger, but having persuaded them of our pacific intentions we then succeeded in getting them to encamp with us [Russell 1965:26].

During the night the trappers traded with the Sheep Eaters, and with charcoal on a whitened elk skin one of them drew the trappers a map of their territory. Traveling through the Lamar Val-

ley on the route depicted by the Indian cartographer, Russell and his companions camped somewhere near the junction of the Lamar and the Yellowstone rivers. That night he rhapsodized about this Sheep Eater landscape:

> For my own part I almost wished I could spend the remainder of my days in a place like this where happiness and contentment seemed to reign in wild romantic splendor surrounded by majestic battlements which seemed to support the heavens and shut out all hostile intruders [Russell 1965:27–28].

So far these early descriptions of Sheep Eaters leave us with contradictory cultural perceptions and contextual moods. On the one hand, they are portrayed as miserably poor, naked and forlorn beings who are a close link between humans and brutes, and are considered "objects of pity;" on the other hand, they are depicted as neatly clothed, contented and happy, a people with whom it would be enjoyable to spend the remainder of one's days. This polarized picture opens our profile of the "mysterious" Sheep Eaters, who throughout the literature will be continually represented in this contradictory way: as either "social outcasts" who fall not much above apes on the evolutionary scale, or as the epitome of noble savages who lived in a state of grace with nature. Åke Hultkrantz has pointed out, even though early texts presented them as squalid and impoverished, the more romantic image arising from Russell's reminiscences has also persisted over time:

> The story of "the wild men of the mountains," shy inhabitants of the inaccessible mountain vastness, whose footsteps and camp smoke only may be seen, spread rapidly. It was in due time built on with new details: the sheepeaters were pygmies and wild men living like animals, or they were the most dignified and morally "clean" of all Indian tribes. Their disappearance from the ethnographic scene was ascribed to a dramatic disaster of one kind or another. The mystification went so far that the Shoshoni Indians on the Wind River Reservation heard rumors of wild mountain men, and that one investigator of Shoshoni folklore even thought that the belief in dwarf spirits went back to the general picture of the Sheepeaters [Hultkrantz n.d. I:12].

But in the long run the accounts of these mountain dwellers, whether cobbled together from unsubstantiated rumors or cannibalized from earlier published misinformation, produced a predominantly negative portrayal of Sheep Eaters, as evidenced in the comments about them by a Washakie National Forest ranger in 1926:

> They were renegade Indians, who, for the sake of safety and perhaps convenience, with the age old fellowship of man, banded together where possible and lived their lives in the mountain fastnesses. They had evidently violated various tribal laws and did not belong to any fixed tribe, having been compelled on penalty of death to live as fugitives. At times they preyed upon small parties or lone Indians for the purpose of equipping themselves with such implements or weapons as were obtainable, or possibly to steal a squaw, returning at once to their mountain retreats. They were not warlike but were supposed to have been cowardly and shy, which, under the circumstances is easily understood. Plainly they were social outcasts [Clayton 1926:277–278].

Sixty-five years later disparaging stereotypes about Sheep Eaters had not much changed, when a former chief ranger of Yellowstone National Park wrote in his memoirs:

> Known as the *Tukudikas*, or "Sheepeaters," they had been considered, as I have said, the lowliest of the low in the Shoshone Indian tribes. Lacking either the will or the courage to compete in a world upset by the introduction of the horse and gun, they sought to eke out an existence in the then mostly undesired rugged country...They stayed mostly to themselves, were timid, small in stature...Dirty, destitute, primitive...the Sheep eaters were anything but fodder for the Indian romancer [Sholly and Newman 1991:106–107].

It is out of the accumulation of such demeaning and inconsistent descriptions and images that we have isolated the following five popular conceptions and stereotypes about these one-time

dwellers of Yellowstone National Park:

1. The Sheep Eaters were pygmies with diminutive limbs and stature.

2. Because the Sheep Eaters were timid, and so low on the evolutionary scale, they were probably feeble-minded.

3. Like all the Indian tribes of the region, the Sheep Eaters were afraid of the geysers.

4. The Sheep Eaters were a poor people, living on the edge of starvation, who lacked the appropriate technology to take care of themselves. Coupled within this is the misconception that the Sheep Eaters had no dogs or other beasts of burden.

5. The Sheep Eaters were an impure, motley crew of renegades whose misdeeds had exiled them from various tribes, and who banded together like fugitives to prey on the unwary.

Responding to Popular Conceptions About Sheep Eaters

Throughout the historical record, we learn that each one of these stereotypes or misconceptions had their advocates. Often one of these questionable characterizations was simply recycled from an earlier comment, which helped to cement the generally degrading image not only in public opinion but also in the writings of those who might have known better; as recently as 1994, for example, the portrait of Sheep Eaters by a well-known historian was that they were "poor even for Indians" (Aubrey Haines lecture in Mammoth, Yellowstone National Park, 1994). Taking each of the above listed distortions or misconceptions in turn, however, it is possible to outline their early protagonists and to debate their accuracy.

1. Sheep Eaters Were Pygmies. The first person to describe the Sheep Eaters as "pygmies" was none other than the second superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, Philetus Norris. In his annual report for 1880 Norris writes:

> The only real occupants of the Park were the pygmy tribe of three or four hundred timid and harmless Sheepeater Indians, who seem to have won this appellation on account of their use of the bighorn sheep for food and clothing [Norris 1881a:35).

One wonders how Norris arrived at this conclusion, because he personally visited the Ross Fork Agency of Sheep Eaters, Bannocks and Shoshones to elicit their pledge not to visit the park (Norris 1881a:45). He must have met some of these Indians and seen for himself that they were not stunted dim-wits. To be sure, the Sheep Eaters were not tall people and as a group were medium to short in stature, resembling the general build of Great Basin Indians. Their bones have been described as more gracile than robust (Gill 1991), but one should not take this to mean they were incapable of feats of strength. After all, the Sheep Eaters regularly strung and shot horn bows with a pull strength of about sixty-five pounds, and after witnessing the difficulty today's experienced bowhunters had with attempting to string one of his horn bows, Wyoming bow-maker Tom Lucas concluded these Indians had to possess considerable upper body strength (Personal communication, July 8, 1995).

As with all ethnic groups, there were some Sheep Eaters who did not fit the norm. There was Togwotee, for example, perhaps the best-known of the Sheep Eaters because he assumed a role as a sub-chief under Washakie, who Åke Hultkrantz heard was tall, slim, crook-nosed and "looked like a Sioux Indian" (Hultkrantz n.d. I:18), and Hultkrantz personally interviewed a Sheep Eater, CS, born in 1885, whom he described as "tall and slim" (Hultkrantz n.d. I:61). If the average height and build of Sheep Eaters were small in comparison to Plainsmen like the Crow—whose Missouri River cousins, the Hidatsa, were famously tall—there was clearly variation among individuals. While they were positively not "pygmies," a wider understanding of Norris' agenda regarding Indians in Yellowstone suggests that by describing them as diminutive he might have been trying to diminish the shadows of their presence in "his" park.

Unfortunately the characterization was embraced by trusted scholars of the day, and appears in their writings even when Norris is not credited. As Coutant, a distinguished Wyoming historian, describes the Sheep Eaters:

> Not cultivating the acts of war, they became a timid and inoffensive tribe, marrying among themselves and at last became dwarfed and were despised by warlike nations [Coutant 1899:705].

Here Coutant has added insult to injury by suggesting that their allegedly stunted size was caused by eschewing war and inbreeding. Even the noted Yellowstone National Park historian, Hiram Chittenden, was coerced into imagining the Sheep Eaters as lacking size and intelligence. Following the Bonneville/Irving line, he describes them as:

> These hermits of the mountains, whom the French trappers called "les dignes de pitie," have engaged the sympathy or contempt of explorers since our earliest knowledge of them. Utterly unfit for warlike contention, they seem to have sought immunity from their dangerous neighbors by dwelling in the fastnesses of the mountains. They were destitute of even savage comforts . . . Their rigorous existence left its mark on their physical nature. They were feeble in mind and diminutive in stature, and are described as a "timid, harmless race" [Chittenden 1964:11].

2. Sheep Eaters Were Timid and Feeble-Minded. In the foregoing depiction of Sheep Eaters, Chittenden also managed to introduce the second misconception that they were fearful and dimwitted. After Chittenden it was not uncommon to hear Yellowstone National Park and non-park commentators refer to the Sheep Eaters as "a weak and degenerate race, wholly unfitted to hold their own" (Phillips 1927:32). Well acquainted with the park's interpretative programs over the years, Yellowstone veteran Paul Schullery recently summarized these Chittenden-instigated notions of Sheep Eater mental competence and the presumed degree of weakened fortitude which derived from it:

> They are the most maligned of the native groups that used Yellowstone. When I came to work in the park in 1972, park educational programs still presented Chittenden's view that the Sheepeaters were culturally deprived weaklings, hiding in a few remote areas of Yellowstone because they simply couldn't survive anyplace else [Schullery 1997:24].

Well into the present century one continued to hear this characterization of Sheep Eaters as excessively shy and retiring, with Nedward M. Frost writing in 1941 that, "Explorers left few records concerning these now extinct Indians, probably because their extreme shyness made it difficult to approach them" (Frost 1941:17).

Coupled with their alleged mental inferiority, this belief led to the conclusion that Sheep Eaters were unable to defend themselves. Again, the subtext of this characterization seems to have been a sort of highly dubious equivalence between pugnacity and heightened brain-power. Yet even favorable assessments of the Sheep Eaters have accepted this equivalence, as Sarah Olden writes, "This band [of Sheep Eaters] was more intelligent, and very warlike" (Olden 1923:13). While Olden offers no documentation for her declaration, Åke Hultkrantz turned up an older discussion of Sheep Eater mental capacity from a Middle Oregon Indian agent named R. R. Thompson, who wrote in 1854:

> The Mountain Snake Indians are a branch of the Root Diggers, (who, in the extreme south, are presumed to be the lowest order of the aboriginal race,) and have a common language. They occupy the country on the north and east of Fort Hall, and to the south to include Bear River valley. These Indians gradually improve in their habits and intelligence as they approach the northern and eastern extremities of their country [Thompson 1854:490].

But even when they are introduced for positive rather than negative commentary, most of the amateurish or anecdotal speculations about the relative mental capacity of Sheep Eaters have the nasty ring of the sort of pseudo-scientific, racist criteria which is often used to denigrate or aggrandize other cultures. If physical and cultural anthropology have taught us anything about modern populations, it is the futility of making such comparisons, especially on the basis of such uncontrolled rumor and hearsay. It might be far more worthwhile to simply examine closely Sheep Eater adaptations to surviving in the mountains. In their

material culture and technology, as we shall soon see, will lie ample evidence of their basic intelligence and good practical sense.

3. Sheep Eaters Were Afraid of Geysers. A third misconception that needs to be laid to rest is that Sheep Eaters were terrified of Yellowstone's geysers. Although this notion may be more closely associated with other Indian wayfarers through the park, a few words about Sheep Eaters and the Yellowstone National Park thermal field are in order. In more than one treatise, Åke Hultkrantz championed this misconception (Hultkrantz 1954; 1979), but closer inspection of his writings reveals a confusion and contradiction to the theory which will always be associated with his name. In a single essay he speculates that "the Sheepeaters shunned the geyser areas—and the reason for this can scarcely have been anything but fear" (Hultkrantz 1954:46), but then he offers these comments from George Wesaw, a Shoshone Indian:

> The Indians prayed to the geysers because they believed that there were spirits inside them. Sometimes, when nearing enemies, they let the water from the geysers spray over themselves so they became invisible [Hultkrantz 1954:44].

This man was a direct descendant of the "Wesaw" who was also Colonel Norris' foremost Indian informant. At one point the older Wesaw had told Norris that the Shoshone, Bannock and Crow "occasionally visited Yellowstone Lake and river portion of the park, but seldom the geyser regions, which he declared were 'heap, heap bad,' and never wintered there, as whites sometimes did with horses" (Norris 1881b:38). We might hear in this mock-Indian English expression "heap, heap bad" an echo of Norris's infamous poetry that more than one writer has declared "unfit for human ears," but more importantly we should give the Indian's words the credit for being a precise response to Norris' query as to whether any tribes wintered near the geysers. The thrust of Wesaw's answer is that the geyser area was a bad place to berth horses over a winter. Behind his response must also have been Wesaw's awareness, passed on from him to subsequent generations, that spirits lived at the geysers, and that places where powerful spirits dwell are rarely suitable locations for the everyday activities of hunting, gathering, and camping.

Hultkrantz (1954:49) knew full well that to the Shoshone hot springs and geysers were the abodes of spirits who could help or harm human beings. Besides those in Yellowstone National Park, the best-known thermal pools are found at Thermopolis, Wyoming. According to the Shoshone, a gigantic "dragon" formerly lived there, as well as the water creatures known as *pan dzoavits* and water ghosts who made the water boil. As George Wesaw explained to him, such powerful spirits within geysers and thermal pools could be propitiated with prayers. The same essay has Hultkrantz pinpointing these places of religious power as the sites which actually *attracted* Shoshone who were seeking supernatural power:

> . . . a centre of religious power having the indifferent character of natural force does not act only negatively; he who knows the secret may turn its destructive activity into useful constructive force. The Shoshone knew that the sacred springs could be utilized for positive purposes. As we have seen, the hot jet of geyser provided invisibility medicine [Hultkrantz 1954:49–50].

Throughout the Shoshone realm were steaming, mysterious spots which contained these invisible, spiritual forces. On the one hand they were certainly held in healthy respect, even awe; on the other, contact with them was an absolute requisite for personal success. It is known that the most respected Sheep Eater leader and medicine man. Togwotee, had this *pan dzoavits* as his personal power; it may not be far-fetched to speculate that, like the Crow Indian medicine man known as The Fringe, he sought the supernatural being out during an arduous fast near the Yellowstone thermal field. If so, certainly Togwotee would have felt some fear as well—who would not be somewhat anxious about spending three or four days and nights alone beside the thundering geysers, abstaining from food and water, awaiting the wondrous and powerful spirits who lived there? Individuals seeking power often speak of their fear while waiting for a visit from the supernatural, but after the event they have respect for the power rather than fear. Survival in Yellowstone National

Park depended upon the ability of the Sheep Eaters to live in accord with such "frightening" natural forces as blizzards, grizzly bears, and thunderstorms, as well as geysers. Encountering any one of them took caution and experience, and on occasions when one was transacting with their spirits, respect and prayer.

4. Sheep Eaters Were Paupers. The fourth misconception is that Sheep Eaters were a poverty-stricken lot, barely surviving on the verge of starvation. The explanation often provided for their sorry state is that the Sheep Eaters were forced into the mountains by the advanced and more militaristic tribes of the lowlands. Among recent references where this idea is still circulated, one is actually found within a curriculum handbook for the Wind River Reservation where it states, "It is probable that the Sheep Eaters of Yellowstone National Park were stragglers of the Northern Shoshones driven into and forced to live in the high mountains by their enemies" (Anonymous ca.1985:9). Implicit in the misconception is a picture of the Sheep Eaters as second-class losers scrounging for survival in an unforgiving landscape.

The idea that Sheep Eaters were "miserably poor" was prevalent among the chroniclers who had only chance encounters with them. In the north, it apparently originates from the Lewis and Clark journeys, following the killing of a deer by one of the expedition's hunters on Friday August 16, 1805. According to Meriwether Lewis, after a dash to the spot where the deer had been dressed by the hunter, the Mountain Shoshone (Lemhi):

> all dismounted and ran tumbling over each other like famished dogs, each man tore away at whatever part he could, and instantly began to eat it; some had the liver, some the kidneys, in short no part with which we look with disgust escaped them; one of them who had seized about nine feet of entrails was chewing at one end, while with his hands he was diligently clearing his way by discharging the contents at the other [Lewis and Clark 1904–1905:401].

This quotation was highlighted in a popular anthropology text book *Man in the Primitive World* by E. Adamson Hoebel. First published in 1949, the book sustained many printings and was used by tens of thousands of anthropology students in colleges and universities across America. In his discussion of the Shoshone, Hoebel maintains that "fear of starvation constantly haunted the Shoshones" (Hoebel 1949:102). The old image that the hunting and gathering cultures which early Euro-Americans found throughout aboriginal California, the Great Basin and the Rocky Mountain Highlands lived with the wolf always at their door was recycled into the 20th century.

Not until 1966 did scholars challenge this conventional wisdom. That was when an international conference on Hunters and Gatherers used finer-grained data based on ethnographic fieldwork to reappraise the life-ways of band-size hunters and gatherers. Inspired by the methodology of Richard B. Lee among the San-!Kung Bushmen of South Africa (Lee 1965; Lee and De Vore 1968), anthropologists followed hunters and gatherers on their daily tasks, paid particular attention to what they ate and drank, then analyzed their food supply to learn its caloric and nutritional value. They realized that, by and large, most hunters and gatherers enjoyed a reliable and varied food base, subsisting on plants far more than meat (ratio of 4:1 in dry environments), working only at intensive intervals to satisfy their food needs, living to old ages with minimal worries over survival. Although some of this ground-breaking research has been re-evaluated in recent years, the general conclusion remains viable. Among fairly small (30 to 40 individuals), mobile and socially flexible hunting and gathering peoples, their lifestyle was an impressively successful subsistence strategy which required periodic bursts of effort followed by leisurely intervals for enjoying such freedom from want that the label of "the world's original leisure society" was bestowed on them. Some of Lee's reflections on the subsistence patterns of South African natives might provide a corrective guide towards the reappraisal of a band-based, hunting-and-gathering lifestyle such as that of the Sheep Eaters as well:

> Over the course of a year, the picture of steady work, steady leisure and adequate diet was maintained...In assuming that their life must be a constant struggle for existence, we succumb to the ethnocen-

tric notions that place our own Western adaptation at the pinnacle of success and make all other second or third best. Judged by these standards, the !Kung are bound to fail. But judged on their own terms, they do pretty well for themselves.

If I had to point to one single feature that makes this way of life possible, I would focus on *sharing*. Each !Kung is not an island unto himself or herself; each is part of a collective. It is a small, rudimentary collective, and at times a fragile one, but it is a collective nonetheless. What I mean is that the living group pools the resources that are brought into camp so that everyone receives an equitable share. The !Kung and people like them don't do this out of nobility of soul or because they are made of better stuff than we are. In fact, they often gripe about sharing. They do it because it works for them and it enhances their survival. Without this core of sharing, life for the !Kung would be harder and infinitely less pleasant [Lee 1984:55].

Before painting a picture that makes Sheep Eater life too rosy, we should remember that at certain times hunters and gatherers did face times of food shortages, even those whose territories include bountiful resources. As we are reminded by Colson (1979) quoting the research of Aginsky (1939) the Indians of central California who formerly inhabited one of the richest biomes in the world had memories of years when there was hunger. Colson (1979:20) suggests that a five-fold plan can help alleviate periods of starvation. This plan includes the reliance upon a diversified food base wherein the hunters and gatherers exploit multiple animal and plant species, the storage or preservation of some foodstuffs, the use of and the transmission of knowledge regarding what might be called "famine foods," the conversion of surplus food into durable articles that could be exchanged for food in times of scarcity, and the cultivation of a strong set of social relations that could be called upon to help in times of food shortage. We know that the Sheep Eaters practiced several of the points in this strategy. They exploited a wide array of animal and plant foods; they dried fish and meat as well as root plants and berries; they apparently would have known about starvation foods, like the cambium of pine trees available during the winter; they could have traded surplus food for other objects and they had access to other valuable resources, such as obsidian, for trade; and they maintained a network of relatives and friends to rely upon in times of scarcity. Of all these the last was probably the most important because the Sheep Eaters lived in such a fluid social organization that they could have moved to a neighboring group when resources were tight.

With the abundant supplies of bighorn sheep, fish and root plants in their mountainous territory, it seems unlikely they were starving or destitute. During the Standifer gold-prospecting expedition of 1866 into Yellowstone country, A.B. Henderson was dispatched to "hunt up the Sheep Eaters camp for the purposes of trading skins etc. with them, as we knew they had hundreds of fine sheep skins and furs of all kinds." When they finally connected with the group of some sixty Sheep Eaters, they shared a meal and then traded for the sheepskins and martin furs (Henderson 1866:19-20).

Although these Sheep Eaters were certainly eager to obtain the white man's trade goods in exchange, they do not sound impoverished. Nor do the Sheep Eaters whom Osborne Russell found in his famous encounter with the Indians in the Lamar Valley to which we have already referred:

> Here we found a few Snake Indians comprising 6 men 7 women and 8 or 10 children who were the only inhabitants of this lonely and secluded spot. They were all neatly clothed in dressed deer and Sheep skins of the best quality and seemed to be perfectly contented and happy . . . Their personal property consisted of one old butcher Knife nearly worn to the back two old shattered fusees which had long since become useless for want of ammunition a Small Stone pot and about 30 dogs upon which they carried their skins, clothing, provisions etc on their hunting excursions. They were well armed with bows and arrows pointed with obsidian. The bows were beautifully wrought from Sheep, Buffalo and Elk horns secured with Deer and Elk sinews and ornamented with porcupine quills and generally about 3 feet long. We obtained a large number of Elk

> Deer and Sheep skins from them of the finest quality and three large neatly dressed Panther Skins in return for awls axes kettles tobacco ammunition etc. They would throw the skins at our feet and say "give us whatever you please for them we are satisfied. We can get plenty of skins" [Russell 1965:26–27].

If this description purports to represent a people on their last legs, how were they feeding 30 dogs? If they had to struggle all day to feed themselves, how did they find time to dress skins of the finest quality and make beautifully wrought bows? If they were so poor, why would they throw skins at the feet of the trappers in exchange for their goods? The Sheep Eaters themselves answered the last question for us—they could get plenty of skins and, of course, we must remember those skins were attached to edible flesh. It is true that they were poor in guns, knives and horses, but that did not prevent this band of 23 Sheep Eaters from living what in their view might have been considered the good life.

5. Sheep Eaters Were Renegades. The fifth misconception is that the term Tukudika, or "Sheep Eaters," referred less to any distinct group but was actually a cover term for a loose amalgam of ostracized members of different tribes who had only recently banded together in the mountains, a sort of Rocky Mountain version of the infamous Comancheros of the Texas Plains. In this incarnation the Sheep Eaters are seen as the flip side of retiring or timid; they are nasty savages who desire to wreak havoc on whites. This image of Sheep Eaters appears to have been prevalent in the 1870s, as a member of the William A. Jones expedition into northwestern Montana in the summer of 1873 reported about the stray bands of Sheep Eaters in the park:

> There is very little, if any, danger from hostile Indians in the park at present. Small parties of Bannocks, Mountain Crow or Snakes, ('Sheep-eaters'), might try to steal something, but they are arrant cowards [Jones 1875:22].

While omitting the negative commentary, W. P. Clark also transmitted the notion of the Sheep Eaters as a polyglot group:

> They were supposed by many authorities to be a separate tribe, differing in language, habits, and physical peculiarities from all the tribes which surrounded them, while others claimed that they were offshoots from the Shoshones, Bannocks, Flatheads, Pend d' Oreilles, Nez Perces, Crows, and Blackfeet, and that their poverty alone forced them to this peculiar life apart from their tribe [Clark 1885:334].

Of much the same mind was the fur trader Alexander Ross:

> The Ban-at-tees, or mountain Snakes, live a predatory and wandering life in the recesses of the mountains, and are to be found in small bands or single wigwams among the caverns and rocks. They are looked upon by the real Sho-Sho-nes themselves as outlaws, their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them. They live chiefly by plunder. Friends and foes are alike to them [Ross 1855:240–241].

These comments seem to forecast the general characterization, if not the specific misnomer, expressed by Chief Washakie of the Wind River Shoshone in 1879, who was quoted by the Shoshone Indian agent as complaining about the same "good many bad Indians" whom the whites at the time were often lumping together as Sheep Eaters (James I. Patten, U.S. Indian Agency, Shoshone and Bannock Agency, to Hon. E. A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., June 11, 1879). This image of Sheep Eaters as a culture-less and lawless band of predators remained intact over the years and other writers continued to uncritically pass on the idea, as Daniels wrote in 1953, "The origin of the tribe is rather obscure. Some authorities believe them to have been renegades and undesirables who were ostracized from other tribes and ultimately took to the mountains where they banded together to form their own groups" (Daniels 1953:24).

But behind these negative and inconsistent characterizations seems to lie a case of mistaken identity. Each of the former writers or speakers appears to have been confusing two different groups of "Sheep Eaters." Instead of referring to

the Wyoming *Tukudika*, the Sheep Eaters who are the main subject of this chapter, they appear to have been discussing a group along the Salmon River country in Idaho which resisted white domination. As this mistake was dissected by author Keith Barrette:

> The Tukudika are often confused with a small polyglot group of Indians, numbering about 200, who once ranged the Salmon River Mountains of Idaho...The error began in the late 1860s when the Salmon River country was first beginning to be settled. To these early-day prospectors and settlers an Indian was an Indian. They dubbed the band made up of excommunicated Bannack, Shoshoni and Nez Perce as 'Renegade Sheepeaters' [Barrette 1963:330].

It was these "predatory" bands of so-called "Sheep Eaters" (whom one of Hultkrantz's Shoshone informants distinguished by the term *tidibiano*—Hultkrantz 1956:187), who contributed to the hostilities of 1877–1878 in the Salmon River district of Idaho. They appear to have been only distantly related to the Sheep Eaters of the Wind River and the Yellowstone Plateau. But the confusion between these two disparate groups may have been reinforced by the fact that the Idaho marauders were said to have appropriated *Tukudika* camps, from which they launched their horse-stealing raids and attacks on mining camps on the South Fork of the Salmon River. This led to the short-lived "Sheepeater War," to be described in Chapter 4.

Whence Came the Sheep Eaters?: Competing Theories

The spread of bands and tribes who were related through their common use of the language stock we call Numic are not easy for outsiders to put into an understandable, cultural whole. They tend to irritate those who prefer to have their Indian tribes with fixed names and unchangeable identities, living within clear and distinct territorial boundaries and exhibiting a life-style that fits neatly into predetermined categories of the classic "types" of Indian culture. The Sheep Eaters, for instance, do not seem at all like Plains Indians, and their reputation has suffered by comparison. Nor are they really Plateau Indians, although they do share numerous traits of those river-dwelling and root-gathering peoples. And some of their representatives on the fringe of the Numic-speaking world do not even exhibit many of the traits that would seem to grant them a Great Basin identity.

To discover just "what kind of Indian" these Sheep Eaters were, we might begin by asking how they became so. And to investigate that question we must delve into one of the great conundrums in American prehistory: the spread of the peoples who spoke branch dialects of the Numic language family. There are few open questions that are more intensely debated by American archaeologists, linguists and anthropologists, and entire conferences have been devoted to this subject. A proliferating series of scenarios have been put forth for the prehistoric migrations of Shoshonean peoples throughout western North America (see Madsen and Rhode 1994). Narrowing this broad area of inquiry to the matter of the western and eastern Shoshone Indians proper, and to the Sheep Eaters in particular, we will try and simplify the prevailing arguments into the following four hypotheses, each with its own proponents:

1. A Great Basin Source—Recent Origins. The theory which argues that Shoshoneans have lived in the north for a relatively brief length of time has been advanced by archaeologists B. Robert Butler and Gary Wright. They argue that an A.D. 1300 date for the arrival of the Shoshone is about twice too old. Citing data from archaeological work in the Teton Mountains on the Wyoming/Idaho border, Wright (1978) believes the Eastern Shoshone did not arrive until the historic period, while for his part Butler is reluctant to accept any more than a few centuries of time-depth for the Shoshone occupation of Idaho (Butler 1981).

To make his case, Butler points out that some offshoots of the southwestern maize-cultivating culture of prehistory, which scholars term the "northern Fremont," lived in southern Idaho. Based upon ceramic evidence, they also appear to be related to a Fremont division found around the Great Salt Lake. But the Idaho Fremont are believed to have persisted longer than their south-

ern counterparts, based on analysis of Great Salt Lake Fremont ceramics which turned up in Wilson Butte Cave and were dated at AD 1525 ± 150 (Butler 1986:131–133). Therefore Butler has concluded that the Shoshone, who presumably replaced the Fremont, must post-date this later time period. In this theory the time-depth for the presence of Shoshone peoples in the north could not be any greater than 300 to 400 years ago.

2. A Great Basin Source—Older Origins. A second theory, which pushes the origins for the Northern Shoshone somewhat deeper into the past, has been supported by several well-known archaeologists but is actually premised upon advances in another discipline, the historical study of language development. To determine the relative age of the various branches of the Numic language stock, this approach borrows from the careful analysis of rates of change in small elements of a spoken language. This linguistic dating technique is called "glottochronology," and develops a rate of word loss for a language that has separated from its parent stock. Adapting this hypothesis to the Numic languages, linguists have proposed that their center or core lay in the southern Great Basin along the California and Nevada border. From this heartland the various Numic-speaking peoples expanded outward into their present-day homelands.

One principal group of these dispersing peoples spoke dialects of Shoshone proper, and their descendants now live on both the Fort Hall and Wind River Reservations (Miller 1986). From study of their changing vocabulary, their migration is believed to have been launched around A.D. 1000, and their constituent tribes are thought to have reached Idaho and Wyoming ca. A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1400. In this popular theory, the presence of the Shoshone people in the north could not have exceeded 750 to 800 years. The approach is often termed the "Lamb hypothesis," after Sydney Lamb, the linguist who developed it (Lamb 1958).

3. A Great Basin Source —Archaic Origins. A third group of archaeologists believe that the foregoing ideas about the origin of the Shoshone in Idaho and Wyoming are erroneous. They envision a much longer occupation for Numic-speaking groups in the north. Originally proposed by Earl Swanson and strongly supported by Wilfred Husted, their case is premised on findings from deeply-stratified caves and rockshelters that contain artifacts like those used by the Shoshone in the Great Basin for thousands of years.

Among the key archaeological sites which gave birth to this argument are Birch Creek Cave in Idaho (Swanson 1972), and Mummy Cave in Wyoming (Husted and Edgar n.d. ca. 1978). Both of these long-inhabited rockshelters yielded perishable artifacts such as basketry, arrow shafts and cord netting that are quite similar to those found in Great Basin caves. Included with more durable pieces of worked stone, such as net-sinkers and milling rocks, the entire assemblages strongly suggest a plant gathering and fishing style of life that was practiced in parts of the Great Basin for millennia. Furthermore, these artifacts and associated types of projectile points were repeatedly found at continuous levels of the excavations. This bolsters their case that there were few if any interruptions in the long occupation by a relatively stable cultural group, and that therefore the Shoshoneans had made the north their home for 8000 to 9000 years.

4. A "Middle Range" Hypothesis. A fourth and more recent hypothesis for the antiquity of Shoshonean appearance in the north falls somewhere between the extremes proposed by Wright-Butler and Swanson-Husted. This "middle range" assessment for the dates of Numic origins in the region stems from the work of Richard Holmer, who excavated a series of archaeological sites in the vicinity of the Fort Hall, Idaho (Holmer 1990; 1994) in the late 1980s and early 90s. Holmer's advantage, of course, lay in having the three existing hypotheses arrayed before him and testing them through a tried and true archaeological method—the "direct historical approach."

This approach involves selecting an archaeological site which is certain to contain evidence of human manufacture and use from the recent past, and which also was occupied by a specific cultural group. First, one excavates the uppermost, recent strata to reveal a diagnostic assemblage of artifacts for that particular group, such as the weight, size and shape of a stone projectile point, the hafting attributes of a chopping tool, the presence of a root-digging implement, and/or the decorative characteristics of pottery. As the work of

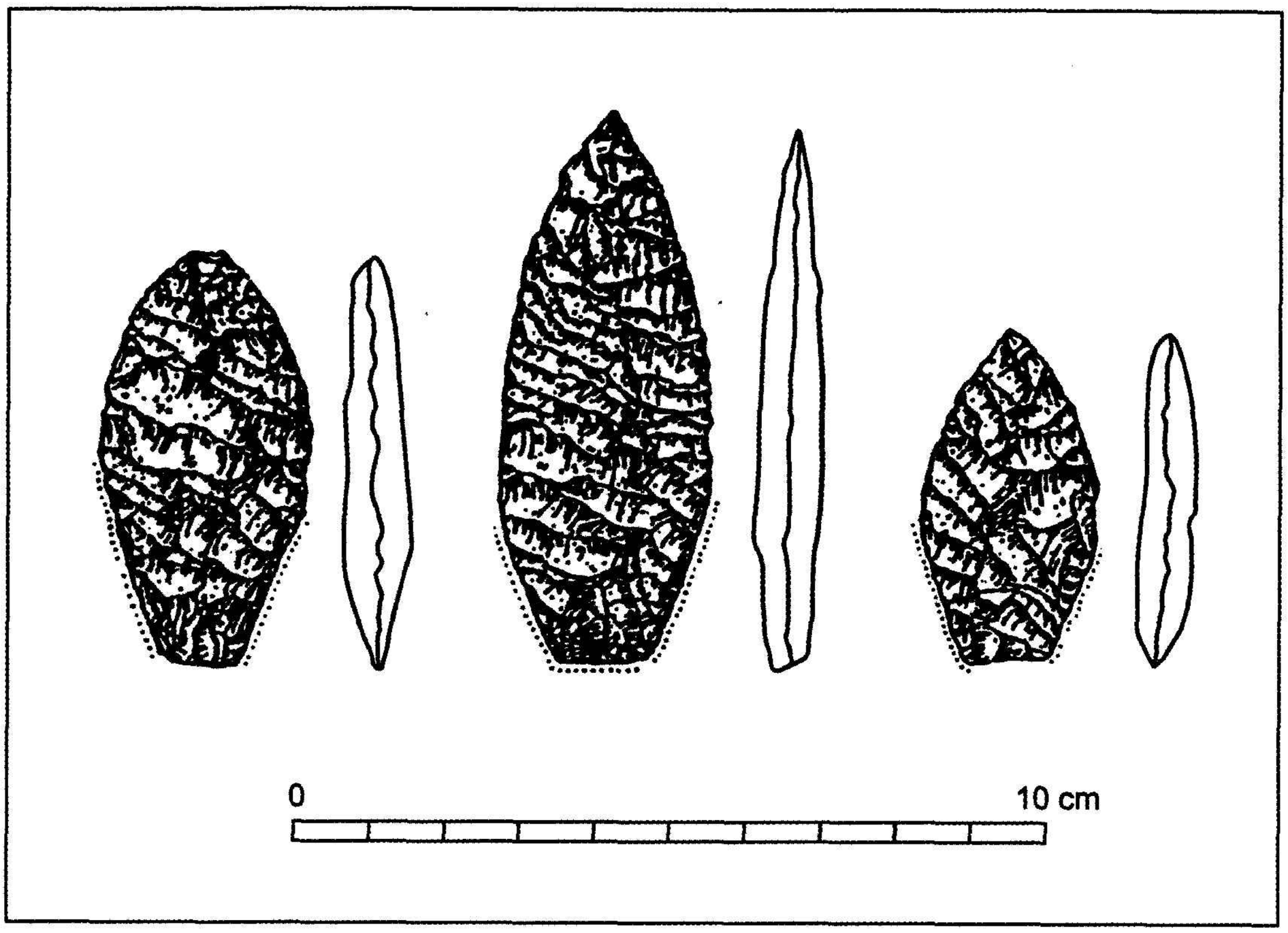


Figure 3.2. Lanceolate blades from the Wahmuza site in eastern Idaho (reproduced in Woods 1987:147–148). These range in age from 300 to 3000 years before the present.

peeling back layers of sediment, debris and cultural materials sinks into deeper strata, however, one discovers whether the new artifacts coming to light are the same as those above, whether they are appearing in markedly different shapes, or if altogether new tools are showing up which might be grouped in unfamiliar assemblages. If the artifacts do remain relatively similar through successive strata, the archaeologist has good reason to suspect that generations of the same cultural group must have occupied the site over time.

The site which Holmer selected lay in the bottomlands of today's Fort Hall Reservation; he named it Wahmuza, from the Shoshone words *wah'-muza*, meaning "cedar point." The location was chosen advisedly, for it represented a Shoshonean occupation known to have been utilized in the historic period. As might have been predicted, the uppermost layers yielded glass trade beads, musket balls and other objects traded to the Shoshone inhabitants by Euro-Americans (Holmer 1990:45). As the excavations penetrated down through deeper levels, they found some variation in artifacts, but their recognizable consistency suggested the presence of a single tradition over time.

At the Wahmuza site, Holmer's crew discovered that one distinctive type of lanceolate-shaped spear appeared along with cooking hearths in the topmost levels, and also within each successive strata all the way down to the floor of the site. They identified this diagnostic artifact as a lance point used by Shoshone men on a short, thrusting spear (to be discussed in the *Stone Tools* section below). Whereas these so-called "Wahmuza" spear points near the surface were only a few hundred years old, those found in the lower levels were chipped more than 3,000 years ago.

Trying to learn more about the geographical range of such distinctively Shoshonean artifacts, Holmer next excavated a site on the Middle Fork of the Salmon River known as Dagger Falls. His crew recovered 1,400 projectile points, 2,000 complete and broken biface tools, 400 scraping tools, 125 drills, 40 gravers, and approximately 3,300 utilized flake tools (Holmer 1990:48). Once again

the characteristic Wahmuza spear points were found at all levels, along with more than 200 potsherds, crafted much like the ceramics at Wahmuza and representing a continuous time-span of 1,200 years. Such evidence made Holmer confident that the same Shoshoneans who occupied the Wahmuza site were also living at the Dagger Falls site. Summarizing his results, Holmer wrote in words that seemed to echo what we have already heard concerning small, hunting and gathering band-based societies:

> What we have learned during this exercise is that the Northern Shoshone persisted in what is now eastern Idaho for millennia, perhaps as long as four thousand years. *Their tremendous longevity is a direct product of their technological and social flexibility, being able to respond to rapidly changing and unpredictable situations. For thousands of years they effectively adapted to changing environmental and social conditions without the loss of their cultural identity* [Holmer 1990:57, emphasis ours].

To a degree Holmer's work backs up the earlier revelations from the more deeply stratified cave sites like Birch Creek, Idaho, and Mummy Cave, Wyoming. But whereas those excavations indicated Shoshoneans lived in the north for 8,000 to 9,000 years, Holmer's dates only propose use of the region for 3,000 to 4,000 years by Shoshoneans. In time the continuing research of Holmer and others may add years to the longevity in the north, or support the belief that the original Shoshone migrations took place about 3,500 years ago [Holmer 1990:453].

Other recent research, focused within a restricted area of Wyoming and associated with rock art that is unquestionably of Shoshonean origin, supports Holmer's case for a Shoshone antiquity of more than 3,000 years. This work involves the Dinwoody Style of petroglyphs, which have been subjected to new dating methods for rock art. These studies indicate that some of the Dinwoody panels were engraved more than 3000 years before the present (Francis et al. 1994). Because not all researchers accept the validity of the experimental dating methods used to arrive at these age estimates, it is important to recognize there are also traditional radiocarbon dates for cultural deposits in stratified levels that were partially covering a Dinwoody style petroglyph at the Legend Rock site. These traditional dates verify the age of the Legend Rock petroglyph, for instance, at 2,000 years ago (Walker and Francis 1989) and therefore offer considerable credibility to the experimental dates for Dinwoody rock art a thousand years earlier.

5. A Possible Reconciliation. Lastly, we would like to simply suggest yet another approach to the fascinating if intractable question of Sheep Eater origins. Although almost impossible to test without finer-grained markers for the identities of ethnic subgroups within the greater Shoshonean brotherhood, this approach might begin to reconcile some of this wide temporal range between competing hypotheses for the Numic expansion. This is the supposition that there were ebbs and flows of Shoshonean migration, that overlapping of groups already known to have been highly mobile and singularly adaptive might have taken place, and that a non-aggressive succession of abandonments and reoccupations might have occurred in sites by peoples who were perhaps only ethnically distinct in non-material aspects of life such as their language dialects, belief-systems or forms of social organization.

To some extent this idea has already been put forth by Aikens and Witherspoon (1984) who have suggested that in the distant past, expansion and contraction of Numic peoples out of and back into the Great Basin might have transpired on more than one occasion. In the accommodation put forth here, we believe the Sheep Eaters could have continued to live in the north after an early expansion that took place by at least 3,500 years ago. Successive spreads of Numic speaking groups continued to occur, but they were possibly reoccupations of the territory of their former brethren. The most recent of these overlays may have taken place about the time the horse was introduced, and would thus explain the theory of Wright and Butler. Another may have started ca. A.D. 1000 when the linguistic data suggest it should have taken place. In this scenario, the Sheep Eaters who had been living in the mountains for millennia would have been joined by linguistic relatives from the Great Basin from time to time.

Similar schemes exist for most of the migrations that are known for other Indian groups in the American West. The Crow, for example, moved in at least two successive waves, the second several centuries after the first (Hoxie 1995). The Athapaskan speakers of the American Southwest are also thought to have moved from north to south, through what is today Montana and Wyoming, at distinctly different time periods (Biddle quoted in Opler 1983). As our reconstructions of population movements throughout the world grow more sophisticated we are learning that the collective migrations are not necessarily fixed events. Instead, they are often "time transgressive events" that occur in a much more layered or haphazard fashion than the linguistic approach might lead us to believe.

To summarize, we find the archaeological research by Richard Holmer and his colleagues at sites used by the northern Shoshone in Idaho to be persuasive. The area of central Montana and Wyoming appears to have been more dynamic, with Athapaskan tribes spending several centuries there before moving out in successive migrations toward the American Southwest. But it seems plausible that the people historically known as Sheep Eaters could have lived in the Yellowstone National Park region and the upper reaches of the Wind and Shoshone Rivers for at least 3,500 years.

Diagnostic Features of Sheep Eater Material Culture

Now we are ready to address the material world used by at least the Yellowstone-connected branch of Sheep Eaters in their mountain habitat. Throughout the glimpses of Sheep Eater lifeways which can be gleaned from ethnohistorical, archaeological and ethnographic sources, certain characteristics appear again and again. As we pull away from an historical approach to look at cultural profile, the following discussion will fill out a "laundry list" of the most tangible markers of Sheep Eater identity.

1. Dogs. During his last visit to Yellowstone National Park in 1994 Åke Hultkrantz was asked what in his opinion might differentiate Sheep Eaters from other tribal groups. Without hesitation he responded, "The way they packed their dogs." In their uneven, rocky setting, Hultkrantz explained, a dog dragging travois was not as efficient as one wearing side packs. Those pack dogs had to be large and sturdy, and he remembered being told that Sheep Eater dogs were noted for "white spots across their chests." Supporting information for the intimate working relationship between Sheep Eaters and their canine companions comes from the ethnographer Demitri Shimkin, who was told at Wind River that the Sheep Eaters were well known for their dogs. From his key informant, Dick Washakie, son of the well-known chief of the Eastern Shoshone, he learned that the personal names for dogs often derived from their coloring (Shimkin 1937). But Shimkin was also told that the animals were used to both drag travois as well as to carry packs:

> The Mountain Sheep Eaters used dog transport both with parfleche-type packs and with the travois, in which a rawhide case or basket of willow was seated. Food and goods but not children were carried. The dog's harness, it may be noted, was primarily a cinch around the chest, secured by breast and hindquarters straps. There was no leash, the dog being directed entirely by voice [Shimkin 1986:320].

This close association between Sheep Eaters and their beasts of burden has a solid ethohistorical basis as well. When Osborne Russell encountered his aforementioned group of Sheep Eaters (6 men, 7 women and 8 or 10 children) in the Lamar Valley in July 1834, he counted about thirty dogs "on which they carried their skins, clothing, provisions etc on their hunting excursions" (Russell 1965:26). Russell does not elaborate on their appearance but we are fortunate to have archaeological suggestion that the bond between Yellowstone National Park's Indians and their dogs was intended to continue even into the afterlife. The only human burials reported in the park, both found near Fishing Bridge, had dogs interred with them (Willey and Key 1992). Workmen digging a sewer line on the Fishing Bridge peninsula of the lake near the outlet for the Yellowstone River first found one of the burials in August, 1941. It was an adult male, 161.76 cm to 165 cm (5' 4" to 5' 5") in height and be-

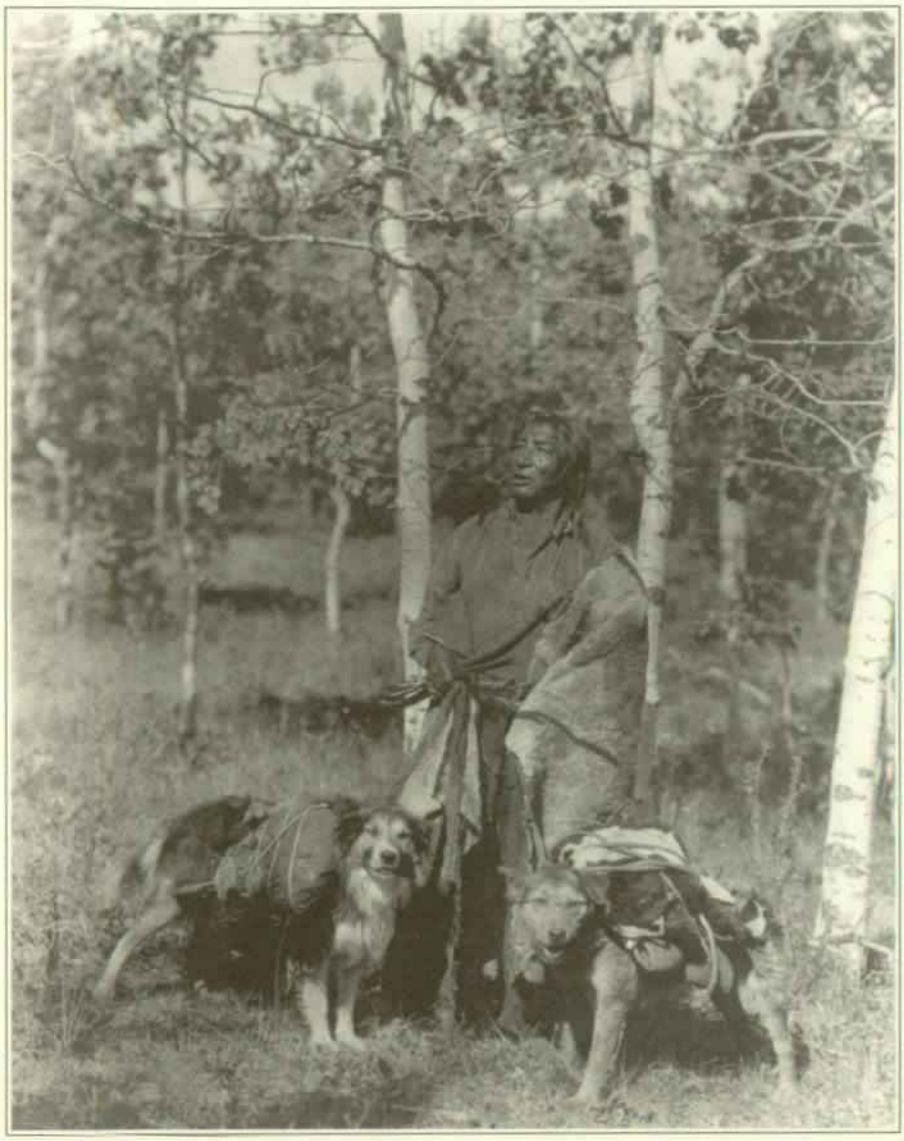


Figure 3.3. Though Assiniboine rather than Sheep Eater, this photo suggests how dogs were used by high Plains Indian hunters (From E.S. Curtis, The American Indian, *folio 18, plate 630, reproduction courtesy of Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming).*

tween thirty-five and forty-five years of age (Willey and Key 1992:17). Two adult dogs were interred with him. Discovered in the Fishing Bridge Campground in July 1956, another burial contained a female, 152 cm to 155 cm (5' to 5' 1") in height and forty to fifty years of age (Willey and Key 1992:22). Two fragments of a single right rib of a human infant were recovered with the adult female skeleton. A single sub-adult dog accompanied their burial. While there is no assurance these burials are the remains of Sheep Eaters, the dogs were certainly the same species as those kept by the Sheep Eaters.

The dogs were short to medium stature, with blunt muzzles and relatively broad heads. Comparing their jaws to those of a coyote and wolf, Condon learned that the dogs from the first internment were shorter than a coyote and wolf, but their breadth was equal to that of a wolf (Condon 1948). These dogs were studied by William Haag, an authority on American Indian dogs, who stated that their measurements fall within the range of a "group of Siberian-like dogs recovered from archaeological sites on St. Lawrence Island and from parts of the Asiatic mainland" (Haag 1956:1–2). Haag went on to state that the dogs were smaller than the Alaskan Husky and considerably smaller than Plains Indian dogs which approximated and sometimes exceeded wolves in size. Haag did not have radiocarbon dates available, but based on the

morphological characteristics of the dogs from the Yellowstone burials he suggested they likely dated about A.D. 1000 (Haag 1956:4). In a more recent study Cannon had these dog bones measured by Danny Walker at the University of Wyoming. Walker found the measurements and observations of Haag to be in line with his own. But he detected some grinding modification on the teeth, presumably inflicted by their owners to keep them from chewing through leather trappings (Kenneth Cannon letter to Larry Loendorf, September 2, 1996).

2. Stone Tools. For many years artifact collectors and archaeologists in Wyoming and southern Montana have been able to single out a distinctive chipped-stone tool, which is popularly called the "Shoshone knife." Shaped like a willow leaf, these artifacts measure from 7 cm to 12 cm (3.5 inches to 5 inches) in length and from 3 cm to 3.5 cm in width (1.25 inches to 1.5 inches) in width. They are long and narrow and are noted for intensive resharpening of their blades; examples which demonstrate such extensive use are generally worn away into a pointed shape with a wide base. Frequently the resharpening occurred only along one side of the blade edge, much as an old skinning knife was sharpened along one side. Indeed, studies into the wear patterns on Shoshone knives suggest that toward the end of their lives they likely served for drilling. But when they were in prime condition they were an all-purpose cutting, sawing, and piercing tool.

Once again we have to thank Dick Washakie, Demitri Shimkin's key consultant, for enlightening us about these important items in the Sheep Eater tool kit. In 1937 he told Shimkin that these knives were usually made of white flint but occasionally of bone. Examples recovered from archaeological sites in Wyoming and Idaho are frequently chipped from obsidian as well (Larson and Kornfeld 1994:202–203; Holmer 1994:184). Washakie also described how the knives were wrapped with sinew around the basal end to protect the user's hand, and he demonstrated how they were held in the palm of the right hand, with the point upward, between the thumb and four fingers. At meal times the knives were used by a server to cut cooked meat into large chunks which were laid upon rawhide plates.

We have already been introduced to what was probably another important Sheep Eater artifact, the chipped stone Wahmuza Lanceolate point, which tipped the Shoshone lance. Lances are described by Julian Steward (1943:314) as a distinctively Shoshone tool, but they are best known from archaeological contexts. Relying on the research of Richard Holmer (1989, 1990; Holmer and Ringe 1986; summarized in Holmer 1994 and Torgler 1995), these well made stone points exhibit grinding to smooth the base and lower lateral edges. Presumably this prevented the stone from cutting through the ties of leather or plant fiber which fastened it to the haft. As Torgler notes:

> Many of the Wahmuza Lanceolates are missing blades that have snapped off perpendicular to the length of the point near the point base. ...Typically Wahmuza Lanceolates are made of obsidian and have a distinctive form with parallel oblique flaking on the blades and contracting narrow bases [Torgler 1995:87].

Fashioned for balance and durability, many of the surviving points show signs of retouching and sharpening to keep them in use, and probably represent items that were prized and safeguarded. They were used to tip lances or short-spears which stretched from 200 cm to 225 cm (5 feet to 7 feet) in length, that were made from hardwood and

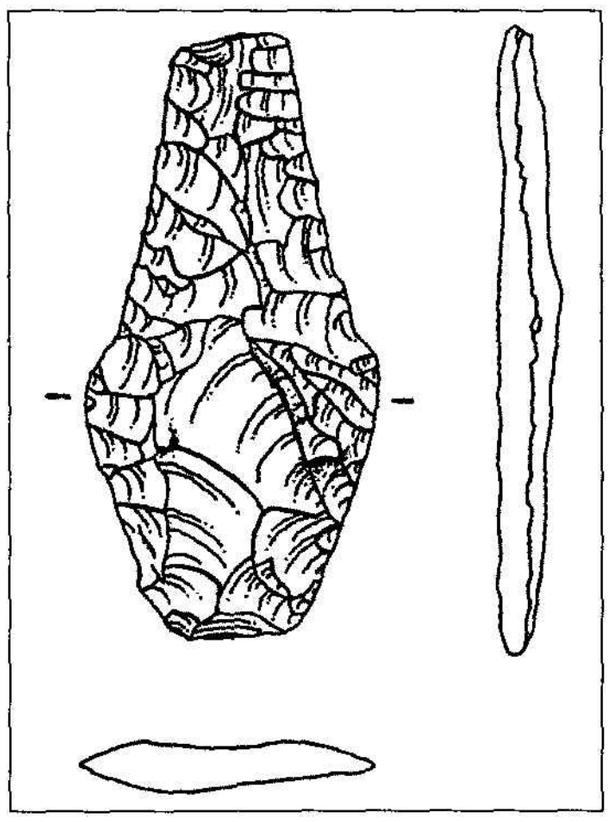


Figure 3.4. Shoshone knife found on the surface of Yellowstone National Park. Tip is broken but the tool displays the re-sharpening that characterizes these artifacts. Shown at approximately 1/2 actual size. Artifact #6527.

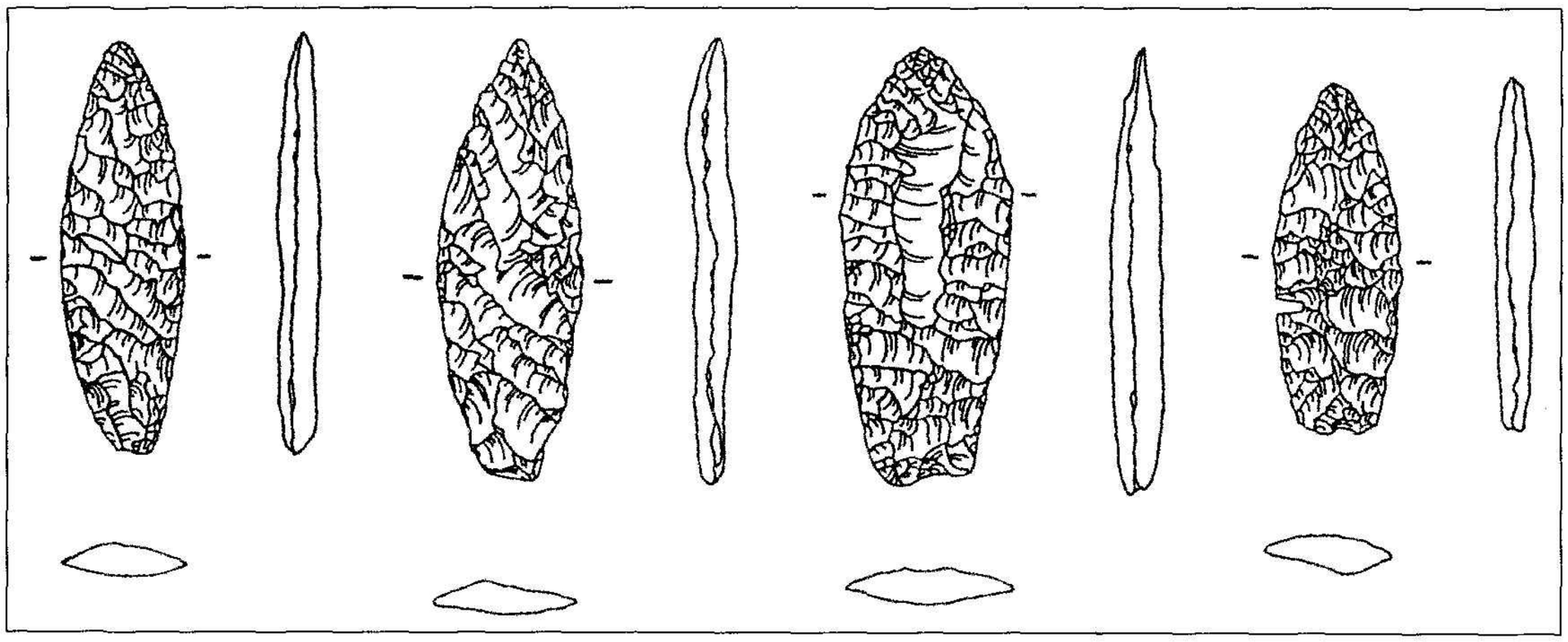


Figure 3.5. Examples of possible Wahmuza lanceolates found on the surface of Yellowstone National Park. Shown at approximately 1/2 actual size. Left to right artifact #'s 6626, 6630, 9494 and 7044.

decorated with feathers (Shimkin 1937). These lances would have been efficient for defense in face to face encounters, but their most common use was most likely for dispatching game already gathered into traps (Dominick 1964:156).

Although no Wahmuza-style Lanceolate points have been reported from excavated archaeological sites inside Yellowstone National Park, Torgler (1995:91–92) notes that they appear in the Carbella site to the north near Gardiner, Montana, and also in a site near Jackson Lake to the south in Wyoming. However, many lanceolate projectile points have turned up in the park (Hoffman 1961; Taylor et al. 1964) and in nearby areas (Haines 1964).

The remaining inventory of chipped stone tools used by the Sheep Eaters included arrowpoints—usually of obsidian. Unlike the Indians of surrounding areas, the Sheep Eaters seem to have been quite eclectic in their choice of stone point styles. In earlier phases they employed an array of such forms identified by archaeologists as Rose Spring as well as the points known as Elko-eared in Nevada, Utah and Idaho which are better suited for the short darts used with atlatls. Interestingly, these larger types continued to be used throughout later phases when the side-notched points, usually connected with an earlier era and similar to the Desert Side-notch varieties, served as arrowpoints (Torgler 1995:98; Holmer 1995:119).

With such a diverse assembly of piercing and cutting tools we might wonder why the Sheep Eaters needed the larger points, and hypothesize that they and their Salmon Eater neighbors may have actually collected and curated old points, as they presumably did with their knives. While most tribes on the Plains and the Plateau are thought to have abandoned atlatls when the bow and arrow was developed, the Sheep Eaters could have kept theirs, using them with the short darts. Because atlatls offer such great penetrating power, they were considered more effective for hunting bear. An occasional ground stone atlatl weight does turn up in Yellowstone National Park archaeological sites, but unfortunately they originate from poorly identified surface collections and could represent almost any time period.

Found in the most recent period of Sheep Eater occupation, however, a point type known as Cottonwood has been frequently associated with the Shoshoneans of Idaho and the Great Basin. Some have suggested that these small triangular points were "preforms" for notched points rather than actual arrowpoints. But a recent microscopic study of unwashed Cottonwood points in Idaho revealed sinew strips wrapped around the base, indicating they were clearly hafted and used on arrows. Some of the sinew strips were also stained with red ocher, suggesting the arrows may have been identified as to their owners (Torgler 1995:82–83).

Other chipped-stone artifacts used by the Sheep Eaters include drills for putting holes in

wood and bone, and pointed stone slivers that served as sewing awls. But the usually typical and abundant scrapers, known as "plano-convex" scrapers by archaeologists and "turtle-backs" by many artifact collectors, are strangely lacking. The absence of these tools at Mummy Cave was immediately recognized by its archaeologists, and although they do appear in Yellowstone National Park, they are not abundant. Their primary purpose was to remove fat and tissue from hides. When hafted in a bent antler handle, these scrapers were used as a pull tool; but chipped with an angular front edge and stuck into a straight antler handle they functioned as a push tool. Since the Sheep Eaters obviously had a need for such tools to clean hides, the absence of these scrapers suggests that they accomplished the task with obsidian flakes, using spalls with no defined pattern. Captain Jones did note such a tool in use by the Shoshone in 1873, and possibly it was being employed in lieu of the turtle-back scrapers more commonly found on the Plains:

> The Shoshones, though mostly provided with tools of iron and steel of approved patterns, are still to be seen employing, as a scraper in the dressing of skins, a mere "teshoa," consisting of a small worn bowlder, thinner at one end, split through the middle in such a manner as to furnish a rough cutting-edge at one side. There seems to be a considerable advantage in this over any form of knife or other tool which has yet reached them from without, and it is probable that it will be retained so long as their present method of preparing hides is in vogue [Jones 1873:261].

3. Steatite. Perhaps no class of artifacts were more unique to Sheep Eater culture than the pots and bowls which they carved out of the soft stone known popularly as "soapstone," "talc" or "pipestone," also known as *steatite*. Although there are approximately twenty minerals that fall under this designation, steatite is a common term for a white to green metamorphic rock that is soft enough to be scratched with a finger nail (Adams 1992:20). The mineral is formed through pressure and heat under the oceans and then in the uplifting of mountains and subsequent erosion, it is exposed in Precambrian metamorphic rocks in the Yellowstone National Park region. Because steatite not only heats quickly but also retains its heat extremely well, in recent years it has been exploited for a half dozen different products associated with energy conservation, such as stoves and baking griddles. In an experimental effort to learn more about the function of Sheep Eater steatite cooking pots, a graduate student from the University of Wyoming named Richard Adams (1992:152–153) made such a pot and followed through by cooking in it. From a chunk of steatite obtained from Wyoming it took Adams about three and one half hours to hollow out a vessel that held 618 cc. or somewhat less than a quart of liquid. Placing the pot in some red-hot coals he was able to boil water in eight minutes (Adams 1992:153–154), and the water continued churning for four minutes after removing it from the fire. It took only twice that long to heat and cook a double handful of cubed venison (Adams 1992:153–154).

This unusual and effective cooking ware quickly caught the attention of early trappers and explorers. For example, Francis Antoine Larocque, the French trapper and trader and the first Euro-American to leave a journal with details about the Yellowstone region in 1805, describes a Shoshonean stone pot:

> I traded eight Beavers with the Snake Indians in whose possession I saw a kettle or Pot hewn out of solid stone. It was about 1 " thick and contained 6 or 8 quarts [Wood and Thiessen 1985:185].

Lewis and Clark were also struck by the presence of these stone containers among the Lemhi Shoshone:

> ...their culinary utensils exclusive of the brass kettle before mentioned consist of pots in the form of a jar made either of earth, or of a soft white stone which becomes black and very hard by burning, and is found in the hills near the three forks of the Missouri between Madison's and Gallitin's rivers [Thwaites 1904–5:19].

Almost certainly this "soft white stone" which hardens and darkens under fire is steatite. The Lewis and Clark identification of a well-known source for the material near Dillon, Montana—also identified as the "green pipestone" river by Jim Bridger on a map he made in 1851—

was probably an important source of steatite for the Sheep Eaters. Several other sources west and northwest of the park have recently been described by Ken Feyhl (1997).

In Wyoming, however, research on steatite sources is further along, and upwards of twenty quarries have been identified (Frison 1982; Adams 1992). While none are known in Yellowstone National Park, a dozen or so lie within a seventy-mile radius of the park. Numerous smaller quarries or secondary deposits of steatite, sometimes only a few meters across, are found in western Wyoming (Adams 1992:33). Dick Washakie told Shimkin (1937 interview) that the pots he knew about were made from a stone that was obtained in the mountains, two days travel to the west of his Wind River Shoshone Reservation. According to Adams, place names in the Wind River Mountains immediately south of Yellowstone National Park "read like a who's who of steatite: Soapstone Lake, Soapstone Basin, Pipestone Lake, Dish Lake, Soapstone Creek" (Adams 1992:33).

Through direct mining or local trade, it is obvious that steatite was readily available to Sheep Eaters, and the historical record testifies to their taking full advantage of it. Nathaniel Wyeth (Schoolcraft 1851:211) described "a stone pot, holding about two quarts" among the Indians along the Snake River in Idaho. Osborne Russell (1965:26) mentions the "Small stone pot" in use by the Sheep Eaters he encountered in 1835 in the Lamar Valley of Yellowstone National Park. In addition he describes a pot which he found while exploring on the headwaters of the Shoshone River to the northeast of Yellowstone Lake:

> Near the foot of this defile we found a stone jar which would contain 3 gallons neatly cut from a piece of granite well shaped and smooth [Russell 1965:23].

Since granite can easily resemble steatite, Russell is probably mistaken about the material, but his estimation of its volume suggests an unusually large size for these Sheep Eater vessels. As noted above, Larocque saw Snake Indians using one pot that held 1.5 to 2 gallons. Unfortunately we find none of these large pots in museum collections today. Instead, the average steatite pot holds about a 1,000 to 2,000 cubic centimeters or about one to two quarts (Adams 1992:99).

Because steatite is resistant to disintegration and decay, vessels shaped from it preserve better than those fashioned from fired clay. What might be called the "classic" form of Sheep Eater steatite pot is often described as looking like the standard flower pot. There is the distinguishing flat-bottom, straight to outward flaring sides, and rounded lips on undecorated rims. Some may have slightly flanged bases, and none feature any other decoration. These classic pots stand ten to twelve inches in height and frequently have more oval than round shapes that measure from seven inches to eleven inches across. After a statistical study of several dozen steatite vessels, Adams states: "Many types of vessels have been found in Wyoming, but the above statistics support the idea of a 'standard' flowerpot shape (1992:108)." While our information on Sheep Eater aesthetics is practically nonexistent, it may be worth mentioning that steatite consolidates when heated to become almost porcelain hard and can acquire a shiny luster. Add smoke or soot from fires onto the external surfaces of these pots and their dark, burnished patina becomes quite attractive.

The concentration of this unique ware in and around Yellowstone National Park seems to identify them as an index of Sheep Eater ethnicity. While steatite pots are found throughout the northwestern Plains they are most concentrated in the mountainous region of western Wyoming. Marceau (quoted in Adams 1992:91) suggests that steatite vessels are tightly clustered within sixty miles of Two Ocean Pass. Adams is critical of this statistic because Marceau used faulty reasoning in his inquiry. But regardless of whether his study is flawed or not, there is an obvious concentration of steatite vessels in northwestern Wyoming, a distribution which overlaps the traditional territory of the Sheep Eaters. Frison (1982:285) even suggests that the area of sheep hunting traps and steatite vessels is comparable. The discovery of at least three steatite pots in the past three years in the Wind River Mountains, in the center of the largest concentration of sheep hunting traps, underscores his assumption.

A number of these vessels have wound up in museums where they can be inspected close up. Three steatite pots were collected by Superin-

tendent Philetus Norris in Yellowstone National Park and sent to the National Museum where they are currently curated (Norris 1881b:32–34). Of the several "classic" examples of stoneware reported by Wedel (1954:407) from Yellowstone National Park or near it, one was collected at Mammoth by Charles Hunter in 1897 and another was found in the Devil's Slide area, immediately north of the park. In height these pots measure 19.7 cm (7.8 inches) and 23 cm (9.1 inches), respectively (Fehyl 1997).

As for the park's own collections at Mammoth Hot Springs, there are five steatite vessels and two vessel fragments that were found in or adjacent to Yellowstone National Park. The smallest has a pedestal base while another features a rawhide strap around the exterior perimeter, but since both were on display it was not possible to measure them. Both are well-made with what appear to be scoring from metal files or chisels. Of the pots in storage, one is roughly formed with stone tool marks. It measures about 14.8 cm (5.8 inches) across its interior diameter and 10 cm (3.9 inches) in outside height. Another more finished pot measures 14.1 cm (5.6 inches) across its inside diameter and 8.8 cm (3.5 inches) in outside height. The other pieces are broken and although one has been reused, measurements were not taken.

To the south of the park, Adams reports eleven steatite pots, several in the "flowerpot" category, that were found near Jackson Lake and now are curated in the Jackson Hole Museum. The majority of the half-dozen new vessels which have been turning up to the southeast of the park, in the Dubois, Wyoming region, where bighorn sheep traps are also abundant, are within the range size that hold one to two quarts.

Another group of steatite containers might be more correctly identified as "cups." At least one of these from Yellowstone National Park had a handle much like a modern coffee mug, while others resemble small bowls. One very small steatite cup was found by an assistant ranger on United States Forest Service land near Cutler Lake to the north of the park in 1963 and reported to Aubrey Haines. It measured 2 to 2 3/8 inches high by 2 3/8 to 2 5/8 inches in diameter with a bottom diameter of 1 1/8 inches. The outer form was rounded around the bottom while it was flat inside. Small incised lines were found around the perimeter of the finely made pot.

Figure 3.6. Yellowstone National Park historian Aubrey Haines, on the left, inspecting a steatite bowl with Lemuel Garrison, Yellowstone National Park superintendent. Photograph 1961 (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #YELL 37847-2).

As to this variability in size for steatite vessels there are at least three explanations. For one thing, we believe that seams or chunks of large steatite are not as easy to obtain as smaller ones, and this could be reflected in the size of the pots. A second reason may be that blanks for smaller pots were salvaged from the bases of larger broken vessels. But thirdly, size differences might also relate to function. From Moses Tassitie, a Plains Shoshone, Shimkin learned that glue was mixed in stone pots (1937:6). Especially important to the manufacture of sheep horn bows, it is conceivable that the smaller pots were used for heating and preparing their sticky concoctions of boiled hide scrapings.

Apparently the manufacture of steatite ves-

sels was easier if one could work directly in the quarry outcrop. This technique, used throughout the world in making stone pots, conveniently anchors the pot like a vise in the parent rock while it is taking form (Ball 1941:47). Blank areas in steatite outcrops reveal where pots have been partially manufactured and then cut loose (Schoen and Vlcek 1991), while at other quarry sites there are partially completed vessels that apparently broke during the carving process (Frison 1982:278–280).

Through these latter fragments George Frison was able to reconstruct just how steatite vessels were shaped and made. At one quarry site, he recovered twenty-eight chopper/chopping tools made of quartzite, granite, and conglomerate. The assemblage also included pick-like and cleaver-like tools of various sizes, that seemed to have been unifacially prepared with a flat side to accommodate the need to fit the side wall of the pot. Frison (1982:278) believes these tools were used like a chisel and if so their illustration (Frison 1982:278; fig. 4) suggests they would have dulled easily. This should not be surprising because individuals who have made steatite pots with metal tools complain about the same problem (Adams 1992:152).

According to Frison (1982:279), removing the pot from the natural rock was accomplished by one of two ways. One method was to begin near the center and gouge a starter hole that increased in size until the interior was excavated. Another way was to drive a pick or chisel around the inner perimeter and remove large chunks of the steatite as the pot insides are excavated. Frison also discovered scraping tools that were apparently used to remove the larger scars from both the exterior and interior of the pots. Although grinding tools were not recovered, Frison believed they might have helped to smoothen the pot walls.

Since very few steatite vessels have been recovered from excavated contexts their time-depth is poorly documented. Frison (1982:284) suggests they are most common in the historic and protohistoric periods, while Adams (1992:114) notes the telltale steel hatchet and iron tool marks on vessels which firmly identify them within those time periods. Underscoring the probable recency of these vessels is also the fact that our sole radiocarbon date, taken from sooty residue on the inside of one steatite vessel, is A.D. 1848 (Adams 1992:116).

At the same time it should be kept in mind that any residue inside the pot only dates its last use, and not the moments of its original manufacture. There is some evidence indicating that these pots were prized heirlooms among the Sheep Eaters and other Shoshone groups, to be passed on from generation to generation:

> The pots were inherited by the daughter of the family, if there were no daughter a son might get one. They were family property. They were never traded [Shimkin 1937; Dick Washakie interview].

This suggests that as long as the pots remained whole, they would have been used for many years, which might also be an explanation for why they are not commonly recovered in prehistoric contexts. While Adams (1992:120) has suggested that the pots may have been stashed at campsites, to be used by any traveler who frequented the site, this seems doubtful, given their personal value as suggested by Dick Washakie. What seems more likely is that these pots, especially the classic ones that could hold one to two quarts, were treasured and used by families over many years.

Other important objects were also made of steatite. In the Dubois Museum is a "platter" with a rectangular outline and sightly raised lip around its perimeter which was recently found in the Wind River region, part of an inventory of griddle-like creations fashioned from steatite (Adams 1992:145–147). Others examples are round in outline with similar raised perimeters. We have no direct evidence as to how these flat platters were used, although they would have served well for baking flat camas cakes.

We also find steatite beads of various shapes and sizes. One of these stone beads was recovered at the Split Rock site, a pit house in southwestern Wyoming, in feature fill that was dated at 5500 B.P. (Eakin et al. 1997). Beads have also been found in precontact contexts; at Mummy Cave, for instance, there were steatite beads and pendants dated at A.D. 734 (Husted and Edgar n.d. ca. 1978:204–205). Other artifacts that indicate a definite use of steatite in prehistoric contexts in-

vice. As we will see in the section on Sheep Eater religion, the "whirlwind" in the following story is very likely a malevolent spirit of the dead, or a "ghost:"

> In the tepee, the coyote saw black-colored objects lying behind the wolf, who had been fashioning arrowheads.
>
> Said E Zhupa, the coyote, "My cousin, who has lost the smoking contest very nobly, let us try another. We will see who can make the most arrows from your obsidian before the whirlwind comes around."
>
> E Zhupa, the coyote, had no knowledge of how to make arrowheads; he wanted to see the wolf make them so that he could learn the technique. The wolf agreed to this contest, for he was ashamed of his defeat in the smoking contest.
>
> He worked feverishly, piling arrowheads beside him in many heaps. The cunning E Zhupa, the coyote, made a great show of working, but all the time he was watching the wolf out of the corners of his eyes. As soon as he was sure he knew the art of making arrowheads, he wished for a whirlwind. The wind blew up the powder from the chipped obsidian that was piled above the wolf's knee, causing him momentary blindness. Putting on the wings he had borrowed from the eagle, Beya Qee Na, the coyote flew back to the home of his nephews, the Shoshones, and taught them the fine art of making arrowheads from obsidian [Weeks 1981:27].

In this story we have a reflection of a broader theme in American Indian oral tradition, in which key elements of human culture, such as the use of fire or the knowledge of chipping stone, must be wrested from their former ownership by a world of supernatural beings. The narrative also features a prototype for the "shamanic contest," which sees Wolf's power to work stone pitted against Coyote's power to control the world of ghosts, represented by the whirlwind—possibly his own supernatural helper or guardian—who performs at his command. Shoshone individuals with powerful spirit helpers would sometimes compete in displays of supernatural power.

The story also makes a curious connection between obsidian and eyesight. However, one of our consultants inverted this link between them. Within a general discussion on the medicinal use of obsidian with several consultants from both the Wind River and Fort Hall Reservations, we learned that a common use of razor-sharp obsidian chips was in bleeding to release blood pressure when a person has a bad headache. But one Sheep Eater woman, born in a tipi on the old Ross Fork Agency before it was moved to Fort Hall, remembered the use by her mother of finely ground obsidian mixed with rye grass to treat the onset of blindness from trachoma.

Earlier ethnographers also obtained hints of the tie between obsidian and the spirit world. As described above, both Hultkrantz (1987:49) and Shimkin (1986:325) learned about the class of spirits known as *pan dzoavits*. Among them is a very dangerous, solitary spirit known as "water ghost woman" (*pa:waaip*). The Shoshone told Shimkin that they always know she is around by obsidian flakes found on the ground which represent broken fragments of her body (Shimkin 1947c:334).

Shoshone consultants to this project added that the Sheep Eaters especially prized obsidian for their arrowpoints because it was sharp and it was easier to chip and shape "in the way they wanted it." When queried about Obsidian Cliff one Sheep Eater descendant replied:

> Just like when you go there to get some of the obsidian then its like a sacrifice, you leave something there, an offering when you get it. It also would be considered a sacred site. Because their prayers were left there with whatever they left there. They would offer, like we say now, we give them tobacco, or we leave something there for the spirits to give a blessing for taking it [PK Interview February 4, 1996).

The respondent went on to say that obsidian could not be obtained on the Wind River Reservation. Another consultant told us that obsidian scrapers were prized for cleaning hides, and from her description, it seemed that she was referring to the Shoshone split-cobble scraping tools (Jones 1875:261). The significance of obsidian was also

noted by Polly Shoyo, a consultant for Demitri Shimkin in 1937 who told him about the drudgery of getting wood:

> After breakfast, the woman would take a rawhide rope , and go to the brush to get wood. She'd pick up branches, or use an obsidian ax to hack them. It was very painful work [Shimkin 1947b:318].

Yet another respondent to this project, a great-granddaughter of Togwotee, who once had accompanied him by stagecoach to Yellowstone National Park, recognized the importance of the black obsidian for arrow points. She also updated the spiritual role of the stone to contemporary Shoshoneans by revealing that red obsidian from Yellowstone National Park was used "by peyote people in making the head of water birds," a primary symbol associated with the Native American Church.

Largely due to the dramatic volcanic abutment of Obsidian Cliff, this mineral has enjoyed high visibility in the geological and cultural history of the park. "There is enough obsidian in sight in the park region to cover the whole of New England, one foot in depth," claimed Orrin and Lorraine Bonney (1970:485). Although this may be a bit of an overstatement, it is certain that the Yellowstone National Park region contains abundant obsidian and Obsidian Cliff is without question the best known archaeological resource in the park.

Since the earliest explorations of Yellowstone National Park, Obsidian Cliff was carefully examined by geologists who were particularly interested in its mineral formation and any relationship to the park's volcanoes. They were encouraged by the work of John Wesley Powell, founding father of the Bureau of American Ethnology and culture hero to l9th century American scholars and adventurers. Any scientists accompanying early expeditions to Yellowstone National Park would probably have been familiar with Powell's description of chipping an obsidian stone tool:

> The obsidian or other stone of which the implement is to be made is first selected by breaking up larger masses of the rock and choosing those which exhibit the fracture desired and which are free of flaws; then these pieces are baked or steamed, perhaps I might say annealed, by placing them in damp earth covered with a brisk fire for twenty-four hours, then with sharp blows they are still further broken into flakes approximating the shape and size desired. For the more complete fashioning of the implement a tool of horn, usually of the mountain sheep, but sometimes of the deer or antelope, is used. The flake of stone is held in one hand, placed on a little cushion made of untanned skin of some animal, to protect the hand from the flakes which are to be chipped off, and with a sudden pressure of the bone-tool the proper shape is given. They acquire great skill in this, and the art seems to be confined to but few persons, who manufacture them and exchange them for other articles [Powell 1875:27–28].

The famous geologist and artist, W.H. Holmes, was well versed in Indian stone tool manufacture and paid an early visit to Obsidian Cliff. Noting its importance for stone tools (Holmes 1879), Holmes went on to describe Yellowstone National Park obsidian in the Handbook of American Indians (l9l0), and later wrote what many still consider an indispensable study on native toolmaking (l9l9). Geologists and chroniclers accompanying other early expeditions also visited and reported on Obsidian Cliff (Hayden 1883; Iddings 1888). Captain W. A. Jones, for example, described artifacts he and his group found along their travel route in 1873, the abundant obsidian near Obsidian Cliff, and an arrowpoint still attached to its shaft that was discovered by one of his men (Jones l875:262). Since these visits occurred when America's scientific community was just accepting the fact that stone tools represented ancient cultures, a central discussion in the reports concerned this distinction between artifacts made by Indians and those items that were naturally formed.

Around the same period Superintendent Philetus Norris ordered his road-builders to keep a ready eye out for Indian artifacts, which he then packaged and shipped to Washington's Smithsonian Institution. Norris indicates that he found "Obsidian Mountain" in 1878, and he reports that in the following year:

> I ...traced the mountain of obsidian or volcanic glass from where I discovered it last year, at Beaver Lake, to a branch of the Gibbon, below Lake of the Woods, a distance of some eight miles ...a vast weapon and implement quarry for the ancient hermit Sheepeaters [Norris 1880a:16].

Norris included specimens collected at Obsidian Cliff in the materials he dispatched to the Smithsonian in 1879 (Norris 1880a:7), and believed that this source produced obsidian which was "unrivaled in quantity, beauty, and variety of color" (Norris 1881a:15). Smaller fragments of obsidian found along the shores of Yellowstone Lake and Shoshone Lake were said by Norris to "sparkle like diamonds." One of Norris' astute observations, which was frequently overlooked in subsequent years by investigators into the distribution of obsidian, concerned other obsidian sources in Yellowstone National Park. Norris found that:

> ...large deposits of black and mottled obsidian at the Cascade or Crystal Falls, near the Falls of the Yellowstone, on the Continental Divide near Shoshone Lake, at the Lookout Cliffs, upon the new road over the Madison Plateau, and at other localities [Norris 1881a:15].

Several early tourist accounts of their trips to Yellowstone National Park include observations on Obsidian Cliff and obsidian in the park (Gerrish 1887:196; Synge 1892:120; Dudley 1886:47; Kipling 1920:79). Usually these are simple descriptions and observations about the obsidian and its use for artifacts. Nonetheless, coupled with scientific accounts these popular stories led to the false impression that all the obsidian in North America, except on the West Coast, must have come from Yellowstone National Park. And as ably summarized by Davis et al. (1995:6–7), from the turn of the century until the 1960s, archaeological examples from the Ohio mound builders to the Alberta buffalo hunters were indeed linked in the literature to Yellowstone National Park through the obsidian trade.

Concentrating on Yellowstone National Park as a source for all this obsidian, however, put archaeologists and historians in a bind. On the one hand, there was considerable evidence that Yellowstone National Park obsidian was scattered about the country. On the other, they continued to believe that most Indians, with the exception of the "reclusive" and "isolated" Sheep Eaters, were supposed to have avoided Yellowstone. How then could this obsidian have been obtained? If Indians held the Yellowstone region in taboo and were so terrified of its geysers or were incapable of traversing the high mountain passes, who quarried and transported all those rocks? One solution was to suggest:

> ...the material was merely quarried and roughly formed by the Sheepeaters who traded it in that condition with the surrounding tribes and by them taken away to be fashioned into final shape [Skinner 1926:191].

Because so few actual arrow heads or formed tools were found at Obsidian Cliff, this explanation had considerable support. While we have little evidence that Sheep Eaters controlled the Obsidian Cliff source area, the common method of collecting raw stone material is to quarry it, rough out blanks or preforms, and then transport them to other locations for the finishing work (Loendorf et al. 1984). Sometimes these locations are close by, but preforms are also carried hundreds of miles before being reduced to patterned tools.

Another explanation for how obsidian was obtained from Yellowstone National Park is the suggestion that Obsidian Cliff was "neutral ground" where brave men went, not to dally or hunt, but simply to get the obsidian they needed for their survival. In this view obsidian was seen as so important that its major quarry in the park constituted a sort of safe zone where, "in *timorous truce* [Sioux, Blackfeet, Crow and Bannock] made stores of arrowheads from the mountain of black obsidian which looms above the river near its golden gate" (Raftery 1943 [1907]:102, emphasis ours), or as another writer phrased it more simply, where tribes "resorted to temporary peace to make arrow-heads and stone axes" (Skinner 1926:190). What is interesting about this piece of unsubstantiated geographical folklore is that it is almost the exact reverse of the "geyser taboo" idea, suggesting a kind of approach-the-rocks but avoid-the-waters contradiction. Whereas Indians are presumed to have given the forbidden park a wide

some of its native residents. As Corless writes:

> The Valley where the Boise, Ohyhee, Malheur, Payette, and Weiser rivers joined the Snake became a great "Peace Valley" in the Indian world. A legendary fair, or salmon festival, was a yearly intertribal gathering, or rendezvous, held in the summer. It would last for a month or more. Different tribes and bands [Bannock, Nez Perce, Umatilla, Cayuse, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Sheep Eater, Northern Paiute] from throughout the West would meet without fear in order to trade or make treaties and to celebrate the beginning of the fishing [Corless 1990:14].

For the Sweet Grass Hills of north-central Montana, the "neutral ground" claim has taken on a more explicitly spiritual, pacifistic cast. "Many of the tribes who used the Sweet Grass Hills were traditional enemies," contends Emily Cousins, "but the Hills comprised a neutral zone in which no one could be attacked" (Cousins 1996/97:505). But unfortunately we are provided with no ethnohistorical, ethnographic or archaeological evidence to support her assertion that "As long as people did not carry weapons on their journey to the Hills, it was clear they had come to pray" (Cousins 1996/97:505).

On the existence of such "neutral grounds" in the greater Yellowstone region or the Plains in general, therefore, the jury is still out. And when compared to catlinite, the more readily accessible nature of obsidian elsewhere would seem to weaken its role in any "neutral ground" theory in the park. Nonetheless, and despite ample evidence of bloody skirmishing between Blackfeet and other tribes in the park, the notion that Yellowstone was a zone of peace persists; indeed, researcher Joseph Weixelman was told by a Shoshone consultant that "as they came for purposes other than warfare, tribes did not fight each other here" (Weixelman 1992:59). Nez Perce historian Adeline Fredin reported to Weixelman much the same, that at Yellowstone "any hostility was forgotten, and left outside the area" (quoted in Weixelman 1992:59). And a Kootenai-Salish consultant contributed to this theme:

> To my understanding, once they went to gather tools, that was kind of a place where they didn't war with each other. It was a common ground where they didn't fight when they were in there gathering their material that they needed for their tools, their projectile points. That is kind of an understanding that I had of that site. That was really special for me to make that positive connection again. To go back there and walk the same land that some of my ancestors walked [TT Interview, Pablo, Montana, August 22, 1995].

In so far as access to obsidian is concerned, it is significant that the mineral actually can be found at more than one source in and around Yellowstone National Park. In fact, Cannon and Hughes (1995) note that the literature on Yellowstone National Park contains references to nearly two dozen sources of obsidian within the boundaries of the park and more importantly, chemical studies for 794 artifacts indicate they were made of obsidian from twelve different sources in and around the park. It is true that about three-fourths of the artifacts were made from Obsidian Cliff obsidian, but this is clearly not the only source. Eighteen percent of the sample is from Idaho obsidian while six percent comes from obsidian sources in Jackson Hole (Cannon and Hughes 1995). As Holmer has stated, "...[In] my recent study on obsidian use in the Upper Snake River Basin ...Obsidian Cliff from Yellowstone is not heavily represented. However, there has been very little work done in the counties nearer to Yellowstone so I suspect the low numbers reflect the nature of the data base more than prehistoric use of the resource" (Personal communication, Richard N. Holmer to Peter Nabokov, February 27, 1997).

Curiously, the attention paid by scientists to Obsidian Cliff shortly after its discovery was followed by a period when the site was largely ignored. During the extensive Work Project Administration projects at archaeological sites across the United States, other locations in the region were investigated, such as Pictograph Cave, along the Yellowstone River in Montana (Mulloy 1958) and Dinwoody Cave, on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming (Sowers 1941). Perhaps no work was attempted at Obsidian Cliff because its location inside Yellowstone National Park made it off limits, yet that was not the case in other national parks.

Furthermore, this period of neglect was given a scholarly justification with a thesis by Jake Hoffman, a graduate student at Montana State University (Missoula) who served as crew chief for the first sponsored archaeological survey in the park in 1958–59. Visiting Obsidian Cliff with his crews, he found no artifacts around the outcrop and declared that any claims for the use of Obsidian Cliff by prehistoric cultures were grossly overrated.

Probably with good reason Hoffman surmised that whatever artifacts had once been there were likely picked up by tourists. In their diaries dozens of tourists have suggested that collecting obsidian was a common practice in the park. Take for example, the following 1884 account of a journey through the Yellowstone "Wonderland":

> At three o'clock off we go—a pull of fifty-five minutes lands us at top of the long hill. The only "object of interest" being an old Indian tepee, old, ugly and empty, first and only sign of Indians seen in the Park. We stop at the glass mountain and fill up odd corners—of the ambulances with obsidian—[Anonymous 1884:13th day].

In this description insult is added to Indians at two levels. First, their house remains are labeled ugly and second, their prized obsidian is stolen as curio. It is these sorts of accounts that led Hoffman to believe that Obsidian Cliff was corrupted as a viable archaeological site:

> My observation of curious tourists at Obsidian Cliff suggest that it a rare person who doesn't pick up or knock off a few chips. Projecting this suggestion over ninety years and several million tourists, the extensive quarrying marks on Obsidian Cliff lose archaeological significance. Many of the quarrying marks are due to sampling by U.S.G.S. geologists (Clarke 1896, 1900; Hague 1887, 1899; Iddings 1885) who probably took many samples from random areas of the Cliff [Hoffman 1961:101–102].

What is unfortunate is that Hoffman and his crews did not explore the upland plateau above Obsidian Cliff where extensive pits and mines still remain as evidence to the thousands of hours of work that went into quarrying the obsidian. Nor was this portion of the site studied in detail until after the 1988 fires when the National Park Service assessed the damage to Yellowstone's cultural resources. Fortunately the fires did not badly impact the buried obsidian or the quarry pits, and this research resulted in the aforementioned study and compilation of information on Obsidian Cliff (Davis et al. 1995).

What caused Obsidian Cliff to regain its earlier prominence in scientific circles were the neutron activation studies which allowed geochemists to source the mineral. Early in these experiments, James Griffin, a world-renowned archaeologist from the University of Michigan and a founder of obsidian studies, gave an invited lecture at the University of Montana in which he used the analogy of making an angel food cake to describe how obsidian was originally formed. On one occasion, he explained, a cook might whip a dozen large egg whites, fold in slightly less than one cup of flour, a bit more sugar, a full teaspoon of cream of tartar, and less than a teaspoon of vanilla, while the next time the egg whites might be from extra large eggs, and the cook might fold in slightly less flour, a bit more sugar, slightly less cream of tartar, and more vanilla. While on both occasions the result was recognized as Angel Food cake, Dr. Griffin explained that the ingredients differed slightly.

Returning to his example of obsidian formation, Dr. Griffin said that when volcanoes supplied the original heat for melting and fusing the sand at Obsidian Cliff, the ingredients contained trace amounts of barium, strontium and zirconium. If another batch of sand in a different location was heated, it also produced a mineral that was recognizably "obsidian" but the trace elements in its constitution were slightly different. Using precise data on such differences, it has therefore become possible to "fingerprint" obsidian found in various archaeological sites, and the first surprising fact discovered by this process was that the obsidian from the high status burials in the Hopewell culture of Ohio had been quarried from Obsidian Cliff. Although this idea had been put forward in earlier years, here was this definite proof from Yel-

lowstone which excited archaeologists about the wider potential for identifying obsidian sources in their research. Geochemists can now use x-ray fluorescence, "a non-destructive technique in which the obsidian is bombarded with x-rays, allowing rare radioactive elements to be counted in parts per million. Most obsidian contains the same elements; what x-ray fluorescence tells us is the relative proportions of those elements in each sample" (Cannon 1993:8). Coupled with these methods for studying the ingredients in each batch of obsidian, scientists discovered that obsidian forms a hydration rind on its surface that thickens through time (Friedman and Smith 1960; Davis 1972). Measurements of these rinds allow for estimates as to the age of the artifacts on which they are found and, although there are many problems with the method, improvements continue to be made (Friedman and Cannon 1995).

Once again, we need not duplicate here recent compilation of information on Obsidian Cliff (Davis et al 1995). For this chapter, however, the subject of obsidian has allowed us to reinvestigate the role that the stone material and its famous Cliff played in the lives of the Sheep Eaters.

5. Bows. Another intriguing artifact associated with the Sheep Eaters is the bow fashioned from mountain sheep horn or elk antlers. The notion of an extremely powerful killing machine crafted from the strong, curved crown of the very creature it was designed to bring down has fascinated anthropologists and do-it-yourself artisans for years.

Horn bows appear to have been prized by all the Plains tribes and used in ceremonial dances as well as for everyday hunting. One appears as a mark of warrior insignia in the famous painting by Karl Bodmer of Pehriska-Ruhpa, a Hidatsa Indian who posed for the artist in his Dog Society costume. It is not known if this bow was made by the Hidatsa or if it was traded to the Hidatsa from the Sheep Eaters or made by another group such as the Crow, and traded to the Hidatsa. Once again our first glimpse of this centerpiece of Sheep Eater hunting paraphernalia comes from Osborne Russell. After his visit on July 29, 1835, with the same Lamar Valley group of Indians mentioned earlier, Russell provided this memorable image:

> They were well armed with bows and arrows pointed with obsidian. The bows were beautifully wrought from Sheep, Bufalloe and Elk horns secured with Deer and Elk sinews and ornamented with porcupine quills and generally about 3 feet long [Russell 1965:26–27].

Usually these bows were made from bighorn sheep horns or elk antlers, since bison horns did not reach lengths sufficient for bows. However, Lowie indicates that three pieces of bison horn might be laminated into bows with the help of sinew wrapping (1924:246). Modern-day bow makers who have worked with elk antlers indicate it is difficult to remove the branch points, and that their quality varies according to the time of the year they were acquired (Anonymous 1991:6). But the best quality horn bows appear to be crafted from bighorn sheep horns.

Currently on exhibit in the Museum of the Mountain Man of the Sublette County History Society, located in Pinedale, Wyoming, one of these horn bows was originally recovered from a cave high in the Gros Ventre Mountains of western Wyoming (Frison 1980:173). These slopes are certainly within Sheep Eater territory, and this bow is obviously an authentic example of old horn manufacture. Donated to the Museum by Gene Chapman and estimated, on the museum label, to date from the 1800–1850 period, its two basic halves are formed from two bighorn sheep horns, very likely from a matched pair belonging to one animal. While it is currently missing, the joint was apparently strengthened by another piece of horn that was shaped and glued across it. All the rough outer horn has been removed, and the horns somehow shaped with shaving tools to create the bow. The bow was then backed with continuous pieces of sinew which were glued all down its back length. Sinew fragments are evident at the ends, and it was also sinew-wrapped where the center joint piece is missing. The entire length measures 83 cm, or about 33 inches.

Recently Tom Lucas, an archer and sheep horn bow enthusiast from Lander, Wyoming, has experimented with making these weapons. Although Lucas has neither seen a native-made sheep horn bow nor read any instructions on how to make

them, he learned a lot from his trial-and-error approach to fashioning a horn bow. First he removed the horns from the skull and softened them by plunging them into hot water. According to Lucas, the hotter the water the faster the horn softens, but moderately hot water will also work, only more slowly. Following the outline of the curl, he then cut a strip from each horn which retained the outer casing of the horn that would be removed later. To straighten out each end, he dunked them back in hot water, and when they were pliable, clamped them between two boards. The ensuing drying process in this clamp took 7 to 10 days.

Shaping began while the straightened horn was still damp, and if needed, it was redipped into hot water. While Lucas fashioned the horn with knife and rasp, he boiled the shavings into glue. In this shaping process, Lucas worked the pliable bow sides with his hands to take out any side curves. When this work was nearly complete, he beveled the butt ends until they fit tightly together prior to gluing. For this Lucas first put two small pegs through the butt ends to hold them for the glue. Next he fit two additional pieces of shaped horn over the joint, gluing one on the belly and another on the back of the bow. To add tensile strength for the pull he made sure that the back of the bow was actually the inside of the horn's natural curl.

Then he glued sinew all down the back of the bow, allowing it to dry before layering on additional strips of sinew. Lucas allowed up to 30 days for this important process. Finally, more strips of wet sinew were wrapped around the stock to form the grip and to strengthen the all-important center joint. When complete and strung with a twined sinew cord, these efficient, short bows possessed an estimated 60 to 70 pound pull.

In its basic steps, Lucas' trial-and-error process of bow-making appears to be essentially the same as that found in the ethnographic literature. From an independent rancher/researcher named Jack Contor, who interviewed Indians living at Fort Hall, Idaho, David Dominick (1964:155) obtained an unpublished account of the making of a Sheep Eater bow. The process was said to take two months to complete. His description goes as follows:

> These bows were made from the thick ridge of the upper side of the ram's horn. The horn is heated over the coals to soften it and then the naturally curing horn was straightened. Unwanted portions of the horn were whittled away, and the remaining solid piece was 18 to 24 inches long and one inch thick at the butt. Heat was again applied, making the horn semi-plastic, and it was smoothed and shaped by pounding with a round stone. The end result was a very smooth and evenly tapered piece which was oval-shaped in cross section. A duplicate of this was made for the other ram's horn, and the two pieces were beveled at their butt ends and fitted together. A separate piece of horn about five inches long and as wide as the butt end was placed at their junction. Wet rawhide was then wrapped around the three pieces. When it dried, this made a very firm joint. Sinew strips which came from the neck and back of large animals were glued to the back of the bow to give it added strength [Dominick 1964:155].

But there are also some interesting differences between the bow-making processes described by Lucas and Contor: *(a)* the Indians' use of coals to heat the horn, rather than water; *(b)* their pounding the bow into shape with a round stone; *(c)* the application of "rawhide" to bind the joint; and *(d)* the absence of glue or pegs in the joint. It should be noted that Contor did not watch someone make a bow, and details could be misconstrued through secondhand description, so the "rawhide" could actually be sinew, and some sort of additional fastening must have strengthened the joint where these creations are most vulnerable. Furthermore, there was possibly more than one way to manufacture a horn bow (see *Appendix D* for another modern-day experiment with horn bow-making together with a list of Indian-made horn bows in American museums, kindly provided by Bill Holm, world-renowned expert on Indian arts, master craftsman, and professor emeritus of University of Washington's Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum).

Another interesting mention of horn bow manufacture among the Shoshone comes from Elijah Nicholas Wilson (affectionately known as

Figure 3.9. For his information on Sheep Eaters, Åke Hultkrantz relied on a kin cluster of four or five interrelated "bearers of the Sheepeater tradition" who lived in the Sage Creek area (See Chapter 5, figure 5.1. in this document for portraits of some of these individuals). In his view, these were the only remaining "core group of mountain Indians" who could speak authoritatively about Sheep Eater culture. Prominent among them was the elderly woman named Pawagap *(above, photo courtesy of Åke Hultkrantz), meaning "Water Bush," who was locally known as Pearl Cody. She told Hultkrantz that she was a baby "long ago: when the buffaloes ran around among the mountains." Actually born in the mountains, she spent her childhood with her father, a man named* Wandziatsi, *or "Antelope Horn." Although the Wind River Reservation Agency gave her birth date as 1871, in 1948 Hultkrantz heard that she was ninety years old, while in 1955 her age was given as one hundred.*

According to Hultkrantz, her first husband was the story-teller Pandzofa:ygo, *meaning "Bare Spot," whose nickname was* Tonoway gare, *meaning "Sits on a Grease-wood." Her second husband was* Tojandisona?, *which means "He Uses a Dirty Plate." A medicine man and rain magician, her third husband was known by many names,* Nazaha?ni, *"He Drives (a horse) for Himself," but in English he was called Valentine Cody. However, he also used the nicknames* Pa:congu:?, *"Purple Bull" and* Mumbic, *meaning "Owl."*

In 1948 Hultkrantz regarded this woman as one of his key consultants. Even though by the time of his later visits in 1955 and 1958 she had become enfeebled, she still possessed "direct experience of the old Sheepeater pre-reservation life." Much of her information had come from her father, who had passed on his knowledge of Sheep Eater religion, and customs such as the fact that "my father told me that we never ate dogs or horses." When Hultkrantz knew her she was stooped and walked with a stick. At his last visit to Wind River she was living alone in a cloth tent "that only contained her simple bed and a small table at the entrance" (Information from Åke Hultkrantz, Sheep Eater Manuscript, N.D., pp. 54–61).

"Uncle Nick"), who lived with the Shoshone as a boy in the 1850s (Wilson 1985:vi). Wilson wrote in his memoirs some sixty years later:

> The bows were sometimes made of mountain sheep horns, which have been thrown *into some hot spring and left there until they were pliable*. Then they were shaped, and a strip of sinew was stuck on the back with some kind of balsam gum that was about as good as glue. This made a powerful bow [Wilson 1985:107, emphasis ours].

While this account lacks detail, it tends to confirm parts of the Lucas bow-making method—the use of hot water and glue, although the mention of balsam gum is confusing because it could not have been obtained in the region. What is most striking, however, is its testimony that Indians took advantage of thermal pools for softening the horns. Considering the availability of hot water in Yellowstone National Park, this exploitation of hot springs seems a significant element in the Wilson description. Yet another fragment of horn bow lore comes from the meticulous fieldworker, Robert Lowie, who worked among the Northern Shoshone even before he began his long-term coverage of the Crow. Lowie noted that their elk horn bows were constructed from a single piece of the horn, backed with sinew and decorated with porcupine quills that were wrapped around the bow limbs. But Lowie also described sheep horn bows:

> Of a different type were the compound bighorn bows, consisting of two parts spliced at the center with sturgeon glue made from boiling rendered fish parts and with deer-sinews wound around the splice and secured by their butt- ends, the small ends bending outward at the ends of the bow. Sometimes the sinews covered the whole width of the back. For ornament, the skin of a snake was glued to the bow [Lowie 1909:192].

Lowie's description of the ends as bending outward suggests that this was a recurve bow, pulled against the natural curl of the horn, much as Lucas described. Several authors mention decoration with flattened and wrapped porcupine quills, but Lowie's addition of snake skin sounds novel. Taking two to three months to complete, these bows were highly-valued and extensively-traded with other tribes. In fact a well-made Northern Shoshone horn bow was said to go for no less than five to ten horses (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:439; Dominick 1964:156).

6. Arrows. As for the missiles shot by these bows we do have some interesting archaeological evidence. From the excavations at Wickiup Cave, a presumed Sheep Eater campsite about thirty miles west of Yellowstone National Park, wooden arrows shafts were recovered which exhibit tenons or ends that are carved to a narrower diameter than the remainder of the shaft. The Sheep Eaters seem to have used compound arrows, which were about 2.5 feet in length, in which the tenon was inserted into the hollow end of the arrow's foreshaft—although Jack Contor was told they were crafted in three sections (Dominick 1964:156). Their wooden bodies were used again and again, while the reed foreshafts with their stone points might be replaced whenever they snapped off.

These foreshafts were often manufactured from horse grass *(Equisetum* spp.) and sinew-bound to the tenon. As for the main shafts, there was a choice of woods. The arrows at Wickiup Cave were identified as elm and cottonwood, but Jack Contor was told that the Idaho Sheep Eaters preferred dogwood and mock orange, while Lowie (1909:192) indicates that greasewood was a favorite choice and the field specimens examined by Murphy and Murphy were merely identified as "hardwood" (Murphy and Murphy 1986:301). Elsewhere, Lowie (1924:246) has described the Shoshone using serviceberry wood that they first dried and cured for a year. Stripped of their bark, all these raw rods required working out their slight kinks with the aid of a wrench—a hole drilled in an animal rib bone—and possibly limbering over a fire. They were further smoothed by grinding them against sandstone before attaching the feathers, leaving groove marks which can still be seen at some Montana and Wyoming sites.

The fletching on the Wickiup Cave arrows was fastened about five inches beyond the nock end of the shaft, a long style which is associated with Northern Shoshone arrows (Lowie 1909:192). Although Dominick (1964:156) indicates that Sheep Eaters preferred owl or eagle

feathers because they would not absorb blood, the feather pieces from Wickiup Cave were identified as grouse. Several arrows collected from the Northern Shoshone before 1869 are fletched with feathers from a red-tailed hawk (Murphy and Murphy 1986:301). As with their arrow woods, the Sheep Eaters apparently had considerable leeway in their choice of arrow feathers. Also, their tips might be steeped in a deadly poison compound made from animal spleen mixed with crushed red ants (Lowie 1909:192 quoting Lewis and Clark), although we are not aware if this was used in hunting as well as warfare.

The Food Quest I: Hunting the Mountain Sheep

We must never forget that the bison-hunting and horse-riding Indians of the Great Plains whose imagery caught the world's fancy in the 19th century—and against whose culture the Sheep Eaters were negatively assessed—only represent the thinnest slice of human occupancy of the greater Yellowstone region. While this does not diminish our interest in their uses of the Yellowstone Plateau for hunting, vision-questing, shortcuts during long-distance travels, or the place it held in their world-views, it does make us appreciate more fully the uniquely mountain lifeways which developed over thousands of years that supported the Sheep Eaters. To the uninitiated the high mountains appear impassable and harsh, but to people willing to move around and adjust to changing seasonal and climactic realities they could become a storehouse, a church and a home. For the well-trained forager the plant and animal bounties of the highlands were especially available in spring and summertime. This is because "Mountains have one feature which the plains can never claim," write Dale and Lynn Fredlund, "a fantastic diversity of ecological zones within a relatively small area." As they elaborate on the benefits of this diversity:

> Specific vegetable resources seem to last forever in the mountains. For example, huckleberries begin to bear fruit about the first week of July in sunny areas at low elevations and are finished by the end of that month; but at higher elevations they can still be found at the end of August or the first of September [Fredlund and Fredlund 1971:48].

Of the animals that can be found year-round in the Rocky Mountain uplands one of the most easily hunted are the mountain sheep. As their ethnic name suggests, the peregrinations of the Sheep Eaters were symbiotically bound up with the primary food source, Rocky Mountain bighorn sheep (*Ovis canadensis*). It is possible to generally plot the locations of the Sheep Eaters at various times during the year by examining the migration patterns of these animals. In the late 1800s, before Euro-Americans altered the patterns of bighorn sheep, the herds appear to have followed several migration patterns. According to early census data, some herds (or portions of herds) stayed in the park throughout the year, wintering in the vicinity of Mount Everts (Caslick 1993:6). Other herds in the vicinity of Yellowstone National Park apparently moved from one part of their habitat to another during the year in a migration pattern that was affected by the weather and snow depths. Some sheep herds appear to have moved to lower elevations during the winter where there was less snow cover and back to higher elevations during the spring and summer.

Whatever their movements we can expect the Sheep Eaters to be somewhere nearby throughout these annual migrations. Their namesake and main staff of life, the species of mountain creatures on which the Sheep Eaters depended were actually not that hard to kill. But stalking the bighorn sheep efficiently did probably require the development of techniques based upon close observation of their habits. For instance, the Shoshone must have learned early on that bighorns can be approached quite closely and in plain sight so long as hunters positioned themselves on the slopes below the sheep. Hence the hunters climbed towards the animals quietly and steadily, ascending in a zigzag pattern with the sheep watching them all the while, until they were within arrow range (Barrette 1963:22). According to Dick Washakie, during the winter and early spring, solitary hunters or small groups wearing snowshoes and using dogs drove the animals into deep snow. Floundering through the drifts, the sheep were

sufficiently slowed down to make them easy prey (Shimkin notes 1937).

A second hunting method was also premised on familiarity with sheep behavior. To escape from danger the Shoshone knew that bighorn sheep usually retreated from their meadow pasturage by leaping up to rocky precipices and higher outcrops where their sure, quick hooves allowed them to skip rapidly across rough terrain. Hunting in the late winter or early spring, the native hunters searched for animals who were grazing in meadows below basalt crags and other dark-colored rocks. Warmed by the sun, snow on these rocks and talus slopes melted well before the drifts on the flatter slopes. Preparing for this hunting event, the natives would have scooped out hiding blinds from the rocky talus, producing circular pits about 1.5 meters or 5 feet in diameter and 1 meter or 3 feet in depth. Examples of these blinds still can be found inside of Yellowstone National Park and the surrounding ranges. On a remote spot high on Mount Everts, for instance, a backpacker friend of park historian Lee Whittlesey told him of U- and circular-shaped circles of rocks and logs which sound much like pits seen on slopes opposite the Gardner River from Electric Peak (Whittlesey to Laura Joss, personal communication, n.d.). While a portion of the men concealed themselves here, their comrades got into position just below the grazing sheep. At a signal the drivers and their dogs broke out into yells and barking (Lowie 1909:185; Steward 1938:37). According to Alexander Ross, the Sheep Eaters were:

> ...complete masters of what is called the cabalistic language of birds and beasts, and can imitate to the utmost perfection the singing of birds, the howling of wolves, and the neighing of horses, by which means they can approach, by day and night, all travelers [Ross 1924:241].

And the European scholar Bengt Anell describes the use by western American hunters of yells and calls to drive game into traps, specifically the imitation of wolf howls:

> ...the beaters did their utmost to give a faithful imitation of howling wolves, a trick which in areas where the quarry was torn to pieces by wolves did not fail to produce an effect [Anell 1969:116–117].

In this wolf habitat it is not impossible to imagine that the Sheep Eaters driving the quarry ever upwards were conceivably howling like wolves. Frightened by the imminent danger, the alarmed sheep rapidly scaled the heights to the talus grade as they sought to escape. The hunters hidden in the pits close by waited until the sheep were within range, and then fired arrows at their white bodies which would have been clearly outlined targets against the darker rocks.

More labor intensive was the old Shoshonean technique for hunting bighorns known as the "drive." This called for constructing long fences and corrals from deadfall timber. Still existing in Montana and Wyoming are the remains of fifteen to twenty of these sheep drive sites. Although most of the wood portions of these drives within Yellowstone National Park have disintegrated from decay or wildfire, according to Aubrey Haines one of them stretched up a hillside across the stream from today's Golden Gate canyon road. He also knew of another to the east of the Gardner River in the area where an old "elk drive" line was also located, near the Gardiner-to-Jardine road. A third stood in the vicinity of Mammoth Hot Springs (Stuart Conner letter to Bonnie Hogan, 12/9/73). If Superintendent Philetus Norris' comments in his 1881 annual report are any indication, at one time these sheep drives must have been fairly common in the park, even though he apparently mistakes them all for circular breastworks:

> Four of these were discovered during this season, viz., one beside our camp, in a grove north of the crossing of Willow Creek, some three miles below Mary's Lake... It is about thirty feet long by twenty wide, and constructed of fragments of logs, stumps, poles, and stones, with ingenuity and skill proverbial to the beaver; nearly weather, wind, and bullet proof; about breast high, which is certainly less than when built, and situated, as usual, in a wind-fall then screened by a thicket of small pines, which are now large enough for bridge or building timber [Norris 1881b:36].

In the same report Norris locates three other drives he found in 1881. One lay east of Yellowstone Lake in the Stinkingwater drainage, another

was found near Bridger Lake, and the third stood on a branch of Barlow Fork of the Snake River. Since these do not correlate with any of the drives known historically in the Mammoth area, we get the impression that these sheep drive lines and corrals were not rare in the park. Thus when the authors of this study ran across Norris' mention that his artist companion, Albert Bierstadt, sketched an Indian deadfall corral and breastwork near Mary's Lake, we made every effort to pursue the illustration for this document.

We learned that Bierstadt's Yellowstone sketchbook had "surfaced briefly in 1965 and has been unlocated since. A single note concerning it, `Yellowstone Camp, August 1881,' is all that remains a part of recorded history" (Hendricks 1974:270). However our further inquiries revealed that a dealer in western art, William Bertsche, then of Great Falls, Montana, had written the New York Public Library on June 25, 1965, to ask for background information about "two sketch books that were found among some paintings of Albert Bierstadt" which were now in his possession. As Bertsche described their contents: "There are sketches of the Madison River in Montana, Yellowstone Lake, geysers, buffalo, elk and mountain scenes. One sketch is dated 'Yellowstone Camp, August, 1881'" (Bertsche to New York Public Library, June 25, 1965). Two weeks later the library responded to Bertsche with "only rather negative evidence concerning the date of Bierstadt's visit to Yellowstone," although it did turn up one reference to a dated Bierstadt painting, "Geysers, 1883" (New York Public Library, Art and Architecture Division to Bertsche, July 6, 1965). In the October 28, 1881, edition of *The New York Express*, an interview with Bierstadt briefly describes his Yellowstone experiences, but there is no mention of these Indian structures or artifacts. Before Mr. Bertsche's death in a Kalispell rest home in 1996 he personally informed Tom Minckler, a western art and rare book dealer in Billings, Montana—at the express request of our Yellowstone project—that he had turned over Bierstadt's Yellowstone sketchbooks to the Montana Historical Society (Personal Conversation August 24, 1995). We then asked Peter H. Hassrick of the Buffalo Bill Historical Center to make a formal query to the Society, but he was notified by Society Registrar Janet Sperry that their review of the "maps, manuscripts and diaries" which Bertsche had donated in 1976 to their archives did not turn up the elusive Bierstadt Yellowstone sketchbook(s) (Sperry to Hassrick, January 30, 1996). Though extremely desirous of obtaining the Bierstadt sketch for this document, time constraints forced us to halt further investigation at this point.

Back to sheep traps, it is certainly possible that some of the man-made structures described by Norris had not served that purpose. Fortifications, corrals and other types of deadfall timber structures are known throughout the mountain west. Although there have been numerous archaeological projects in Yellowstone National Park over the past thirty years, it is a lamentable oversight that these corrals, breastworks or fortifications were not mapped and recorded. While photographs of the wickiups (tipi-shaped pole lodges) are fairly common, drawings and photos for other man-made timber remains are rare. One photograph of some decayed drive lines across from Golden Gate Canyon was taken by Hultkrantz in the 1960s, but the ground scrap was so scanty as to be nearly meaningless.

Fortunately, however, old sheep traps of the same general style are fairly well-represented in the mountainous regions adjoining Yellowstone National Park. About a dozen were recorded by George Frison in the Absaroka and Wind River ranges, which still lie well within Sheep Eater territory (Frison et al. 1990; Frison 1991). Another sheep trap found a few miles west of the park was protected by local outfitters during the 1988 forest fires (Frison 1991:257), while more have been identified in the Bighorn Mountains, Wyoming (Frost 1941), the Lemhi Mountains, Idaho (Barrette 1963) and in the Bitterroot Mountains of southwestern Montana (Hogan 1974). In the sites for these traps we see additional evidence of the keen observation by Sheep Eaters of animal behavior, for the great majority of them are constructed near sheep-bedding grounds (Frison et al. 1990:251). When the animals congregate in late November during the rutting season and throughout the following winter months, the bighorns prefer to bed on open, bare ridges where they can see long distances. If frightened, they will usually dart

a short distance down slope before veering uphill to escape. The lengthy, V-shaped drive fences, which were stacked from deadfall with intermittent rock cairns filling the gaps, were laid so that these escape routes funneled between the fencing. Once inside the drive lines the sheep were chased into catch-pens and easily killed with clubs or spears.

Among the six sheep traps located adjacent to a major sheep-bedding area on the Wiggins Fork of the Wind River, Frison distinguished two distinct types. The simplest variety had its drive lines extending along the side of a ridge and over a steep decline. At the base of the decline, often hidden in the trees, a rectangular-shaped catch-pen constructed of logs laid into tiers awaited the animals. As measured by Frison et al. (1990:218) these pens range from 14.8 feet to 23.9 feet in length and 8.2 feet to 13.5 feet in width; usually they are positioned at a lower elevation than the sloping entry ramps, which are built of logs leaning into the pens on their high side at the apex of the drive lines. Covered with soil and vegetation to help conceal their traps, their inward-leaning logs prevent the sheep from leaping out once they have been driven inside. Although the catch-pens examined by Frison have eroded, the tallest ones remain standing to a height of five feet. The side walls lean into the structure as a further hindrance to the sheep escaping. Frison et al (1990:226) report that one even had a log in its bottom that could be swung out, like a pole corral gate, probably to allow for removal of the sheep carcasses.

The larger, more elaborate type of trap added a circular or oval corral near the terminus of the V-shaped drive lines, where the sheep were contained prior to sending them into the catch-pen. It is Frison's idea that this allowed the hunters to control the number of sheep they had in the catch-pen at any one time. Perhaps more importantly, it let the hunters cull those animals they wanted for slaughter and others which they perhaps wanted to release. A third type, described by forest ranger A.G. Clayton, seemed to combine features of sheep trap and buffalo jump. Based on the remains of one which Clayton observed on the east wall of the West Fork of Torrey Creek near its mouth (in the Yellowstone National Park Timber District which later became Washakie National Forest and later Shoshone National Forest), this feature had two drive fences of wood that converged at an opening through which the game could pass. "But the opening would probably lead out onto a ledge over which the game could not go," Clayton believed, "and they would then be rushed from behind" (Clayton 1926:278).

The second type of trap probably took the most time and effort to construct. Based on the condition of timbers in their catch-pens, Frison et al. (1990:222) believe these larger traps are more recent, and that sheep hunting technology improved through time. Might this be evidence of a game management system, by which the Sheep Eaters controlled the numbers and types of animals they took from the herds? By freeing pregnant females and the very young, they would have assured themselves of a resource for the future.

Once the sheep were in the catch-pen, Frison et al (1990) suggest they were mostly dispatched with clubs. This conclusion is based on the absence of projectile points in the catch-pens, where one might expect to find them if the hunters were shooting the penned animals with arrows. Short spears could have been jabbed at the animals, but the recovery of several hardwood clubs near sheep traps indicates they may have been more efficient killing tools. One of these clubs has a flanged end, runs about the length of a billy club or softball bat, and features holes where a wrist strap would have facilitated hanging onto it during hefty swings. Of two other sticks found by Frison one was simply a heavy stick with a rawhide wrapping, the other was a pine limb with a weighty burl on one end (Frison et al. 1990:230–231).

Among surrounding tribes these Sheep Eaters had such a reputation for effective hunting that they were rumored to possess a powerful medicine that allowed them to control whole herds of sheep (Barrette 1963:22). Among the Shoshone of the Great Basin the control of game animals by charming them during communal hunts is generally associated with hunting antelope (Lowie 1924:303; Steward 1938:34–37), while among the Wind River Shoshone hunting shamans coaxed the same animals into wooden traps that sound remarkably similar to those used by the Sheep Eaters (Shimkin 1986:386).

Always on the lookout for any inkling of

hunting magic among Wyoming's mountain dwellers, Frison noticed the occasional presence of small circular structures which were either incorporated into the drive lines or were positioned on ridges near the traps, but always with a commanding view of both the drive complex and the approaching sheep. Might they not have been special booths for shamans to make their magic during the hunt? More persuasive evidence of supernatural practice came from his discovery of ram skulls placed in trees near the catch-pens (Frison et al 1990:232–234). Some had rested in the crotches of branches for so long that bark had grown around them, and it was necessary to cut them down for safeguarding in museums. All told nearly a dozen of these elevated skulls were found, many exhibiting broken crania for the removal of brains (Frison et al. 1990:234). Early trappers had reported the veneration of these ram's skull trees by the Flathead, a tribal group whose territory was adjacent to the Sheep Eaters on the north and west (Ferris 1940; Wiesel 1951), and hence Frison has wondered whether the Sheep Eaters learned this magic from their neighbors or vice-versa (Frison et al. 1990).

Clearly these Shoshoneans were intimately acquainted with the habits of bighorn sheep and were capable of hunting them very efficiently. Much like bison to Plains Indians, bighorn sheep were their staple, and they used them in many ways. The meat, of course, was their main food supply, the hides became clothing, and the horns were turned into bows, spoons, and arrow shaft straighteners. The activity of acquiring them must have been so much a part of Sheep Eater identity that it comes as no surprise that they believed it would continue forever. As Hultkrantz has written of the Sheep Eater world-view:

> In religious beliefs spirits take the form of surrounding animals, and their haunts are supposed to lie at difficult passages—overhanging cliffs, narrow passageways, etc.—or in places where tradition tells they appear. The geysers and hot springs are residences of supernatural powers. Life after death is supposed to lie in a mountainous region where mountain sheep hunting is part of the daily occupation [Hultkrantz n.d. II:19].

The Food Quest II: Fishing

But the Sheep Eaters did not subsist by sheep alone. Their appetite for fish distinguished them dramatically from their Plains neighbors like the Crow and the Blackfeet. Much of the following information on fishing actually derives from Demitri Shimkin's interviews with Wind River Shoshone in 1937, most prominently from Dick Washakie. Since Washakie was a Plains Shoshone we might ask whether his comments are relevant for the Mountain branch. But from all available data it seems that fishing techniques were fairly standard across Northern Shoshone territory, and most likely Sheep Eaters practices did not differ significantly. Obtained throughout the entire year, spring (June) was the optimal time for fish to congregate in shallow waters. But unlike their neighbors who lived along the Columbia and other plateau streams, the Sheep Eaters could not rely upon an annual fishing surplus, since the waters of the Yellowstone region are not subject to the dramatic spawning runs one finds farther west. None the less, they fished in Yellowstone Lake as well as other basins and sought fish along the mountain rivers as well.

According to Dick Washakie fish were second only to bison as a preferred food source among his people, and one need only substitute "sheep" for bison in order to speculate that the same was true for the Sheep Eaters. Early trappers and travelers in Idaho describe fishing among the Sheep Eaters' linguistic cousins, the Northern Shoshone and Lemhi Shoshone, who were known historically as *Agaidika*, or "salmon eaters" (Steward [1970] 1938:186–187; Murphy and Murphy 1986:306).

Evidence of earlier fishing in the park comes in the form of stone net sinkers randomly found along the shores of Yellowstone Lake (Yellowstone National Park collections in the Smithsonian Institution) which were inspected by our project in August 1996. Made by chipping notches into the sides of water worn pebbles, these distinctive artifacts also turn up in such Sheep Eater related sites throughout the wider region as Mummy Cave along the Shoshone River (Husted and Edgar n.d. ca. 1978). One well-made plummet (an elongated, torpedo-shaped stone with a hole through its top)

July, 1835 who may have been fishing as well as sheep hunting to fill their larders. We might suspect Norris of a fisherman's tall tale except that in 1880 an army surgeon remarked that the soldiers in his escort took so many trout from Trout Lake, each weighing about five pounds, that his boat was nearly swamped (S. Weir Mitchell quoted in Haines 1977:II.398). Trout Lake continued to supply fish to the miners in Cooke City who took large numbers with explosive powder and nets until the practice was stopped through the game laws protecting animals and fish in the park (Haines 1977:I.304).

Sheep Eater check dams made of rocks and brush were probably much like that described by Norris, but perhaps the Indians also used the Northern Shoshone style of conical-shaped fish basket which Dick Washakie described for Shimkin (Interview notes 1937). The dams blocked the small streams, while weirs were constructed by pushing pointed willows into soft mud and interlacing them with other willows to form a crude lattice-work fence. As for the baskets, they measured five feet long with an opening diameter of three feet and were woven from willow splints using a simple over-one and under-one checkerboard pattern. Strips of bark finished the upper rim, bending the warp over and lashing it across the uppermost weft splint. The small end was finished in the same way, except that the diameter of the opening was only about an inch.

Positioned in the center of a rock dam, so that the stream current flowed through the basket's wide mouth, incoming fish had no alternative but to swim into it. Then the basket was either lifted out and dumped on the ground, or the fish were removed by hand. They could also be extracted from dams and weirs with the help of an eight to ten feet long spear tipped with a single barb carved out of greasewood. The barb's butt end was inserted into the spear's split end, then bound in place with glue and sinew. The spears were thrust down using two hands, releasing with one and retaining hold with the other.

While fishing could have occurred all year, an especially bountiful period was said to be during the spring run-off, when fish were moving downstream and basket traps were most effective. Certainly the Sheep Eaters favored convenient spots for dipping and spearing, but we have no indication that families owned rights to repeatedly-used holes or shorelines. In winter the traps would be abandoned with new ones tied together in springtime.

When fishing was going on couples worked together, men constructing the dams and extracting the catch, women cleaning the fish for drying (smoking fish was apparently not a Shoshonean practice). After removing the viscera the back was split to remove the bones and head. Then the fillets were lined up to dry on a willow rack which stood five to six feet high and extended about sixteen feet in length. Into a boiling pot went the bones and heads for immediate consumption, while extra fish heads were tossed to the dogs. Another method of drying was to simply lay them on grass mats on the ground, but they had to be watched carefully lest the dogs did get them. Depending upon the amount of sun and the weather, the drying process could take from one to two months. Once they were ready, the dried fish were stored in parfleches or baskets for use over the winter.

Dip nets made of willow were used to scoop up squirming bunches of minnows, which went into soups that were consumed almost immediately. Although this might be considered a secondary food pursuit, in October 1811 a small village of Shoshone, probably near Fort Hall, Idaho, were observed drying small fish, about two inches long, along with roots and seeds (Irving 1897:II,18 quoted from Steward 1938:205). In this case cleaning was unnecessary, and their small bodies were eaten as is or pounded in mortars to make a fish flour.

Although fish may have played a much greater role in the Sheep Eater larder than previously suspected, the activity does not leave the abundant evidence which archaeologists can recover from large game hunting and processing sites. And while fish bones do preserve in some locations it has only been in recent years that archaeologists have used the sophisticated flotation techniques necessary for recovering their minuscule bones. If the drying of fish took up to two months, it would have restricted the movements of the Sheep Eaters until it was completed. It is also apparent that fish would dry best during the

summer or autumn when there was abundant sunshine and less chance of rain or snow. Using these parameters, we might hazard a guess that the best fishing occurred between late May and late July, while the optimal times for drying them in Yellowstone National Park were from August to the end of September.

As a region of overlapping influences for Great Basin and Plateau subsistence traditions, the greater Yellowstone ecosystem may still be under-recognized where fish utilization by Sheep Eaters is concerned. Walker believes, for instance, "that prior estimates of Lemhi Shoshone-Bannock reliance on fish have been too conservative" and that his initial review of their fishing practices "supports Swanson's argument for deep Plateau-Great Basin cultural linkages" which are evident in art, mythology, technology and social organization" (Walker 1993a:246). The Shimkin and Hultkrantz material suggest that women and children joined in fishing—and that Shoshonean fishing seems to have been exempt from some of the restrictions and magic that preoccupied hunters for big game. However, Walker argues a different viewpoint for the Northern Shoshone, Bannock and their Sheep Eater associates: "There appear to be quite similar religious practices regarding fishing throughout the Plateau and Great Basin" he writes, and "The presence of fish leaders (chiefs), fish shamans, and veneration of the rivers and falls in both areas have been verified ethnographically" (Walker 1993a:246).

The Food Quest III: Foraging

Although the name Sheep Eaters reflects a bias towards a meat diet, plants, much like fish, probably satisfied a greater part of the Sheep Eater nutritional needs than is usually credited. Ethnographic information on subsistence practices of hunting and gathering groups in the Great Basin suggest that roots, seeds, nuts and berries constituted from 30 percent to 70 percent of their diet (Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:91–92). On the other hand, hunters and gatherers who live in sub-arctic environments not too different from Yellowstone National Park, use few plants for food (Rogers and Smith 1981:134). Perhaps a more appropriate comparison is the Northern Shoshone who obtained their subsistence in the same region as the Sheep Eaters. According to Robert Lowie (1924:195), these foragers relied heavily on plants and it seems reasonable to assume the Sheep Eaters also incorporated them into their diet.

Since archaeologists tend to recover large mammal bones and associated stone tools this can skew their interpretations towards a meat-biased economy. Except for a few manos and metates, archaeologists working in the Yellowstone National Park region seldom find tools specifically associated with plant collection and processing. The perishable nature of the wooden sticks used for digging roots and the baskets used in collecting seeds may account for this lack, but the techniques for processing and preparing plants are not well researched and archaeologists probably overlook some evidence. For example, pine nuts from both the limber pine and white bark pine are excellent food sources in the Yellowstone National Park area, and both were probably eaten by Sheep Eaters. The cones could be roasted slightly to open them, or if the cones were taken after the first frost, the bracts opened naturally to release most of the seeds. As described by Fowler and Liljeblad (1986:65), the next step was to extract any remaining seeds by beating a pile of cones with sticks or tapping individual cones with a small hand stone while holding it on an anvil stone. Picked up locally, used for this single purpose, and not kept for another season, it would be very difficult for any archaeologist to specify these rocks as pine nut-harvesting tools. Based upon Fowler's Great Basin Shoshonean material, however, other items used for seed-processing might be more easily identifiable:

> Once extracted, the seeds were given a preliminary parching in an open twined fan-shaped tray to make the seed coats brittle. They were then shelled using a flat metate and, depending on the area, differing types of large hullers. The seed coats were removed by winnowing in a fan-shaped tray. A final parching in twined or circular coiled trays prepared the seeds for grinding [Fowler and Liljeblad 1986:65].

Fragments of baskets in association with stones which could have been used for hulling in

this fashion were recovered in Mummy Cave (McCracken et al. 1978:plate 26 and plate 34), and radiocarbon testing assigned them a date of AD 734. Similar tools have not been identified in Yellowstone National Park, but site environments in the area where basketry preservation is most likely (caves or rockshelters) have never been searched and the hullers may not be recognized.

Seeds from many other plants, like sunflowers (*Helianthus annus*), knotweed (*Polygonum* sp.), and lamb's quarter (*Chenopodium*) were also collected and eaten without additional processing, crushed with manos and metates and used as flour, or boiled and added to soups (Steward [1970] 1938:189). Soups made in steatite pots were probably the pillar of the daily sustenance of the Sheep Eaters. Meat or fish and water would form the base, but many other ingredients would change this basic soup into nutritious food. Wild onions (*Allium sibiricum*), wild carrots (*Leptoaenia multifida*), and wild turnips (*Psoralea esculenta*), for example, would add distinctive flavor when they were in season while pounded chokecherries (*Prunus melanocarpa*) and serviceberries (*Amelanchier alnifolia*) would add a different, sweeter taste when they were available. Soups were probably also thickened with a flour made by grinding the seeds from a variety of Chenopodium and Amaranth plants.

Digging and processing roots of various plants was likely the most important source of plant food for the Sheep Eaters. There are multiple species and subspecies of plants like bitterroot (*Lewisia rediviva*), balsamroot (*Balsamorhiza* sp.), biscuitroot (*Lomatium* sp.), yampa (*Carum gairdneri*), camas (*Camassi* sp.), sego lily (*Calochortus nuttalli*) and tobacco-root (*Valeriana* sp.) that could have been important sources of food for Indians in the Yellowstone National Park region. When they were plentiful some of these roots were probably eaten raw with any excess dried in the sun, stored in hide bags, and reconstituted in soups. The dried roots were also ground into a mealy flour, mixed with water, and formed into flat cakes that were placed on hard wood trays or flat slabs of rock and set in the ashes of a fire to bake. The name biscuitroot is derived from these biscuit-like cakes that early trappers saw Indians preparing and eating (Range Plant Handbook 1937:W55). Yampa is another root that was eaten in its raw form, boiled in soups, or dried and pounded into flour.

Apparently the liking for bitterroot was an acquired taste, but it was highly sought and used by Indians and trappers alike. C. A. Geyer, who collected information on Indians' preparation and use of plants during a trip from Saint Louis, Missouri to the Pacific Ocean (across South Pass, Wyoming) in 1843 and 1844, writes:

> The root is dug during flower-time, when the cuticle is easily removed; by that it acquires a white colour, is brittle, and by transportation is broken into small pieces. Before boiling, it is steeped in water, which makes it swell, and after boiling it becomes five or six times larger in size; resembling a jelly like substance. As it is so small a root, it requires much labour to gather a sack, which commands generally the price of a good horse [Geyer 1846 quoted in the Range Plant Handbook 1937:W105].

As Lewis and Clark (Coues 1965:III-543–544) describe the roots that were in the possession of Shoshone (Lemhi) women in August, 1805:

> The roots were of three kinds, folded separately from one another in hides made of buffalo made into parchment. The first is a fusiform root six inches long, about the size of a man's finger at the largest end, with radicals larger than is usual in roots of the fusiform sort. The rind is white and thin; the body is also white, mealy, and easily reducible by pounding to a substance resembling flour, which it thickens by boiling, and is of an agreeable flavor; it is eaten frequently in its raw state, either green or dried [Coues 1965:III-543].

The identification of this root is questionable but it may be a biscuitroot. It is probably not yampa, because Lewis and Clark were familiar with yampa having learned about it, including its Shoshone name, from their guide, Sacajawea. The second of the roots was described as fibrous with a cylindrical form. According to the Indians it was always boiled before eating; when Lewis and Clark tried this they learned that it readily softened and could be eaten, but it had a bitter taste and was almost certainly bitterroot (*Lewisia*

rediviva). The third root, a small tuber with a round shape and nutty flavor, was most likely sego lily.

In addition to the parfleches or rawhide containers described by Lewis and Clark, the Shoshone had two bags made of silk-grass, derived from yucca, and presumably braided to make a strong fiber (Coues 1965:III-543). The bags were large, one holding about a bushel of dried service berries and the other about the same amount of dried roots. Because they are identified as "bags" they were apparently flexible, with an open weave, perhaps something like the fiber sacks used to package onions today. Lewis and Clark encountered the mountain Shoshone with these supplies of dried roots and berries along the Jefferson River, about 85 kilometers (53 miles) northwest of Yellowstone National Park, in August of 1805. The plants were dug with elk antler tines or wooden sticks that had fire hardened ends. A cross piece, made of an antler, was sometimes fitted over the end and pushed with the hands to facilitate the digging. Their journals also mention several locations in the vicinity where holes in the ground were left by Indians digging for roots. Almost certainly the Indians were collecting and drying the plants for winter.

To make them palatable several of these roots need to be baked. Foremost among these is camas, a very important food plant in the region that was used extensively by the Plateau tribes (Downing and Furniss 1968; Malouf 1979) and when it was available by Great Basin tribes (Fowler 1986:69). Tobacco-root (*Valeriana* sp.) also requires baking or some other cooking to make it edible. These baking pits were dug into the ground, often near the area where the roots were harvested, and a fire was set in the bottom. Their size dependant upon the amount of roots to be cooked, the pits were commonly one to two meters in diameter and dug to a depth of a half-meter. For cooking a layer of rocks was laid in the pit, heated with a fire, then covered with a layer of moist vegetation, perhaps intermixed with damp earth. The roots were placed on top of this heated surface, and the whole was capped with more vegetation and earth. A fire was then built on the top of the underground oven and kept burning for the two or three days that the roots were roasting.

Other plants, including roots, nuts, berries and seeds which were eaten raw or dried without additional processing, would add significantly to the larder. As for a paramount tuber resource, camas, we are reserving Chapter 5 for a synthesis of our data on this staple. Combining all this information on edible plants, however, it is easier to appreciate their probable role in the food supply of hunting and gathering groups like Sheep Eaters.

Dwellings of the Sheep Eaters

The largest, most obvious indicators of Indian occupation in Yellowstone National Park are the remains of their houses. Standing mute and skeletal, those few conical timbered lodges that have withstood the ravages of fires, windstorms, bugs and vandals seem to evoke a special sympathy. Perhaps that is because we know that in these camping spots other living and breathing human beings socialized, worked, ate, argued, told stories, loved, slept and planned their days. As to the exact origins and ethnic identification of these buildings that acquired the Algonkian language term of *wickiups*, however, there has been some debate.

After 1750 when horses were in general use throughout the Plains, the Crow, the Blackfeet, the Shoshone and the Bannock built conical-shaped, hide-covered tipis as their preferred dwellings. But their long lodgepole pine frames and weighty hide covers required horses to transport them; lacking horses the Sheep Eaters were not able to transport such heavy houses. Instead, they lived in semi-permanent shelters or temporary houses which, from their scanty remains, seem to be of three kinds. The first type of impermanent shelters were made by leaning timber poles into conical-shaped structures, the aforementioned *wickiups*. The second form of structure was built inside a rockshelter and featured poles leaning against a crude frame which backed up against the rear of a cave wall. A third building type was made by stacking deadfall-timber into cribbed walls with four or five sides that stood about five feet in height.

Because all northwestern Plains tribes made both the conical and cribwork shelters, it is exceedingly difficult to differentiate their use by one

tribe from another; hence, when an archaeologist finds these temporary dwellings they are customarily assigned to the cultural groups closest to their location (Kidwell 1968, 1969; Loendorf and Klinner 1995; Frison 1991:122–127; Larson and Kornfeld 1994:204–205). To be sure, artifacts found at the sites may be a more reliable indicator of cultural use, but these are often problematic. Given the usual association based on proximity, it is interesting that in the opinion of Aubrey Haines, the wickiups found within Yellowstone National Park were *not* the work of Sheep Eaters. Instead, he reports that:

> George Bird Grinnell long ago identified the Yellowstone wickiups as Crow hunting lodges, and Dr. Malouf recently came to the same conclusion as a result of his archaeological investigations, which showed only a very transient use and none of the household debris that would have remained from even a seasonal use by Sheepeaters [Haines 1977:25].

To identify the wickiups as Crow, Haines uses a letter written by Grinnell to Phillip Martindale, a park ranger, in 1927 (Martindale 1927:4). Grinnell suggested the wickiups were made by hunting and raiding groups who built them with poles that stood close together to conceal fires. The Malouf reference stems from work undertaken as part of a preliminary archaeological survey in the park, which occurred prior to the research of Jake Hoffman and Dee Taylor. Yet when Hoffman reviewed the evidence collected by Philetus Norris regarding these structures, he (1961:39) assigned the wickiups to the Sheep Eaters (l96l:39). Hoffman may have been wise not to take the work of the park's second superintendent lightly, for as already mentioned, Norris was extremely interested in archaeology, sent collections of artifacts from the park to the Smithsonian Institution, and drafted maps of several archaeological sites in the park. In Norris' view both the cribbed-style dwellings and the conical wickiups were clearly the work of Sheep Eaters. According to his annual reports, Norris reached this conclusion after considerable discussion with others while visiting the sites, and it still seems presumptuous to question this conclusion some 125 years later. And a principal consultant to Åke Hultkrantz was of like mind: were the diameters of park wickiups once larger when they were brand new, and were they made by Piegans?, Hultkrantz asked Jack Haynes:

> Yes the wickiups in the park had considerably wider bases originally. I doubt they are Piegan. They were identified as Sheepeater as early as the 1870's [Jack E. Haynes to Åke Hultkrantz, January 6, 1956].

Research among the Shoshone Indians, including inquiries made of Sheep Eater descendants, reveal ample knowledge of these very house types. From the Northern Shoshone, for example, Robert Lowie (1909:183) learned that before they used hide tipis they lived in small, conical-shaped dwellings made of timber and covered with brush. In fact the crudity of these dwellings led to outsiders referring in sign language to the Shoshone as "Bad Lodges" (Lowie 1909:183; Clark 1885:337). When the Wind River Shoshone described these shelters to Lowie they said they were both grass-and-brush covered, stood seven to eight feet high, faced east, and that inside there were no fixed seating assignments (Lowie 1924:221). Among the Northern Shoshone Murphy and Murphy (1986:294) obtained a photograph of one taken *circa* 1900, which was made of interwoven rushes and willows on a conical frame, and identified as a "summer tipi." Without the brush covering, it would look almost identical to the conical-shaped wickiups found in the park.

More recent interviews of the Shoshone also tie the park wickiups to the Sheep Eaters. When David Dominick (1964:163) interviewed Wind River Shoshone consultants they claimed that the conical wickiup remains were the work of both Plains Shoshone and Sheep Eaters. But more than one claimed that the mountain-dwelling Sheep Eaters laid more tightly fitted poles into the cone so that they were "waterproof," and added that they sheltered one or two families (Dominick l964:164).

While some of these timbered shelters may have been used by the Crow, the foregoing discussion makes a strong case that most of the conical wickiups and other pole dwellings in Yellowstone National Park were the work of the park's more permanent residents, the Sheep Eaters.

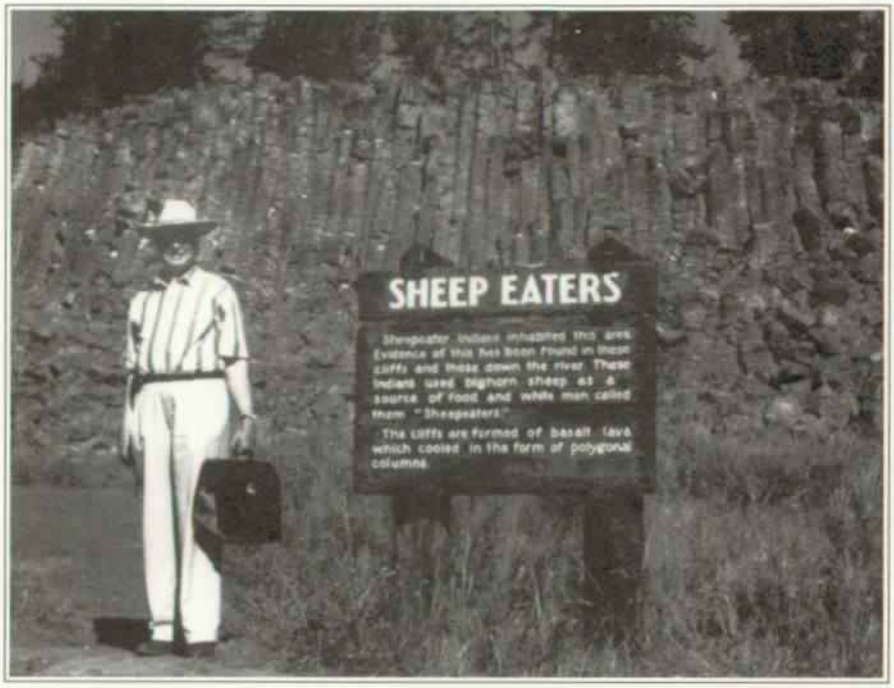


Figure 3.11. Scholar Åke Hultkrantz at Sheepeater Cliffs, July 1994 (author photo).

1. Wickiups. Since the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 dozens of wickiup sites have come to light. Hardly an annual report of Superintendent Norris neglected to comment on the abundant wickiups in the "sheltered glens and valleys" of the park.

In his report for 1880, for example, Norris (1880a:7) describes a Sheep Eater camping spot on the divide between Hoodoo Creek and Miller Creek where a single wickiup stood among the remains of more than forty others which had collapsed. According to Jack Haynes, this site was still visible in 1924:

> In the fall of 1924 in company with Superintendent Horace M. Albright, Samuel T. Woodring, chief ranger, and Ed Bruce I saw a large, ancient Indian camp ground northeast of Parker Peak across the gully between there and Hoodoo Peak. It was on the bank, sheltered by the southern ridge and about 1/4 mile west of the rim of the gully. The area consisting of three or four acres was covered with tepee poles—hundreds of them—flanked at the west by a grove [of] aspen trees [Jack E. Haynes to Åke Hultkrantz, October 23, 1955].

Haynes believed that this was the largest site in the park. Actually his father, Frank Jay Haynes, had already seen it in 1894 in the company of acting Superintendent Captain George S. Anderson and scout George Whittaker. But Frank Haynes failed to indicate whether any of the wickiups were standing at the time (Jack E. Haynes to Åke Hultkrantz, Ocotber 23, 1955). When Stuart W. Conner, Kenneth J. Feyhl, and Dan Martin visited this region in 1977, they recorded a site known as the Parker Peak site, 48YE506, but they did not encounter any evidence of fallen wickiups. It seems quite probable that the collapsed poles had decayed and decomposed in their relatively wet environment. None the less, the record of this site attests to the popularity of freestanding wickiups as Sheep Eater houses, especially in the summertime.

The remains of dwellings in Yellowstone National Park whose claim to Sheep Eater manufacture seems clearest are the conical-shaped pole structures a short hike off the Mammoth-to-Tower road. Recognized for more than a century and assigned site number 48YE2, these structures stand relatively close to the road between Mammoth Hot Springs and Tower Falls in a location near the park headquarters, where they have received considerable attention (Norris 1880b:10–11; Replogle 1956; Hoffman 1961:35–40; Shippee 1971:74–

75; Haines 1977:24–25). A series of picture post cards were made of the structures *circa* AD 1900 by an unidentified photographer. According to a letter from Jack Haynes written to park Superintendent Rogers in 1940, in 1905 his mother, Lily V. Haynes, provided the following caption for one of those cards:

> Tepees put there by Indians forty years ago. Near 3 mi. post on way to E. Gardiner Falls. Papa saw them years ago (3 of them) thought they had been torn down. Hunter found them early this year. Are 1/4 mile E. of road [L. Haynes 1905 in J. Haynes 1940].

This pictorial collection includes two views of unidentified hunters holding an elk head in front of the most prominent wickiup and separate views of two of the wickiups standing alone. One image reveals a third wickiup barely visible to the rear of a prominent one. Based on an estimated height of 5.5 feet for the hunters themselves, the prominent wickiup appears to be standing about 12 feet high.

Another photograph showing two wickiup structures and dated 1915 is found in the F. J. Haynes collection with the caption "Indian tepees (aspen) above road east of Sheepeater Canyon Bridge. YNP." When Stuart Conner (1994) compared this photograph to ones he has of the site taken in 1937, 1963, 1964, and 1991 in order to be certain it was the Lava Creek site, 48YE2, he noted that the photograph was from a glass plate in the F. J. Haynes collection at the Montana Historical Society, but that the photographer was unknown. When the scene was photographed at least a decade after the post card series, the site showed little change.

When he was working for the Smithsonian Institution River Basin Survey, J. M. Shippee (1971) twice saw this site, in 1947 and 1950. During his first visit three structures were standing and a fourth was collapsed. The upright structures had inside height measurements of about nine feet and base diameters of fourteen feet, the poles were fir with a basal thickness of 2 to 3.5 inches, and fifty-five of them were counted in one structure while another had sixty-five in its walls. Shippee adds:

> All four wikiups had small shallow fireplaces at their centers. In one fireplace, an obsidian spall was found. Obsidian flakes also occurred in the cutbank of the highway, but around the lodges the litter of the forest floor hid all camp debris except for several large leg bones of animals [Shippee 1971:74].

The Shippee notes represent the first systematic attempt to describe the size and character of these wickiups. It is noteworthy that this recording did not take place until nearly a century after Superintendent Norris described the site in his annual report of 1880. In 1958, eleven years after Shippee's first visit, Jake Hoffman (1961) recorded the site and found two standing and two collapsed wickiups, all arranged in an arc with the open side facing downhill to the northwest. According to Hoffman the wood was both aspen and lodgepole pine, with the poles measuring about four inches in diameter. The largest standing wickiup was twelve feet in height, with an ellipsoidal base which measured six-by-ten feet; the smaller standing structure measured ten feet in height with circular base diameter of eight feet. Discussing their interior features Hoffman wrote:

> The center of each wickiup floor (standing and fallen) has been dug out by unknown persons. However, stones and charcoal still left inside the wickiups reveal the presence of true hearths. We recovered several large pieces of elk bone consisting of a femur, vertebrae and scapula from inside the wickiups. No other occupational debris lay within the wickiups, but we found small amounts of obsidian 25 yards north of the structures within the sites area [Hoffman 1961:38].

The "animal" bones mentioned by Shippee are probably the elk remains identified by Hoffman. But they are not necessarily contemporaneous with the wickiups since the bones may be from the trophy elk shown with hunters in the early picture postcard. Then Hoffman spotted a single large pole resting on top of the wickiup's other crossed poles, and concluded that its weight "exerted at the poles' common focus creates a downward force and increases the stability of the shelter's framework" (Hoffman 1961:36). Using

a pole weight across the top of the structures is reminiscent of the long pole used in the construction of the Sheep Eater dwelling in the cave on Big Sheep Creek.

Site-24YE301 is another wickiup site found in the extreme northwest corner of the park. Originally described by Wayne Replogle (1956) in his discourse on the Bannock trail system, the site was officially recorded by L. Kyle Napton who was completing archaeological survey in the region to the west and north of Yellowstone National Park for a master's thesis at Montana State University, Missoula (Napton 1966). Napton's research was coordinated with the larger archaeological reconnaissance the University was undertaking throughout Yellowstone National Park, and included areas along the Gallatin River Canyon that are within the park (Napton 1966). Three wickiups are reported at the site but when Napton visited the site in 1958, only one of the wickiups, Structure Two, the largest of the three, was standing. Napton tells us that when his parents photographed the wickiups in 1938 all three were standing, thus two had clearly collapsed in the intervening twenty years. Curiously, two years after Napton's work Stuart Conner visited the site and found two wickiups standing. Apparently some unknown person reconstructed one of the collapsed wickiups but never reported their effort to the park (Conner 1960). The reconstructed wickiup has collapsed again this time due to a nearby tree falling on it. Today only Structure Two, the largest of the original group, remains standing.

This lone erect wickiup is made of 130 aspen poles ranging in diameter from one to four inches, some apparently cut with an iron ax and others gathered from deadfall timber. The poles were stacked in a conical form and, using Stuart Conner's measurements, it was ten feet in diameter, stood twelve feet on the outside, with an interior height of six feet. But the poles had slumped some, suggesting it may have once been a foot higher inside (Conner 1960). Napton learned during excavation that the base of the poles had actually rotted into the topsoil reducing their overall length by about eight inches which would have decreased both the height and the diameter of the structure by several feet. The other wickiups were smaller and composed of seventy-five aspen poles.

Napton (1966:141) excavated into the floor of Structure Two and into the probable occupation area adjacent to the collapsed Structure Three. A large fire hearth, found centered inside Structure Two, was contained in a shallow basin that had apparently been prepared before the fire was set into it. Fill in this feature included ash, charcoal and burned bits of bone, but unfortunately these bone scraps were not readily identifiable as to what animals they represented. Napton also found twenty-five chert flakes, one black obsidian flake and twelve cobblestones averaging five to six inches in width and three inches in thickness arranged about eight inches apart around part of the inner perimeter wall of the structure. The function of the stones is not known but we might guess they may have held the base of a hide lining attached to the inside of the structure that served as additional protection from the wind and weather capable of penetrating the walls. The occupation area of Structure Three contained only a single quartzite flake.

Napton (1966:137) also recorded 24GA325, another wickiup site with two collapsed structures, located in the Gallatin River area a few miles west of Yellowstone National Park. In 1940, a large pine tree fell on the structures knocking them both down, but one of these wickiups was once a stately example of this house type. It was composed of 100 lodgepole pines with some exceeding 6 inches in diameter at their bases. It would have stood more than ten feet high inside and had an interior floor greater than fifteen feet in diameter. The other structure was much smaller, and in this regard it reflects the pattern of 24YE301 where one large structure is found with smaller ones. While Napton did not excavate into the areas around the structures at 24GA325 but based on the work at 24YE301 we might also guess that the larger structures served as the "cook tent" with the occupants cooking and sleeping around the central fire while the smaller structures were used for storage, or some other function. The absence of fire remains in the smaller ones indicates they did not need warming fires if they served as sleeping "tents." This would not be surprising, however, since the wickiup-type structures are believed to have been predominantly occupied during the summertime. Winter houses were more likely built of poles stacked

against the walls of rockshelters or of deadfall timber laid into horizontally stacked tiers.

2. Timber-Pole Houses. A second type of Sheep Eater shelter is the so-called timber-pole house, which is found in caves and rockshelters throughout their territory. In smaller caves they are constructed with walls of rocks and timber across the openings, while in larger caves or rockshelters they are made by stacking timber, brush and rocks against the rear walls. A probable Sheep Eater structure of this variety was discovered in the mountainous terrain of southwestern Montana (Davis 1975). It stood within a limestone cave on a tree-covered slope at 7,400 feet elevation, in Big Sheep Creek Canyon at the southern end of the Tendoy Mountains which rise about 93 miles west of Yellowstone National Park.

Known today as Wickiup Cave, 24BE601, the structure was built of timbers, branches, pine boughs and rocks. Its main frame was two long poles that were braced against the rockshelter's back wall, which were supported by a forked, upright post. More than thirty timber poles leaned against this framework so as to enclose a semicircular area seventeen feet in diameter and ten feet high. Many of the poles had burnt ends, suggesting they were felled or cut to length with fire. For added protection smaller tree branches and pine boughs were interwoven into walls, while around the exterior sides a rock wall was constructed by stacking limestone blocks to a height of two feet, with a break for an entryway (Davis 1975:298–299)

In its prime the timber-pole house fit tightly against the rear wall, with rock walls snugly flanking it on the sides. The natural rock ceiling afforded protection from snow and rain while the woven branch and pine bough walls deterred the wind and cold. Inside lay a four-by-eight foot bed, outlined with rocks and mattressed with pine boughs and giant wild rye grass. Although archaeologists found no interior fire hearth, the site had been disturbed by relic hunters who may have destroyed the cooking remains. The estimated date for this structure was most likely *circa* AD 1850, but the discovery of a square nail, an unidentifiable metal fragment, and a hammered lead pendant suggest that the cave had also seen human use in the protohistoric period, in the years after AD 1700.

Unfortunately vandals had scattered nearly all the artifacts from the site, but archaeologist Carl Davis tracked many of them down and was able to reconstruct a representative inventory (Davis 1975:301–302) of some thirty small triangular arrow points, a few with side-notches, others with side and base-notches, and a collection of simple triangular points lacking notches. Although its shaft was broken, one of those points was tied by wrapped sinew to an arrow fragment. Other pieces of shaft, smoothed from cottonwood and elm, exhibited narrowed ends and presumably were the main bodies of compound arrows whose points, as described earlier, were attached to hollow reeds and fitted over the narrow tenon. One arrow piece even retained a feather, attached with sinew, about four inches below the nock end, and although it was not identifiable, other bits of feather fletching were identified as blue grouse and sage grouse (Davis 1975:301).

In the assemblage were also chipped stone artifacts for cutting, scraping and drilling. One long and narrow blade, shaped like a willow leaf and measuring 17 cm (6.7 inches) in length by 4 cm (1.6 inches) in width, was a typical Shoshone knife which had been extensively re-sharpened. There were also two bone awls, one made from a splinter of straight bone shaft, the other from the scapulae of an unidentifiable mammal. Under the mattress of rye grass and pine bough matting two beads were recovered, presumably carved from bird bone.

In addition the Wickiup Cave site yielded more than 100 ceramic sherds, only two of which remained for Davis to identify as "undecorated Intermountain," a ware typically associated with Shoshones of Wyoming and Idaho. The relic collectors indicated that they had found them beneath the cave floor, but the disturbance from illegal digging was so great that the exact placement of the pottery in the deposits could not be determined (Davis 1975:301). Since this Intermountain Tradition pottery has recently been recognized as having far greater antiquity than previously believed (Torgler 1995:98), it is possible the ceramics represent a still earlier cultural use of the rockshelter.

From the trapper Alexander Ross there is an early description of the use by "mountain Shos-

hone" of such caves. Describing the different Indians that inhabit the mountainous region surrounding Yellowstone National Park, Ross identifies one group as the Ban-at-tees, or "mountain Snakes" who:

> ...live a predatory and wandering life in the recesses of the mountains, and are found in small bands or single wigwams among the caverns and rocks [Ross 1855:240].

According to Davis, these Ban-at-tees or "mountain Snakes" are thought to be the Sheep Eaters and this reference to their "wigwams among the caverns" suggests houses constructed in caves (Davis 1975). Much like the Big Sheep Creek example, timber lodges constructed within caves may have been a preferred seasonal type of lodging for the Sheep Eaters. Yellowstone National Park Superintendent Norris (1880b:35) mentions Sheep Eater occupation of caves but does not describe houses in them. Hikers and tourists have reportedly stumbled upon similar-sounding structures in Yellowstone National Park (Aubrey Haines interview 3/14/94), but unfortunately none have been recorded. Haines (1977:24) has pointed out that one advantage of pole lodges in caves is that fires built against the back wall of the cave would radiate heat. While this may have been a factor in cold weather, during the warmer months and when they were traveling in areas which lacked these overhangs, Sheep Eaters undoubtedly sought shelter in other types of housing.

3. Cribbed Log Structure. The third type of Sheep Eater shelter is a crib-style timber structure, which was probably once abundant in Yellowstone National Park. Their construction involved stacking horizontal layers of timber, usually deadfall trees, into cribbed layers to a height of five or six feet. Resembling small forts or rudimentary versions of the well-known Navajo corbeled-log roofed house type called a *hogan*, they were built so that each successive course of roof logs was slightly smaller than the one below. Despite their absence of roofs or doors, the examples which Norris (1881b:37) recorded in the park contained evidence of interior fires and split animal bones—strongly attesting to their role as habitations.

Although none of these structures were recorded by park archaeologists, they are well-known from surrounding regions (Johnson et al 1988; Loendorf and Klinner 1995). It is the view of Haines (1977:25) that they were the work of Flathead or other Salish tribesmen, but their distribution does not support this contention, for they are far more common in eastern Montana than in the Salish territory to the west. In the canyons and hideaways of the Pryor Mountains, south of Billings, for instance, they are found more commonly than any other form of timber structure by a ratio of 14 to 1 (Loendorf and Klinner 1995). The same goes for the Bull Mountains, near Roundup, Montana, where we find a ratio of 10 of the cribbed-style to 1 of the conical variety (Johnson et al. 1988:112). Yet, the possibility that this ratio is reversed in the Absaroka Mountains, Little Belt Mountains, and the Snowy Mountains is referred to by Johnson et al. (1988:112–113).

While such a distinct pattern strongly suggests a cultural preference for one variety of dwelling over another, there may be pragmatic considerations. Construction of the conical timbered type requires straight and relatively long poles, for which pine or fir trees are far better suited than juniper. Also, the cribbed style may have been preferable for cold weather while the conical-shaped wickiups seem to have been a more temperate shelter. When compared to the Snowy and Absaroka mountains, the lower elevations of the Pryor Mountains and Bull Mountains may have been more conducive to winter travel and even occupation. Norris himself proposed that the cribbed style was the winter house of choice for Sheep Eaters in Yellowstone National Park because they are found:

> ...in the thickest borders of warm, sheltered valleys, where abundant timber of the decaying wind-falls, in which they are always found, could be liberally used in an inclosure so large as to not take fire, while it was a protection against the cold, even if, without being wholly or in part covered with the skins of animals [Norris 1881a:37].

Because sizeable numbers of both conical wickiups and crib style housetypes are reported for Yellowstone National Park, Norris' explanation seems most reasonable. To summarize, we

do have a speculative picture of Sheep Eater architecture, in which *(a)* the wickiup structures, such as those formerly standing on the divide between Miller Creek and Hoodoo Creek, were most likely used in summertime, while *(b)* the rockshelters featuring their leaning pole structures were probably candidates for high elevation winter use, and *(c)* the cribbed style of shelter would most likely have been built and used in the lower valleys during the colder months.

Sheep Eater Social and Political Life

How did the Sheep Eaters organize their interpersonal existence? How did they govern themselves; how did they reach decisions concerning when and where to hunt; did they have leaders and how did they select them; how did they choose their husbands and wives; how did they resolve quarrels among themselves; how did they relate to outsiders? And how can we possibly answer any of these questions?

The difficulties of making the circumstantial case we have attempted in the foregoing reconstruction of the technological achievements and food-gathering strategies of Sheep Eaters are only compounded when we try to submit some picture of their nonmaterial beliefs and practices. There is no getting around the fact that we have very few recorded accounts revealing their social structure and political organization. Even after his interviews with elder Sheep Eaters in the late 1940s and 50s, Åke Hultkrantz lamented the fact that he still had few facts regarding Sheep Eater sociopolitical customs. To fill the gap he believed it was necessary to extrapolate from information obtained from neighboring Plains Shoshone (Hultkrantz n.d. I:59). In the following discussion, we have added to his information from the writings of Robert Lowie (1909, 1924); Julian Steward (1938, 1970), Demitri Shimkin (1947a, 1947b) and Carling Malouf (1966), with supporting material from trappers' and explorers' journals. But in most cases we have had to reconstruct sociopolitical patterns through materials obtained from other Shoshone groups, an extrapolation which may not be as risky as one might believe, for as Julian Steward reminds us:

> A very fundamental feature of Basin-Plateau society is the remarkable absence of any traditional institutions other than the nuclear families. There were no men's initiations or secret societies, no marriage-regulating clans, moieties, segments or lineages, no age grade or women's societies, and no ceremonials, recreational activities, or warfare that united all members of what were later called "bands" [Steward 1970:115].

Steward's negative checklist is probably of considerable relevance to the sociopolitical organization of those close cousins to the Basin-Plateau Shoshoneans with whom we are concerned, the Sheep Eaters. Certainly the most applicable feature of his characterization is the fact that Sheep Eater society was also founded upon the native nuclear family—father, mother, a grandparent or two and immediate offspring. Two or three of these related families might join together for weeks at a time during their annual food pursuits, and even more might convene for their periodic use of large sheep traps. But generally these groups did not rely upon help from secondary sources, except when a lone shaman or medicine man was needed in the event of illness or stress.

In the day-to-day activities of any Sheep Eater encampment, the clearest social distinction visible to any outsider would have been the sexual division of labor. Men hunted and fished, women gathered tubers, seeds and berries. Since plants were a significant part of Shoshone diet in the Great Basin, it was women who supplied as much as 75 percent of their food supply. But in the higher elevations, where sheep and fish were so abundant, this ratio dropped to about equal time devoted to meat and fish, on the one hand, and to plant-foraging on the other. Yet this does not mean that men and women put the same amount of energy into camp tasks, for women completed additional chores such as preparing meals, working hides, drying fish and gathering wood in addition to their responsibility as primary caretakers of children. Men certainly had their gender-specific jobs, including the procurement of suitable stone and steatite, manufacturing finished tools from them, and crafting the specialized items such as

horn bows. So even though most anthropologists might classify Sheep Eater society as "egalitarian" and lacking in class distinctions, in the final analysis the lioness's share of daily tasks probably fell to the women.

Lamentably, we know next to nothing about the inner, psychological and emotional aspects of Sheep Eater life. None of the ethnographers who were in a position to elicit a Sheep Eater "life history" ever did so, and as we have explained in the introduction, the purported Sheep Eater "marriage ceremony" in the Allen book is patently absurd (Allen 1913:62–71). More likely, as judged by Hultkrantz, any marriage was sealed without a great ceremony. And based upon Shoshonean customs in the Great Basin and the Plains, we might suspect that there was not even gift exchange to publicly formalize the union, although a young man who was considered a good hunter and provider would certainly be highly valued by his new in-laws.

While the family unit was almost certainly the building block of Sheep Eater society, it was commonly augmented by a larger, loosely-knit amalgam of families. To characterize this working cluster anthropologist Carling Malouf coined the useful term *kin and clique* (Malouf 1966:4–5). By this he connoted the primary subsistence, social and political unit of the Great Basin Shoshone, which were composed of nuclear families who were linked by various combinations of blood relatives, in-laws and friends. In Malouf's concept, these *kin and clique* groups varied so greatly in size and composition from year to year that it is difficult to give them any firmer definition:

> There were no social compulsions which gave the *kin and clique* a permanent identity. Friends, especially, were apt to change their affiliations for practical or emotional reasons. A quarrel or the prospects of a more favorite food quest in another area might entice some of the group away [Malouf 1966:4].

Not until the introduction of horses did the Shoshone transform some of these socially-fluid and highly-mobile *kin and clique* units into more permanent organized hunting bands (Steward 1970:114–116). Originally Julian Steward (1938) assigned many northern Shoshone groups under the political designation of "bands," but after more comparative research was available on hunters and gatherers throughout North America and the world he changed his mind and suggested that bands were so variable that his own term had lost much of its definitional value (Steward 1970:115). This debate about "bands" aside, the Sheep Eaters, who never possessed horses, do not appear to have felt the practical, diplomatic or social need to organize themselves beyond the level of something like a *kin and clique*.

As far as selecting leaders was concerned, it was probably repeatedly successful hunters, or charismatic individuals who got along with everybody—or were able to intimidate them—who initiated decisions regarding the movement of Sheep Eater camps. While these leaders were often as not males, the women undoubtedly played a significant role in scheduling and guiding the foraging parties in their search for vital plant staples like camas and biscuitroot. At all times, we can guess that consensus was a desired ideal. Malouf offers this description of the inner workings of a *kin and clique*:

> Politically *the kin and clique* group was basically democratic. An informal council of adults made the decisions. Men of good reputation for knowledge or strength, or persons with potent shamanistic powers were consulted or even asked to lead a temporary drive, a gathering venture, or a ceremony, but there office was not permanent. Some older persons were regarded as important to the *kin and clique* because of their knowledge of places where plant and animal foods could be found, but they never held a place of prestige [Malouf 1966:4].

Basing our assumption upon the practices of generally equivalent Great Basin groups, we suspect that any quarrels between individuals outside the nuclear family were easily adjudicated, since the disputing party simply moved apart to align with another *kin and clique*. But arguments within the immediate family were probably not so easily resolved. Separation was an option and certainly after children reached an age where they could travel on their own they were free to join relatives elsewhere.

We recall that the Sheep Eaters encountered by Osborne Russell in Yellowstone National Park in July of 1835 included six men, seven women, and eight or ten children (Haines 1965:26). This would have been a plausible size for a *kin and clique* in midsummer, when there was no reason to have extra hands for hunting or processing meat. At least three or four of the men and women were probably married, and one or two of the men may have had more than one wife. Again relying on the Shimkin research among Plains Shoshone, the other adults in the group possibly included an aged female relative or a divorced woman who was cared for by the group, and two or three unmarried but related males. Of course it is also quite likely that the group visiting Russell included more than a single family, converging for this special occasion out of a sense of curiosity and the opportunity to trade with the trappers.

In contrast to the smaller band met by Russell, a large gathering of sixty Sheep Eaters feasted and traded with a party of trappers in 1866 near the head of the Greybull River, "Squaws, dogs, papooses and all. they was all loaded down with skins and furs, besides a large Jackass loaded down to the guards and the only animal these beings possessed" (Henderson 1866:20). Their size suggests that this meeting occurred around the time of a communal hunting episode, perhaps just as the Sheep Eaters were emerging from the moun-

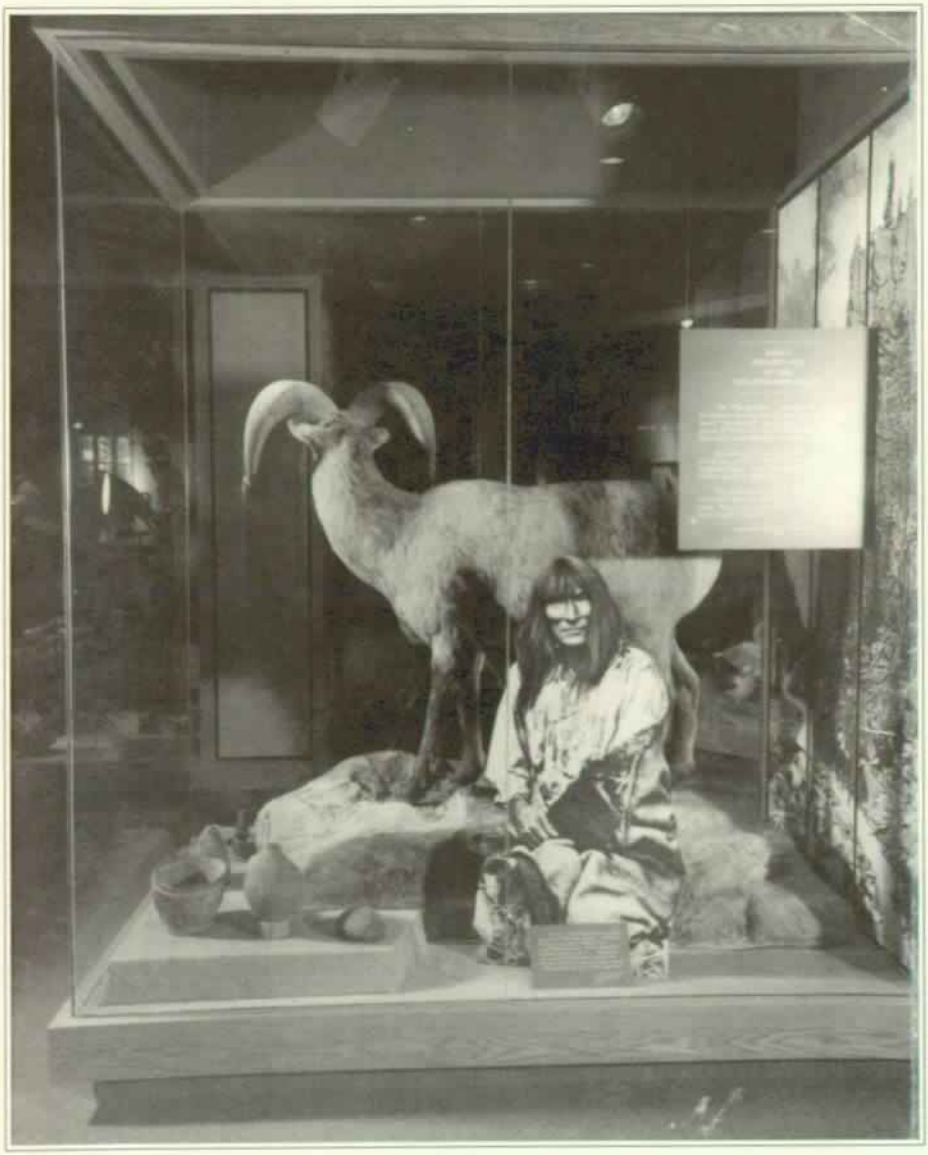


Figure 3.12. Which Sheep Eaters are they? Exhibit on Yellowstone Park's Sheep Eaters in Albright Visitor Center, employing cutout photo from Shoshone-Bannocks taken by William Henry Jackson along Idaho's Medicine Lodge Creek, more than one hundred miles to the southwest of West Yellowstone in 1871 (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #YELL34259).

tains for trading or hunting. The fact that Henderson's description took place thirty-six years after the Russell encounter may also signify some acculturation that led to a change in group dynamics and practices, underscored by mention of the "Jackass" or mule. Still and all, the picture of such a large *kin and clique* group laden with furs to trade suggests they were successfully inhabiting their mountain homes.

Descriptions of trading between Sheep Eaters and trappers can also offer oblique insights into social customs. In these dealings, according to Russell, the Indians simply threw their tanned hides and skins on the ground, as if ready to accept whatever the trappers thought was a fair price. From their exchange with Henderson somewhat later we get the more explicit impression of innocent Sheep Eaters ripe for the picking. To better understand the Indians' negotiating posture, however, we should probably explore such economic transactions from the native viewpoint. Probably their asking for a "fair price" was an overture to what is identified by economic anthropologists as a form of "balanced [if delayed] reciprocity," in which parties to such a transaction are expected to honor debts at a later date. As we might easily understand from the combinations of people in their *kin and clique* relationships, in Sheep Eater reckoning such a debt would be honored in a time of need. In more direct language, when a Sheep Eater tossed his tanned skins on the ground and the trader returned items deemed of lesser value, it meant that when his family found themselves without food in the next year, he could then rely upon the trader, the person he still had in his debt. Trade to a Sheep Eater was probably never a quick and fast "done deal;" instead, as a more drawn-out engagement between parties, it thus created important social and political bonds. Trading times were an opportunity for all kinds of social business to take place, a time for meeting new people, and even when cross-cultural engagements might be intimidating to the individuals involved, trade offered a mutual language for human interaction, an opportunity for exchange of news and input of fresh ideas.

In this regard it is important to recognize that the Sheep Eaters were historically noted for their trade engagements. Trade to the east was with the Plains Shoshone while to the west it was with other Shoshone and the Nez Perce and Flathead. Horn bows, obsidian preforms, tailored clothing, and sheep and elk hides were the most common items that Sheep Eaters brought to a trading rendezvous, while they sought marine shells, bison robes, salt, seeds, roots, salmon and dried crickets (Shimkin 1947a:269–270; Steward 1938:203; Lowie 1909:191; Dominick 1964:155). Although the Sheep Eaters did not trade for horses, the value of various items was usually reckoned in horses, and in the mid 1800s, Lowie (1909:191) tells us, the 10 sheep skins or two bearskins were worth one horse, while Jack Contor learned that a sheep horn bow was worth five to ten horses (Dominick 1964:156). Foremost among the park's trade commodities, of course, was obsidian, the use and importance of which has already been discussed.

Sheep Eater World-View and Religion

Most of the earlier 20th century scholars who conducted ethnographic fieldwork among the host reservations where remnants of the park-dwelling Sheep Eaters found refuge did not make an effort to elicit whatever diagnostic data might set them apart from the Wind River or the Lemhi Shoshones. Thanks to the notable exception of the historian of religion, Åke Hultkrantz, however, we have a little better handle on the conceptual life of these "elusive" mountain people than we do of their socio-political organization. But in striving to sort out what made the Sheep Eater cultural inheritance unique, Hultkrantz had to peer through "the common religions pattern on the [Wind River] reservation" (Hultkrantz n.d. II:9).

During his fieldwork in the 1940s and 50s, Hultkrantz tried to locate every elder of Sheep Eater ancestry he could find. But he also talked with the knowledgeable, conservative Shoshone medicine people whose houses clustered around the Sage Creek corner of the Wind River Reservation as he sought to construct "a theoretical pattern, a structure in which the fragmentary facts [of Sheep Eater beliefs] find their natural place" (Hultkrantz n.d. II:9). For Hultkrantz, a fundamental dimension of such a pattern was "ecology," a

concept whose influence he explained at the outset of his unpublished manuscript on Sheep Eater lifeways and religion:

> There are three steps in the ecologist's investigation. First, he analyzes the interrelationship of exploitative or productive technology and environment. Second, he investigates the behavior patterns associated with this technology. Third, he tries to find out to what extent these behavior patterns affect other aspects of culture, such as society and religion.
>
> The religio-ecological approach proceeds from these premises [Hultkrantz n.d. II:14].

This quote also helps to clarify the conceptual framework that organizes many of his following glimpses into the Sheep Eater belief system. Although Hultkrantz' data may be skewed in favor of this outlook, his fieldwork, scattered throughout his publications and an unpublished and unedited notebook manuscript [referred to as Hultkrantz n.d.II], remains the best we have on this topic.

1. World View, Cosmology and Sacred Geography. In his unpublished notes on Sheep Eater religion, Hultkrantz opened with a sketch of their world-view and its basic principles. First was the important clarification that while the Sheep Eaters lived in both the supernatural and natural worlds:

> A conscious distinction between them was never made, at least not verbally. Some of the phenomena of the supernatural world belonged to the diffuse upper part of the world, the sky; or they were just as distant by belonging to the remote past, the days of Coyote and his associates, or they represented a different existence, the afterlife [Hultkrantz n.d. II:22].

A trinity of sorts occupied the highest, most generalized tier of Sheep Eater cosmology. All of Hultkrantz' Sheep Eater consultants were unanimous in their conviction that *Tam Apo*, or "our father," was a pre-Christian concept. But the Sun also figured in a supreme position. As to the relationship between them, one of his informants tried to explain:

> We pray to Our Father, not to the Sun, although we direct the prayers to the Sun. We thank the Father for our lives, and for the fact that the sun shines over us. We do not pray every day facing the Sun, only at certain occasions, for instance, at the Sun Dance. Memories from the past indicated that we have never prayed to any other being than the Father above (*tam pa ant*) and the Sun. The father has created the Sun; Sun is a superior being, therefore we pray both to the Sun and to the Father [Hultkrantz n.d. II:60].

In his commentary on these remarks, Hultkrantz said that what at first seems contradictory can be explained by the fact that when Sheep Eaters prayed they often actually faced the Sun, which was at once the symbol for our Father (also called *oyo k tam nuywonaip*, or "all us people he made") and was "a divine being in its own right" (Hultkrantz n.d. II:60). At the same time, some of his Indian friends also cited the importance of the third semi-divine character, Coyote, or *tzi isapo*. Although they admitted that he had assisted Our Father in creating life on earth, one Sheep Eater woman added, "Coyote is a treacherous animal, he even tried to copulate with his mother and his daughter" (Hultkrantz n.d. II:63). Thus we have Coyote appearing here in Sheep Eater conceptions in his time-honored, cross-tribal multifaceted role as creator and transformer as well as transgressor (See Bright 1993 for a full treatment of Coyote's multiple personalities).

But most of the other spirits known to the Sheep Eaters were more down-to-earth entities, who constantly interfered or assisted with their hopes and dreams. In the religious consciousness of the Sheep Eaters Hultkrantz saw some distinctions. There were the beings associated with the "diffuse" and "superior" supernatural world whom they invoked in times of peril or during story-telling or in meditation. Then there was an "inferior" domain of spirits, closer at hand, a possible source of supernatural assistance or of immediate danger, and yet somewhat more susceptible to human supplication and manipulation.

According to Hultkrantz, the "scene of the interaction" between Sheep Eaters and their spirits was the "*wooded mountain areas of the Yel-*

lowstone Park, the Absarokas, the Wind River Mountains and, possibly, the Big Horn Mountains" (Hultkrantz n.d. II:22, emphasis ours). This was the landscape which, to the medicine men with whom Hultkrantz interacted, was "by definition the home country of the spirits" (Hultkrantz n.d. II:22). Of all the guardian spirits available to human beings, they said, the power (*pukka* or *puha*) known specifically as "mountain-medicine" (*toyawo*) was the strongest and most dangerous, and a Sun Dance leader, his closest Wind River Shoshone consultant, added:

> The fellow who wants it has to bathe, paint himself, make cedar smoke, smoke tobacco and pray. He may pray in any language, like *pukka* understands all kinds of languages. He must be alone, he is without the help of the medicine-man. Now, *pukka* has drawn its signs on the rocks, and in tall trees—you can see them drawn in the bark high up on the trees of the mountain areas. There are many rock-drawings in the mountains round about [the Wind River Valley] where you can seek *pukka*. One place is just under the Teton peak, another north of the hot springs in Yellowstone Park, close to the boundary line to Montana [Hultkrantz n.d. II:23].

Some of Hultkrantz' Sheep Eater informants refined this notion by saying that the spirits withdrew into the mountains during the summer but returned to the rock drawings in lower altitudes in September, when the weather turned cold (Hultkrantz n.d. II:46). In a sense, then, the movements of spirits paralleled those of the Sheep Eaters, many of whom passed their summers in the mountains and spent much of the rest of the year in the Wind River country. Hultkrantz explained this "spirit nomadism" by recalling that, in older days, summer was the only proper time for receiving the power-visions at the rock drawings, through the practice known as *puhawilo*, or "sleeping at medicine-rock" (Hultkrantz n.d. II:23, 46, 49, 50). Because the rock drawings are all at lower elevations, this suggests that late summer, the *yuvat mua* or elk breeding month of late September and October, would have been a prime time for the vision-seeking ritual.

Hultkrantz was also told that it was actually *within* the mountains that the spirits lived. One Sheep Eater claimed to have entered a peak behind Bull Lake (known to the Wind River Shoshone as "water buffalo lake" and a special haunt of water spirits, whose buffalo-like sounds can be heard in the spring when the ice cracks [Hultkrantz, in Earhart 1993:293]) which is located in the northern Wind River Mountains. The spirits had invited him there to play the hand game with them (Hultkrantz n.d. II:23–24). When Hultkrantz wanted to know if the Sheep Eaters considered their hunting grounds "sacred," he could find no satisfactory equivalent in the Shoshonean vocabulary. Their closest term was *igaunt*, which meant "full of wonder," and referred less to the sanctity of place than to the efficacy of supernatural powers who lived there (Hultkrantz n.d. II:25).

Rock-drawing places were definitely *igaunt*, in part because they were considered evidence of the work of sacred lightning, or *eygagu ce*, "red light." Hultkrantz was able to visit such places throughout Sheep Eater territory—at Dinwoody Lake, different points along the North Fork of the Popo Agie River, "Washakie's meadows" west of Fort Washakie, the South Fork Canyon of the Little Wind River, the Sage Creek foothills and Medicine Butte, sites in the Owl Creek Mountains, on the slopes of the Absarokas and in the Tetons.

2. Souls, Spiritual Guardians and Spirits. Hultkrantz's inquiries also delved into the uncharted terrain of Sheep Eater ontology. He learned that each Sheep Eater possessed at least three types of "soul." First was the *suap*, or "ego-soul," which was embodied by one's breath. Second, they also had a closely related "free-soul," or *navushieip*, the soul which might abandon the body during dreams, trances and comas. During a particularly powerful dream of this kind, known as *puhanavuzieip*, one also might be receptive to the appearance of a guardian spirit who would remain an ally throughout one's life. Thirdly there was the "body-soul," or *mugua*, which activated the body during one's waking hours. Hultkrantz's Sheep Eater informants likened this third soul to a thin but strong thread, and one said it was situated "between the eyebrows. Breath is a part of *mugua*. The heart keeps you alive; it stops, *mugua* leaves the body [through the top of the head], only skin and bones remain" (Hultkrantz n.d. II:35).

Even though Hultkrantz found it more difficult to obtain stories of Sheep Eater vision quests than he had among the Wind River Shoshone, "the tradition of vision quest" among them was still alive, although it was hard to find out about them "perhaps because some would-be medicine men secretly practice spirit seeking, perhaps because medicine-men have done so in recent times" (Hultkrantz n.d. II:50). Their visions might earn men the power of invulnerability; such was the consequence of a power-dream which was received by a Sheep Eater in which he shot at three bears in his dream, only to have the bullets twist like mud clots in their fur. Thereafter he believed he had acquired that power of self-protection as well.

Sheep Eaters sought their visions through a process which was not radically different from their Plains and eastern Basin-Plateau neighbors. According to Hultkrantz, the pattern went as follows:

> There is the frightening trial, the manifestation of the spirits who tends to change forms—now a man, now an animal -, the imparting of supernatural power, the conditions for the ownership of this power, and the regulations concerning ritual paraphernalia [Hultkrantz n.d. II:51].

The category of spirits which might become allied to Sheep Eaters through such life-changing experiences were what Hultkrantz called "particular nature types, such as the water spirits." Lakes, rivers, springs and thermal pools were all potential locations for this group of spirits who possessed great supernatural power, with which the Sheep Eaters sometimes transacted for good or ill. Hultkrantz took pains to distinguish these spirits from the spirits which are "associated with the dangerous places—mountains tops, geysers," supernatural beings that he believed usually played little role as guardian spirits. Although under extraordinary circumstances, it appears some of the following generally malevolent beings might be associated with an especially powerful medicine man.

1. *pa:unha*—these were evil "children of the water," or "water babies," who lived in creeks, rivers and lakes.
2. *pandzoavits*—these were large, tough-skinned "water ghosts," ogres who occupied lakes and hot springs and drowned people so as to eat them.
3 *pa:waip*—a female "water ghost" whose special prey were men.
4. *tundzoavits*—this "rocky-skinned ghost" also belonged to the "water" spectre category; his body was made of stone with the exception of soft face and hands.
5. *tundzoavaip*—the "stone ghost woman," female counterpart of the above, who had a reputation for snatching babies.

Another group of supernaturals were the mischievous or evil spirits who hovered around human habitations. However Hultkrantz confessed that he often found it difficult to clearly differentiate between what he called the 1) "pedagogic ficts," or frightening spirits that figured in stories told children so as to make them behave; the 2) "true spirits" which haunted and even hurt adults; and the 3) "ghost" spirits of the living dead. The

Figure 3.13. Rock art image identified as Shoshonean spirit known as Water Ghost Woman (Drawing by Linda A. Olson).

following is a partial list of the second group of "true spirits" whom Sheep Eaters identified for Hultkrantz:

1. *wokaimumbic*—a giant, cannibalistic owl. It talks and behaves like a human being, but resembles an enormous butterfly. It grabs children, flies away with them, and then eats them.

2. *toxabit narukumb*—an evil spirit of the night, who may have been identical to the owl, and whose shrieking sounds, "tchi-tchi-tchi-tchi," terrify people.

3. *nimrika*—dangerous ogre-like spirits who are often difficult to distinguish from human beings, except that they eat human flesh and live in old-style brush houses. Unlike the fearsome owls, they can bestow power on humans.

4. *ninimbi*—spiritually powerful, usually invisible "little people" who are often associated with the Sheep Eater homelands in the mountains. Prominent in Sheep Eater religious thought, humans can help them and vice-versa.

Lastly, there was that third group of spirits, the ubiquitous *dzoap*, or "living ghosts," who might brush up against the living without warning. As one of Hultkrantz' Sheep Eaters informants recalled such an encounter:

> I have heard that almost every day the spirits of the dead are around us. The ghosts who walk round appear as whirlwinds. Not long ago I and some other women met a whirlwind, and one of these women got angry and threw a slur towards it. The whirlwind turned and went against her, destroyed her tent into pieces and broke her leg. That was three years ago [1945]. That woman is still alive [Hultkrantz n.d. II:57].

3. Individual Curing and Group Ceremonies. The oldest and most common form of interaction between Sheep Eaters and their supernatural realm may have been more individual than collective. The mediator of this relationship was generally a medicine-man, or *puhagant*, who was known to have a powerful *puha* (or *pukka*), and who used that dream-derived power to heal or harm. Possessing a lesser power might grant one a "gift," such as the ability to outrun deer, but it did not qualify one as a medicine-man who could effect a cure or have an impact upon the natural world. That required the level of power you only received in a power-dream.

There were two primary techniques by which Sheep Eater healers cured an illness. If they determined that someone was sick because their soul had fled, the medicine-man put himself into a trance to search for the "fugitive soul," hopefully restoring it to the body and their patient to health. But if the ailment was revealed as coming from an object having been "shot" or inserted into the patient's body through witchcraft or a malicious spirit, then the medicine man's job was to suck or blow out the infecting object. But some Sheep Eater medicine-men possessed other specialized powers as well—to charm game, cause storms, induce rain and so forth. Unfortunately, the few purported examples of Sheep Eater oral tradition that might tell us more about their supernatural practices appear to be unauthentic (Allen 1913), and little has come down to us regarding the careers of their medicine men.

When it came to discussing any collective rituals of the Sheep Eaters Hultkrantz admitted he was dealing with "very brittle" documentation. Relying on comparative material from neighboring Shoshone groups, Hultkrantz pieced together a case for the so-called Father dance as having been their one-time annual ceremony. This appears to have been an older form of the "round dance" known in Shoshone as *naraya ndo narayar*, literally "shuffling sideways," and which Shimkin identified as one of the special dances of the mountain Sheep Eaters (Shimkin 1937). And that suggests that Sheep Eaters, whose descendants acted as consultants for both Shimkin and ethnomusicologist Judith Vander, were in part, at least, responsible for the *Naraya*, also referred to as the later Ghost Dance, the Shoshonean rendition of the revitalization movement whose intense focus was to reverse the order of the world in the Indians' favor once again. As late as 1927, Yellowstone National Park officials conveyed the

U.S. government's general attitude towards this ritual: "The Ghost Dance is more recent [than the Sun Dance] and far more dangerous from a disciplinarian point of view" (Phillips 1927:35). Yet despite this negative attitude, the Shoshones managed to retain the song literature from their unique, Great Basin form of Ghost Dance (as differentiated from the Plains form) on the Wind River Reservation into the mid-20th century (for exhaustive analysis on this Shoshonean Ghost Dance and its Great Basin origins, see Vander 1997).

The Wind River Shoshone told Hultkrantz that the oldtime "round dance" existed "way back when Coyote was ruling the world." But the older form of the round dance was known as *apo noka*, or the "Father Dance." During his early fieldwork on the Wind River Reservation in 1912, the name of "Father Dance" was explained to Robert Lowie. As ethnomusicologist Judith Vander (1997) has pointed out, Lowie's comment indicates a close relationship between the Father Dance and the Naraya as well as the almost multiple-personality relationship between Coyote as Creator and Father:

> After the Father (*a'po*) had created the world, there was a man with his wife and two children. Coyote came along and said, "I am your father and made all these hills and trees. Now I will give you this *a'po noqa*." [*a'po*, father; *noqa*, dance] So he taught them the *na'roya* dance. Coyote was merely fooling the people [Lowie 1915:817].

From Hultkrantz's description this ceremony sounds like a grander version of the category of foragers' celebration which anthropologists sometimes call a First Fruits ritual, the expression of collective gratitude for the seasonal availability of a primary, natural food source. Directed by a shaman, the Shoshone of Grouse Creek in Utah staged such a thanksgiving dance when the first pine nuts were ready for picking. They then thanked *apo*, the Father, setting aside some pine-nut mush for him. According to Shimkin, it took place at night in fall, winter and spring, and both men and women joined in as sacred songs were sung (Shimkin 1986:325).

After the introduction of the Sun Dance from the Comanche—also known as "Standing Alone in Thirst"—this earlier round dance appears to have been demoted in importance for most Plains Shoshoneans. As the Sheep Eaters drew closer for comfort and protection to their lowland cousins, Hultkrantz speculated that their version of this annual thanksgiving ritual was gradually replaced by first the Shoshone-style Sun Dance and then subsequently by the Ghost Dance. According to one of Hultkrantz's female Sheep Eater consultants, the Sheep Eaters staged their first Sun Dance with the Bannock in the Jackson Hole country sometime before 1896 (where they also remembered the Plains Shoshone holding theirs—Hultkrantz 1956:187). They emphasized that the ceremony was held in the mountains, and that they sang the same songs as were heard at regular Shoshone Sun Dances.

Interestingly, however, in retrospect the Sheep Eater consultants who talked with Hultkrantz claimed an independent origin for their own particular Sun Dance. The rite seems to have first gained currency in Sheep Eater culture after the turn of the 19th century. As one Sheep Eater descendant told Hultkrantz:

> According to what we have learnt from the old timers we did not get the Sun Dance from any other tribe. It happened this way. Many years ago there appeared a Shoshoni warrior. He had left his people [for some time]. During the night he rested on a hill, and the Father appeared to him in a vision and instructed him to go back to his people and to build a round enclosure [i.e., the Sun Dance lodge]. He should tell the people to go there, to dance and to pray. Those who believed in the Dance would be cured from diseases [Hultkrantz n.d. II:76].

In this chapter we have attempted to interweave direct, indirect and circumstantial information on the life-ways of the Sheep Eaters. But the foregoing profile must be regarded as only an unfinished, interim contextualization of their cultural world. We earnestly hope that one result of this report will be a revived effort to search out

more data and sources on these high-altitude dwellers, to produce more imaginative ways to compile and cross-reference the available information, and to keep improving our knowledge of the sole Indian group who are generally acknowledged, even by park officials, to have been "the only permanent residents of the Park" (Phillips 1927:38).

We recognize that this overview has committed two already criticized sins of representation where Indians are concerned. First, we have been obliged to take a largely ahistorical "snapshot" of Sheep Eater life, casting them in a timeless amber. Second, since we have no full-bodied ethnographies or life histories of Sheep Eater life in the mountains, to some degree we have adopted a "trait list" approach to diagnostic aspects of their largely material cultural life. We hope the new, unpublished material from Hultkrantz on religion and world-view, almost certainly the last of its kind, has offset our inevitable reliance on this cultural inventory. By picking up the Sheep Eater chronicle in a more historical context in Chapter 5 we will add the dimensions of social and political change to their story.

CHAPTER 4

VISITORS ON THE WEST: SHOSHONE, BANNOCK AND NEZ PERCE

These final two chapters cover other branches from the Shoshonean Indian family tree. Abutting the Yellowstone Plateau on the west, in present-day Idaho lived semi-nomadic bands of Northern Shoshoneans. Their modern representatives, along with the Bannock tribe and Sheep Eater descendants from the Snake River region, dwell today on the 544,000-acre Fort Hall Indian reservation about a hundred miles southwest of the park's West Entrance. This chapter focuses on them. Along the southeastern flank of the plateau, in today's western Wyoming, lived other groups known as Eastern Shoshone, who were consolidated along with Sheep Eater remnants within the Wind River Reservation. They are featured in the next chapter.

Reconstructing the interconnected culture-histories of these groups has taxed the ethnohistorical skills of notable scholars: Demitri Shimkin, Julian H. Steward, Omer C. Stewart, Sven Liljeblad, Åke Hultkrantz and Deward E.

Figure 4.1. Northern Shoshone and Bannock at opening of the West Entrance (Courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives 1925, Catalog #YELL 372450).

Walker Jr., among others. As they learned the hard way, anyone tracing the range of Shoshonean socio-political worlds and their micro-adaptations to different habitats should always clarify *where* and *when* any cultural or historical description is situated. We must pose the *where* question because a prime feature of the fluid, mobile, small-scale nature of their pre-horse way of life was its adaptability to its natural surroundings. For any given native group, the habitat for a primary food source—seeds, fish or small mammals, etc.—could determine the relative size of a band, their migratory patterns and their tool inventory. Being so responsive to their environment, it is not surprising to learn of their custom of naming groups by their dominant food supply, as already mentioned (Walker 1993b:141). At first the list of food-named groups or "hunting districts" by which these Shoshoneans are distinguished—Jack Rabbit Eaters, Salmon Eaters, Ground Hog Eaters, Yampa Eaters and the like—sounds suspiciously like a non-Indian's shorthand for identifying a bewildering medley of local Indians. But apparently this pattern was an indigenous tradition, since when the Shoshones first encountered the Peyote religion, for instance, they dubbed it *Wogwedika*, or "Peyote Eaters," and when the ritual fell under defamation as being a drug cult, they upgraded the name to *Natsundika*, or "Medicine Eaters" (Vander 1986:68).

The *where* question is bound up with the *when* question. After the adoption of horses in the late 1700s the socio-political constitution of these eastern Great Basin and southern Plateau Indians underwent dramatic revision. Once groups of Northern and Eastern Shoshoneans were no longer on foot, their lifestyle grew similar to that of Plains Indians like the Crow and Cheyenne in northeastern Wyoming's Bighorn mountain country. Yet some of their Shoshonean cousins in south-central Idaho, northern Utah and eastern Oregon continued to subsist on rabbit-hunting, fishing and gathering seeds, nuts, roots and berries. According to Omer C. Stewart, the liberation from having one's survival constrained by local food supplies, plus the sudden access to war booty and surplus game, produced new class, age and even personality divisions within the Northern Shoshone world—as highly intelligent or charismatic leaders acsended into chiefly prominence (Stewart 1965:4). Some fringe bands or elderly people may have stuck with seed-and-root gathering and hunting for smaller, burrowing mammals. But the majority now reveled in their new equestrian lifestyle. To complicate this picture, other Shoshoneans developed what might be termed "seasonal identities," alternating at different times of year between the buffalo-hunting and ground-foraging ways of life. All this dynamic, rapid change testifies to the urgency of answering the *when* question whenever scrutinizing data on these peoples, since their behaviors and appearances might differ considerably, even from one decade to the next.

While this chapter deals with Shoshoneans who pressed upon Yellowstone National Park from the west, we must also include the Bannock, an offshoot of the Northern Paiute world who hailed from the Snake River and Blue Mountain area in eastern Oregon and whose fortunes joined forces with these northern Shoshones from the early 1700s onward. Due to unusual historical factors, this chapter covers a Columbia River Indian people as well, the Sahaptian-speaking Nez Perce. Although the Yellowstone Plateau lay somewhat beyond their cultural hearth, Nez Perce hunters and raiders freely criss-crossed the region in the early days. But a key phase of the tribe's dramatic bid for freedom, which transpired in Yellowstone National Park only five years after its establishment, would make an indelible stamp upon the park's relations with Indians down to the present day.

Trails into Yellowstone National Park from the West

From the rim of the Yellowstone caldera you gaze west across the grey-green tree cover of the geologically younger Madison Plateau and notice how the gradually-sloping country grows progressively drier—down to an average rainfall of under fifteen inches a year. And descending from the western side of the Yellowstone Plateau you cannot miss the emerging features of the Columbia Plateau physiographic province. Stands of lodgepole pine give way to forests of fir and wind-beaten

aspens, which in turn are replaced by stunted juniper before leveling out into low brush and spotty grasslands. Away from the river valleys, the broken landscape can appear quite inhospitable, with erodible slopes and an extremely rocky surface especially where the Snake River courses deeply through the broken-up lavabeds as it heads for the Columbia River.

At one time the carpet of grasses were thick here and supported the migrating buffalo that grazed up the Lemhi Valley and upper Snake River region, and which were pursued by Indians all the way into present-day Montana until the mid-19th century. But today sagebrush has come to dominate the landscape. Yet this is a also a region whose valleys then and now supported a host of edible roots. As one moves northward from the Great Basin pinyon-nut region and into the Columbia Plateau proper, the primary native food supply was the all-important camas, along with other tubers which provided sustenance for most of these western peoples, as will be described in the following chapter.

Even before entering the Madison River Valley that provides a principle westerly portal into Yellowstone National Park, one has traversed Indian-occupied country of considerable antiquity. In recent years the windswept, arid flats of southeastern Idaho are revealing evidence of dense native occupation over a considerable time-depth. Within the sprawling lava plateau are such recently discovered sites as Scaredy Cat Cave, which, it is hypothesized, was utilized by early Shoshoneans or their forbears as a meat locker for possibly 4,000 years. In this dark cool natural chamber, located only about 150 miles southwest of the park's West Entrance, Bureau of Land Management archaeologists have turned up old picks made from elk antlers which may have been used to dislodge the stored bison meat from the ice, decaying remains of sagebrush stalks which probably helped to insulate the food stores, and fragments of woven baskets and broken stone pestles (Twin Falls, Idaho: *The Times-News*, Sunday, September 15, 1996, p.1).

About fifty miles closer to West Yellowstone and more directly on the Snake River corridor that led many Shoshoneans to the Yellowstone is the region's archaeological counterpart to the spectacular Mummy Cave site, just east of the park. As already described in the last chapter, we are speaking here of the Wahmuza site, one of a cluster of early Numic sites that archaeologist Richard Holmer has been investigating since the 1980s in the bottomlands near today's Fort Hall Indian Reservation. The great time-depth of the site which Holmer named Wahmuza—from the Shoshone word for "Cedar Point"—made it promise a similar sort of long-term record of material culture change among Yellowstone National Park-connected Indians to the west that Mummy Cave had revealed for the east (Holmer 1990).

But the reconstruction of eastern Great Basin precontact history is by no means complete. It will be some time before we can synthesize a full picture of aboriginal movements along the western boundary of Yellowstone National Park. To glimpse those movements today we may be on firmer ground if we follow the tracks left by historical Indians, always keeping an eye open for signs that they, too, might have been traveling in the paths of their own or other ancestors. All around the park, as already observed in earlier chapters, were old trails that led Indians to various, familiar locations within, through and around the park. Hints of the presence of such well-worn pathways come from the faint remains of what appear to be trail cairns or rock piles (Chittenden 1964:14) which may have guided travelers along the way. Blaze marks on trees probably prevented early Indian wayfarers from making disastrous wrong turns in the road. The comments of early trappers and explorers frequently refer to this or that "old Indian trail" they ran across; Chittenden's early history of the park is replete with such comments, such as the important trail "in the vicinity of Conant Creek leading from the Upper Snake Valley to that of Henry Fork" (Chittenden 1964:12). While "Beaver Dick" Leigh apparently named the creek for a white man who almost died there (Urbanek 1988:43), it was familiar enough to the mixed-blood Indian boys who accompanied Ferdinand V. Hayden's 1872 trip into Yellowstone that they were able to provide Sidford Hamp with its (untranslated) Indian name: *pom-pya-mena* creek (Brayer 1942:273).

For the most part the early exclusion of Indians from the park seems to have left present-day

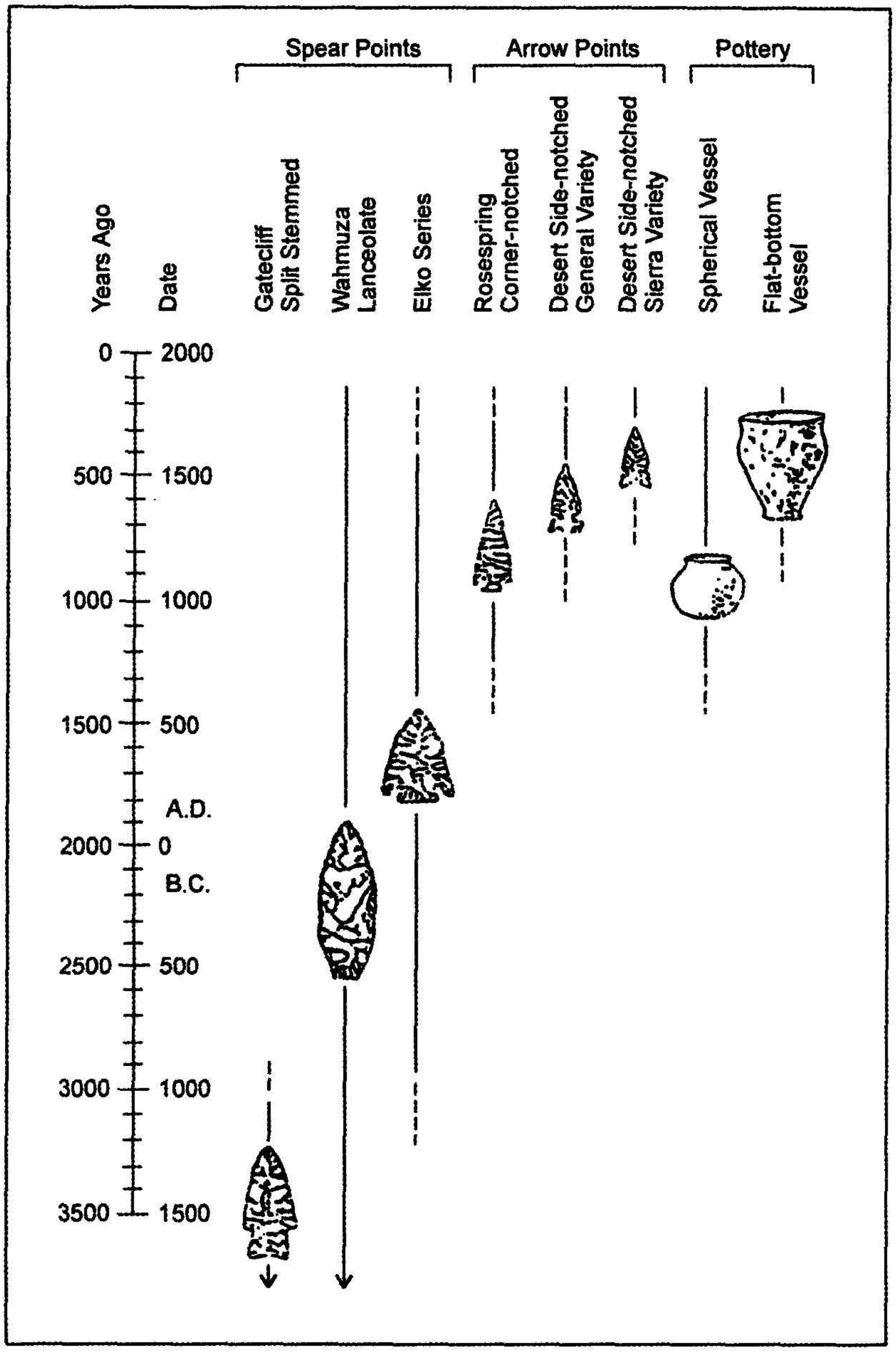


Figure 4.2. Sequence of artifact types at Wahmuza site to west of Yellowstone National Park.

Shoshone or Bannock consultants with few surviving memories of the precise topographical routes used by their ancestors—or else they prefer to keep such information to themselves. And searching for mention of these century-old trails in the documentary record is tricky because inevitably one tends to privilege the best-known pathways of the late historical period. Thus, when the historian Aubrey L. Haines attempted to reconstruct from his array of old government reports, explorers' diaries and trappers' journals the system of old Indian trails into and out of the park area (see map of Indian trails on page 33), because of its historical importance during the Nez Perce War he felt compelled to highlight the Bannock Trail as the park's preeminent native roadway, acknowledging that, "Essentially, the Bannock Trail was a system of trailways, which, together, made up a complex route" (Haines 1964:7).

Yet in aboriginal days this now-famous Bannock Trail complex may not have experienced any greater quantity of foot traffic than other native roadways in the region. As to their presence over a considerable time-depth, a strong piece of circumstantial evidence comes from what we might infer from early obsidian trade, which even

includes hints at the directional flow of such commerce, as summarized most recently by Leslie B. Davis and his study group:

> The mechanisms by which obsidian was translocated from the Obsidian Cliff plateau source to geographically distant destinations are not known. Overland transport along trails or over water are usually suggested. That the Yellowstone River would have been the gateway or passageway is likely, with continuation via one or more exchange events to a downstream corridor (or corridors) leading to the Mississippi. Obsidian may have been traded 'utilizing a generalized regional exchange system involving trading partners' (Anderson et al. 1986). To date, materials exchanged or traded for the obsidian which are known to be diagnostic for Hopewell, i.e, Snyders points and Havana Ware, have not been found in the Yellowstone drainage, on the Obsidian Cliff plateau, or in the vicinity (Holmes 1903 to the contrary). That void may reflect the transfer of obsidian from the source eastward by indigenous peoples who quarried it and transferred it to the middlemen.

Or Hopewellian traders went to the quarries and in a single procurement event, acquired sufficient obsidian to meet their needs (Griffin 1965)...The 300 kg (660lbs) of obsidian found cached at the Hopewell site, for example, attests to the importance, value, and energy involved in moving this high density raw material over distances, in this case over more than 680 km (1500 mi) [Davis et. al. 1995:57].

The likelihood of such long-distance trade would also testify to the probable Indian awareness, via oral traditions, of the intervening topography, and to the existence of a repeatedly-used trail system. As Chittenden describes the density of such aboriginal park pathways, he opens with two lesser-known routes before addressing the more renowned west-to-east Bannock road:

> Indian trails, though generally indistinct, were every-where found by the early explorers, mostly on lines since occupied by

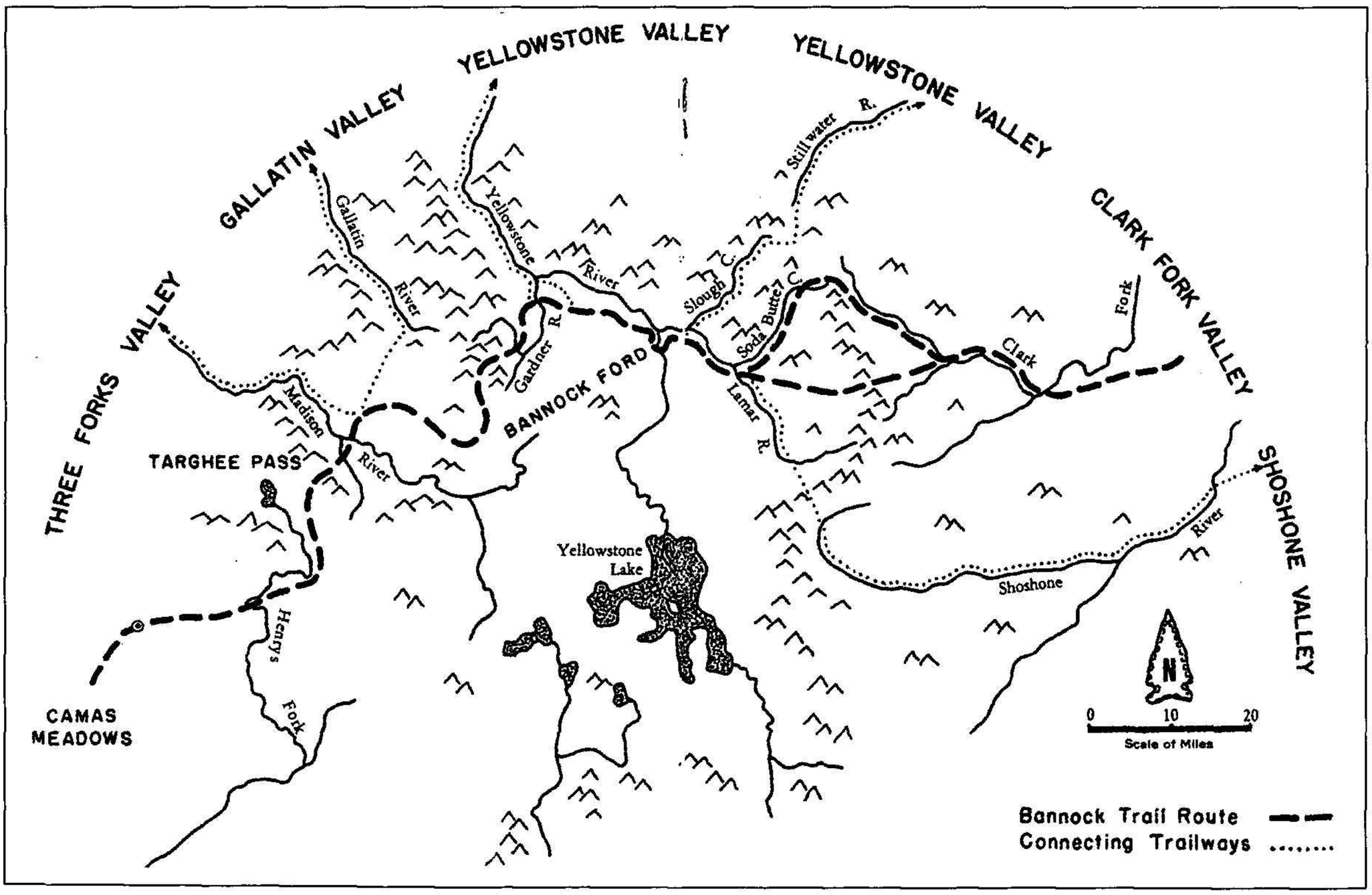


Figure 4.3. Map of Bannock Indian Trail and associated hunting areas (Map by Aubrey L. Haines, from his The Bannock Indian Trail, *Yellowstone Library and Museum Association, 1964. Pp. 4–5).*

the tourist routes [which would also have contributed to the obliteration of their traces]. One of these followed the Yellowstone Valley entirely across the Park from north to south. It divided at Yellowstone Lake, the principal branch following the east shore, cross Two-Ocean-Pass, and intersecting a great trail which connected the Snake and Wind River valleys. The other branch passed along the west shore of the lake and over the divide to the valleys of Snake River and Jackson Lake. This trail was intersected by an important one in the vicinity of Conant Creek leading from the Upper Snake Valley to that of Henry Fork. Other intersecting trails connected the Yellowstone River trail with the Madison and Firehole basins on the west and with the Bighorn Valley on the east [Chittenden 1964:11–12].

Of all the numerous Indian pathways that threaded over the Yellowstone Plateau from all sides, it still remains the Bannock Trail, cutting across the 200-mile width of the park from Henry Lake to the Shoshone River, which has captured the imagination of historians and Indian buffs alike. For western Indians it possessed the practical virtues of steering clear of dangerous Blackfeet country, offering open, grassy oases dark with meandering buffalo, and its linkage of valleys and climbovers promised the smoothest traveling to be expected in such a mountainous region. To outsiders, however, its fame undoubtedly derived from its prominent role during the Nez Perce "war" of 1877, and because some of its overgrown furrows, originally gouged by generations of tipi poles tied to the flanks of Indian ponies with their ends dragging along the ground, can be detected to this very day.

A fairly comprehensive reconstruction of this Bannock trail is due to the work of park naturalist Wayne F. Replogle (and his wife Marian), who devoted eight years, from 1948 to 1956, to reconstructing the winding path followed by the Bannock Trail and its branches (Replogle 1956), and to park historian Aubrey L. Haines, who built upon Replogle's efforts eight years later. While Replogle's lengthy description is included in full in our Appendix E, since this thoroughfare has always been one of the most historically noteworthy ethnographic resources in the park, here we include Haines' more condensed account written in 1964:

> That portion of the Bannock Trail which lay across what is now Yellowstone Park can yet be traced on the ground almost throughout, and it will give a better idea of the nature of the route to trace it in detail. From the point near Horse Butte in the Madison Valley, where the main trail from the Camas Prairie, via Targhee Pass, was joined by branches up the Madison and Gallatin Rivers, the trail entered what is now the Park by way of the Duck Creek drainage, approximately ten miles north of West Yellowstone, Montana. It then followed the edge of the valley in a southward swinging arc almost to Cougar Creek, before doubling abruptly northward to pass over the Gallatin Range west of Mount Holmes, at an elevation of over 9,300 feet (2,750 feet of climb from Horse Butte). Once over the top, the trail followed down Indian Creek to its junction with the Gardner River, where there was a branching; the main trail crossing Swan Lake Flat and descending through Snow Pass to the vicinity of the present Park headquarters at Mammoth, while a cut-off passed between the Gardner River and Bunsen Peak to rejoin the main trail below the present high bridge over the Gardner.
>
> At Mammoth, near where the hydro-electric powerhouse now stands, the main trail was joined by an Indian trail ascending the Gardner River from the Yellowstone (an exit which gave access to the buffalo range in the valley between Yankee Jim Canyon and Livingston, Montana.)
>
> Southeast of Mammoth, the trail crossed the Gardner River and ascended the east bank of Lava Creek to the vicinity of the present campground, then crossed Blacktail Deer Creek, where it was joined by two minor Indian trails, one from the mouth of the Gardner (later known as the "Turkey Pen Trail"), and one to the ford over the Yellowstone River below the mouth of Oxbow Creek. From the junction on Blacktail Deer Creek, the main trail continued across the high meadows to Crescent Hill,

which it rounded on the south side through a narrow ravine later designated as The Cut. Descending steeply to the site of Yancy's Ranch, the trail crossed Pleasant Valley to the Yellowstone River, and passed upstream, over the top of Overhanging Cliff to a crossing of Tower Creek at the present automobile campground.

Where the trail crosses Antelope Creek, it is plainly visible from the road, and it was there joined by an Indian trail from the Canyon area, via the western flank of Mount Washburn. Continuing down the Yellowstone River, a crossing was made at the ford near what are now called the "Sulphur Beds".

Once over the river, the trail climbed out of the canyon to enter the Lamar Valley through the "Horseshoe". From there the route held close to the foot of Speciman Ridge and Amethyst Mountain, branching off another minor Indian trail to the Stillwater and Rosebud Rivers by way of Slough Creek. At the mouth of Soda Butte Creek, the main trail itself branched; one fork passing the Clark Fork River by way of Soda Butte Creek, and the other reaching that river more directly by following up the divide between Cache and Calfee Creeks. An Indian trail from the Upper Lamar and Shoshone rivers joined the route at the mouth of Cache Creek [Haines 1964:6–7].

One final topic connected with this western flank of the park and its old Indian trail system deserves mention. This is the relationship between Indians and fire, for anyone retracing the winding route of the historical Bannock Trail from west to east today runs headlong into the burnt-over countryside around West Yellowstone, a grim reminder of the ravaging fires of summer 1988. Most extensive of the seven major burns which eventually burned nearly 800,000 acres of park ground cover was the North Fork blaze (Morrison 1993). A controversial dimension of Yellowstone National Park history and policy that seems associated with this western entryway to the park concerns the relationship between humans and fire. Yet even before that recent conflagration, some observers have sought to bring Indian data to bear on the debate over whether or not to "resume an ancient approach of using fire to accomplish multiple objectives" (Barrett and Arno 1982:650).

Those advocating the environmental benefits of such man-made fires often point to evidence, especially strong for America's eastern woodlands (for useful summary of this material see Cronon 1983) and for California (for comparative discussion on Indian fires among western Great Basin and Californian hunter-gatherers, see Blackburn and Anderson 1993), that the habitats encountered by the first Europeans had already undergone considerable alteration, much of it by fire (Pyne 1982). Indeed there are arguments that intentionally using fires to drive game into concentrated bunches for easier hunting—and perhaps to expand rangeland for buffalo or to encourage the growth of browse to attract deer—occurred in and around Yellowstone National Park (Chase 1987:92–97).

But opinions differ widely as to the utilization of fire by Indians in the park. It is fire ecologist George Wuerthner's contention that:

> Though Indians occasionally passed through Yellowstone, and one small group called the Sheepeaters lived there year-round, it is uncertain how many fires they may have caused in the Yellowstone ecosystem. Because of their overall low numbers and the infrequency with which they passed through the area, the Indian influence on fires [in the park] is likely to have been less than it was in other places, such as the Great Plains, for example [Wuerthner 1988:7].

This position seems premised on the lighter use of the park by Indians than that proposed by historian Mark Spence, who has recently suggested that, contrary to Wuerthner:

> Seasonal burns opened up broad savannas favored by ungulates, created 'open districts' in the forest that eased travel, and encouraged the growth of valued grasses, shrubs, and berries, and tubers. Smaller fires kept favored camping sites free of underbrush and insect pests and served as an important hunting tool. [Spence 1999:44].

Figure 4.4. Park historian Wayne F. Replogle standing on remnants of Bannock Trail. Date and location unknown. (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #YELL 37838-1).

Direct evidence still remains too thin to make any solid case about the degree to which Yellowstone National Park proper was subject to alteration by intentional Indian fires (Kay 1995). At the same time there is scattered, circumstantial data on the widespread practice of Indian-set fires, serving multiple purposes, throughout the greater Yellowstone ecosystem. To the east, for instance, it was on August 23, 1805, while traveling west through the Beaverhead Valley, that Captain Meriwether Lewis weighted his canoes with rocks and dunked them in a pond to protect them from "the Fire that is Frequently kindled in these plains by the natives" (DeVoto 1953:222).

To the west, the Nez Perce also significantly altered their regional environment this way, as anthropologist Alan G. Marshall writes:

> The use of fire by the Nez Perce to improve game habitats...was noted in 1900 by John Leiberg, a forest ecologist. His studies of the Bitterroot Forest Reserve showed that two-thirds of it had been burned at least twice in the previous 150 years. Nez Perces both then and in the present have maintained that such burning increases game populations, especially elk and deer. Thus, the very character of this region's forests was affected by the Nez Perce management practice. Fire was similarly used on the region's prairies; reportedly, camas meadows were also burned [Marshall 1991:171].

To the north, the Flathead, Pend d'Oreille and Kootenai habitually ignited the lichens hanging from trees so as to kill insects, halt the spread of tree diseases, help prevent the spread of wildfires and improve forage for grazing (Barrett 1980:18). But apparently these particular Plateau peoples set their fires in an ad hoc, non-patterned way, or whenever their movements prompted them to clear trails, encourage the growth of browse for deer, elk and horses, as signals to communicate over

long distances, and even as a shamanic technique for influencing the weather—all of which, the Indians maintain today, would simultaneously have bolstered the growth of pasturage for deer, elk and horses (Barrett 1980:19–20).

Closer to the park's northern entrance, Lieutenant Gustavas C. Doane may have actually identified a hunting method when he reported a fire in 1870 along the Gardner River, with apparently multiple points of origin, which he believed had been set by Indians "to drive away the game" (Doane 1871). Even as late as 1887, a newspaper report entitled "Indian Marauders" testifies to Indians along the western boundary of the park employing this fire-drive technique:

> A serious danger menaces the game and forests of a portion of the Yellowstone National Park. This danger arises from the invasion of the country to the south and west of the reservation by Indian hunting parties, principally Bannocks and Shoshones from the agencies at Fort Hall, Lemhi and Washakie.
>
> These Indians leave their reservation and proceed toward the borders of the park, where they destroy great numbers of elk, drying the meat for winter use, and carrying it and the hides to their home. A far more serious injury than the destruction of game which thus takes place, is caused by the forest fires which these Indians kindle to drive the game from one place to another, or to prevent it from going to certain directions. In this way thousands of acres of living forest are frequently burned over, and an amount of harm is done that the growth of a quarter of a century cannot repair.
>
> Captain Harris has known of this state of things for years, and has done everything in his power to keep the Indians away from the Park. He has repeatedly notified the interior department of these depredations but the agents in charge of these Indians have met his remonstrances with demands of facts which are perfectly well known to all travelers in the southern portion of the Park [Incomplete Xerox Copy, *Billings Gazette*, 1887, Bob Edgar Collection, Cody, Wyoming].

Yet Indians who relied on fish and traveled on foot through the mountains could also maintain a healthy wariness of fire. Some Sheep Eaters of central Idaho told G.A. Thompson that it was actually their practice to fight wildfires because of their "great fear" of the devastated canyons left in their wake (Thompson 1964). Today, managers of what remains of American Indian cultural resources in the park have good reason to feel threatened by fires as well. For when the flames of 1988 drove through the Mammoth Hot Springs and Tower Junction areas, they quickly consumed whatever dried-wood remains of old Indian dwellings, pole storage locations or fenced game drives lay in their path—precious evidence of Indian presence in the park for at least hundreds of years.

Western Indians and the Greater Yellowstone Region

1. The Bannock. Speakers of a Shoshonean dialect that springs from the Uto-Aztecan language family, the Bannock called themselves *Bana'kwut*, or "Water People," although others knew them by more pejorative titles, such as "Diggers" or "Robber Indians" (Swanton 1952:398). Hailing from northern Paiute stock with an aboriginal homeland located possibly in the eastern Oregon Plateau, once these Bannock obtained horses in the late 1600s from Ute Indian traders to the south their lives were never the same. Under the widespread, group-naming tendency which we have already described for their new northern Shoshonean allies, in the early days the Bannock titles for their various subgroups betrayed an intimate association with particular ecosystems. For instance, there were Bannocks known as *Kutsshundika*, or "buffalo eaters," those called *Penointikara*, meaning "honey eaters" and also the *Shohopanaiti*, or the "cottonwood Bannock" (Swanton 1952:398). With the rapid spread of their horse-culture, however, it was the first group, "buffalo eaters," who bloomed into the Bannocks of historical chronicles, and whose fortunes most impacted upon the history of the greater Yellowstone ecosystem.

As these early Bannock shifted their base of operations into the Snake River and Lemhi River valleys, and the Bridger Basin, they formed a close

affiliation, some maintain a virtual "confederation," which not infrequently was sealed through intermarriage, with the already resident Shoshone. From here they launched their eastern forays in search of buffalo to be found in especially plentiful numbers in the Plains dubbed by them "Buffalo House," around Laramie (Interview, Deward E. Walker, Jr., April 2, 1997). And while en route there, crossing the Yellowstone before dropping down the Bighorn valley, these Sho-Ban were not averse to exploiting any raiding opportunities along the way. Indeed, relations between these two tribes grew so interdependent that Deward E. Walker Jr.'s most recent argument is that "The artificial distinction between the Bannock and the Shoshone as separate cultures must be discarded. The two groups comprised one social system during the protohistoric and historic periods" (Walker 1993b:154, see also Steward 1937 and Jorgenson 1972:66–69).

Despite Walker's recent comments on the indivisibility, starting with their earliest days together, of the Shoshone and Bannock, and the fact that non-Indians often found it difficult to tell the two tribes apart, one does discover commentary on psychological and physical differences between them. While some non-native observers found the Bannock more "aggressive" (Spence 1996a:15), a few Indians today will confide that the Bannock were "always the bigger people, taller" (Interview, Fort Hall, GE, November 18, 1995). And based upon his fieldwork, the scholar Sven S. Liljeblad believed that although prior to the Shoshone-Bannock merger the Bannocks were not known for their socio-political development on a level much larger than the "band," once they allied with the Shoshone they "tended to be a dominating group whenever they settled with the Shoshoni" (Liljeblad 1957:90). It was also Liljeblad's impression that while the Shoshone could be characterized as "extreme individualists," the Bannock appeared more willing to "sacrifice their personal differences and to follow their leaders in achieving concerted action" (Liljeblad 1957:90). At the same time, the old internal distinction between the mounted and "walker" members of the Sho-Ban world continued to provide grist for inter-ethnic stereotyping, as the horse-riding Fort Hall Indians joked about their pedestrian bands who were so poor they became cannibals in destitute times and "could only keep themselves upright by placing forked sticks under their chins." But in retaliation, descendants of the Sheep Eaters would complain about "the haughtiness, quarrelsomeness and clannish egotism" among the horse-owning bands (Liljeblad 1971:7).

Once they were on horseback the entire Yellowstone Plateau sat comfortably in the lap of Bannock territory, for their tribespeople of the late 18th and early 19th centuries freely hunted through southeastern Idaho and western Wyoming, but could also be found down the Snake River, up the Salmon River, and into southern Montana. The eventual residence of these peoples was forecast five years later, when Nathaniel Wyeth established Fort Hall in 1834. However it would take until 1878 for the freedom-loving tribe to be forcibly ensconced on the Fort Hall Reservation. Never a numerous nation, they are estimated to have numbered about 1,000 members in 1845, and according to the Indian agent for the Eastern district of Oregon, they had been reduced to only 700 souls by 1859 (in Ulebaker 1992:285).

Until the mid-1830s the countryside of eastern Idaho covered by Bannock hunters was home to ample numbers of buffalo, on which tribes from the Rocky Mountains all the way west across the plateau to the California Sierras could survive. As Osborne Russell wrote in 1841, "In the year 1836 large bands of buffalo could be seen in almost every little valley on the small branches of this stream." Indeed, four years ago representatives of the Bannock tribe claimed that "Buffalo Country" was their original name for the Yellowstone National Park area (*Yellowstone National Park Archives*, Shoshone-Bannock Tribes Tribal Tax Commission to Superintendent Robert Barbee, October 7, 1993). However the intensity of buffalo hunting, white settlement and mounting use of the trails heading west meant that five years later it was a much different story, as "the only traces which could be seen of them were the scattered bones of those that had been killed" (Russell 1965:123).

With almost no adequate meat supply left on the Snake River Plain by the early 1840s (Steward 1938:191, 204), now the Bannock were forced to range far wider and to undertake lengthier journeys in order to secure meat. This was when these

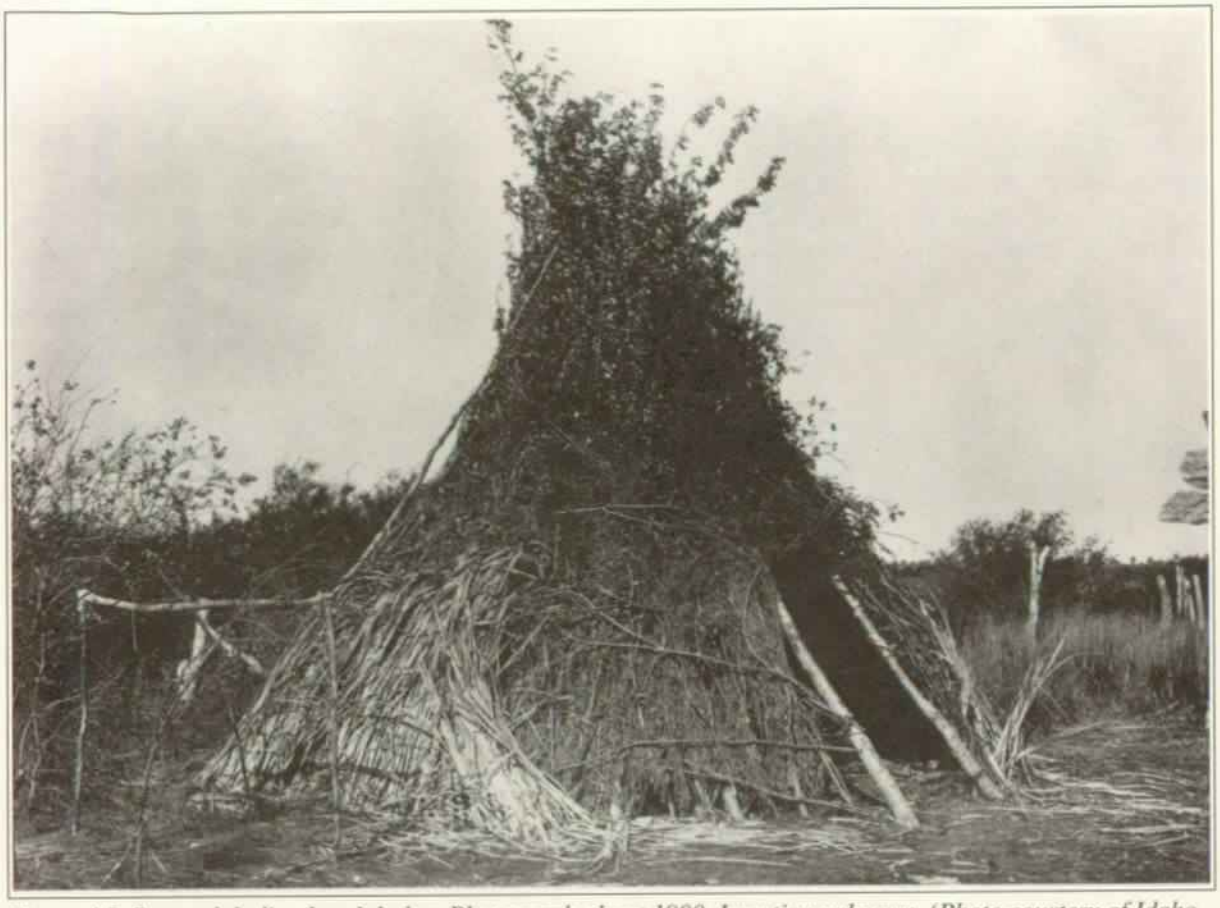


Figure 4.5. Bannock Indian brush lodge. Photograph about 1900. Location unknown. (Photo courtesy of Idaho State Historical Society, Catalog #77-69.4).

long-distance hunting trips became yearly affairs, and increasingly the tribe was accompanied by their intimate associates, the Northern Shoshone. And on occasion, for reasons of collective security on these far-flung ventures, the Flathead, Lemhi and Wyoming Shoshone might join them as well (Steward 1938:191; Haines 1964:6). As Crowder writes of the Lemhi at this time, "As the buffalo were practically extinct in Idaho by 1840, the Indians of the Lemhi area had to cross the Continental Divide into Montana and travel into the Three Forks country, north and east of what is now Yellowstone National Park" (Crowder 1969:18). Along the way they might utilize any resources in their path—plants, smaller game, mineral resources, and possibly they even stockpiled tipi poles en route, such as the cache of still-standing tipi poles leaning in the crotches of cottonwood trees which one finds just off the Bannock Trail in the Lamar Valley today.

The widening reach of these hunting expeditions also meant that these mixed-ethnic Bannock and Shoshone parties probably had greater contact with non-Indian communities than other Plateau Shoshoneans, and hence greater opportunities to raid for food and horses in order "to compensate for the loss of game and key resources" (Spence 1996a:16). As Faulkner describes the broadening yearly movements of Bannocks and Shoshones that developed in the 1841–63 time period following the virtual extinction of their local buffalo resources:

> Families or bands began their annual quest in the spring, moving down the Snake River to Camas Prairie or to the area of the junction of the Boise and the Snake rivers. After digging camas roots and trading with other Indians, they returned upstream fishing or trading for fish on the way home. In the autumn when the leaves were turning,

the Shoshoni and Bannock migrated to Yellowstone River or Green River, where they spent the fall hunting in the buffalo country, not only because they desired additional hunting in the spring, but also because of the comparably milder winters of the Yellowstone Valley. Usually, however, most of them returned to their winter camps on the Snake River [Faulkner 1988:48].

These new, more dangerous—and, to younger warriors, also more exhilarating—conditions of life had an internal effect on notions of tribal leadership. They quickly propelled to positions of authority those Bannock and Shoshone chiefs leaders with proven abilities in battle (Liljeblad 1957:41). The new climate of heightened mobility produced other transformations as well. Excellent horsemen, these tribes built up horse herds that numbered in the thousands, and for their relatively brief 1820–1840 heyday they lived life to the fullest, enjoying the white man's goods by trade or theft, as they hunted and raided at will. At the same time their increasing interactions with whites, although begun on an equal and promising footing, soon encouraged a battle-ready, aggressive outlook that prepared the Bannock and Northern Shoshone to strike out whenever they felt the government had reneged on promises of compensation for remaining at peace.

Contributing to their belligerent mood was one of the worst mass killings of any Indians in the history of the United States. This was the annihilation of a band of northwestern Shoshone on the Bear River north of Cache Valley in Utah, on January 29, 1863. Every native member of the northern Great Basin Indian world would have heard word-of-mouth how "California Volunteers" under Colonel O'Conner had mowed down nearly 250 men, women and children in an encounter that Madsen calls "unnecessary and cruel" and an outright "massacre" (Madsen 1985:222–223), and which noted historian Alvin E. Josephy Jr. concurs to have been "one of the largest, most brutal, and, because of its eclipse by other Civil War news, least-known massacres of Indians in American history" (Josephy1991:259). As Josephy explains further, word of the tragedy passed quickly throughout the area's Indian communities, inspiring some to revenge, and intensifying in others a fearful apprehension about their very survival.

At the same time the Bannocks and their allies were more clearly grasping what they had to lose as they watched with alarm the mounting volume of emigrant traffic on the various roadways—the Oregon Trail, California Road, Lander's and Hudspeth's cut-offs—which pointed west along the various, lush river valleys that spilled out of Wyoming Territory and over their old hunting and foraging grounds. They were not going to allow their few decades of unbridled freedom to close without a fight.

For their part, the attitudes of Anglo-American emigrants, local settlers and townsfolk from areas surrounding Yellowstone National Park began to stiffen towards Indians, as if importing from California the hardened posture nurtured in the gold country over the previous two decades. Only a few months before the Bear River killings a local man in Bannack, Montana "bought a Sheep-Eater squaw; but she refused to live with him, alleging that she was ill treated" (Dimsdale 1982:33). When an elderly tribesman came to her defense, some barroom toughs immediately "declared, while drinking, that if the d--d cowardly white folks on Yankee Flat were afraid of Indians, they were not" and fired at point blank range into the tipi, killing the chief, a boy and a baby. Before they were completely exonerated by a local jury they explained that this was revenge for the killing by Indians of their friends during the 1849 California gold rush (Dimsdale 1982:34–35, 38). Others would continue to draw unflattering associations between Great Basin Indians of California and Utah and the horseless Shoshoneans they found in and around the park. Wrote Dr. A.C. Peale, a mineralogist who accompanied F.V. Hayden's 1871 survey to Yellowstone, after discovering clear evidence of Indians in the northeastern corner of the park:

> We concluded that the Indians must belong to the same class as the Diggers. When Utah was settled by the Mormons, the Ute, Bannack, and Snake Indians were driven out, and as the game disappeared they were obliged to separate into small bands. Some were driven to the mountains [and] having

> no ponies they are very poor, and live principally by stealing [from diary of Dr. A.C. Peale, entry for August 21, 1871, Merrill 1999].

It is necessary to evoke this general climate of ethnic animosity west of Yellowstone National Park in the 1860s and 70s if we are to understand the context and motivations for the Nez Perce, Bannock and Sheep Eater outbreaks which now were about to impact upon park history. For some citizens to the west in Idaho Territory, for instance, an oft-quoted editorial from a Boise newspaper in the fall of 1867, expressed their widely shared sentiment towards Indians at this time:

> This would be our plan of establishing friendship on an eternal basis with our Indians: Let all the hostile bands of Idaho Territory be called in (they will not be caught in any other manner) to attend a grand treaty; plenty of blankets and nice little trinkets distributed among them; plenty of grub on hand; have a jolly time with them; then just before the big feast put strychnine in their meat and poison to death the last mother's son of them [*Idaho Statesman*, Boise, Idaho, October 6, 1867].

For non-Indians to the north of the park, the words of Montana congressman James Cavanaugh, uttered the following year during debate on an "Indian Appropriation Bill," echoed how many locals felt towards any free-roaming western Indians:

> ...in my judgement, the entire Indian policy of the country is wrong from its very inception...The gentleman from Massachusetts may denounce the sentiment as atrocious, but I will say that I like an Indian better dead than living. I have never in my life seen a good Indian (and I have seen thousands) except when I have seen a dead Indian. I believe in the Indian policy which was taught by the great chieftain of Massachusetts, Miles Standish. I believe in the policy that exterminates the Indians, drives them outside the boundaries of civilization, because you cannot civilize them [*Congressional Globe*, (May 28, 1868) 1868:2638].

To the east and south of the Yellowstone Plateau, a large measure of public opinion towards any native obstacle, Shoshone, Bannock or otherwise, to Wyoming's incoming pioneers, was reflected in this editorial from a major Wyoming newspaper only two years later:

> The Indians must stand aside or be overwhelmed by the ever advancing and ever increasing tide of emigration. The destiny of the aborigines is written in characters not to be mistaken. The same inscrutable Arbiter that decreed the downfall of Rome, has pronounced the doom of extinction upon the redmen of America. The attempt to defer this result by mawking sentimentalism in favor of savages is unworthy of a great people...If these Indian treaties have got into such a tangled knot that they cannot be untied, the sword of the pioneer will sever them [*Cheyenne Daily Leader*, March 3, 1870].

2. The Northern Shoshone. When the early linguist and folklorist James Teit (1864–1922) collected ethnographic information among the Salishan peoples of the eastern Oregon Plateau from 1907 to 1917, they gave him the strong impression that in their view, " to the south, both east and west of the rockies," there were no tribes *that were not* branches of the 'Snake,'" or Shoshone. As for the country "East of the Rockies," his Indian informants led Teit to believe that:

> Shoshonean tribes occupied the Upper Yellowstone country, *including the National Park*, and they are said to have extended east to the Bighorn Mountains or beyond...Farther north Shoshonean bands occupied the country around Livingston, Lewiston and Denton. How far east and down the Yellowstone they extended is not known; but they are thought to have at one time held the country around Billings, and most, if not all, of the country where the Crow Indians now have a reservation [Teit 1930:268, emphasis ours].

Apart from the critical but characteristic neglect of a time frame in this Salish-oriented description of Shoshone territory, and ignoring for the moment the important question of whether "owning" is the most accurate term to characterize land-use customs of highly mobile Shoshonean bands, the quote at least provides an Indian per-

spective on the virtual encompassment of the greater Yellowstone ecosystem by members of the Shoshonean peoples all along the southern half of the Park. Among their Siouan and Algonquian-speaking enemies these Shoshoneans were maligned far and wide as "Snake Men" (Chippewa) or "Rattlesnake Men" (Yankton Dakota). At the same time other Plains tribes, who enjoyed better on-again/off-again trading relations with Shoshones, often adopted the more neutral name for them of "Grass Lodges" (Crow), or "People that use grass or bark for their houses or huts" (Arapaho) (Swanton 1952:403). As for self-designations, the Fort Hall Shoshone came to know themselves as *Bohogue*, meaning "Sagebrush Butte," tying them to a promontory to the northeast of Fort Hall. Although their Lehmi Valley and lower Snake River linguistic kinfolk adopted this term as well, the Bannock knew the Fort Hall people as *Wi:nakwut*, which probably meant "Iron Knife" (Steward 1938:198).

Due to their wide geographical range and highly changeable social and political organization, the total Shoshonean population was almost impossible to tabulate over these early decades. Whereas in 1845, ran the rough estimate of Indian agent Jacob Forney, the combined numbers of Shoshones and Sheep Eaters was about 4,500 souls (Ulebaker 1992: 285), this figure overlooked the highly localized, independent nature of their subgroups. One of the largest of these Shoshonean populations were the group known as *Pa:dai*, or "Water," because its 200 families, who foraged over a 27,000 square mile area, had their base camps along Idaho's Lemhi River, centered around present-day Salmon (Steward 1938:188–189). A portion of this group were self-identified as Sheep Eaters, but the influence of the horse, which the Lemhi Shoshone obtained from Spaniards, was significant in attracting many of these independent mountaineers to relocate in the larger, horse-riding villages with their centralized control and authority under permanent chiefs. When the Lemhi hosted Lewis and Clark in 1806, the explorers counted about 400 horses at that time, and also noted the presence of Spanish bridles and brands.

As for how the Indians employed these mounts, according to the leading scholar on Great Basin and Plateau cultures, Julian Steward, an annual semi-nomadic pattern soon arose. Conducting the tedious task that was common among mid-19th century anthropologists of extracting lists of diagnostic cultural traits and then comparing them, Steward also found little distinction between these Northern Shoshone and Bannock, although he did distinguish them from their brethren who remained on foot, like the northerly Sheep Eaters. As Steward summarized the new lifestyle:

> The two [Shoshone and Bannock] seem to have wintered together and pastured their horses in and near the lush bottomlands of the Snake River since prehistoric times. They usually made hunting expeditions together on horseback, *sometimes going east to Wyoming for buffalo*, west to Camas Prairie and beyond to trade and gather roots, and down the Snake River below Shoshone Falls for fishing. The foot Shoshoni, along the Snake River gorge below American Falls, especially on the south bank, were, in contrast to the Fort Hall Shoshoni and Bannock, impoverished, primitive in their culture, restricted in their movements, and unorganized. Few of them owned horses [Steward 1938:200, emphasis ours].

When reading ethnographies which describe such "seasonal rounds" of traditional American Indian societies, however, one should never underestimate the degree to which economic opportunism dictated their survival strategies, and Shoshoneans were nothing if not master survivalists. Ever ready to adjust food-gathering habits when circumstances required, with conditions of life west of Yellowstone National Park shifting so radically year by year these Northern Shoshoneans changed their lifestyle accordingly. When a combination of factors such as fear of Blackfeet raiders, the scarcity of buffalo in the Snake River country, and the greater efficiency of communal hunting made larger groups mandatory, they had no hesitation about creating multi-ethnic bands of Fort Hall Shoshone, Bannock, Lemhi, Nez Perce, Flathead and Wind River Shoshone members who traveled together en masse. As sizeable large parties moved eastward, they always scoured the landscape for any familiar seeds, roots and berries they could find in the mountains. In the Yellowstone National Park vicinity, for in-

stance, Steward notes that "they sometimes stopped briefly to gather nuts of the "white pine" variety, known as *wongoduba*, which they either ground and carried to the plains in buckskin sacks or cached to assure food for their return trip (Steward 1938:204).

During that optimistic interval when horse herds were multiplying and before the imposition of government pressure to consolidate on Idaho and Wyoming reservations, one of the favorite Northern Shoshone camp grounds lay near the Menan Buttes, two old volcanic craters southwest of the junction of the Snake River and Henrys Fork (Beal 1942:49). As the Northern Shoshone of Idaho made the horse a mainstay of their expanded lifestyle, the extent of journeys launched from such camps grew exponentially. Much as Chapter 2 described the long-distance travels of Blackfeet explorers and raiders, there are early citations which describe "Pannacks" and even Shoshoneans from as far south as the Great Basin (Salt Lake) participating in hunting expeditions to the headwaters of the Missouri and the Yellowstone—journeys which might traverse 1,200 miles (Steward 1938:201).

At the same time, for reasons of caution or cultural or environmental preference, those pockets of mountain Shoshoneans mentioned by Steward clung to isolated highland outposts, remaining on foot and relying on their dogs in locations such as the headwaters of the Henry River, a tributary of the Snake, where Hunt's Astoria party came upon them in 1811 (Irving 1964:12–13). Right into the days of forced consolidation on the reservation, these subgroups often retained their older Shoshonean identity. "Although the Fort Hall Bannock and Shoshoni were probably comparatively well amalgamated into a band by 1840," writes Steward—an amalgamation which Deward Walker would maintain was tantamount to a formal confederation—"there is little doubt that a few small groups continued for many years to live in isolation..." (Steward 1938:202).

But the Shoshone-Bannocks could not avoid the overwhelming irony that descended upon all newly equestrian tribes of the Plains. This was the fact that just as one loan item from Euro-American society was allowing them to cover ground so speedily, and to hunt far more effectively and extend their tribal territories, the expanding territorial settlement by Euro-American society was quickly reining in their brief interval of seemingly boundless freedom. Each and every year after the informal opening of the Oregon Trail in 1841 the consequences of more and more wagon trains trundling through their country on a proliferating number of trails and cutoffs and toll roads were not lost on the Shoshone. As Chief Washakie of the Wind Rivers would describe their impact on his people's lifestyle to Captain Frederick Lander in 1858:

> Before the emigrants passed through my country, buffalo, elk, and antelope could be seen....Now, when I look for game, I see only wagons with white tops and men riding upon their horses. My people are very poor and have fallen back into the valleys of the mountains to dig roots and get meat for their little ones [Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *U.S. House Executive Document 108*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, no. 1008].

Fifteen years earlier the opening phase of this traffic in pioneering wagon trains had seen only an estimated 1,000 people pass through Fort Hall. Yet two years later that number had tripled, and by 1863 the Bear Valley featured a permanent white town, with additional ranches and fences starting to crowd around the Fort Hall area with each passing year. As proximity between Indians and whites tightened, the desires of new residents for more pasturage, railroad rights and homesites, together with anxieties about threatening Indians at large in the region, caused Idaho's Territorial Governor, Caleb Lyon, to establish the Fort Hall Reservation in 1867 (Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, Idaho Centennial Celebration Brochure, Fort Hall, Idaho, 1968, p. 5).

And that same year President Andrew Johnson signed an Executive Order which gave federal sanction to the Fort Hall Reservation, a development that was accepted by the Indians the following year in the Fort Bridger Treaty of 1868. Initially this document set aside 1.8 million acres of the former Bannock homeland for a separate reservation for that tribe alone. Despite the paper document, however, the Bannocks were not moved from Fort Hall, and in 1872, due to "a surveying

error," a shared reservation centered at Fort Hall for both the Bannock and the Northern Shoshone had been reduced to 1.2 million acres.

Meanwhile there was another treaty of 1868 that was never ratified, although it had been drafted and signed on September 24, 1868, at Virginia City, Montana Territory, between Indian Commissioner W. J. Cullen and Acting Montana Governor James Tufts. The agreement saw twelve members of "the mixed Shoshone, Bannacks and Sheepeaters" accept two townships on the north fork of the Salmon River about twelve miles above Fort Lemhi (Kappler 1904:707). In his accompanying remarks to the treaty, Commissioner Cullen described the threesome as a "mixed nation" which was scattered "from the Yellowstone to a mountain between the Bitter Root and Big Hole, running through Montana into Idaho" (Kappler 1904:709).

What makes this particular document valuable is how it helps us to understand the cultural territory and desired lifestyle of these Bannock and Shoshone. Most important was their clearly stipulated right to travel to their nearby Camas Prairie, and to continue their long distance trips to the buffalo country. According to Doty, while the Shoshones had described their eastern boundary at the Virginia City conference as the crest of the Rocky Mountains, "it is certain that they, as well as the Bannacks, hunt the buffalo below the Three Forks of the Missouri, and on the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Wind rivers...they wander over an immense region, extending from the fisheries at and below Salmon Falls, on the Shoshonee [Snake] river, near the Oregon line, to the sources of that stream, and to the buffalo country beyond" (Doty 1864:174–175).

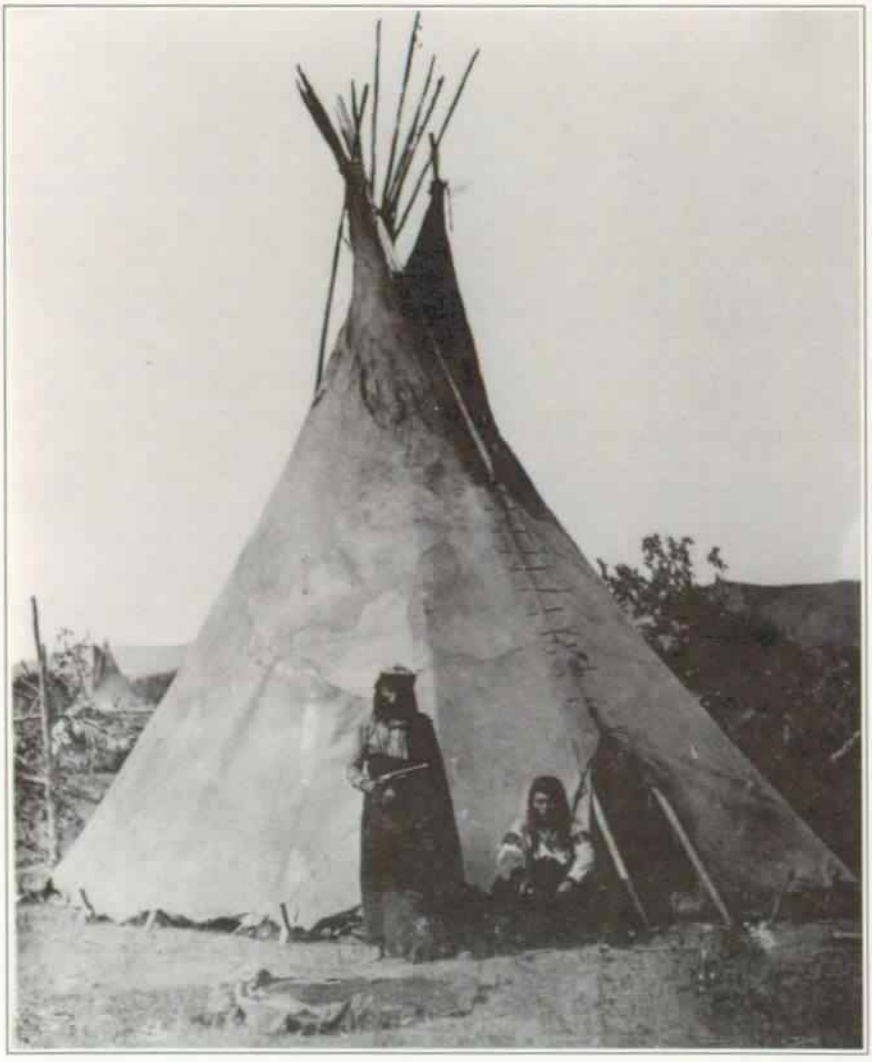


Figure 4.6. Northern Shoshone (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #YELL 8134).

A year later, in another treaty finally signed on February 24, 1869, between the United States and the Bannock, it was stipulated that the tribe "shall have the right to hunt upon the unoccupied lands of the United States so long as game may be found thereon, and so long as peace subsists among the whites and Indians on the borders of the hunting districts" (Kappler 1904–1941). But when Wyoming Territory was admitted into the Union as the 44th state on July 10, 1890, there was an express declaration that it should have all the powers of other states over its lands, and make no special provisions for Indians, whether or not they had a treaty (in Supreme Court Reporter, V. 16: 1076–1077).

Despite the presumed pacification and confinement of these Indians on the Fort Hall Reservation, however, relations between these new neighbors remained uneasy over the next three decades. In 1873 ranchers in the area were reported as increasingly "annoyed," as Special Commissioners John P.C. Hanks, T.W. Bennet and Henry W. Reed reported to the Secretary of the Interior, about "roving bands of Indians...near whitemen's homes [which] causes distrust and fear on the part of women and children, and their universal custom being to carry all their effects with them, their horses turned upon the prairies encroach on the inclosures of the whites" (Shanks et al. 1873:157–8).

3. The Nez Perce. At first it seems to be little more than a twist of fate which wound up linking the geographically distant Nez Perce tribe so intimately with the history of Yellowstone National Park. We are referring, of course, to their famous evasive maneuvers through the region in 1877, as will be described below. But even in earlier days, no sooner did the Nez Perce get horses than they apparently began venturing into the wider world to the east, as hunters, traders and raiders. This exploration gained them the geographical knowledge to which an old Nez Perce warrior known to whites as *Hemene Moxmox*, or "Yellow Wolf" testified, when long after the 1877 war he stated emphatically in his autobiography:

> My grandfather [maternal], Homas, son of Seeloo Wahyakt, died on a buffalo hunt in Yellowstone Park. I am not mistaken. It was at Sokolinim [Antelope] where he was buried. This is north of some hot springs. Not over or beyond any big mountain, but is above where two rivers meet... *We knew that Park country, no [matter] what white people say*. And when retreating from soldiers [during the Nez Perce War of 1877] we went up the river and crossed where are two big rocks. The trail there is called Pitou Kisnit, meaning Narrow Solid Rock Pass. This is on the south side of Pahniah Koos., We did not enter the Park by our old trail when on war retreat [McWhorter 1948:26, emphasis ours].

At the turn of the 18th century Yellow Wolf's Plateau Indian tribe, some of whom today prefer to call themselves *Nee-Me-Poo*, were largely concentrated in present-day western Idaho, in the heart of their aboriginal territory, and occupying communities of reed-mat or buffalo hide lodges that lay north and south of the Clearwater River. While James Mooney estimated their aboriginal population at about 4,000 members strong and spread across some 130 villages in this area (Walker 1985), in 1805 their numbers were believed to be as high as 6,000 by Lewis and Clark. However, less than fifty years later warfare and disease had withered their population down to an estimated 1,700 people (Swanton 1952:402).

Within the Nez Perce communities of this pre-reservation period, their primary social groupings were known as "camps," or *wi.se.s*, which according to Walker constituted "the smallest customarily associated group of persons tending to be found on a seasonal basis in a given named geographical locale" (Walker 1985:9). These "camps" differed from the more sizeable Nez Perce "village," or *tew?yeni.kes*, in that they only possessed usufruct privileges over the environment, while the village was considered to "own" its geographical territory. As for the highest level of Nez Perce socio-political grouping, this was the "band," which was composed of several villages located along a larger stream, into which each of the village streams emptied (Walker 1985:13). However this one-dimensional picture of a static social hierarchy and structural sameness over the Nez Perce landscape must be altered by two real-life facts of their existence.

The first concerned cultural diversity within the Nez Perce world across space, for throughout the southeastern Plateau the bands of Nez Perce

"were clearly distinguished from one another and had well-known dialectical, ecological, and economic differences" (Walker 1985:14). The second was their evolving character over time, for while always in a state of some flux, the lifestyle of these Nez Perce began to change dramatically as the different historical exposures of separate bands to the horse culture of the Plains after 1700 only widened the sub-tribal specializations among them. Living in deep riverine canyons, for instance, the two main bands of the Salmon River Nez Perce, often derogatorily known as *eneynu ti.to.qam*, which Walker translates as "provincials," kept relying on their fish and root diet despite the intrusion of horses.

However those bands north of the Clearwater who were more influenced by the Plains culture and who took to horses early on became known as *k'usaynu ti.to.gan*, or "sophisticated people." They would mock their pedestrian kinfolk with humorous imitations of their eating dogs and their preference for huckleberries rolled in salmon fat over the more manly buffalo flanks (Walker 1985:14). Thanks in part to their commercial and social interactions with the Flathead and, especially, with the Crow, it was these Nez Perce who greatly expanded their world-view. As to the degree to which this cultural cross-fertilization expanded their geographical freedom as well, the leading expert on the tribe, Deward E. Walker Jr., asserts:

> The Nez Perce had a pretty full knowledge of that area that would include present Montana, Wyoming, South Dakota, probably Nebraska and the river systems, the mountain systems, the locations of the different tribes...The Crow came over to Idaho to trade horses often and there's a lot of exchange back and forth. You know, I think anthropologists have got themselves much too limited in their thinking about tribal movements. I've always run into this with archaeologists especially. People erect boundaries that tribes never understood, recognized, or even now agree with, concerning the range of their movements [Interview, Deward E. Walker Jr., April, 2, 1997].

Of course it is principally due to the role of Chief Joseph's followers and their much-publicized "war" of 1877 that the history of their tribe will always be irrevocably linked with that of Yellowstone National Park. Although that violent interchange only involved rebellious remnants of the Lower Snake and Salmon-Wallowa groups of the tribe, and the Park lay somewhat to the southeast of their traditional range, it is highly likely that Nez Perce awareness of routes across the greater Yellowstone preceded those exploits. During his forty years of fieldwork among Plateau tribes, Deward E. Walker Jr. took road trips on both sides of the Rocky Mountain uplift in the company of Nez Perce, Kootenai, Flathead and Wind River consultants. He summarizes the experience:

> In the process it became apparent to me that there were a number of fairly well established pathways or trail systems that they followed. Lolo [Pass] of course, which goes to Flathead country, and then the southern pass that they would go through, or the southern trail that they would take is now the one that goes across Bannock Pass, not far from Leadore, Idaho. They would go up and over there *and down into the park area on a regular basis*, sometimes even accompanied by some of the Lemhi...They usually went in pretty big [multi-tribal] parties because they were afraid of the Lakota and they were afraid of the Blackfeet....I would say that the Nez Perce...looked upon the park as a friendly place, a place where there was good hunting, none of this stuff that the Swedish ethnographer [Åke Hultkrantz] talks about, no fear of the geysers or any of the other stuff he said worried other tribes. I don't think he's right about that. I think that's all nonsense [Interview, Deward E. Walker Jr., April 2, 1997, emphasis ours].

Occasionally one runs across older documents to back up Walker's assertions about Nez Perce interaction with other tribes. Their friendly trade with, inter-tribal marriage among, and artistic influence on Crow culture has been well studied (data summarized in Galante 1984; Lessard 1980; Loeb 1983). They also enjoyed a clearly marked, 800-mile trail from Lapwai and across the Salmon and Boise rivers to the Wind River country, where they hunted for buffalo and returned to the Columbia River with hides for trade with those

fisherman groups (*Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1880*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1894, p. 627). But these same citations also touch on the potential drawbacks of such adventures, such as the report of a clash with the Sioux east of Yellowstone Park around 1867. Eight of the Nez Perce were killed, and under cover of night they wrapped their corpses in raw buffalo hides, lashed them to the backs of their ponies, and rode for thirty days before returning safely to Lapwai, Idaho.

To get within range of the easterly trails leading into and bordering the park, the Nez Perce of Idaho might well have turned east from their own "ancient Nez Perce Indian Trail," which headed into the Snake River country "by way of the Seven Devils [Mountain], crossed over the mountains, and wound down into the Wester River drainage," a major route for the horse trade used by Spokanes, Flatheads and Cayuse as well (Corless 1990:13). Before finding themselves that far south, however, the Nez Perce hunters would probably have cut west, skirting the northern rim of Lemhi and Shoshone-Bannock territories, in order to hasten through the Yellowstone Plateau in search of the buffalo herds. That they might not have been inhibited from striking through the center of the park area itself was suggested by the Nez Perce historian Adeline Fredin to Joseph Weixelman. As she wrote to him, the "geysers/hot springs were a ceremonial and religious part in our history/prehistory... It was one place where the Great Spirit existed and we could bath the body and spirit directly" (Weixelman 1992:53).

Indian "Wars" of the West and Yellowstone National Park

Because these hostilities are part of the history of Indian relations with the greater Yellowstone region, in this section we briefly review the causes and consequences of three of the some 1,470 incidents of military action which are officially enumerated by the U.S. War Department against American Indians between the years 1776 and 1907. In fact, only two of these Yellowstone actions were ever formally elevated to the status of "war" under the U.S. Army typology: *(a)* the Nez Perce "war," that lasted from May 14 to October 1, 1877, and covered a theater of skirmishes that ran for 1,170 miles, and *(b)* the 1878 Bannock Indian "war" in Idaho, Washington Territory, and Wyoming Territory, while *(c)* the third was often referred to as the Snake or Sheep Eater Indian campaign or "troubles," that took place from August to October 1879 in Idaho.

Before summarizing these conflicts and their connections to Yellowstone National Park in particular, an introductory word on what historian Frederick E. Hoxie has called the "self-justifying rhetoric" of violence in the history of Indian-white relations seems in order (Personal communication, May 20, 1997). As we have already seen, traditional historians of the Indian wars of the West generally adopted words like "raid" or "skirmish" or even "feud" to characterize the intrusions by parties of Blackfeet and other tribes into the Yellowstone Plateau during the early fur-trapping and "mountain man" years. In those instances the terms usually evoked stealthy, hit-and-run attacks by adventuresome Indian warriors on the prowl for guns, horses or furs from whomever they might encounter, Indians or non-Indians. These terms covered the pitched battles and hand-to-hand combat necessary to gain the war honors and the booty that would win heightened status for the tribesmen once they returned home. So we might well ask if the conflicts in this chapter were in fact fully-fledged wars, or are they more aptly characterized on an individual basis as, "a military version of that childhood game known as blind man's buff," which is how Aubrey Haines described the Yellowstone Park chapter of the Nez Perce War of 1877 (Haines 1996:219), or "a summer of fox-and-hounds chase," as Brigham D. Madsen referred to the Bannock War of 1878 (Madsen 1986:108), or a "pathetic affair...committed to memory by Idaho historians under the presumptuous title of 'the Sheep Eater War'" of 1879 (Liljeblad 1972:39)?

What is similar about the violence to be summarized in this chapter, however, is that the anxieties raised by the native peoples that were moving in and around the western boundary of the park presented opportunities for military authorities to argue for their own protective role to the park. They provided justification for park officials to try and

persuade Indian agencies to keep tighter rein on their Indians. We also detect a semantic shift in terminology. Instead of "raid" or "attack" we now have the formalized introduction of that inflammatory word *war*, and the intrusion of a logic of military retaliation which that rhetoric for Indian-white conflict kicked into gear.

Throughout the history of Indian-white relations we often get the impression that this shift from "raid" to "war" reflects the spirit of the times, when an emotional vocabulary was needed for military strategists and their supporting politicians to respond to public outcry for redress against perceived threats to its security. On the other hand, might not this semantic shift from "raid" to "war" have also quite accurately reflected new terms of engagement, in which native peoples had decided to resist diplomatic or other maneuvers to shrink their territory or to remove them altogether, or to mount a last-ditch form of collective defiance against perceived oppression? In the brief span of three years, the park experienced this semantic shift as it bore witness to outbreaks by invading Nez Perce (1877) and neighboring Bannocks (1878) as well as perhaps overblown problems with the western group of Sheep Eaters (1879). Another incidental commonality among these hostilities was that they all drew the involvement of the same veteran Indian fighter, General Oliver Otis Howard; in the general's own mind, suggests historian Robert M.. Utley, there may even have been a deeper connection, for "the Bannock-Pauite War enable[d] the one-armed 'praying general' to gloss over the stains left on his reputation by the Nez Perce War" (Utley1973:329). A third common feature was that none of them appear to have been directed against the park's existence or its authorities per se. But their most profound shared causes were the similar losses to each of these American Indian peoples of their ways of life and land tenure. A surprising appreciation of this deeper background shared by the Nez Perce, Bannock and Sheep Eater conflicts was offered by Mrs. Emma Carpenter Cowan, which she even spiced with a little cultural critique of her own society. What makes her paragraph so unaccountably charitable is that this is the same 24-year-old woman who was captured, along with her husband George Cowan, on her second wedding anniversary, August 23, 1877, by the Nez Perce rebels in Yellowstone National Park. Despite watching her wounded husband nearly die, and enduring fears for her own fate, she would later write:

> ...a tribe of Indians is located on a reservation. Gold is discovered thereon by the prospector. A stampede follows. The strong arm of the government alone prevents the avaricious pale face from possessing himself of the land forwith. Soon negotiations are pending with as little delay as a few yards of red tape will admit. A treaty is signed, the land is ceded to the government and opened to settlers, and "Lo, the poor Indian" finds himself on a tract of a few degrees more arid, a little less desirable than his former home. The Indian has few rights the average white settler feels bound to respect [Cowan 1931-59:169–170].

As for their impact on Yellowstone National Park, the trio of hostilities about to be profiled would rattle its public relations image for years to come. They would also leave an indelible mark on the park's management towards Native Americans. But from today's vantage point they seem a little out of proportion to any real threats, which seem to deserve more of a law enforcement than national military response.

1. The Nez Perce War of 1877. Following the park's formation in 1872 there were occasional expressions of concern by park employees concerning poaching by Indian hunters. But it was the Nez Perce outbreak of 1877 which aroused a profound sense of vulnerability among potential tourists, and official concern about the park's ability to protect its borders. The immediate origins of this particular campaign, whose denouement included a clumsy but bloody dash through Yellowstone National Park, can be traced back to the mid-1850s. That was when an energetic governor of the Washington Territory, Isaac I. Stevens, sought to snap up millions of acres from Plateau and Columbia River Indian tribes through the most intense period of treaty-making in which the United States government would ever engage. Among the forty-five treaties which Stephens and his aides hastily drafted and managed to authorize with Indian "signatures" was one signed in May 1855 with the Nez Perce.

The thrust of this document was the turnover by the Nez Perce of their vast countryside across the mountains, valleys and rivers of southeastern Washington, northeastern Oregon and north-central Idaho, and the acceptance of a 5,000-square-mile reservation in Idaho. But tribal feelings about this treaty were by no means unanimous, since it demanded the surrender of the Nez Perces' beloved Wallowa Valley. Already splits within the tribe had been exacerbated by Christian missionaries, with the result that outsiders, at least, divided the Nez Perce into "Christian" and "pagan" factions. With the dissent over the 1855 land cessation, however, there was now an added gulf between the viewpoints of progressive or "treaty," and traditional or "nontreaty," members of the tribe.

In the early 1860s, after gold was discovered within the new reservation, some Nez Perce were pressured into accepting an even smaller reservation along the Clearwater River. However, the "non-treaty" group had shunned both agreements, with one group camped on the lower Salmon River under the leadership of White Bird, while a second clung to the Wallowa country, located across

Figure 4.7. Nez Perce warriors revisiting site of Baronett Bridge, which they partially destroyed in 1877 (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #YELL 37810).

the Snake River in eastern Oregon. Heading the latter community was the Nez Perce named *Heinmot Tooyalakekt* ("Thunder Coming From Water Over Land"), but who had been baptized at the age of three as "Joseph" (Halfmoon 1996:309). According to Nez Perce themselves, Joseph was actually a "civil chief" rather than a "war chief," whom circumstances soon thrust into military leadership. Although the fertile Wallowa Valley was opened up to white settlement, and these nontreaty leaders finally submitted to the whiteman's insistence upon their removal, a violent outburst by some of White Bird's young warriors in June 1977 left four white settlers dead.

Expecting the worst, the anti-treaty Nez Perce now gathered their forces. Within weeks a series of bloody engagements began to move eastward like giant footsteps, from western Idaho and eventually covering over 1,200 miles until they came to a sad denouement on October 5 on Montana's Snake Creek, less than forty miles from the U.S.–Canadian border. During five days of that exhausting chain of heated fights and nightly outmaneuvering, as the outnumbered Nez Perce rebels feinted and clashed in their last bid for freedom—described by U.S. Library of Congress historian Robert M. Utley as "one of history's great—and tragic—odysseys" (Utley 1984:190)—the Indians were inside Yellowstone National Park. The story of their traversing of the park under Chief Joseph has been told often and requires no more than brief summary here, drawn from accounts in Lang (1990), Utley (1973) and Wilfong (1990).

Some time around August 22nd Nez Perce scouts are believed to have first crossed into the park, moving along the Madison and then the Firehole Rivers, and on the morning of August 24, taking prisoner the Frank Carpenter party, early tourists in the park. Returning to the main body of Nez Perce with their captives, initially the whites were freed, but a subsequent tense encounter saw one of them severely wounded and three others escape into the trees. Riding along Trout Creek, the next day the Indians headed on to what became known as Nez Perce Ford, and on August 26th the rest of these prisoners were released.

But the Nez Perce were splintered into somewhat separate groups, and one band of independent-minded warriors engaged in two more attacks on tourists, near Mud Volcano and just north of Mammoth Hot Springs, leaving two dead victims behind them. As if aware of the consequences, the Indians quickly headed north, burning James Henderson's ranch house and then trying to put the seven-year-old Baronett Bridge at Junction Butte at the junction of the Lamar and Yellowstone Rivers out of commission behind them. Aside from yanking out some beams, however, and trying to burn them up, the runaways caused only minor delays to General Howard pressing on their rear, who was forced to halt for the three hours it took to repair the span.

Although the combined forces of Generals Howard and William T. Sherman were gearing up for a pincer movement to grab the Indians when they emerged out of the Clarks Fork Canyon on the park's eastern slopes, Nez Perce scouts seem to have second-guessed the strategy. Riding to the crest of the Clarks Fork canyon, the Indians first crossed the eastern end of Sunlight Basin and then performed one of their most cunning maneuvers of the entire campaign. It was as if in finding a way to outsmart the whites in escaping from the Yellowstone Plateau they were making up for their fumbling around for the most efficient Madison River entry into it, which had caused that first run-in with the tourists a week before.

Instead of exiting from Sunlight Basin in plain sight of one group of eagerly waiting soldiers—headed by Colonel Samuel D. Sturgis—the Nez Perce party diverted onto a little trail that led from Dead Indian Hill, as if making for the Shoshone River. But then they doubled back and abandoned this trail altogether, descending instead down a narrow, heavily shaded, rocky draw on the east side of Dead Indian Hill, before hurriedly returning to the Clarks Fork. By this time the impatient Col. Sturgis had repositioned his troops from the Clarks Fork over to the Stinking Water. But soon General Howard was back at the Clarks Fork Canyon entrance and discovered, to the chagrin of all, that the Indians were already long gone. According to Nez Perce themselves, accusations that Joseph's Nez Perce were initially lost in the park are erroneous. They maintain that a man named *Ho-to-toe-e*, who "was familiar with the country east of the Rocky Mountains...he always live there, raised there," had led them through

(Lang 1990:22, cites unpublished interviews with historian Lucullus McWhorter; the Nez Perce movements through Yellowstone National Park are expertly summarized in Lang 1990, while a day-by-day itinerary of Nez Perce movements written for park visitors is in Wilfong 1990:226–272).

In fact, after his exhaustive study of the Nez Perce experience in the Yellowstone Plateau, historian William L. Lang suggests that the hungry, weary Indians most likely tarried in the park to get some much-needed rest, to hunt the grass-fattened elk, to enjoy the meadows and groves which were reminiscent of home. He concludes:

> The Nez Perces wanted to stay in the Park. In other words, they *decided* to remain in the Park; they were not there because of disorientation or incompetence.... Throughout their ordeal, the Nez Perces had pursued the same strategy: avoidance of conflict with whites and attainment of sanctuary. What they wanted was their true and just homeland and an end to harassment. Those days in the Park may have been the closest they came to their goals during their heroic flight [Lang 1990:29].

The Nez Perce claim of long experience with this terrain is buttressed by the fact that the pass over Dead Indian Hill, at least, had experienced all sorts of traffic over many years. First it was a well-known game migration route (U.S. National Archives—Rocky Mountain Region, R.G. N.95, Records of The Forest Service Historical files, 1900–65, Box 15, Folder #81, Narrative by J. K. Rollinson, May 15, 1935); then it was part of the Bannock Trail used by different Indians groups for countless decades, after which it became known as the precipitous "Beaver Slide" stretch of an early wagon route. But we might interject here that its place-name has, on occasion, been erroneously associated with the Nez Perce war. The story goes that a Nez Perce insurgent was slain on top, when in fact the killing of the Indian for which it was remembered occurred the following year, during the Bannock campaign. The Bannock was said to have first been wounded by U.S. troops during General Miles' first assault on the Bannocks south of Clark, Wyoming, and only the following day was killed and scalped by Crow Indian scouts. Then his grave was marked by a pile of stones with an upright steel bar sticking out of one side (Shoshone National Forest 1941:7; Rollinson n.d.:7).

Such was that important chapter of the Nez Perce "war" which was staged within Yellowstone National Park. One still hears folklore about a secret meeting on the Sunlight Basin between Chief Joseph or his sub-chief Looking Glass and the Crow leader, Chief Plenty Coups, during these anxious days. There are also unverifiable stories that a few Nez Perce asked some friendly Crows to adopt their children in order to keep them out of harm's way. Eager to enlist their old trading partners in their struggle, and possibly in its Dreamer ideology of nativistic renewal, a third story goes that the Nez Perce were apparently disappointed to learn that the Crows would stick with their tried and true posture of neutrality—which did not prevent them from signing on as occasional U.S. government scouts against both the Bannocks and the Nez Perce. But our project was unable to elicit native verification regarding such a clandestine conference.

It is interesting, however, that the climactic Nez Perce escape maneuver was conducted in the shadow of an important if enigmatic American Indian cultural feature to the north and east of the park. This is the semicircle of angular boulders atop the 8,673-foot Dead Indian Hill, which Billings researcher Ken Feyhl recorded in July 3–4, 1976, as "Bicentennial Rock Structure #48PA44." Conjectures for its function include vision quest structure, fortification, or, most plausibly in Feyhl's opinion, an observation post.

One indication of native topographical knowledge is the presence of indigenous mapping, which has proved elusive for Yellowstone. A depiction on a buffalo hide by unidentified Indians including "among other things a little incredible, a Volcano...distinctly described on Yellow Stone" was collected by the Governor of Louisiana Territory, James Wilkinson, and sent to Thomas Jefferson, who thereupon deposited it in the University of Virginia where it was destroyed by a fire (Haines 1974:4). However the only native-drawn "name glyph," or pictographic representation for Yellowstone National Park or its geyser field that our study was able to turn up was an indirect product of this Nez Perce campaign. The image is found on a pictorial map of the 1877 war's

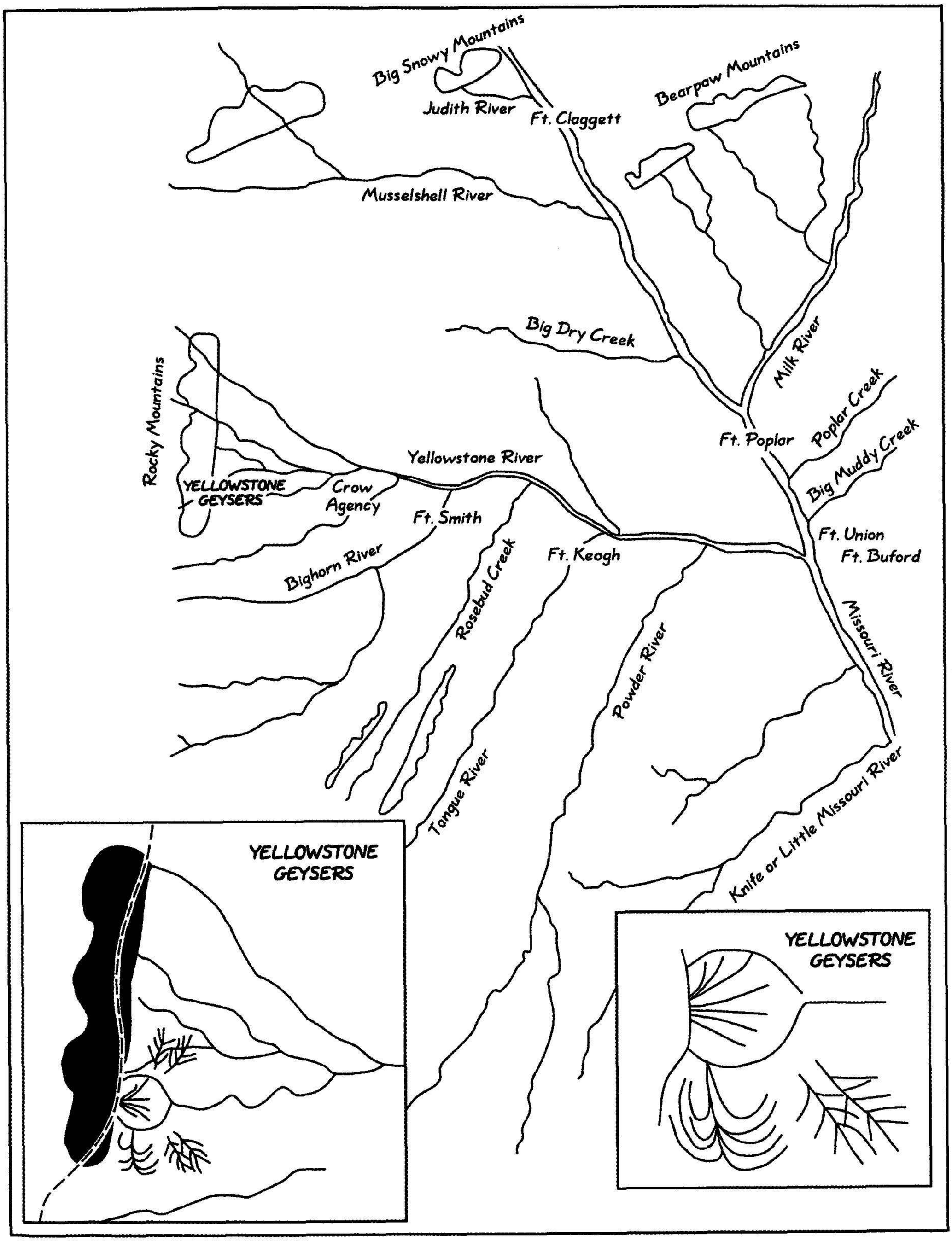


Figure 4.8. Scheme of map by Cheyenne scout, Crazy Mule, depicting Yellowstone-Milk river country, with insets from actual map showing Yellowstone geyser field (From Fredlund et al., 1996, p. 14–15).

stage of operations which was drawn by a Northern Cheyenne Indian scout named John Crazy Mule who was stationed at Fort Keogh in Montana Territory between 1877 and 1890 (Fredlund et al. 1996). One of two drawings made by this individual with red lines on lined ledger book paper in about the year 1880, the document was discovered among the papers of the military ethnographer, John Gregory Bourke, that are deposited in the archives division of the Joselyn Art Museum in Omaha, Nebraska.

Crazy Mule's depiction of the Nez Perce campaign focuses on the Yellowstone, or "Elk," and Milk River drainages. Especially interesting are his details of the battles on Rosebud Creek and in the Bearpaw Mountains. But the artist also indicates a skirmish on the Nez Perce escape route near the extreme left side of the map, where the headwaters of the Yellowstone are depicted branching out as they flow downward from the mountain range and past the Yellowstone geyser field. As Fredlund et al. decipher the sprays of encircled and isolated lines beneath the isolated mountain range located here:

> A knowledge of Northern Plains Indian pictography allows a rough interpretation of these pictographs; however, their specific references rely on historic sources, discussed below. Following the first trail down the left side of the map, one finds a pictograph at the foot of the mountain range on one of the upper branches of the Yellowstone River. The pictograph consists of a circle enclosing a series of short lines. Trees surround the circle. A figure apparently representing a geyser...The closest interpretation this glyph allows is "they were surrounded in a grove near geysers" [Fredlund et al. 1996:13].

The Nez Perce warpath had hardly cooled before one of two typical responses by would-be tourists to Yellowstone National Park set in. On the one hand, then as today there was a fascination to view the actual scene of the tense encounters, as evidenced during the tour made by the H.W. Hutton party in September, 1881, which generally retraced the Nez Perce route into the park by way of the Madison valley. After an overnight at Driftwood along the bank of the West Fork, the party of five female and four male visitors were thrilled to be shown the very spot "where a party of citizens from Willow camped; their object was to steal horses from Joseph band of Nez Perce. The Indians made their appearance on the bluff above their camp, fired on them and stampeded their horses, so they were compelled to go home on foot" (YNP Archives, H.W. Hutton Account of Trip Through Yellowstone National Park (1881), Typescript, page 2).

On the other hand, some doubt about the government's invincibility had been cast by the facility with which those renegade Nez Perce had penetrated the sanctity of America's first national park. Even as late as 1900, the park's acting superintendent, a captain of the First Cavalry, would feel compelled to reassure a prospective visitor who had written anxiously about rumors of hostile Indians, and about the whereabouts of hot springs to assuage his rheumatism, "There are no Indians in the park, and no more outlaws that may be found in any other part of the West; you would be as safe in the park as in your own home"(YNP Archives, Letters Sent, V. 9, Oct. 2, '99 to Sept. 9, 90; May 4th, 1900).

2. The Bannock War of 1878. If the greater Yellowstone region is to be remembered for its historical role in any Indian-white hostilities, the Bannock War would actually seem a far more suitable candidate than the Nez Perce war. For while it did not see a bloodshed directly within the park boundaries, the fighting raged all around it, its origins were more steeped in the region's history, and like the Nez Perce the year before, the Bannock rebels would cut through the northern reaches of the park in hopes of joining up with Sitting Bull in Canada (Thompson and Thompson 1982:106). And finally, aftershocks from this flareup would reverberate the longest, as rumors of Bannocks on the loose in the park would be heard well into the 1890s.

In the fall of 1868 two government officials made an optimistic assessment of Bannock and Sheep Eater receptivity to settling down to constructive reservation life. "They are peacefully disposed towards the whites," wrote S.S. Commissioner W. J. Cullen and Acting Governor of Montana James Tufts in their notes to a treaty they had negotiated with these Indians, "They are tractable and intelligent, receiving instruction quite

readily..." (Kappler 1904:709). In no small measure it was official neglect and empty stomachs which forced the Bannocks and Shoshones at the Fort Hall Reservation to continue to break the rules. In 1875, agent W.H. Danilson, an apparently sympathetic man with a respect for the limited survival options open to his charges, reported with nonjudgmental candor:

> Owing to the small amount appropriated for their support the majority of the Indians have been obliged to resort to the mountains in quest of game for their subsistence....Quite a number of the Bannacks, who have heretofore *gone to the Yellowstone country to spend the winter hunting buffalo*, concluded last fall to forgo their annual hunt and spent the winter on the reservation. Unfortunately the supply of beef became exhausted about the 1st of January, and they, together with the Shoshones, were here all winter with scarcely any meat at all. They became thoroughly disgusted with the reservation, and early this summer struck out for their old hunting-grounds [Danilson 1875:258, emphasis ours].

The following year Danilson's acknowledged that conditions had not improved. Rations were insufficient, and even ran completely out before the year was done. Then heavy snow prevented the Indians from going out to hunt on their own, and they were forced to beg at his door to avoid starvation (Danilson 1876).

Under these circumstances, it was probably little surprise to Danilson that when the next hunting season rolled around he counted nearly half of the 1,052 Indians under his responsibility as absent from the reservation, "on the road to and from" their buffalo-hunting grounds—by which he conceivably meant the Bannock Trail through Yellowstone National Park. Meanwhile, at Fort Hall rumors of troops coming to quell the Nez Perce had caused his Bannocks to be "rather restless" (Danilson 1877 "Report of Fort Hall Agency," in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington).

The immediate provocation often cited as the match that ignited this unstable situation was non-Indian invasion of the Indians' favored grounds for digging their staff of life—bulbs of the camas plant. After the Treaty of 1868 failed to protect this expanse in eastern Idaho, white stockmen and farmers took over. When packs of domesticated pigs rooted out the plants, the Bannocks became furious. In Indian oral history, this resentment was fixed in time and space in a story which held that the war actually erupted after their disturbed camas pastures were discovered in 1878 and they left for the warpath following the harvest. Anthropologist Sven Liljeblad maintains that the insurgents actually broke away before the camas harvest had taken place, on May 30th (Liljeblad 1971:8)—possibly because the outrage had rendered it futile and they were inspired to lash back without delay.

The Nez Perce and Bannock outbursts shared some interesting features. First was a geographical connection. Against the background of unrest at home, it did not take much for angry Shoshones and Bannocks, fewer than 200 strong, to break north and east, with the last surviving insurgents following much the same Yellowstone National Park route pursued by Nez Perce the year before. As for a second, curious tie-in between the Nez Perce and Bannock hostilities, whereas the Lemhi Shoshone Chief Tendoy cautioned restraint among his people, it fell to the Bannock successor to Chief Pocatello, a young warrior named Buffalo Horn, who had actually served as a government scout during the Sioux and Nez Perce campaigns, now to assume command of the rebellious Bannocks. But the third, and probably most important link between these hostilities was their shared spiritual ideology. Behind both flareups loomed the influence of anti-Euro-American nativistic movements, originating in spirit from the 1870 California and Great Basin Ghost Dance prophets, but more directly from the new religion spawned by the Columbia River Dreamers, and spearheaded by the Wanapum holy man, Smoholla (Ruby and Brown 1989:68–69). The Nez Perce called their take on this Dreamer religion, "turning around oneself," and they emphasized visions acquired in dreams, a single deity, cleanliness and respect for the female earth (Aoki 1979:84–85). And just as Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce had the Dreamer-influenced religious advisor named Toohoolhoolzote constantly by his side through-

out their escape trek through the park to the eventual showdown in the Bear Paw Mountains, so did the Bannock uprising have a Northern Paiute shaman, named Oytes, from the Malheur Agency in Oregon, apparently contributing his militant interpretation of Smoholla's doctrine.

As the succession of bloody clashes between a few hundred Bannock, Paiute and Umatilla insurgents and white farmers, volunteer patrols, government surveyors and military troops unfolded across southern Idaho and into Wyoming, the rebel leaders were picked off one by one (much of the following data comes from historian Kyle V. Walpole's recent reconstruction of the Bannock campaign for the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, especially his research into its climax on Bennett Butte to the east of Yellowstone National Park; Walpole 1997). First, Buffalo Horn was killed on June 6th in an encounter with armed Silver City, Idaho civilians. About two weeks later, the Paiute leader, Egan, who had filled his moccasins, died in another fight within his own Malheur Reservation in eastern Oregon. As the hostile Indians then fell under the leadership of a Paiute medicine man named Oytes, the Bannocks and Paiutes split into smaller bands, but Oytes finally surrendered on August 12th. This left a greatly reduced group of primarily Bannock rebels still at large.

Pursued by forces under various U.S. military officers, these Indians rustled livestock and exchanged glancing blows with soldiers as they bolted for the east. In late August a group that now amounted to no more than sixty to seventy Bannocks sought their old familiar entryways into Yellowstone National Park (This is apparently when the J.H. Schoenberger Jr. party, touring through the park and enjoying a hot spring interlude, were spotted by "a party of Bannack Indians," and barely escaped a repeat performance of the Nez Perce encounter a year before; all the Indians got were two buffalo robes, scooped up without even dismounting, before disappearing into the woods—*Bozeman Avant Courier* Nov. 28, 1878). The Indians headed over Targhee Pass and across the Madison and the Gardner rivers, then rode up the Lamar Valley and eventually dropped down the Sunlight Basin to camp along a sharp bend where the Clark's Fork emerges onto the Bighorn Basin—about a mile from today's Belfry-to-Cody Road. Meanwhile, embarked upon his own leisurely pack trip towards Yellowstone National Park, the famous Indian fighter, General Nelson A. Miles got word of the Bannock uprising, and instantly transformed from tourist to commander. Driving his troops hard towards the Heart Mountain area so that they could position an ambush from some piney hills near Bennett Creek, on September 4th Miles gave the order for a surprise attack on the unsuspecting Bannocks, who were defeated and scattered within two hours (Walpole 1997:32–36).

By the time Miles had corralled about 250 Indian horses and 32 prisoners, buried the dead and cared for the wounded, the Bannock breakout had cost around 80 Indian lives at least, about 40 non-Indian casualties, and a bill to the U.S. Treasury of over $556,000. But it had also cost the park another blow to its aspirations as a safe and secure tourist attraction. This new flurry of military activity in and around the plateau only reinforced a general uneasiness that the region was not entirely purged of its potentially dangerous original inhabitants.

As for the captured insurgents, some were marched to Fort Brown (later Ft. Washakie), others were dispersed to "allotments within the Territories," while a handful escaped only to ultimately wend their way to Fort Hall to blend in with their resident fellow tribespeople (Thompson and Thompson 1982:107–109). For the military, however, the Bannock affair was perhaps more of a public relations success than a military triumph. For after the larger Sioux campaigns of 1876 and 1877, this outbreak cinched the arguments made by General Sheridan and others that their depleted forces needed significant reinforcement; by 1879 new appropriations of money and manpower for the military were pouring into the northern Plains (Burlingame 1942: 242–244)

3. The Sheep Eater War of 1879. One year after the Bannock War a much smaller band of Idaho Shoshoneans, known as "Mountain Snakes" or Sheep Eaters, who lived along the Salmon River, got embroiled in what became officially listed as a "trouble," or the "Sheepeater Campaign." Although the government's problems with these Sheep Eaters involved those who resided in central Idaho, and not the Wyoming-Montana hunt-

ers of high-altitude mammals, as mentioned in Chapter 3, any Shoshonean bands known by that name, such as had resided in Yellowstone National Park, would be stigmatized through association because of this conflict. Of this particular group of Sheep Eaters it is said they had greater affinities with the Plateau rather than with the Great Basin culture area, and a number of them had taken up horses and buffalo hunting, although Madsen maintains that they "hunted buffalo in a seasonal cycle different from the Fort Hall pattern" (Madsen 1980:19). Long after other Shoshones settled on reservations, "a small remnant of culturally conservative Sheep Eaters kept up their old mountain life" (Madsen 1980:19).

Triggers for these troubles were the killing of five Chinese on Loon Creek, a tributary of the Middle Fork of the Salmon River, and the discovery of two dead white settlers on the river's South Fork. While it was rumored around Bonanza, Idaho, that the Chinese murders may have been the work of whites disguised as Indians, it was the white deaths which prompted General O. O. Howard to investigate. Apparently Howard had already been itching to subdue what was said to be the last holdout of hostiles from the Bannock War along the Middle Fork of the Salmon (Corless 1990:116–117). But even according to Col. W. C. Brown, who was second in command during the Sheep Eater episode, the local Indians had some justification for resisting military intrusion into their country:

> They [the Salmon River Sheep Eaters] had been in this unexplored and almost inaccessible region for generations, with apparently no hostility to the Whites, and they might be there now but for the fact that in an evil day they were joined by a few refugees from the Bannock War of 1878, and it seems probable that the murders of the Chinamen at Oro Grande (Casto) and [Hugh] John and [Peter] Dorsey on the South Fork of the Salmon in May were instigated by these new additions to the small tribe.
>
> The real Sheepeaters, the old residents, resented [Lieutenant Henry] Catley's invasion. He was trespassing on *their* country—theirs and their ancestors before them from time immemorial. They fought to repel the invader—and who would not [Brown 1926:14]?

Looked at today, the episode seems more like a mopping-up police action than a major military campaign, with soldiers guided by Umatilla Indian scouts being led into the isolated, rough country of today's Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness Area. When Indian snipers managed to pick off one trooper, the Boise newspaper editorialized, "These Indians are enemies to mankind, and have no more right to live than Guerilla highway men. To shoot them down would be an act of justice to the human family" (*Idaho Statesmen*, September 25, 1879, p. 3). The evasive Indians seized every opportunity to ambush their pursuers until eventually, finally flushed out family by family, the government had accumulated forty-four "prisoners of war." As it turned out, the mounted troops and their Indian mercenaries had been pursuing an enemy force whose entire artillery consisted of four carbines, one breech-loading and two muzzle-loading rifles, and a double-barreled shotgun (Janetski 1987:54, citing Madsen 1979: 104). Nor did this campaign conquer all of these conservative Salmon River Sheep Eaters, for according to Madsen, "Eagle Eye's band of Sheep Eaters finally settled in Dry Buck Basin in the Payette River country until the end of the nineteenth century before relinquishing their independent existence as nonreservation Indians" (Madsen 1979:24).

Discouraging Indians in Yellowstone National Park

The rolling sputter of Indian-white hostilities during this 1877–79 period seemed to bear out earlier worries by park officials that the presence of Native Americans might be "a potential deterrent to tourist traffic in the Park," as Joel C. Janetski has phrased it (Janetski 1987:54). Whether one more aptly described these outbursts as "outbreaks" or "police actions" rather than full-fledged wars, local rumors and newspaper reports of the conflicts lent credibility to the spectre of Indian marauders lurking behind every Yellowstone tree and mountain. To minimize such bad publicity in the wake of the admittedly lethal Nez Perce ac-

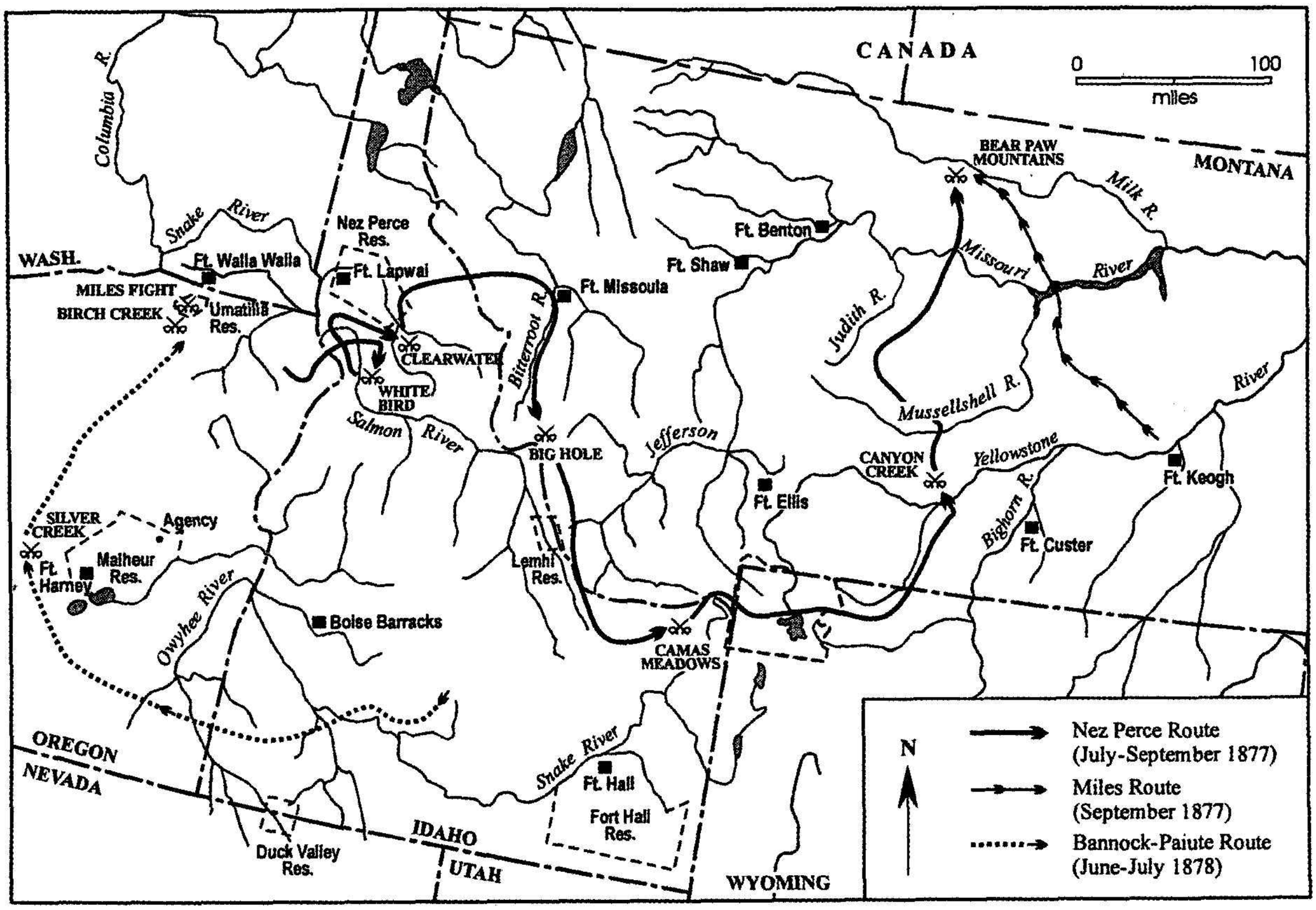


Figure 4.9. Map of Nez Perce and Bannock-Paiute Wars (adapted from Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, *1866–1891 by Robert M. Utley, University of Nebraska Press, 1973, p. 302).*

tions, for his effort at damage control second Superintendent Philetus W. Norris drew upon questionable data about Indians and the park:

> The lamentable Indian raid, burning of houses, bridges, and massacre of innocent tourists within the park, soon after my leaving there, is as anomalous as unexpected; the first, and probably the last of the kind, as it is wholly aside from all Indian routes, and only chosen in the desperation of retreat by the Nez Perces, who have acquired sufficient civilization and Christianity to at least overpower their pagan superstitious fear of earthly fire-hole basins and brimstone pits [Norris 1877:842].

For a number of reasons Norris' efforts at public reassurance are interesting. First, they can be seen as the opening salvo in what Janetski has called "the very effective campaign to characterize the park as taboo to the 'superstitious' indigenous peoples" which will be explored in depth in the following chapter (Janetski 1987:85). Of this personal crusade, historian Mark Spence has written:

> ...Norris believed the best course of action lay in convincing "all the surrounding tribes...that they can visit the park [only] at the peril of a conflict with...the civil and military officers of the government" (Norris 1879:985). To these ends he arranged to have the last resident Sheepeater groups moved to the Wind River reservation in Wyoming where they would be subject to the authority of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Norris also traveled at his own expense to Washington in the spring of 1880 to influence a series of negotiations then underway between the U.S. and the Crow, Shoshone, Bannock, and Sheepeaters regarding certain land cessations and railroad rights of way. He arrived too late to influence the final agreements between the government and the various tribes, but his concerns about Indian use of the national park were made clear to the Crow and Wind River Shoshone. Norris believed his big-

gest problem lay with the Indians of the Fort Hall and Lemhi reservations, however, and he traveled directly from Washington to Idaho to personally elicit a "solemn promise from all [the] Indians to abide by the terms of their treaty in Washington, and also that thereafter they would not enter the park" [Norris 1881:3; P.W. Norris to R.E. Trowbridge, April 26, 1880, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1831" [Microfilm Series M234, Roll 352, Frame 322]; Norris to Carl Schurz, June 221, 1880; Norris to Harry Yount, June 21, 1880, Record Group 48, "Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior Relating to Yellowstone National Park" [Microfilm Series M62, Roll 1, Frames 288–9] [Spence 1997:3–4].

Secondly, Norris' comments on the heels of the Nez Perce affair are historically significant because here was also the first time that a highly placed park official publically invoked any knowledge about the inner workings of Indian culture in order to exploit the stereotype that Indians in general were afraid of the park because of their beliefs concerning its thermal features. Thirdly, Norris also drew upon some historical knowledge of Nez Perce history in particular, for he apparently was aware that French (and Iroquois) Catholic missionaries had successfully converted significant numbers of the tribe in the early 1800s—which was when the group's leader, Joseph, had received his own name. But quite possibly Norris was ignorant of the fact that these particular Nez Perce marauders belonged to the defiantly anti-Christian faction which had come under the influence of the Plateau Prophet movement. To these hostiles Christianity was anathema; they were in the process of consciously reviving those "pagan" beliefs which restored powers to the very Mother Earth whose actions were so awesomely apparent in the park. And fourth and finally, despite his erroneous comment that the Nez Perce escapees had blazed a brand new trail, Norris would grow fascinated with the density of archaeological remains in the park, and evidence of widespread "Indian routes" through the region, especially the well-traveled thoroughfare followed by the Nez Perce and which would be used again by Bannock renegades over the following year.

Norris attempts to reassure visitors that the park was purged of Indians were echoed by at least one popular writer, and proved to be a bit premature. Since the Nez Perce and Bannock-Sheep Eater disturbances, wrote tourist George W. Wingate in 1886 after he and his wife rode horseback through the park, "the Indian difficulty has been cured, the Indians have been forced back on their distant reservations, and the traveller in the park will see or hear no more of them that if he was in the Adirondacks or White Mountains" (Wingate 1886:140). Yet when a Billings Gazette correspondent visited John Yancey's well-known stopover ranch near the mouth of present-day Yancey's Creek in February of 1887, the story he heard about some Bannock families still passing through the park's northwestern corner sounds like a visitation from an earlier era. His informants were Vic Smith, an old-time scout and buffalo hunter, and Dick Rock, a bronc rider and they were recalling an event at their hunting camp on Hellroaring Creek located northeast of today's Tower Junction. Despite the obvious racial slurs and insulting characterizations of Indians in the following article that appeared on the newspaper's front page, it is a confirmation of the Bannock use of trails in the park, even in wintertime, and their continuing reliance on dogs for transport.

> About a month ago [January 1887] it seems that a dozen Bannock Indians and squaws passed this camp with toboggans on which they had meat, hides and papooses attached and dogs harnessed to haul with. The Indians, not receiving much of a welcome, they soon struck out. About half an hour after they passed on, one large dog returned bringing his sled with a pappoose strapped on it. Some poison had been distributed around the shack to kill magpies. Of course the dog took a lunch of the same and soon succumbed.
>
> The boys had a friend from St. Paul sojourning with them. He went out and unhitched the sled from the defunct and brought the sled in, as it was bitter cold, and excavated the kid from the blankets and skins in which he was wrapped. It soon commenced to cry and as none of them had

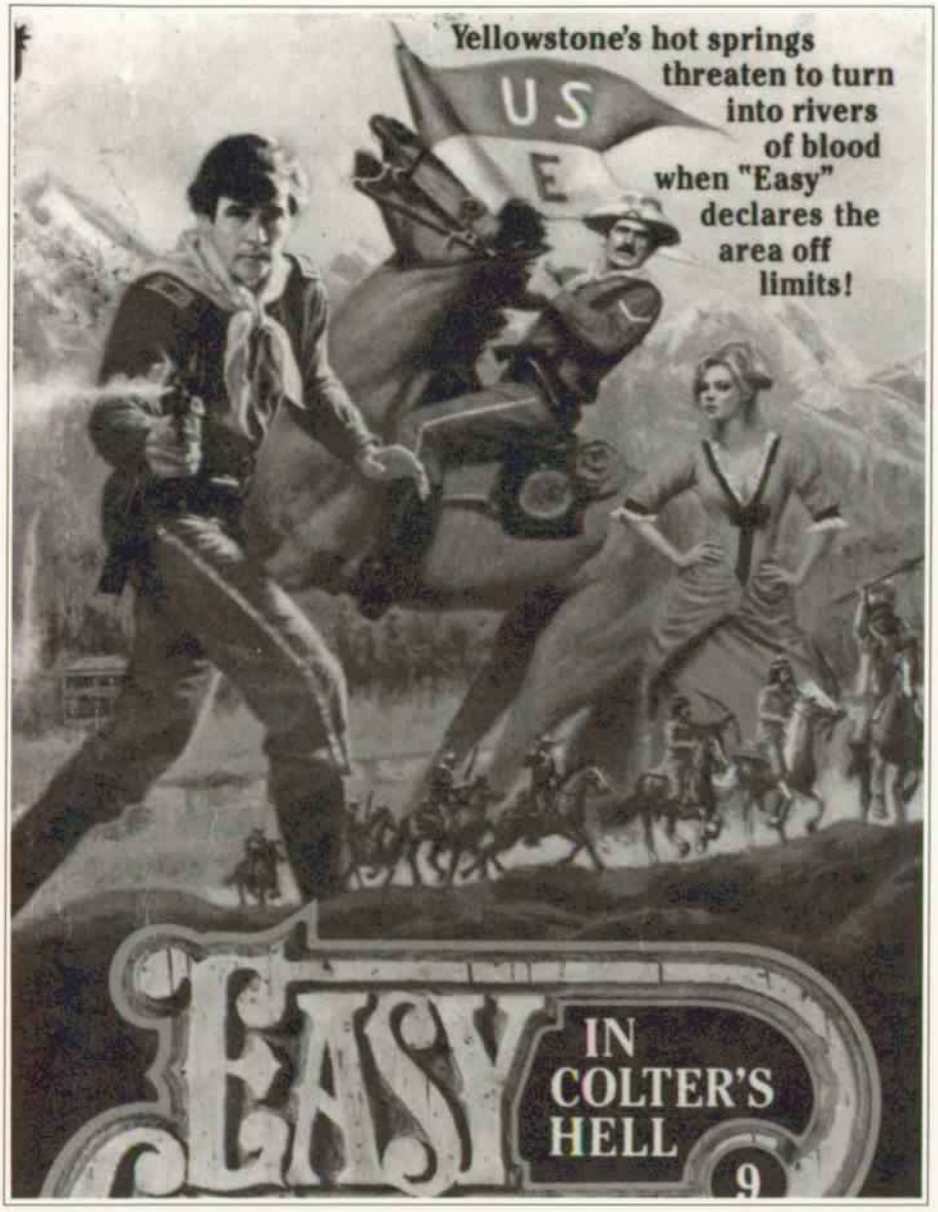


*Figure 4.10. Indian "wars" along the western flank of Yellowstone National Park have influenced popular thinking about the historical role of Yellowstone's Indians down to the present day. This cover of a pulp western novel set in the park features warlike Indians and the U.S. cavalry company assigned to drive them out (*Easy Company in Colter's Hell, *by John Wesley Howard. Jove Publications, New York, 1891).*

even been a father or mother they were in a dilemma. A bacon rind and then a sugar teat were given it, but it was no go, for the squalling still continued. The St. Paulite tapped his Henry Clay forehead (more clay than Henry) and cried "Eureka," and rushed out and unchained a large Newfoundland canine of the female persuasion, belong to Rock, and led her in, while Vic carried the two pups, and Rock was walking the floor with young Lo [a derogatory epithet for Indians of this period, derived from the phrase, "Lo, the Poor Indian"] and singing, "baby mine." The dog was muzzled and thrown down on the marble floor, and the two pups and young aborigine scrambled for the fullest teats. By a unanimous vote they called the kid Romulus.

In about an hour the squaw returned and claimed the maverick. As the boys did not have the youngster branded they cheerfully parted with it [*Billings Gazette*, Wednesday, March 2, 1887, p. 1].

Despite the public relations efforts of Norris and his successors to downplay the cultural and historical roles of different Indian groups in the park area, and their quieter strategy of pressuring

the relevant Indian agencies to keep their native charges under stricter surveillance, the western Indians in particular had minds and needs of their own. In 1886 the U.S. Army assumed control over the park in order to stop any and all manner of threats to its protected animals and forests. No sooner was its first military superintendent, Captain Moses A. Harris, at his new desk, however, than his annoyance fixated on these western Indians for repeatedly trespassing into the park to camp and hunt and set fires. Before long Harris' irritated missives to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Interior, various reservation agents, as well as to concerned conservationists had ignited something of a bureaucratic name-calling controversy, while also arousing popular eastern magazines such as *Forest and Stream* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* to write alarmingly in 1889 about "Indian marauders" in Yellowstone (see discussion and citations from October 1997 version of Mark Spence essay, entitled "First Wilderness: Indian Removal from Yellowstone").

As Spence has learned, fears of Bannocks on the loose in Yellowstone National Park would be heard well into the 1890s. Indeed, it was to counter these "invasions of Indians" cutting across the southwestern corner of the park in order to hunt elk in Jackson Hole that a cluster of white vigilantes conspired, as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs later put it, "to kill some Indians and thus stir up sufficient trouble to subsequently get United States troops into the region..." (*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1894 [Government Printing Office, Washington, 1895], 63–68, 76–77). Spence summarizes what happened next:

> When a large posse arrested some thirty Bannock from the Fort Hall reservation in 1895, killing one and seriously injuring several others, their actions did far more than bring troops in to quell an Indian uprising that never happened. Within a year the Supreme Court would become involved in the question of native rights to hunt off-reservation in the state of Wyoming, and decided firmly in favor of the Jackson Hole residents. In the case of *Ward v Race Horse*, the Court ruled that all treaties guaranteeing native rights to hunt on public lands were predicated on "the disappearance of those [public lands]." Consequently, a posse could enforce state laws that banned native hunters from lands expected to be settled sometime in the future. While it is not clear whether Yellowstone officials lobbied the court, they were certainly pleased with the ruling since it effectively restricted the Shoshone and Bannock to their reservations under penalty of law [Spence 1997:10, and his lengthier treatment in his subsection, "The First Cavalry to the Rescue," Spence 1999:62–70; see also Ward, Sheriff v. Race Horse, May 25, 1986, *Supreme Court Reporter*, vol 16, pp. 1076–1082].

The impact of this case upon the historical legacy of American Indian relations with Yellowstone National Park, and it wider consequences for Indian peoples in general, derived from the fact that this was when U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Edward Douglas White employed legislation which had established the park in the first place "as the legal foundation for any efforts to keep Indians off public lands" (Spence 1999:68). Although smaller groups of Indians would continue to slip clandestinely in and out of the park for various traditional reasons over the following years, the *Ward v. Race Horse* verdict would provide state and federal agencies with a definitive legal precedent for preventing Indians from leaving their reservations across the west, and for keeping them out of public lands like Yellowstone National park (Harring 1994:204–206).

Greater Yellowstone in Far Western Indian Memories

The shadow of historical conflict and interethnic distrust between tribes on the western and northwestern boundaries of Yellowstone National Park and Anglo-Americans continues to color communications and mutual understanding between the two peoples in Idaho and Wyoming. The backdrop of intense hostilities and rampant frontier settlement, unratified treaties and territorial evictions described in this chapter seem to have left their mark on present-day attitudes of Indians to-

wards the federal government and its authorities. Initially, for instance, our letters requesting permission to talk with members of the official culture committee of the Shoshone-Bannocks at the Fort Hall Indian Reservation in the spring of 1994, and to commence interviews for this project, were frustrated. Before Indian representatives at Fort Hall would agree to any discussions, they insisted upon a face-to-face meeting with Yellowstone National Park Superintendent, Michael Finley. Two Yellowstone National Park staff (Laura Joss, then-Chief of Cultural Resources and Susan Kraft, Curator) traveled to Fort Hall to meet with tribal representatives and provide assistance with the Fort Hall Museum. Superintendent Finley met with tribal representatives at Fort Hall in November, 1995.

This meeting issue aside, it was extremely hard to convince Indian officials and residents from both the Wind River and Fort Hall communities that they might have anything to gain from participating in a government-sponsored, fact-finding project on a federally owned and protected landscape from which they felt estranged and which never seemed to welcome their presence. During the time left for the ethnographic survey, however, project consultants Dr. Sharon Kahin and Jan Nixon were able to obtain interviews with knowledgeable Fort Hall elders. As mentioned in the introduction, another consequence of the hundred-plus years of enforced unfamiliarity between these tribes and the park has been the gradual erosion of tribal memory regarding any stories and traditions that fall under our category of "ethnographic resources."

1. Oral Narratives: Myths and Tales. Especially rare to elicit from Northern Shoshoneans were examples of traditional narrative genres relating to the greater Yellowstone region. However, consultant DS, an 89-year-old Bannock woman, who was born in a tipi on Ross Creek in Idaho, did share what apparently was a widespread Shoshonean narrative about the old woman with the basket of salmon, and the creation of certain landscape features—in this case for the origin of certain drop-offs and obstructions along the Snake and Columbia rivers. This account would seem to belong to the category of Shoshonean narrative which tribespeople themselves knew as *l ap nabeguyap*, or "stories about the coyote" (Hultkrantz 1972:345). As she began:

> There's a lot of stories but I can't remember. When my grandpa and all of them started telling stories, I didn't pay attention to them...About this old lady with her basket. Had salmon in it. That Fox kept going around and she told him, leave it alone. Finally, he tipped it over, and that's where that river started, came down there. That Fox kept running, and that water followed him all the way, everywhere he went, it followed him, and that's what the Snake River started...Oh [remembering more details], the Fox carried that basket trying to hold the water back, and every time the water go over, and that's what Idaho Falls dam, American Falls dam, Shoshone Dam, all that was caused by from that he'd trying to hold that basket, you know, so water won't go over it, then water make falls. Then he'd go another way, and he'd try it, and that make American Falls and Shoshone Falls. Finally, he got tired way down then and he just threw that basket in the river. That's what's sitting in the middle of Columbia River or Snake River [DS Interview December 15, 1995].

Not surprisingly, it was through a man who happened to be a direct ancestor of our Bannock consultant that Robert Lowie, during his career's inaugural field trip for New York's American Museum of Natural History in 1909, was able to collect two other versions of this same story at Idaho's Lemhi Reservation. The first version takes place "below Teton Basin" (Lowie 1909:278) and the protagonist is Coyote rather than Fox. As Coyote upsets the old woman's willow fish basket, he frees the salmon. Then he performs the second important deed, which is to erect two rocks "below Ross Fork" creek, so that they could not descend any farther, and he instructs the salmon that they must now come upstream every spring.

In Lowie's second version, the old woman treats Coyote to his first taste of salmon flesh, whereupon he first steps on the basket to spill out its fish and then constructs the dam. Only this second version follows the Bannock account above, in that "the water broke the dam," causing Coyote to frantically run downstream and create another

dam. After this, he instructs the salmon, "Every spring you must go up the mountains and spawn" (Lowie 1909:278).

But perhaps the most elaborated version of this basic narrative was collected in 1953 from a Northern Shoshone named Ralph Dixey, who was then living in southeastern Idaho. Dixey related the narrative to popular folklorist Ella E. Clark who added in the published version that Dixey's wife, a Bannock, had also heard the story from members of her family. Unlike the foregoing variants, it directly draws topographic features of Yellowstone National Park into its narrative. Here is the Dixey narrative:

> Long ago there was no river in this part of the country. No Snake River ran through the land. During that time a man came up from the south. No one knows what kind of person he was, except that among his people he was always nosing around, always sticking his nose into everything.
>
> He came through this valley, traveled north past Teton, and then went up on a mountain in what is now called the Yellowstone country. He looked around there and soon found an old lady's camp. She had a big basket of fish in water—all kinds of fish—and the man was hungry. So he said to her, "I am hungry. Will you boil some fish for me?"
>
> "Yes, I will cook some for you," the old lady answered. "But don't bother my fish," she warned, as she saw him looking into the basket.
>
> But he did not obey her. While she was busy cooking, he kept nosing around, kept monkeying around. At last he stepped on the edge of the basket and spilled the fish. The water spread all over.
>
> The man ran fast, ahead of the water, and tried to stop it. He piled some rocks up high, in order to hold the waters back. But the water broke his dam and rushed over the rocks. That's where Upper Yellowstone Falls are now. The man ran ahead of the water again, and again he tried to stop it. Four or five miles below Yellowstone Falls he built another pile of rocks. But that didn't hold the water back either. The rush of water broke that dam, too. That's where Lower Yellowstone Falls are today. The water kept on rushing and formed the Yellowstone River.
>
> Then the man ran to the opposite side of the fish basket, to the other side of the water emptying from it. He built another dam down the valley where Idaho Falls are now. By the time he got there, the flood had become bigger and swifter. And so, though the man built a big dam, the water broke it and rushed on down the valley.
>
> Again he ran, overtook the water, and built another dam. "Here's where I'm going to stop it," he said to himself. But the water had become bigger and bigger, swifter and swifter. So it broke that dam and left the American Falls where they are today.
>
> The man rushed ahead and built two piles of rocks in the form of a half-circle, one pile where Shoshone Falls are now and one where Twin Falls are now. "I'll really stop the water this time," he said to himself. But the water filled the dam, broke it, and rushed over the rocks in giant waterfalls.
>
> The man ran ahead, down to near where Huntington, Oregon, is today. There the valley narrows into a canyon. "Here's where I'll stop the water," he said, "here between these high hills."
>
> So he built a dam and walked along on top of it, singing and whistling. He was sure he had stopped the water this time. He watched it coming toward him, sure that he would soon see it stop. It filled the dam, broke it, and rushed on down the canyon. Hell's Canyon, its called today.
>
> Just before the dam broke, the man climbed up on top of the canyon wall.
>
> "I give up," he said, as he watched the water rush through the gorge. "I won't build any more dams. They don't stop that water."
>
> After the river left Hell's Canyon, it became wide again and very swift. The wa-

ter went on down to Big River and then on down to the ocean, taking with it the big fish that had spilled out of the old lady's basket. That's why we have only small fish up here. Salmon and sturgeon were carried on down to the ocean, and they have never been able to get back up here because of the waterfalls. Salmon used to come up as far as Twin Falls, a long time ago, but they don't come now.

The big fish basket that the man tipped over is Yellowstone Lake. The water that he spilled ran off in two directions. Some of it made the Snake River, as I have told you, and finally reached the Columbia and the Pacific. Some of it ran the other way and made the Yellowstone River and then reached the Missouri River.

Who was the old lady with the basket of water and fish? She was Mother Earth. Who was the man who wanted to see everything, who was always sticking his nose into everything? He was *Ezeppa*, or Coyote [Clark 1966: 174–177].

What is curious about Dixey's fuller version of the origin of the Snake and Yellowstone Rivers is how it seems to be a reversal of other Plateau narratives in which the protagonist Coyote—the "man from the south," the narratives say, as if to emphasize that this is a Shoshonean and not a Salish or Sahaptin Coyote—is involved with maximizing the fishing opportunities for his Indian people. Now in all of these stories we are witnessing Coyote in his role as Transformer and protector of Indians, the aspect of Coyote's multiple personality which the scholar William Bright describes as "Coyote the Brocoleur," when the more positive accomplishments of the trickster figure may include "the slaying of monsters, the theft of natural resources for the benefit of man, the teaching of cultural skills, and the ordaining of laws" (Bright 1993:35). Folklorist Jarold Ramsey sets such activities in the middle stage of the three loosely defined and overlapping time periods of Plateau Indian narratives—the Myth Age, the Age of Transformation, and the Historical Age (Ramsey 1977:xxiv).

But in most Plateau stories where Coyote is meddling with dams in the Age of Transformation for the benefit of his Indian people, his efforts are either devoted to unsuccessfully securing salmon for those "dawn people" on the eastern side of the Continental Divide who lack the benefit of well-stocked streams (Miller et al. 1974:16–19) or to tearing down preexisting obstructions so that western "sunset" Indians can have access to the spawning runs of salmon and other fish. In the Nez Perce version of "Coyote Breaks the Fish Dam at Celilo," for instance, Coyote is en route from fishing country of the plateau to the buffalo-hunting country of Montana and stops at a waterfall along the Snake River. When he breaks a fish dam used by five sisters, he admonishes them:

> "You have deprived all the people of salmon and fish for such a long time by keeping them from going upstream. Now the people will be happy to get the salmon. Now salmon will go straight upriver and spawn, and the people will have salmon to eat"...This is how Celilo [Oregon] originated, where the Wasco people are today. Because Coyote tore down the fish dams, salmon could come upriver and spawn [Walker 1994:49].

As if Coyote were attuned to the different ecological niches in which different tribes find themselves, however, in the Dixey and Lowie variants above he tries unsuccessfully to engineer *the exact opposite effect*. On behalf of these Shoshone or Bannock ancestors of the higher altitudes he tries to construct a series of lasting dams that will contain what precious fish Indians could find in these upstream, more mountainous regions. As with the reversals and inversions which the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss says are quite common among the Sahaptin-speaking Nez Perce, whose intermediate geographical position between "true" Plateau and Plains cultures is expressed in the fluctuating symbols of their stories, so here we may be seeing another subtle reflection of the attempt by Shoshoneans to rationalize why their high country contains smaller and fewer fish than those enjoyed by both the Salish and Sahaptins farther downstream—and at the same time providing an explanation for distinguishing features of the landscape that would become Yellowstone

National Park (Levi-Strauss 1987:64–67).

2. Oral Narratives: Encounters with Government Officials. In the following accounts we do not make an effort to ascertain "historical truth," since these Indian memories of glancing encounters with government officials would probably have no evidentiary confirmation in the archival record. And even if they did, that would be beside the point. For they constitute part of the neglected "attitudinal history" that forms much of the "ethnographic resources" associated with the greater Yellowstone ecosystem, and provide some neglected Indian commentary on the background of Indian-white relations in the region which this report is dedicated to improve.

One of our principal Fort Hall consultants, for instance, GE, a 63-year-old woman, described her memories of the gathering of yampa root in the area "starting from the Tetons clear up into Togwotee and clear up into Montana," and added quietly that "people still gather it when they know they are not going to get caught." To illustrate the conflict between her people and government authorities she provided the following family anecdote:

> See, my grandmother used to do that and we got chased out one time. We were gathering over in West Yellowstone. It was back up in those mountains over there and we were gathering yampa. She was sitting on the ground and she had me with the shovel. She said I know we are going to get caught so hurry up. So I dug as much as I could and she sat down. Then she said put the shovel down. So I put the shovel down and she was sitting there with her back to the road. She was maybe fifty feet away from the road, the main highway. She was sitting there, she was just cleaning them and putting them in a sack. I said Grandma, here comes a ranger. She said don't say anything. Pretend like you can't understand him. I said o.k. So I sat down with her and we were sitting there and he asked us what we were doing? Grandma looked at him. He kept talking to me and I just sat there and looked at him too. Then finally he motioned us to get off and go. She used to do some goofy things, I swear, but that is what we were doing. We were gathering some yampa, because we were going to bring it home [Interview, GE, November 18, 1995].

This prompted further discussion of relations between the park and her people. Another of our Fort Hall female consultants, LV, recalled a woman named Circle Forehead who had been a Bannock and had helped raise her "like my grandmother" (Interview LV, November 18, 1995). Without specifying whether the following anecdote transpired within or outside park boundaries, she described her mother's recollection of an occasion when this Bannock woman and her mother were picking berries:

> They went in the buggy with all of us kids, mother used to always pick up orphan kids too, put them under her wing and take them too. Here was this white man, and he said, 'You Indians get out of here. Get out of here.' Oh she was angry with him for telling them to leave. She told him in broken English, she said, 'this was our land, our place before you came. Before you came this was ours, these were our berries. They are still our berries.' Mother said she just went into a rage. She was this nice, tall, good-looking Bannock lady. Mother said they went on picking the berries but then not to cause any trouble they left. My mother used to pull that same trick that her [GE] grandmother pulled. Non-Indians would come to the place and ask questions, this or that or whatever, and she would just sit there with her Indian face. Sorry, she didn't know a word, not a thing that they were talking about. She could talk Bannock fluently, Shoshone fluently, and English fluently, [but] she always pulled that 'No Savvy' [Interview, LV, November 18, 1995].

Another interview, with a male consultant, CN, also from Fort Hall, yielded fragmented, broken-English memories of unpleasant interactions between Indians from the region and government officials (Interview CN, November 18, 1995). Indeed, he grew visibly upset when he recollected that "They wouldn't let Indians hunt any place, just the white people, that's the only thing." As for his own experiences, "[I] never been to park to stop—just traveled through...get off like the white

people, walk around." But "its too slow going through there...Uncle went through once long time ago, he's lucky...". But he also remembered that "a lot of Indians stopped going when they made them pay. Prior to that we used to go...certain times of year to gather but seems like we were always going to Yellowstone, two or three times in summertime, spring and fall. All we had to do was show the blue card from the superintendent...But after they started charging everybody, people kind of stopped going—another government promise broken."

Lastly, the 89-year-old Bannock consultant who related the story of the old woman and the fish basket, DS, also had a family memory that, she maintained, illustrated why "People got so they didn't want to go out there anymore [towards the Yellowstone region] because they got scared. This one whole family was killed...After that people sneak around but they won't go out in the open. Whole tribe found out about it and they were afraid to go back and hunt." The event is said to have taken place around Jackson, when the consultant's mother was about five years old:

> One time a man came at night and he had a little baby with him. He told them, "I just came from my camp had the white men just killed all my family, all of them. I came late from hunting," he said, "and I saw their dead bodies laying around so I sneaked away. I was afraid and as I was coming I heard a little baby crying in a cradleboard hanging in a tree. You fellas were the closest so I came here" [Interview, DS, December 15, 1995].

The consultant recalled that her mother remembered, "So we packed up the same night. We just packed everything [and] traveled by night, hid by day, no fire, anything." The young girls were tied behind the horses and hidden in the packs... "[They] hid and traveled until they reached Monspelon, [where] they stayed with Mormons who...were very good to us, that's how we got away from there."

3. Gathering Mineral Resources in the Park. It remains for this section to close with a discussion of the minerals which Indians might have collected within the greater Yellowstone ecosystem. Primarily, of course, these refer to Yellowstone obsidian. Of Nez Perce rock gathering, Deward E. Walker Jr. claims that:

> They regard the park as a healthy place, they went there, they took the baths, they gathered certain kinds of obsidian in that vicinity. I can't tell you exactly where, but there's some pretty decent obsidian in the park area [Interview, Deward E. Walker Jr., April 2, 1997].

The Shoshone-Bannock also used obsidian, although for additional purposes to projectile points, as one consultant from Fort Hall explained:

> I know she [an older healer] used obsidian to poke your head with, because that is what she did for my headaches. She kept it very carefully. She had a little tin, like used to have chocolates in a long time ago, she always carried it in that. She had about four or five different sizes and shapes that she used to poke heads with...poke your head in different areas to drain the blood...It was her specialty to do that to other people. Just special people did that...Finally, something started dripping, like this color [dark blue] came out. Big blots, she kept pressing my head like that and pretty soon it started flowing, red [Interview, GE, Fort Hall, November 18, 1995].

During our Fort Hall interviews the topic of obsidian periodically cropped up in unexpected ways. Women recalled hearing older Shoshone-Bannock men complaining "about not being able to go into that [park] area to get [obsidian]—mainly for skinning—because they said that you couldn't control the [metal] knives because they would cut the skin. But the obsidian was good because you didn't cut the skin like the knives did." In another interview, after sharing her version of the old woman and the basket of fish narrative given above, the Bannock storyteller said that after contracting the eye disease Trachoma at the government boarding school in Sherman, California, she was sent home. She recalled that to use the outhouse she had to keep her hands on a rope especially strong to lead her there. Her mother treated the disease with grass [described as "wye grass" in other interviews, which the Paiutes knew as

kawonoo (Murphey 1959:32)] and "powder" made from crushed obsidian (Interview, DC, Fort Hall, December 15, 1995).

But the Shoshones and Bannocks exploited other Yellowstone rocks as well.

> There were certain rocks that they used for certain things were in the park...like for doing their hides there were certain rocks. They hit them and then they would break and then they would clean their hides with these rocks. One was for cleaning and the other was for going this way [Interview, LV, November 18, 1995].

Here she seems to be describing different lithic bifaces for the two separate tasks of fleshing and scraping a skinned, raw buffalo hide. As another Fort Hall interviewee, GE, added about her own grandmother during this same conversation:

> She needed a certain kind of rock to do her hides at the certain time of the drying. The other rock was for when she was trying to get part of the membrane off. [She would use] the cold rocks, I call them cold rocks, and they would be cold and the warm rocks would be kind of warm...the warm rocks would be from the heated areas, and the cold rocks would be from the Salmon area or from the Blackfoot or Snake River where they have those boulders....Sometimes the rocks that have been heated through the geysers or the mud-pots break differently from rocks in the cold water that you get along the river beds. Sometimes they will break like a slice of bread, across a plane. Those rocks are generally used for aches and pains. If the rock breaks on an angle that rock is used for scraping or for grinding or pounding. Grandma used to teach me how to do those things. I haven't done those things for a long time so I don't remember [Interview, November 18, 1995].

The next chapter is on the Shoshone to the south of the park. In it we will highlight exploitation of ground tubers by tribes within the greater Yellowstone ecosystem and discuss spiritual activities—and associated resources—that all relevant tribes conducted in the region.

CHAPTER 5

SOJOURNERS FROM THE SOUTH: SHOSHONE

The Indian nation whose relationships with the greater Yellowstone ecosystem are the focus of this chapter are that eastern branch of the Shoshonean people who today occupy the 2,268,008-acre Wind River Reservation in Fremont and Hot Springs Counties in west-central Wyoming. As discussed in the previous chapter, the numerous Shoshonean peoples whose many treaties eventually situated them on reservations not far from the western and southern boundaries of Yellowstone National Park have a complicated history. The extensive sway of their linguistic community and its dialects, combined with the small-scale nature of their autonomous social units and their regionally distinctive interactions with Euro-Americans, left Shoshoneans scattered across at least six states. These Shoshone were closely related to the Shoshone-Bannocks, and during the treaty-making period of 1863–68 became known as the "Washakie band" after their popular chief. Today they are officially known as the Eastern Shoshone Tribe. Here we will provide an overview of their activities in and around the greater Yellowstone ecosystem, ending with a return to the ethnographic associations and historical role of the Wind River Reservation as a final refuge for the onetime Yellowstone residents, the Sheep Eaters.

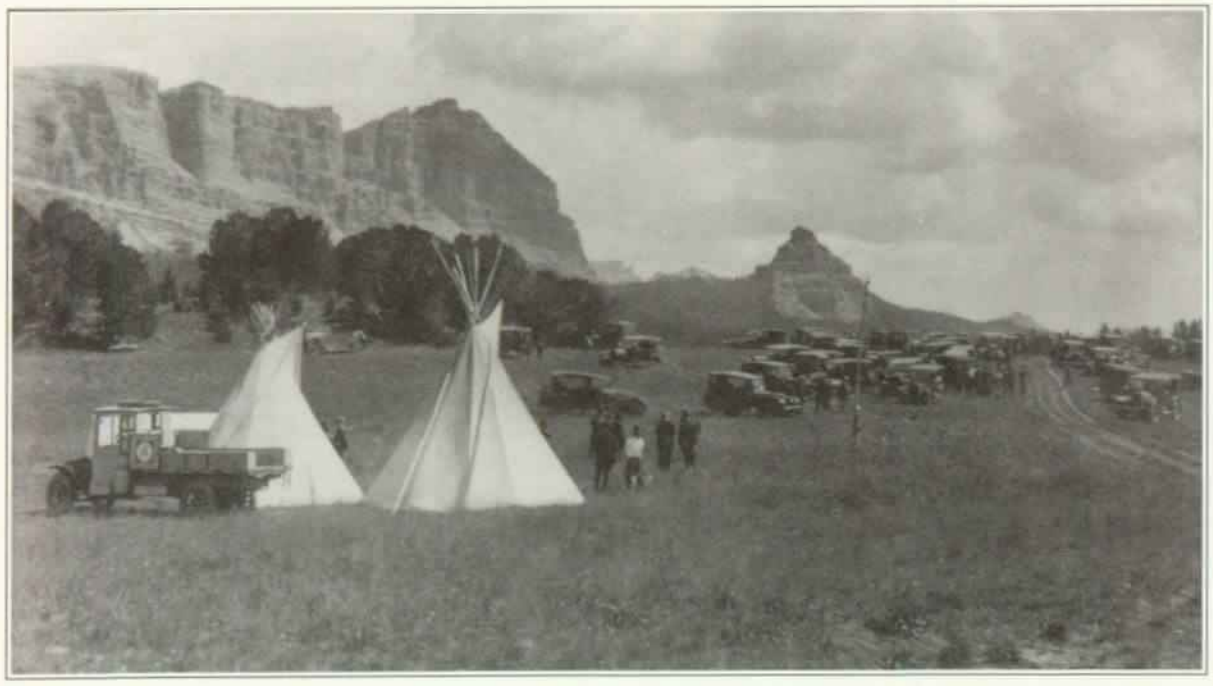


Figure 5.1. Indian tipis near Togwotee Pass, c. 1922 (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, catalog #YELL 37784).

Southerly Trails into the Yellowstone Plateau

Few dramatic features of landscape announce the southern boundary of Yellowstone National Park; for many travelers heading towards the park any appetite for drama has already been satisfied by the awesome skyline of the Grand Tetons and their jagged reflection in Jackson Lake. Visitors are startled to find themselves suddenly braking at the park's southern entrance, since the buffer zone outside this edge of the greater Yellowstone ecosystem transforms almost imperceptively into Yellowstone National Park proper. Intermittently gleaming with lakes, but thick with forest, at eye-level it can be hard for newcomers to get their bearings. That is why early travelers relied on Indian trails and Indian guides.

On September 1st, 1873, when the military engineer Captain William A. Jones and his exploratory party found themselves not far from the marshy inlet of the Yellowstone River, where it empties into the lake, one of his native guides, a Sheep Eater (possibly the famous Togwotee, to be profiled below), had no problem remembering "the way back to Camp Brown by the head of the Wind River" (Jones 1875:39). In fact, throughout Jones' summer-long reconnaissance of the park and its southeastern environs he was constantly crossing back and forth over a tracery of pathways which, as mentioned earlier in connection with the Bannock Trail, are better perhaps characterized as "systems" of trails than as single thoroughfares.

First off, Jones took pains to describe the major network of native routes which wound in and out and across Yellowstone National Park proper, that commenced at Fort Washakie (known until then as Camp Brown) and then followed the Wind River Valley nearly to its head. At that point the trail crossed the continental divide, and continued on to where the Gros Ventre Fork splits from the Snake River. According to Jones, it was here that the path forked:

> ...sending one branch down the stream as far as Jackson's Hole, where it forks in turn, one portion leading down the Snake River to Fort Hall, and the other, bending sharp around to the northeast, follows up Pacific and down Atlantic Creeks to the Yellowstone River, down which it follows, passing, to the east of Yellowstone Lake, to the Crow country in Montana—a branch of it following Lewis Fork and the west side of the lake and river; the other branch leaves the Gros Ventres near its head, and bending to the south, crosses a low pass in the Wyoming Mountains to the headwaters of Green River, which it follows down to the open country and thence to Fort Bridger [Jones 1875:54].

But Jones also learned more about the old Indian route to which his Sheep Eater pathfinder had apparently referred, an arduous passage that required the ascent and descent of two divides. It took off from today's Fort Washakie in the direction of the North Fork of the Wind River, then swung over the headwaters of the Snake River until it finally achieved the headwaters of the Yellowstone, at which time it paralleled the river to Yellowstone Lake so as to tie into the first trail linkage mentioned above.

Especially appealing to Jones was a third path, apparently of considerable antiquity, which led his party into the inviting, secret "park" of Owl Creek canyon in the shadow of the Owl Creek Mountains. Although surrounded by rugged and unprepossessing scenery, here they descended into a well-watered little ecosystem of its own, featuring splendid sheep-hunting terrain and replete with signs of "numerous trails, old lodge-poles, bleached bones of game, and old camps of Cheyennes and Arapahoes" (Jones 1875:54), even though Jones' own Indian guides claimed ignorance of the little canyon. To find this "luxurious" spot Jones had headed from the "big bend" of the Wind River, following its left bank to Dry Fork, which he pursued to its head, surmounting a low divide to reach the headwaters of Owl Creek near the Washakie Needles, a stream which he then traced into the hidden canyon environment.

Jones also discovered that Camp Brown was the starting point for yet another, fourth Indian trail which cut northwards over the Owl Creek Mountains—the range which curves down the northeastern sector of today's Wind River Reservation. Leading hunters to the buffalo herds of the Bighorn basin, this route could also direct them to the

his surface collections of lithic artifacts. But he also interviewed living Shoshones about their language and compiled a working vocabulary. Also uncommon among Yellowstone explorers was the credit Jones gave to abiding ties between Indians and landscape. When Indians led him to "a perfectly practicable passage to the Yellowstone Valley, via Wind River Valley and the head of Wind River," Jones shortly dubbed it Togwotee Pass, explaining that he preferred "to attach easy Indian names, wherever possible, to the prominent features of the country" (1875:55).

Domain of the Eastern Shoshone: Era of Ethnogenesis

It should not be surprising that these Shoshoneans, or "Snakes" as they were commonly known, found along the southern fringes of the greater Yellowstone region were well acquainted with the ins and outs of their topography. When ethnohistorian Omer C. Stewart began in 1952 to reconstruct for the Shoshone Land Claims Case the boundaries of aboriginal Shoshone territory, he painstakingly plotted onto a series of maps the known locations for the five major groups of Shoshone from over four dozen sources (Stewart 1966). In so far as these northeastern Shoshoneans were concerned, with the exception of James Doty's 1863 map all his major sources concurred that in aboriginal times these peoples claimed a portion of present-day Yellowstone National Park, as had been decreed in the Ft. Laramie Treaty of 1851 (citing Royce 1899; Powell 1891; Kroeber 1925; Steward 1937; Stewart 1966). While most of his sources also agreed that at least the lower southwestern third of the park had clearly been Shoshone territory, both Kroeber (1925) and Steward (1937) pushed that boundary even farther north, placing more than two-thirds of the present-day park within the aboriginal limits of Shoshone land.

Among the Flathead, we may recall from Chapter 2, it was generally understood, according to the well-informed pioneer ethnographer James Teit, that "Shoshonean tribes occupied the Upper Yellowstone country, *including Yellowstone Park*" (Teit 1930:304, emphasis ours). As Teit continued with the Flathead view of Shoshone territoriality: "Farther north Shoshonean bands occupied the country around Livingston, Lewiston and Denton. How far east and down the Yellowstone they extended is not known; but they are thought to have at one time held the country around Billings, and most, if not all, of the country where the Crow Indians now have a reservation."

Summarizing the Shoshonean perspective, Brigham D. Madsen has described the broader Shoshone and Bannock historical domain (during the 19th century) as follows:

> In the beginning they claimed and roamed over a territory extending from the Wind River Mountains, *the Yellowstone Park country*, and the buffalo plains of Montana on the west to the Weiser-Boise-Bruneau valleys of the west, and from Great Salt Lake and Bear Lake on the south to the Salmon River of the north. The twin hearts of this immense area were Camas Prairie and the Portneuf-Snake River bottoms, the first a summer home and the latter a sheltered haven against winter storms [Madsen 1980:223, emphasis ours].

But as suggested by our parenthetical qualifier, "during the 19th century," to more accurately reflect historical and socio-political realities Madsen's territorial assignment for the Shoshones should first be placed in a number of contexts. For one thing, this vast domain was not exactly "owned" in the Euro-American sense of land tenure. Only the natural resources of this habitat could be claimed by Indian families who, at any given time, found themselves in an auspicious situation for harvesting them. And in the egalitarian ethic of these hunters and gatherers, it was only practical to share, as Sally Jean Laidlaw describes for the Fort Hall Shoshones:

> When there were good crops in any locality, they ripened so fast and fell to the ground so quickly that the people who ordinarily lived in the area could not possibly gather them all. When a good harvest was promised they therefore spread the news abroad, so that people whose crops had failed could come to share their bounty with them [Laidlaw 1960:1–4].

A second reason that Madsen's broad delin-

eation of the early 19th century Shoshonean homeland cries out for more precise contextualization is that despite his phrase that this land area was what the Shoshone claimed "In the beginning," any representation of the tribe's territory must be positioned within a historical frame. For somewhat earlier than this purported "In the beginning," the Shoshonean brotherhood were actually to be found somewhat south of this area. In his attempt to summarize the protohistoric migrations of the early Shoshone, anthropologist Carling Malouf sees them concentrated in the "great reservoir" of the southern Great Basin, by which he means the large area we now know as southern Nevada and adjoining portions of Utah, California and Arizona (Malouf 1967; also Johnson 1975:16–18).

And instead of imagining these Shoshones moving en masse northward in some wholesale migration, Malouf has them percolating in small groups both eastward into Wyoming and northward up the Snake River system where he envisages pockets of Shoshonean settlers putting down roots, with one of the Wyoming offshoots even venturing still farther to become the Comanche. In the days before the horse, still others headed "up the North Fork of the Snake River, and through Targhee Pass and Raynolds Pass into the Madison and Jefferson river systems…When horses did arrive, Shoshoni power to wage war increased, and soon they had reached as far north as Canada" (Malouf 1967:130). By this point, according to Kroeber, the "pretty pure" foundation of Great Basin culture began to assume "an overlay of Plains culture" (Kroeber 1939:80, 82). After this the inventory of Plains–style markers such as "war bonnets, war honours, dancing societies and the Sun Dance now became parts of the Eastern Shoshone culture" (Hultkrantz 1968a:72).

Before long, however, Shoshonean expansionism seems to have been checked on both the north and east. Although evidence is strong concerning their extensive forays into Canada, by 1800 they became clearly outnumbered and out–armed by newly mounted Blackfeet who began to press on them and force a southern retreat. That is around when the land base described by Madsen above seems to have been established. At about the same time scholars also point to the Crow putting a firm halt to any further Shoshonean spread into their territory on the east. Interestingly enough, after this adjustment of their mutual boundary, the Crow and Shoshone began forming a fairly durable, long-term inter-tribal friendship. This yielded a joint Shoshone-Crow trading expedition to the Mandan in 1805 (Hultkrantz 1968a:57), the transfer from the Crow of the idea of reconstituting the Wind River men's warrior societies [now known as "dance groups"] in 1878 (Shimkin 1942:457), and other exchanges in the religious sphere right down to the present day.

Given their close proximity, it is not surprising that a review of historical relations between Shoshones and Crows discloses this picture of alternating antagonistic territorial competition and amiable cultural exchange. It was already thanks to the Shoshones that the Crows had obtained their horses in the early 18th century, and it would be from the Wind River Shoshone that over 200 years later in 1938 they would receive a revived form of Sun Dance that still binds the two tribes on a summer ceremonial circuit (Voget 1984). At the same time, as neighbors who shared strong military codes in the midst of the volatile arena of 19th-century Plains Indians jockeying for economic, political and territorial advantage, their warriors periodically drew the line against one another. According to Larry G. Murray, an Eastern Shoshone member of the Economic Development Committee and a tribal historian:

> By the 1850s the Crows began hunting regularly in central Wyoming, and the Eastern Shoshones, under the leadership of Chief Washakie, challenged their right to hunt and camp there. In March 1866 the Crows were camped near the present site of Kinnear, Wyoming, on the north side of the Big Wind River, when the Eastern Shoshones drove them out of the valley, and thus ended the Crow intrusion into Shoshone country [Curriculum Development Workshop 1996:587].

But for any realistic portrayal of this "Shoshone country" we must also factor in a critical third context. We need a more dynamic, situational appreciation of how rapidly Shoshone forms of sociopolitical organization could adapt to changing circumstances. For it is safe to say that before the horse and the treaty-making era there was no

widely shared notion of over-arching Shoshonean nationality or collective territory, as the Madsen quote above misleadingly suggests. Rather, in aboriginal times any Shoshone's political and economic allegiance would be to his immediate subsistence-based "kin and clique" group or *band*, which would probably be named for the colloquial designation of its primary food—as described in Chapter 4.

With the spread of horses and then, equally importantly, the bureaucratic reorganizations of Indian groups during and after the treaty era, an altered sense of collective identity took over. Instead of public association with primary food groups, now came a notion of group solidarity organized around specific named leaders, or "chiefs." In former, more "traditional" years these notables might have only been what political anthropologists know as "big men:" forceful personalities who retained control of distributing food and resources so long as they enjoyed continued success in the hunt. But under the white-initiated demands that these select individuals negotiate with U.S. emissaries, ratify treaties and make choices about providing military assistance for the Indian wars, they suddenly found themselves elevated to the status of political figureheads.

Hence, around the 1860s we begin to hear of Shoshonean groups who were located on the borders of Yellowstone National Park or were implicated in the region's history becoming publicly identified by the personality of such leading chiefs, with their group's reputation often stamped by the degree to which that particular leader was friendly or hostile to whites. For instance, there were the accommodating followers of Taghee (or Tyhee) of the Bannocks, whom Chief Washakie permitted to live with his Eastern Shoshone people at Wind River but who preferred to relocate to Fort Hall in Idaho instead. Initially aggressive towards white emigrants, Taghee agreed to land cessation treaties, became a successful farmer, and sat out the 1878 Bannock War. There were also the Indians attached to Pocatello, who had achieved chieftainship of his Western Shoshones at about the same time as Washakie, but whose attitude towards white intruders was far more militant until his imprisonment in 1859. And there were friendly bands that gravitated towards Tendoy of the Lemhi Shoshone (whose father was a Bannock and mother a Sheep Eater), who has been described as "probably one of the last Bannock-Shoshone leaders to cross Yellowstone National Park on the Great Bannock Trail" (Whittlesey 1988:153). Tendoy shared Washakie's conciliatory strategy towards whites, despite enticements in the 1860s to join Ute upstarts or northwestern hostiles under the command of Pocatello and Bear Hunter.

By aligning themselves behind such leaders, tribespeople declared both their ethnic and political allegiances. But none on this roster of celebrity chiefs enjoyed so long a reign nor achieved the widespread prestige of the man named "Gourd Rattle," or Washakie. If ever the historical trajectory of an American Indian tribe's relations with the United States were dominated by a single larger-than-life individual, it would be hard to find a better example than this principal chief of the Eastern Shoshone.

Wind River Shoshone History: The Washakie Years

From his birth in 1804 to a Flathead father and part-Lemhi Shoshone (and possibly part-Sheep Eater as well—Crowder 1969:41) mother, to his old age and death at the very start of the 20th century, Washakie's life would symbolically and literally be linked with the history of the greater Yellowstone environment. He was born only a year before his fellow tribesperson, the famous Shoshone woman named Sacajawea or "Birdwoman," became attached to the exploratory expedition led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. Their triumphal journey would just bypass the Yellowstone National Park area as it linked the fledgling republic from sea to sea. And nearly four score years later Washakie would host the President of the United States, Chester Arthur, during his fishing and sight-seeing trip through Yellowstone National Park in 1883.

For many of the decades in between those benchmark dates Washakie served as his people's unquestioned leader. In the major transformation of the Shoshone from a free-foraging society of hunters and gatherers to subjects sequestered on a government reservation, Washakie would become

of consolidating Indians on reservations. *Third*, the permanent Mormon settlements that arose along the southern rim of Washakie's hunting grounds eventually forced Washakie to choose between his allegiance to these solicitous new neighbors and to the United States that soon found itself at odds with the Mormon threat to its sovereignty.

Over the decades of trying to keep his more impetuous tribesmen in check, Washakie also shepherded his Eastern Shoshone followers through the series of road-widenings, railroad track openings, valuable mineral discoveries, peace treaties and land cessation agreements that, one by one, gradually curtailed Shoshone freedom-of-movement and steadily reduced their land holdings. It was during the tribe's first treaty, the grandiose Fort Laramie Council of September, 1851, that Washakie's importance as paramount chief dramatically came to light. Outsiders witnessed the chief's cool demeanor in the face of one Sioux's direct challenge to hand-to-hand combat as a highlight of the Shoshone appearance there (Hebard 1995:698–70). Although the territorial boundaries assigned by U.S. officials in 1851 were rather loose, it may have been the Shoshone who lost most during this convocation, for the Crows were rewarded for friendship with the whites by receiving the Bighorn basin clear down to the Shoshones' Wind River Mountains.

The following year the Mormons served as intermediaries for Washakie's peace treaty with the Utes. But it was not until 1863 that Washakie was invited to Fort Bridger for the next really important treaty-signing with the U.S. government; among the five peace treaties negotiated with Shoshonean peoples that year was one signed with Washakie at Fort Bridger on July 2nd. In exchange for the right to clear roads, establish military forts and to open telegraph lines, stage routes and railheads across Shoshone lands, the government promised $20,000 worth of goods (which the U.S. Congress quickly cut in half) for twenty years. Despite delays in receiving the promised goods, under Washakie's influence his people prospered and largely adhered to the peace treaty. The next U.S. treaty with Washakie and other Shoshone and Bannock leaders, negotiated five years later also at Fort Bridger, gave the chief the secure reservation for which he had been petitioning. Later this agreement would also allow the U.S. Congress to allocate funds for the building of a road in 1898 between Fort Washakie and the Buffalo Fork of the Snake River. Its purpose was to hasten the access of troops from Fort Washakie into the Jackson Hole area in the event of possible clashes between Shoshone hunters and white outlaws and game wardens.

Through the terms of the Fort Bridger Treaty of 1868 Washakie also allowed his Eastern Shoshone to be drawn into the government's new assimilation policy. Now heads of Shoshone families were encouraged to choose 320 acres for their farms and receive seeds and agricultural implements; a building and teacher were to be provided for every thirty children and every Indian was to receive cotton and flannel goods. Yet Washakie warned the Treaty Commissioners at Fort Bridger that he would not accept the new reservation until the government proved it could protect his people from the Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapaho. His insistence forced the government to establish Camp Augur (named for its builder, General Christopher C. Auger) on June 28, 1869, at the present site of Lander, Wyoming, whose name was changed to Camp Brown (for Captain Federick Brown, who was killed in the Fetterman Massacre) on March 28, 1870. So it seems appropriate that the old chief was honored on December 30, 1878, after the garrison had been relocated to the center of the reservation, with its new and present name, Fort Washakie.

Two other major land-cessation negotiations were thrust upon Washakie. With the discovery of gold at South Pass he was pressured to sanction the sale of all Shoshone lands south of the Popo Agie in December 1874. It was also fairly clear that Washakie was personally profiting from such agreements; this 1874 sale saw the United States promise annually $5,000 worth of cattle for five years, with an additional $500 a year earmarked for Washakie himself. In 1896, with much greater reluctance, the 94-year-old chief agreed to share negotiating rights with Sharp Nose of the Arapaho as they sold the ten square acres housing the precious Hot Springs of the Thermopolis area to the government for $50,000. That was the last time Washakie would affix his "X mark" to an official document. By then the only faint reminders that

tied Shoshone Indians to the Yellowstone environment would be a handful of park place-names derived from their language, such as Dunanda Falls, Gwinna Falls, Ponuntpa Springs, Wahb Springs and Wahhi Falls.

Safeguarding his followers' political neutrality through these years was not always easy for Washakie. Younger upstart warriors decamped to join less conciliatory Shoshone and Bannock leaders, like Bear Hunter or Pashego, as they swooped down upon pioneers and ranchers along the Utah-Idaho border. Despite Washakie's stance of alliance with whites, which extended to lending warriors to serve as U.S. scouts, he was constantly being asked to concede more land and erode his authority. In 1878, when he was originally forced to accept a contingent of almost a thousand, near-destitute Arapahoes on the Shoshone reservation, he reminded the Governor of Wyoming Territory what it felt like to lose political freedom and larger homeland: "The white man, who possesses this whole vast country from sea to sea, who roams over it at pleasure, and lives where he likes, cannot know the cramp we feel in this little spot" (Hebard 1995:212).

One of Washakie's last government-sanctioned escapes from that cramped little spot had actually occurred four years earlier, when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs allowed him to lead a buffalo hunt in the fall of 1874. Accompanying the old-style expedition would be a "roaming school" for Indian children, with instructor (and later Indian agent) James I. Patten packing along a circus-size tent to serve as his mobile classroom, "a comfortable place for 25 to 35 scholars." On October 16 the large party of pack and hunting horses and outlying scouts departed from Fort Washakie to ford the Big Wind River just south of the present Diversion Dam. Waiting three days for their scout reports, they finally learned the Bighorn basin was teeming with game. Yet when they spied numerous signs of a large hostile group of Indians they struck out on the Red Canyon Trail across the Owl Creek Mountains. Snowbound for another four days, they eventually descended into the basin to camp at Red Springs.

It was then that schoolteacher Patten "saw the Indians in another light." What follows is Patten's eye-witness cameo of Shoshones relishing a taste of the old days. This is the sort of communal hunt they must have conducted throughout the greater Yellowstone ecosystem for centuries:

> They were not the same people who a few days earlier had left the agency complacent and mild. Huge fires were burning throughout this camp. Harangues were made by old men, incantations made by medicine men, drums were beaten, and rattles shaken. Washakie himself seemed another being on this wild and weird camping ground. His voice, loud and clear, rang out on the night air as he addressed his people. His face lighted up and caused great enthusiasm among the young and old and they joined in singing their old war and hunting songs [Patten 1926:298–299].

After Shoshone runners located some buffalo about forty miles west of present-day Worland and just southeast of Meeteetse, the hunters readied their special buffalo horses and gave chase. In less than an hour they had killed 125 animals, and shortly crossed the Shoshone River a few miles west of present-day Emblem to continue on to the Bighorn River. On their return home about a month after they had left, they crept up on a small buffalo herd about eighteen miles from the Wind River Agency. As Patten and his Indian friends watched from hiding, the animals blissfully rolled on their backs in a muddy buffalo wallow. According to Patten, "This was the last herd of bufalo seen near the [Wind River] agency for already the vast herds of buffalo were beginning to disappear" (Patten 1993:34).

Given the fact that six years later there existed an unwritten ban that strongly discouraged Eastern Shoshone, along with all other Indians, from entering Yellowstone National Park, the best evidence we have that some intimate knowledge of the greater Yellowstone ecosystem was being transmitted from generation to generation are the hints of Shoshone Indians functioning as hired hunting guides, or even as hunt predators, during visits by white sportsmen. In the winter of 1880–81, for instance, William Baillie-Grohom noticed that when he left Fort Washakie for the "Sierra Shoshone," hungry Indians often pursued and butchered those wounded deer which he found too troublesome to track down on his own (Baillie-

Grohman 1882:263–277). Packing in with his elk and bear hunting party, in 1887 the author Owen Wister was led first over the Continental Divide for some elk and bear hunting in Jackson Hole, and hence up into the southern reaches of the park all the way to Mammoth Springs by his guide, a "full-blood Shoshone" named Tighee, or Tigi. As Wister evoked his woodsmen skills in a journal:

> But it was necessary to follow Tigi like his shadow. I tried to make as little noise as he does. Whipping by jagged rotten boughs, letting his shoulder go an inch from them and stepping over twigs that lay thick in the timber. His moccasins slipped over them with never a crack [Wister Notebook, Tuesday, August 16, 1887, University of Wyoming, Special Collections, Accession #290].

And when the British hunter Edward Buxton wanted to locate game around the Jackson Hole and southern Yellowstone region he sought out local Indians because he had heard that they still hunted up there. But he had to be satisfied with second-best in the person of the white man named "Indian Dick" who had been raised by the Wind River Shoshone (Buxton 1892:75). Other information suggests that well into the 20th century, if times got tight the Eastern Shoshone could fall back upon their older hunting expertise and their first-hand topographical knowledge of the greater Yellowstone ecosystem.

As late as autumn, 1929, for instance, when the Shoshones and Arapahoes were suffering slim government rations on their reservation, they conducted what almost sounds like a repeat performance of Washakie's 1874 hunt. A body of about twenty-five to thirty Indians slipped away from their Agency and trespassed upon the Washakie National Forest, pitching their canvas tents on Green Creek which lay just to the west of Trapper Creek. While on his regular patrol, a timber sale ranger named Carl G. Krueger spied the band and felt he was glimpsing "the way they had been preparing meat for hundreds of years." As Krueger recalled the scene of this Shoshone food-processing encampment:

> They came by team and wagon, and had a bunch of extra horses, so made quite a procession. They built pole racks at their camp, and it looked as if a half an acre of land was covered with strips of meat hanging

Figure 5.4. Dick Washakie (left) guiding Owen Wister Party into Buffalo Fork, just south of Yellowstone National Park, 1887 (Photo courtesy of American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming).

in the sun to dry. This was fairly early in the fall; there were still lots of flies, and around their camp there was also a good strong odor. I expect this was the way they had been preparing meat for hundreds of years. Moose were protected at that time too, but I think some of them got on the drying racks; there seemed to be fewer of them around after the Indians left. I did not take any pictures of this; maybe I thought the Indians wouldn't appreciate it. There are both Shoshone and Arapahoes on the reservation, but I don't know which tribe these belonged to [Krueger n.d., p. ll].

Washakie's waning years as principal chief of the Wind River Shoshone witnessed increasing tribal impoverishment and collective uncertainty. Government rations were trimmed, the agricultural promise which saw Shoshones managing their own farms with some success by 1872 turned sour within a few years, and a measles epidemic killed many of their children (Vander 1986:5). As faith in their old modes of maintaining psychological balance and physical health began to falter, many were attracted to the messages of Mormon and Episcopalian missionaries, as well as to new native ceremonies like their version of the Ghost Dance, the Native American Church, and a form of Sun Dance which blended old beliefs, Christian symbols and placed a special emphasis on curative rituals (see Shimkin 1942:456–461 for Shoshone religious change).

Today all three of these rituals still survive in various forms on the Wind River Reservation, with Sun Dancing and Peyotism actually flourishing (Liljeblad 1969:41). But the tribe's wider domain has shrunken, with the surrounding federal lands largely off-limits to hunters and the Camas Prairie where their northern brethren once harvested the onion-like roots—to be described in the next section—now under agribusiness cultivation, and the only stray camas to be found sprouting like weeds out of roadside ditches (Statham 1976:65). Yet the Shoshone-Arapahoe land base, extending seventy miles from east to west and fifty-five miles from north to south just east of the continental divide, remains a sanctuary where a handful of elder Eastern Shoshone and Sheep Eater descendants still retain some knowledge of religious and social practices that link them to the greater Yellowstone ecosystem. Surrounding the river valley settlements occupied by these Indians is an encircling wall of snow-capped mountains. Within their embrace exists this cultural world apart, Shoshone and Arapaho Indian country, in which, writes anthropologist Loretta Fowler, "There is a pervasive stillness and, despite the clusters of extended family settlements, a sense of great space" (Fowler 1982:228).

Camas Among Yellowstone's Indians

Although many different natural plant resources were harvested by Shoshoneans along the southern reaches of the greater Yellowstone ecosystem, such as the tiny leaves from thistles and heath for their tobacco mixtures (Nickerson 1966:49–50), this section will focus exclusively on the widespread use of the *Camas* bulb in or around the park region. Reputed to be "the great northern Plateau staple" (Turney-High 1941:33) or the "queen root of this clime" (Father Pierre De Smet, in Chittenden and Richardson 1905:488), we have delayed until now from summarizing the cultural role of this principal major Plains-Plateau food source in their lives in much the same manner that we reserved Chapter 2 for synthesizing much of our data on big-game hunting. Our information on camas originates from archaeological, historical, ethnographic and folkloristic sources.

1. Camas: Archaeology. It is around the southern skirt of the Yellowstone Plateau that the preponderance of our archaeological data about camas comes in the form of the pit roasting hearths in which it was cooked. Not far south of the park, for instance, at the Henn site in the southern Jackson Hole region—one of the most recent and sophisticated archaeological episodes in the region—University of Wyoming archaeologists in 1992 discovered nine of these rock-filled hearths.

According to the Henn investigators, "pit roasting is an extremely labor intensive, messy, space consuming activity that typically requires one to three days to complete. As a result such activities are often conducted in areas peripheral to the main habitation area" (Rapson et al.

1995:235–236). Since almost none of the hearths betrayed evidence of animal remains, archaeologist David J. Rapson concluded that in all probability they were evidence for the reliance of Indians on plant resources like camas for at least 300 years during the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric periods. As Rapson points out, however, blue camas was only one of many edible root and tuber resources eaten by Indians in the area, such as White Mules-Ears, Arrowleaf Balsamroot, Wyeth Biscuitroot, Wild Hyacinth, Sego Lily, Tobacco root, Arrowhead, Wild Onion, Cattail and Yampa (Rapson 1995:77).

By the time of the Henn excavations, botanical archaeology in the Jackson Hole-Yellowstone National Park ecosystem had been underway for a dozen years, thanks to the work of Stuart A. Reeve. In 1980 Reeve first perceived how native food-foraging practices of this region reflected a blend of the three culture areas we have described in our introduction: Great Basin-Shoshone, Plateau-Salish and Plains-Blackfeet traditions. Of the many plant species used by early Indians here, he argued that the blue camas found in the lowland meadows was clearly most prominent, whose gathering "focused migratory patterns and structured band territories" throughout the region (Reeve 1980:378). During his following doctoral research, Reeve came to realize that while "the number of potential plant resources are vast...the task of attributing prehistoric significance to one or more plants can be risky" (Personal communication, December 4, 1993). Despite other scientific opinions to the contrary (see Melissa Conner reports from Jackson Lake), Reeve felt confident enough about pinpointing camas as a key plant for prehistoric peoples "occupying the Snake River headwaters of northwestern Wyoming" to devote his Ph.D. dissertation to the topic (Reeve 1986:iii). In this work Reeve also speculated on the complementarity of gender division of labor for native food-gathering in the region. Looking most intensively at the Lawrence site at the northern end of Jackson Lake, Reeve hypothesized that:

> ...the eastern biogeographic boundary of the liliaceous root crop blue camas (*Camassia quamash*) provided an ecological context for surplus root harvest and for social aggregating. Female root gathering activities may have provided economic and ideological bases for ceremonialism, trade and political alliance central to the reemergence of a high country adaptive system since perhaps 10,000 B.P. in the mountains of north-western Wyoming....Lithic assemblages from meadow and non-meadow sites are compared to demonstrate both the sequence of seasonal subsistence and settlement patterns, and to differentiate work activities at female-oriented meadow sites and presumed male fishing sites [Reeve 1986:iii].

When Reeve's next important assignment moved into the heart of Yellowstone National Park, he kept his eye out for evidence of camas use. The only promising meadows for gathering were in the southwestern corner of the park, but he did turn up earthovens at a Fishing Bridge site (48YE304). The cracked rock features used to cook large quantities of roots, and the grinding stones for reducing them to flours or cakes which mobile Indians could carry as they moved, made him wonder again whether, since plant gathering was largely woman's work, the residential camps "may have allowed direct access to female exploitative environments" (Reeve 1989:32).

On the southern fringes of the greater Jackson Hole-Yellowstone ecosystem the hundreds of large cobble-filled fire pits found in Wyoming's upper Green River Basin provide a better sense of the extent of Shoshonean dependance upon wild plants (Francis 1995:2). To these wet meadow environments the mountain dwellers would have probably descended on foraging expeditions in spring and fall. Analysis of one of their roasting hearths in this floodplain environment was conducted in 1991 by Wyoming state archaeologists as part of a Wyoming Department of Transportation survey. It yielded a detailed glimpse of the nutritional value to Indians of the Yellowstone Plateau of not only camas but other edible roots and tubers such as wild onion, biscuitroot and yampa (Francis 1995).

Near Duck Creek, a tributary of the New Fork, the archaeologist Julie Francis worked on a cooking pit, known as "feature 5," a little over a hundred miles south of the park, which would have held about nine bushels of roots. When Francis examined ethnographic writings on the Flathead

and other Plateau groups, she discovered that it was estimated that a single root-digger could collect about one bushel of camas roots a day (Malouf 1979:26; Ray 1932:98), but that an average of only 30 kg, or 0.7 bushels of biscuitroot, might be collected each day. This meant that one person would take about nine days to fill the cooking pit with camas, and thirteen days to fill it with biscuitroot (Hunn 1981:129).

Next Francis wanted to learn how beneficial this cooking oven might have been to its Indian users. Already she knew that Hunn had estimated that 0.1 kilograms of fresh camas roots yielded 113 kilocalories (1981:13), and therefore that 200 kilograms of camas cooked in the pit she had excavated would yield about 226,000 kilocalories. As she continued:

> Assuming an average [human] requirement of 200/kcal/day, camas cooked in feature 5 would have supplied the total caloric needs of one person for 11 days or a family of four for nearly 30 days. One must also consider that roots processed in feature 5 would have constituted only a portion of the total diet. For a family of four, camas cooked in feature 5 would supply 56,500 kcal/person. Spread out over one year, this would amount to 8% of the daily caloric requirement [Francis 1995:10].

From the lack of animal and other plant remains Francis concluded that this particular hearth had been exclusively devoted to roasting root products. Not necessarily associated with a residential camp of any duration, she believed that this hearth and others like it were more likely reflective of Indians who organized themselves to undertake food-gathering expeditions with specific products in mind that they would process on site and then transport to their homes at some other locations.

2. Camas: History. For the region west and northwest of Yellowstone National Park, much of our information about this crucial food source is historical in nature. It was Lewis and Clark who first named the camas plant on September 20, 1805, during their trek through the country of the Nez Perce Indians. Finding it growing at "Quawmash Flats" in northern Idaho, where they learned that it was a vital part of the native food supply, they dubbed it accordingly (Thwaites 1904–1906, V:119).

Subsequent visitors to Shoshone and Bannock country did not ignore these Indians' special dependance upon camas. While visiting Fort Hall in 1839, T.J. Farnham learned that natives to the west of Fort Hall "are said to subsist principally on roots" and then, on the Bear River divide, got a chance to see for himself how "This valley is the grain-filled and root-garden of the Shoshonie Indians; for there grow in it a number of kinds of edible roots, which they dig in August, and dry for winter use" (in Thwaites 1906:293). And travelling across the same landscape only a few years later, Theodore Talbot met Shoshones bearing "Kooyah or Black root" to trade. Initially Talbot looked with some distaste at the "black, sticky, suspicious looking compound, of a very disagreeable odor" until he was told that "when you have overcome the prejudices which its appearance and smell create...it is a very palatable and soon a favorite mess" (Carey, ed. 1931:45).

During the historical period, the horse-riding Shoshone and Bannock Indians were distinguished from other Plains peoples by their seasonal alternation between hunting for large mammals and foraging for plant staples. Indeed, their favored areas for harvesting tubers, roots and seeds appear to have been just as central to their sense of cultural identity as were their big game-hunting grounds. Only nine months before the establishment of Yellowstone National Park, in June of 1871, families from the Idaho Bannock tribe undertook their customary spring expedition to their favored camas meadows to the west of Fort Hall. They were bent on foraging for camas roots, which they knew as *pasigo* (Statham 1976:60), and which they habitually unearthed using antler digging sticks and leather carrying sacks and then dried prior to heading out on their spring buffalo hunts.

Already these Bannock were aware that the Oregon Trail was cutting across the fertile bottomlands of the Bear, Snake and Portneuf rivers where they were accustomed to finding camas. But what the Indians discovered on the Camas Prairie that spring brought home the shocking ramifications of white penetration like never before. Great swatches of the moist rich loam where they expected to find two-foot high stalks, supporting delicate blue flowers and springing out of sweet-tasting, highly nutritious bulbs, had been torn up

and the plant remains strewn about by packs of the white man's hogs.

Since their earliest treaty discussions the Bannocks and Shoshones had always insisted that this particular food-gathering region be set aside for their exclusive use. And during treaty negotiations with the Fort Hall Bannock and Shoshone in 1868, the Government had vowed to allow the Indians,

> ...retention of "reasonable portions" of the Portneuf River valley and the Big Camas Prairie, the best root-digging grounds in southern Idaho. Their chiefs had been firm on this point; whatever else they would have to give up, the habitats of their most important food plants they would not give up...The Fort Hall band leaders took great pains to convince the agent that Camas Prairie was essential to the economy which he wanted them to maintain [Liljeblad 1957:70].

The heavy concentration of camas in the Bannock and Northern Shoshone region seems to have led to the importance of the Camas Prairie as a trading center, in addition to the fact that it was also an optimal staging place from which to launch their large-scale buffalo hunts (Steward 1938:328; Murphy and Murphy 1960:320). As Statham has written, "Although surpluses sufficient to foster the emergence of a well-developed trade were unusual for the native people of the Great Basin (Steward 1938:321), the localized abundance of camas in the northern Great Basin made the potential of trade a reality" (Statham 1976:78). Because the well-watered Big Camas Prairie, that extends north of today's Mount Bennett Hills in south-central Idaho, was such a first-rate foraging ground, it also became a crossroads where Bannocks, Shoshones, Nez Perce, Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles might exchange deer hides, horses, buffalo robes, pine nuts, seeds, otter furs and tanned buckskins, along with a host of root resources, with camas foremost among them (citations summarized in Statham 1976:78–79).

But in 1871, after the Bannocks complained of the hog invasion into their prime camas fields, they were informed that a clerical error in the written transcription of their Fort Bridger Treaty had actually altered the wording of "Camas Prairie" to "Kansas Prairie," and thus the region had not been protected. We have no record what the Indians thought of this feeble explanation. However, even their own government agent, M.P. Berry, later confessed that "White men were merely using the mistake as a subterfuge for claiming the Camas Prairie as open for settlement and use by the whites" (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, pp. 540–43; Berry to Walker, Fort Hall Agency, January 1, 1872, in Fort Hall Agency Letter Book, quoted in Madsen 1958:182–183).

Not long afterwards dignitaries such as Idaho governor W. J. McConnell and U.S. Army General and Indian fighter George Crook fully admitted that the Bannocks considered their traditional ties to this Portneuf/Camas Prairie region so vital to their food supply that it was perfectly understandable why, seven years later, they would take up arms to defend this stretch of ground—which could be likened to their bread basket (Madsen 1958:228–229). Indeed, a former Yellowstone National Park official also compared the importance of the plant—known scientifically as *camassia quamash*—for tribes in and around Yellowstone National Park to that of "bread" for the non-Indian (Beal 1942:46). While other causes can be cited for instigating the Bannock and northern Shoshone hostilities of 1878, today's Fort Hall Indians often point to this wanton destruction of their fundamental food source as the major catalyst.

Our emphasis in this section on historical information should not give the misleading impression that we know nothing about Northern Shoshone or Bannock gathering and preparation practices for camas. Although there has not been any systematic ethnographic review of the root and bulb resources exploited by the Shoshone-Bannock peoples (Statham 1976:60), the ethnographic literature contains such frequent references to its use within the Great Basin and Plateau that by historic times it must have been a staple of the Shoshonean diet for centuries, if not millennia (Anastasio 1955:18; Liljeblad 1957:15, 26, 65; Curtis 1907–1930, VII:xi; Steward 1938:10, 167; 1943:364; Kroeber 1953:49; Murphy and Murphy 1960:319, 321).

Almost certainly, when spring in the greater Yellowstone ecosystem was in its fullness, any

Bannocks or Shoshones moving into the southwestern corner of the Yellowstone Plateau would ascend the broad grand steps of the Bechler Meadows with their eyes alert for its telltale blue flowers. Most northern Plains and western Plateau native peoples responded with gratitude when those flowers announced that this abundant food staple, the *camas* root, was ripe for the digging. But flats of flowering camas and yampa could also be found intermittently throughout the plateau. In the very core of the present-day park, for instance, one harvesting place lay alongside Fishing Bridge. Wherever the Shoshones moved in the months of June and July, a large part of their attention was paid to favored spots for digging out these hyacinth-shaped, bulbous roots, which were generally buried no more than about four inches into the ground. They unearthed them with the aid of fire-hardened wood or antler digging sticks—later to be replaced by metal hay rake tines with metal, horn or wood pushing handles.

3. Camas: Ethnography and Folklore. For more fine-grained ethnographic detail on how camas was gathered, prepared and celebrated, however, it seems more fruitful to return to literature on tribes to the north of Yellowstone National Park. From such material we get a sense that dependance upon camas and other ground tubers was not uniform among the tribes surrounding Yellowstone National Park. While the Blackfeet did not rely on camas to the extent of the so-called "West-Side tribes" like the Kootenai, Salish and others, they too occasionally roasted them in stone-lined pits (for the Blackfeet method, see Schultz and Donaldson 1930:42–43). Yet some anxiety seems to have attended its processing which, although camas was abundant in their region, may have inhibited its use by the Blackfeet, as explained by Schultz and Donaldson:

> It was a belief of the Blackfeet that, if a pit of camas proved to be improperly roasted, overcooked or undercooked, death would soon come to the roasters or to their relatives. For that reason they did not gather and roast it. But when at peace with the West-Side tribes, as sometimes happened, they eagerly traded buffalo robes and buffalo leathers for all of it that they could possibly obtain" [Schultz and Donaldson 1930:43].

While a wide range of Yellowstone-connected Indian peoples depended to a greater or lesser degree on this plant, one of the most detailed tribal summaries has been compiled on camas use by the Flathead and their neighbors by anthropologist Richard T. Malouf (1979). Attempting to understand the place of Flathead camas practices within their annual subsistence pattern, Malouf first quotes Indian Agent R.H. Lansdale from around 1860:

> They go to buffalo every year—first in April, "to Bulls," as it is called, returning the latter part of June; the second, or fall hunt, "for Cows," they start in August, and get back generally in December or March following. The "bitter root" is dug and cured in May; the "camash" in June and July [Weisel 1955:112].

Known by a number of terms to delineate whether or not the plant was raw, cooked, or of the smaller, sweet sub-species, these bulbs were so vital to the Flathead diet that they dubbed the month of June, "Camas Moon" (Curtis 1907–30, VII:185; Turney-High 1937:24, 252). Throughout the Intermountain region, Indians kept a ready eye for the ripening of the black seeds in the camas pods after the wet meadows became covered with carpets of swaying flowers that looked "like a blue lake" (Murphey 1969:14). For some tribes around Yellowstone National Park, such as the Shoshone and Flathead, this harvest was generally a family affair; for others, like the Nez Perce, it was more communal, with up to a hundred or more Indians joining together in a summer root-digging camp (Curtis 1907–30, VIII:43).

No sooner had the camas petals begun to wilt than the ready pods indicated that the bulbs' stored energy was at its peak and that their black skin was easiest to peel off (Malouf 1979:15). As Flathead families returned each year to their favored digging grounds, it was largely women who did the work, with much of the effort by grandmothers and their grandchildren poking two-and-a-half foot-long elk antler or fire-hardened digging sticks made from serviceberry wood to loosen the ground around the bulbs and uproot them (see citations in Malouf 1979:19). From sunrise to late afternoon each woman covered about a half acre a day and could accumulate a bushel's worth of roots which

They were quite angry and put out because they were very hungry. Shortly Elk arrived and after greeting his guests leaned over and picked up a stick and started digging his backside with it. Out came camas roots. Coyote was very disturbed. He felt it was impolite to serve one's guest dung and so he loudly complained. Elk said, "that is not dung but delicious camas root. I often carry them that way when I travel", Coyote tried them and found them quite tasty. He and his sons ate their fill.

> When Coyote departed, he asked Elk to visit him some day. The next day Elk showed up. Coyote went over and picked up a stick to dig at his own backside, only to cause a wound. Elk said that only he could do it so he took the stick and produced another feast of camas from his backside. As a form of friendship, Elk spread material from his backside all around the area to form camas roots [Willard 1992:48].

The two alternative explanations for this association between excrement and camas might be termed the mimetic and the psychoanalytic. Willard offers the explanation based upon mimesis, or similarity, when he adds at the end of his rendition of the narrative, "To this day, camas roots appear a little bit like elk or moose dung when they are first dug up, and after they are roasted." While Malouf concurs that from such narratives "one could conclude that the allusion was due to the similar appearance of cooked camas bulbs and the excrement of large members of the deer family," he confesses puzzlement at the fact that the Stubbs comment mentioned above refers less to Coyote's excrement than to the camas prairie landscape where his defecation took place (Malouf 1979:41).

But the psychoanalytic interpretation of such a story is unconcerned with similarities in physical appearance and looks instead at psychological mechanisms for responding to cultural dynamics. Whether it relates to the creation of human beings or to their most precious foodstuffs, the "creation out of excrement" motif has been noted by folklorists in quite a number of American Indian narrative contexts (see Thompson 1966:356, Motif #285, for summary of Indian citations involving "Trickster creates men of excrement"). In the best summary of this Freudian-based approach, folklorist Alan Dundes has tried to make sense of the overwhelming number of narratives in which human beings are created by males out of their anal passages (Dundes 1984). To a psychoanalytically minded folklorist, the explanation for this recurrent motif is that this is the male form of "penis envy;" that is, that men are jealous of the female power to give birth and hence through such stories they project a fantasy of being able to do so all on their own. In the narrative above, this line of explanation might suggest that men are envious of the prerogatives women enjoy in Plateau or Great Basin societies for supplying the primary foodstuffs. This explanation would even equate the "stick" mentioned in the above story with a male organ, and it would argue that in the kind of autoerotic act for which Coyote is hilariously famous in American Indian folklore (Bright 1993:70–72), he manages to impregnate himself with it and "give birth" to the precious substance that is camas, thereby reclaiming for men both the power to give life and the credit for this life-supporting plant. Most native people, it must be added, would probably dismiss such an explanation as a ridiculous example of non-Indian theorizing. For them Coyote is simply performing one of his defining tasks on their behalf, offering laughter along with sustenance.

Rise and Reconsideration of the Yellowstone "Taboo" Theory

It was while working among the Wind River Shoshone whose traditions impacted on the southern and the southeastern reaches of Yellowstone National Park that the Swedish historian of religions, Åke Hultkrantz, first developed his theoretical position which valued the ecological dimension of Indian belief-systems. His Eastern Shoshone and Sheep Eater researches began in 1948, when the Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography's Vega Fund provided Hultkrantz with a stipend for fieldwork in Wyoming over that summer and fall. The following year Hultkrantz wrote a brief comment on "Cultural Formations among the Wyoming Shoshone Indians" for the European publication, *Ymer* (1949), and an essay on Shos-

hone concepts of the soul for *Ethnos* appeared two years later. But his summary treatment on "The Indians and the Wonders of Yellowstone" for *Ethnos* would first appear in 1954.

Realizing that it would take more than a few months in the field to do justice to the Shoshones' social and religious culture, Hultkrantz applied for additional Vega funding, and also received a grant from the States Social and Law Scientific Research Council. Returning to work in Wyoming from June 1955 to January 1956, Hultkrantz focused his interviews upon the Wind River community, especially the so-called "Sage Creek" group of Sheep Eater descendants and traditionalists. Yet he also spent time with the neighboring Arapaho in the community of Ethete, and accompanied the experienced Yellowstone hand, Jack E. Haynes, around the mountain haunts of the Sheep Eaters. At the same time he conducted archival research at the Indian agencies of Fort Washakie and Fort Hall, dug into the Yellowstone National Park files at Mammoth Hot Springs, the Library of Congress materials in Washington, D.C., and the Wyoming state archives in Laramie. For help with hard-to-get documents Hultkrantz was aided by Dr. Robert F. Murphy, of the University of California, who with his wife Yolanda had conducted a study of Shoshonean bands.

From this data base Hultkrantz launched a prolific and distinguished writing career, reconstructing the subtle differences between the lifeways of fishing, buffalo and sheep hunting Shoshoneans, interpreting their oral traditions, and refining what he called an "ecological" interpretation of native religious practices. As an example of such an interpretation, Hultkrantz seemed to stay fixated on the impact that the Yellowstone geysers had on the belief systems of Indians, and undissuaded from his conviction that they considered the park region to be taboo because of their fear of its natural thermal phenomena. "And this tabooing rendered impossible, *inter alia*," he concluded, "a more intensive exploitation of the Park for transit and for settlement" (Hultkrantz 1954:66).

Now Hultkrantz became aware that the greater part of what he termed American Indian "popular tradition" regarding Yellowstone National Park had come from Shoshone peoples, most particularly from the Eastern Shoshone at Wind River (Hultkrantz 1954:42). However his opening example of second-hand ethnohistorical data was actually vague as to tribal derivation, and it also contained some internal contradictions. It was a quote from a letter he found in Hiram Chittenden's famous history of the park, which the famous Jesuit missionary Father Pierre De Smet wrote from

Figure 5.6. Åke Hultkrantz at Norris Geyser Basin, Yellowstone National Park, July 26, 1994 (author photo).

St. Louis in January 1852, where the priest described the geysers he had heard about but never seen:

> The hunters and the Indians speak of it with superstitious fear, and consider it the abode of evil spirits, that is to say, a kind of hell. Indians seldom approach it without offering some sacrifice, or, at least, without presenting the calumet of peace to the turbulent spirits, that they may be propitious. They declare that the subterranean noises proceed from the forging of warlike weapons; each eruption of the earth is, in their eyes, the result of combat between their infernal spirits, and becomes the monument of a new victory or calamity [Chittenden and Richardson 1905:661].

And a dozen years later DeSmet reiterated this impression of Indian attitudes towards the region:

> The Indians pass these places in profound silence and with superstitious dread. They regard them as "the abode of underground spirits always at war with one another, and continually at the anvil forging their weapons." They never pass without leaving some offering on a conspicuous point of that mysterious region" [Chittenden and Richardson 1905:1377–78].

For all his growing knowledge of Shoshone belief-systems, Hultkrantz never seems to have analyzed the inconsistencies in De Smet's remarks. For example, we never hear whether or not the Shoshone cosmology included any kind of "hell," if there was any ethnographic documentation that their "infernal spirits" fought against each other [most epic wars in American Indian mythology are between proto-humans and supernatural beings], in what way such evil spirits might be also "propitious," or how they might have had metal weapons that required "forging" prior to the advent of white society.

These problems with De Smet's report lead one to wonder how much of this picture might have been a projection of Euro-American society rather than any reflection of Indian thought. Indeed, even before the park's infancy and early years it is not exactly clear which ethnic group, white or Indian, may have treated these hot pools and spouts with greater trepidation and terror.

Euro-American Demonizing of Yellowstone's Thermal Field

The following series of comments by early non-Indians visiting Yellowstone underscore attitudes which might well have been projected onto native cultures.

Item. In what editor Leroy R. Hafen calls the "fictionalized history" of George Ruxton's western travels in the late 1840s, there is an account of white responses towards the country just over the divide from the deep Yellowstone Canyon, which was "full of beaver, as well as abounding in the less desirable commodity of Indians." As Ruxton continued:

> This was the valley lying about the lakes now called Eustis and Biddle, in which are many thermal and mineral springs, well known to the trappers by the names of Soda, Beer, and Brimstone Springs, and regarded by them with no little awe and curiosity, as being the breathing places of his Satanic majesty—considered, moreover, to be the "biggest mind" of "Medicine" to be found in the mountains. If truth be told, old Bill hardly relished the idea entering this country, which he pronounced to be of "bad medicine" notoriety... [Ruxton 1951:117].

Item. Just before his comments above on the unspecified Indian fears regarding hot spots in the general Yellowstone region, Father P.J. De Smet wrote of the "Colter's Hell" [probably DeMaris Springs, near Cody, Wyoming (Mattes 1949)] that, "This locality is often agitated with subterranean fires. The sulphurous gases which escape in great volumes from the burning soil infect the atmosphere for several miles, and render the earth so barren that even the wild wormwood cannot grow on it. The beaver-hunters [Euro-American mountain men] have assured me that the underground noises and explosions are frightful" (Chittenden and Richardson 1905:79).

Item. During his expedition of 1870, Nathaniel Langford could not avoid similar language in his description of a thermal area south of Mount Washburn:

> The spring lying to the east, more diabolical in appearance, [was] filled with a

> brownish substance of the consistence of thin mucilage, emitting fumes of villainous odor...This was a most perfect realization of Shakespeare's image in Macbeth-and I fancied the "black and midnight hags" concocting a charm around this horrible cauldron [Langford 1905:97].

Item. To Lord William Blackmore, a British anthropologist, the thermal springs he saw during his 1872 trip through the park were "horrible and appalling." He could well understand the impression "that you have at length come to the entrance to the infernal regions. I have never seen anything so thoroughly diabolical in my life" (Blackmore 1872).

Item. During the Jones reconnaissance into the park in the summer of 1873, the scout who seemed most afraid of the geysers turned out to be a white man, not an Indian. And Jones invoked Christian and not Pagan cosmology as a way to contextualize the man's reaction: "The spot has most of the physical characteristics of our best authenticated conceptions of hell; and one of our guides, who discovered it, did not tarry, for he felt certain that 'the devil was not far off'" (Jones 1875:28).

Item. Should we deduce anything about America's ambivalent relationship to "wilderness" from the fact that few locales in the United States are as plastered with demonic place-names as this symbolic center of our national park system? Writes Merrill D. Beal, "Surely [the park founders] concepts of Christian theology rendered them acutely conscious of the attributes and environment of His Satanic Majesty" when they provided such place-names as Devil's Slide, Hellbroth Springs, Brimstone, Devil's Hoof, Devil's Den, Devil's Kitchen, Hell's Half Acre and Hell Roaring Mountain (Beal 1956:122), among the over fifty-five such diabolic toponyms once used in the park tallied by Lee Whittlesey (Whittlesey 1988:xxxix, a figure which the author has currently updated to "56 devil, 6 hell, and 3 satan place names" personal communication, July 1999).

Item. Reviewing such early comparisons between these thermal hot spots and Christian cosmology led Yellowstone afficionado Gary Ferguson to conclude that:

> Clearly, infatuation with hell and evil is much more a trait of white visitors and explorers than Native Americans. And given the Christian preoccupation with wickedness, it's easy to see how one might interpret the offering of gifts [by Indians] to a geyser basin as an attempt to please an angry, fearsome god. Indeed, this tendency to project a European view of the cosmos on other cultures is found in much of our so-called "Indian lore" [Ferguson 1995:137].

Attitudes About Yellowstone Imputed to Indians

What is revealing about the Euro-American citations listed above is how many of their analogies, rhetorical turns and moral implications are reflected in attitudes about the Yellowstone thermal area that are attributed, often by the same writers, to Native Americans. For a sense of this remarkable similarity here is a representative sample of comments about American Indians and their alleged feelings about the area:

Item. Contended Walter Trumbull, a member of the Washburn Expedition of 1870, "...the unscientific savage finds little to interest him in...places [like the thermal hot spots]." Instead, Trumbull argued that Indians "would give [such places] ...wide berth, believing them sacred to Satan" (Trumbull 1871:436).

Item. When General Philip Sheridan was contemplating visiting the park in 1877—during the very same year when the Nez Perce would cause havoc as they cut through the place—he reassured his superiors that he envisioned no problems with Indians since the region was "to their superstitious minds associated with hell by reason of its geysers and hot-springs" (quoted in Ferguson 1995:136).

Item. Looking back on her tragic experience with the Nez Perce in the park in 1877, Mrs. G.F. Cowan reiterated the prevailing opinion at the time:

> We are told that the Indian is superstitious. To him anything out of the ordinary must be possessed of the Evil One. The phenomena of the geysers account for the fact very probably that this land is not now and never

> has been an Indian country. Few Indian trails are found within the boundaries of the Park, as they are in other parts of the West. Yet, this year, of all others, the Indians are very much in evidence in the National Park, as we found to our evidence [Cowan 1903:159].

It is possible that after her park experience Mrs. Cowan accepted what she was "told," and made exactly the causal connection between Indian beliefs about the park and the lack of Indian presence there which Superintendent Norris hoped for in his soothing annual reports.

Item. This sort of reliance on what Norris construed to be Indian beliefs was evident in his comments in 1880, when he claimed that the Shoshone and Bannock were "deterred less by these natural obstacles [the high mountains and deep snows] than by a superstitious awe concerning the rumbling and hissing sulphur fumes of the spouting geysers and other hot springs" (Norris 1880:35).

Item. Entering the park from the south with his Shoshone guide seven years later, the Owen Wister party "sealed our rifles" because of the ban on hunting, and then "took our way into the haunted land, the domain possessed of devils, shunned by the Indians of old" (Wister 1936:473).

Item. Writing his historical sketch of the park in 1907, John H. Raftery attempted to synthesize Indian attitudes towards the region as follows:

> Out of the vague, unwritten lore of Indian tradition come the remote rumors of an enchanted land among the mountains where the rivers boiled, the earth burned and haunted lakes tossed spectral plumes of scalding steam into the zenith. Here in cauldrons of gypsum or jasper or jade the evil spirits mixed their war paint, and from peak and promontory, in the valleys, and on the hills could be seen the spiral smoke of their bale fires. The nomads of the Northwest shunned it as a land of evil haunt of prowled around its margins in awesome fear and reverence [Raftery 1943:101–102].

Item. We are informed by historian Grace Hebard that the Shoshones, along with:

> all other tribes who knew of the mysterious nature of the Yellowstone National Park, believed that the geysers, paint pots and weird rumblings were a real conflict of the evil spirits as they fought within the recesses of the earth; for this reason, the wonder of the park was shunned and feared by the red man [Hebard 1995:307].

Apparently recycling De Smet's comments without any cultural critique or contextualization, Hebard here compounds her errors of (*a*) lumping "all" tribal beliefs in the area and then, (*b*) without any documentation stating that they share some belief in combat between underworld evil spirit by (*c*) the following implausible scene almost certainly borrowed from Father de Smet:

> When acting as escorts or scouts for military or exploration forces marching into the Yellowstone country, the Shoshones always offered up a sacrifice before entering the land where were "the rumbles within the earth that heralded the geyser eruptions, which the red man regarded as the forging of warlike weapons by the spirits; each eruption bespoke a victory or defeat of one band of spirits" [Hebard 1995:307].

As we have seen, well before Hultkrantz entered the debate, this matter of Indian reactions to the Yellowstone National Park thermal fields and geyser basins became politicized. Early park boosters used the dubious comparisons to substantiate the idea that superstitious, terrified Indians steered clear of entire geyser basins and detoured around the heart of the park (see early park guidebook entries following this line such as: Harry J. Norton [1873:31], George W. Wingate [1886:139], A.B. Guptill [1890, 1894], Emerson Hough [1933:13] and more recent examples—Carl Schreier [1983]). By the late 19th century the notion of Indians staying away from the park because they feared its spirits had become a truism of Yellowstone history. It permeated popular consciousness and was often invoked when the topic of Indians in the park came up.

So far we have briefly sketched the spectrum of Anglo-European *(a)* emotional attitudes towards Yellowstone's hot spots, and *(b)* their portrayals of Indian responses to those same places. Now let us resume the efforts we have made in Chapters 1 and 3 to see the thermal wonders of the region through Indian eyes.

Native Beliefs and Practices About Hot Springs and Geysers

We will begin this review with our recent inquiries into Plains, Plateau and Great Basin Indian attitudes toward hot springs and geysers. As for thermal pools, virtually all the Shoshonean consultants to our study concurred that they held positive curative benefits.

To SW, a Shoshone elder from Fort Washakie, the thermal outlets such as those at Thermopolis, Wyoming, "got some kind of good power." He went on to emphasize that different tribes passing through would camp there because its hot waters were "good for the bones" and alleviated the pains of rheumatism and arthritis. Furthermore, "if you can swim in here with the muskrats you'll never get a cold." This consultant also perceived a subterranean connection between the Yellowstone geysers—most specifically "that place where the water came out," or Old Faithful—and other thermal pools further away. "This [the Fort Washakie hot spring] is a branch of it [Old Faithful]," he claimed, "and [also] down through Thermopolis." Or as he would later elaborate regarding Old Faithful, "it's a vein" (SW and BS Interview, Fort Washakie, November 14, 1995).

According to other Eastern Shoshone advisers, soaking in such waters—known in their language as *bow-we-ran* or "steaming water"—not only assuaged aches in the bones, but drinking the liquid also alleviated problems with ulcers and gall stones—"Even today when they have the reenactment for the Gift of Waters, they drink that water in the reenactment" (FT, MJG and ZE Interview, Fort Washakie, February 4, 1996). In addition to the waters, the earthen byproducts at the hot springs were considered healthy. Said FT, "[Our grandparents] even told us that they would go down there just to be in that water. There is also what they call mud-bath, in Thermopolis, by the river. They would go in there and cover themselves with mud. That used to cure sores or things on your body; it

Figure 5.7. Old Indian campsite in Yellowstone thermal area, near Lone Star Geyser (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #YELL 37824).

would bring out that sickness in your body."

That interview session revealed other uses of minerals at hot springs as well. The paste-like "white clay build-up" found there was used to whitewash buckskins, or was packed around swollen joints to draw out the pain. Mixed with water it was ingested—"like Alka-Seltzer" or "Milk of Magnesia" —for indigestion. And it was part of a decoction drunk when water is permitted for the fasting participants at a Sun Dance:

> And then for a religion that meets secretly, they also took that clay, and mashed it up into a fine clay powder. After Sun Dance they put that in their fresh drinking water...Then you don't get sick and get cramps in your stomach after your first drink...[They collected it] in the special place. Most of the people here either get it in Idaho now and in Yellowstone ["At Mammoth Springs. That is where they usually get it at, at Mammoth Springs"—MJG]...But you have to get permission from the Park Service...It takes quite a lot to get permission [FT Interview, Fort Washakie, February 4, 1996].

These conversations with contemporary Eastern and Northern Shoshones also disclosed a highly personal use of these thermal areas. After some warm-up discussion with Fort Hall elders, one consultant, who maintained her own great grandfather had been buried within Yellowstone National Park, confided:

> In some of those areas, too, up in the high country Yellowstone area, people buried Bannock in those areas. Some of the people, depending on who the individual was, his ranking in the band or the tribe or the group, whoever he was with...they would bury them right in the springs, the hot springs...They would just drop them down in there. Then, depending on who it was and what kind of ranking they had, whether they were a warrior or just an elderly person or one with medicine powers or other powers, they were buried in the springs, up in the hills, in lava beds...Generally, the chiefs were the ones who were dropped into the hot springs, the leaders you might say, because that was the quickest way for them to get where they were going [GE Interview, Fort Hall, November 18, 1995].

Joseph Weixelman was told by a Shoshone consultant that the hot springs were "a natural jacuzzi for us...It's healthy...there is a lot of value to these springs" (Weixelman 1992:57). When consultants suggested to him that offerings, such as arrowheads, might be left at such sites, with the understanding that they were to remain there undisturbed, Weixelman wondered whether that might explain the stone point found by George Marler while cleaning a hot spring in the Firehole Geyser Basin in 1959 (Weixelman 1992:55; Marler 1973).

Such contemporary statements have their resonance in the ethnographic and ethnohistorical literature on the Shoshone and their neighbors, which is peppered with observations on the positive value of springs, both hot and cold. The affinity of the Wind River Shoshone for the "healing waters" at Big Spring and Washakie's Plunge has been well documented. Located at the northern end of the reservation, here Chief Washakie and his people bathed to relieve their rheumatism and muscular pains (Trenholm and Carley 1964:286–311). Working among the Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, for example, Juliam H. Steward learned that "a hot spring near Yellowstone was favored [for obtaining powers], but was dangerous because of proximity to Blackfoot," and that "Powers whose identity were unknown to SB [his consultant], were acquired, however, at Soda Springs near Lava Hot Springs" in Idaho (Steward 1943:286).

As Hultkrantz himself found while doing research in the Bureau of Indian Affairs archives at Salt Lake City, the Shoshone Indians known as "Walkers" were noted for seeking out hot springs for their warmth. As the Salt Lake Valley Indian agent wrote to the Secretary of the Interior in 1849:

> There are many warm and hot springs throughout this country, and it is said to be no uncommon thing to see the Indians sheltering themselves and their children from the bleak and terrible storms which prevail in these grand and rugged mountains, by lying during a great part of the day and perhaps night too in water [Letter of John Wilson, quoted in Hultkrantz 1979:34].

In the broader Plains region the mutual recognition of the power of a sacred spring could even

temporarily quell animosity between blood enemies. In the late 1840s the chronicler George Ruxton heard the following story from a Brule Lakota:

> One evening he drew near a certain "medicine" spring, where, to his astonishment, he encountered a Crow warrior in the act of quenching his thirst. He was on the point of drawing his bow upon him, when he remembered the sacred nature of the spot, and making a sign of peace, he fearlessly drew near his foe, and proceeded like-wise to slake his thirst. A pipe of kinnik-kinnik being produced, it was proposed to pass away the early part of the night in a game of "hand" [Ruxton 1951:101–102].

In this context we might reiterate the suggested Crow Indian use of such healing springs cited in Chapter 1. In 1830 a Frenchman named Henri Bleau heard from a fellow countryman, known only as Robaire, regarding some "wonderful boiling springs, not far distant, whose waters he said were a cure for all diseases that man was heir to" (Sharman 1902:31). Their conversation occurred on present Henry's Lake in Idaho, but to park archivist Lee Whittlesey the spring site sounds more like Mammoth Hot Springs. Along with about fifteen Crow Indian families, who may or may not have been his guide, when Robaire went to the springs:

> ...he was so badly crippled up with rheumatism that he could not take a step without crutches, and now he was as straight and active as a young man. There were several in our party who had been suffering from this disease, and I was among the number. We were delighted and determined to visit the medical springs and test their healing qualities before another month had elapsed [Sharman 1902:31].

In addition to their use for curative purposes, we also have documentary backing for assertions by our consultants that Shoshones chose such springs as prime spots for human burials. Before his death in October 1884, the famous Shoshone chief Pocatello made arrangements for his internment at a sacred spring near the American Falls. As Judge Walter T. Oliver described this remarkable ceremony:

> First we took the chief and wound all his clothing around him, then tied his guns, knives, and all his hunting equipment and relics to the clothing with willow things and tossed him out into the middle of the spring, and he went to the bottom quickly. Then the Indians took the eighteen head of horses, killed them one by one and rolled them into the spring on top of the old man, and they too were soon out of sight, for the spring is said to have no bottom [quoted in Madsen 1986:112–113].

An even more astonishing example of a similar-sounding burial on Utah's Shoshone-Ute boundary was reported in 1855 by George W. Bean, a Mormon missionary to the Indians. Leaving Redden's Springs and heading for the Rush Valley, Bean and his group came upon a warm salt water spring which was used for burial by Indians whose camp remains Bean could detect on nearby hillsides. What Bean saw in the warm waters was almost unbelievable:

> This crust of elevation had been formed by the continuous overflow of the mineral water, hardened by its contact with the cold air and projecting over at the top. What was most curious, was the six Indian bodies standing bolt upright and crusted over with the salty deposit in this lake, giving them the appearance of mummies. It was evident that they had heavy weights attached to their lower extremities, thus keeping them perpendicular with their heads three or four feet below the surface of the water. It appeared that other corpses were back of these [Horne 1945:114].

Some reinforcement for this practice of burial in the vicinity of hot springs also comes from the Wind River Shoshone elder, Rupert Weeks. At the end of a story about obsidian, Weeks described a trade between his father and white traders in which knives and flintlock rifles were exchanged. As for the ultimate deposition of the rifle, Weeks told his grandchildren:

> It is buried with your great-grandfather near Wonzee Kawdee, the place where male antelope feed on top of a high plateau south of Dea Pa Qee Wuana, the little hot springs. We lowered him into a deep

Figure 5.8. Crow Indian Max Big Man and wife at Yellowstone National Park geyser (Photo courtesy of Yellowstone National Park Archives, Catalog #YELL 37806).

> hole and covered him with stones, so that the coyotes and wolves would not dig up his resting place [Weeks 1981:31].

And early Indian fascination for the process of calcification is underscored by a curious anecdote from a Washington, D.C., architect who, as a 25-year-old, accompanied a trading expedition in 1839–40 which explored the volcanic field around the headwaters of the Yellowstone. Wrote E. Willard Smith in his journal entry for December 20, 1839:

> Mr. Vasquez told me he went to the top of one of these volcanoes, the crater of which was filled with pure water, forming quite a large lake, There is a story told by an Arapahoe chief of the petrified buffalo standing in the lake on the east side of the mountains. It was in a perfect state of preservation, and they worship it as a great medicine charm. There are also many moccasin and buffalo tracks in the solid rock along the side of the lake. Nothing would induce this Indian to tell where the sacred buffalo is to be found. Great presents were offered to him in vain [Barry 1939:36].

It may be precisely because the Indians were inspired rather than repelled by the Mammoth Hot Springs, hints Yellowstone ranger Dan R. Sholly, that outsiders had to discover them for themselves:

> It was easy to see why the Indians had never told the white man of such spectacles. They looked supernatural, especially with their vapors writhing so thickly in the cold [Sholly and Newman 1991:37].

Finally, there is the conjecture of geologist George Marler that one important Indian hot-bath was located directly in the Lower Geyser Basin. A circular pool about sixty feet in diameter, Marler believed that the thickness of its mineral deposit suggested that it had been purposefully constructed sometime before 1870, known variously as Tank Pool, Ranger Pool or Old Bath Lake, he considered it one of the park's "most important archeological sites" (Marler 1973a:462).

In the face of citations such as these, and persuaded by Carling Malouf's additional archaeological evidence that Indians had not shied away from Yellowstone's hot spots, Hultkrantz tempered his "Yellowstone taboo" hypothesis to draw a dis-

tinction between geysers and hot springs. As he narrowed his argument for a 1979 reappraisal Hultkrantz wrote that, "The indications of dangerous spots in Yellowstone Park *all refer to the geysers, not to the less dramatic hot springs*" (Hultkrantz 1979, emphasis ours). For the moment we will ignore the fact that sensible members of many cultures might be expected to experience awe, apprehension, caution and perhaps even fear in the face of boiling hot waters, steaming vapors and life-like growling sounds that emerge out of deep holes in ashen-colored ground that breaks like crust beneath their feet. And if they had children with them they might be expected to agree that such places are just as dangerous as Yellowstone National Park signs with slashed red circles warn us they are today.

As with hot springs, however, so with geysers. Once again, documentary information suggests that when they wanted Indians could approach Yellowstone's even more explosively volatile thermal locations. We know, for instance, that George Harvey Bacon, a miner from Montana, was led to the Upper Geyser Basin by "a friendly band of Indians" in 1865 (J.H. Bacon, "Letter regarding George Harvey Bacon's visits to Yellowstone area from 1864 to 1873," Yellowstone Research Library, in Weixelman 1992:70). On August 12, 1935, a 74-year-old Nez Perce elder from Idaho named White Hawk visited the park to reminisce about the old days and to visit key sites associated with Chief Joseph's famous retreat. At the time White Hawk had been a teenager in charge of herding and feeding the rebels' horses. With him on this nostalgic return was Many Wounds, whose father had been present when the Nez Perce attempted to burn down of Baronett's Bridge. In Yellowstone National Park naturalist W.E. Kearns' description of their tour, at one point the old man was questioned about Indian reactions to the thermal areas:

> When asked if the Indians were afraid of the Geysers or hot springs, Chief White Hawk replied that they were not, and implied that the Indians used them for cooking food. They were a source of wonder, undoubtedly, but even these startling manifestations of "Mother Earth" did not alarm them [Kearns 1935:41].

In retrospect, White Hawk's comment echoed the Nez Perce reaction to the area that was made by the warrior Yellow Wolf ("The hot smoking springs and the high-shooting water were nothing new to us"—McWhorter 1940:30). It also followed the observations of native attitudes made by Frank Carpenter at the actual time of the Indian invasion of the park. To Carpenter it seemed that the Nez Perce had no hesitation being in the vicinity of geysers in Firehole Basin, and one man even "sprang from his horse and picked up a piece [of smelly hot sulphur] and began a critical examination of it" (Carpenter 1935:128). For further evidence that Indians were not exactly adverse to this Firehole area we have signs that, for some purpose or other, Indians were converging here five years earlier. In an article he wrote for a Montana periodical, James H. Mills recalled his party of travelers meeting with the "Helena Press Expedition" just north of the Upper Basin on the Firehole River:

> Expressing some astonishment at our having come through 'the Indian country on the Madison' we learned they had encountered two trappers bound down the Yellowstone with hair on end and horses on the run, who had 'seen two Indians and counted twenty ponies grazing at the mouth of the Fire Hole' [Mills, October 12, 1872].

Hultkrantz himself heard about the popularity from J.G., one of his part-Sheep Eater consultants, whose grandfather, Rabbit Feet, had been a well-known band chief and who had regularly summered inside the park:

> They raised their tents close to the Firehole Geyser Basin (the geysers there as well as the other hot springs were called pa:gusuuinot "water-steam-standing up"). They watered their horses down at the river. The men themselves bathed in the geysers whilst they directed their prayers to the spirits. J.G. had not heard they were afraid of the geysers, but could not maintain the opposite either [Hultkrantz 1979:37].

And contemporary Indians often respond with a chuckle when they are told of the theory that their ancestors cowered before these places. As our leading Salish-Kootenai consultant said:

MAGAZINE

Coming Monday in The Gazette

History of Yellowstone

Section E

The Billings Gazette

THE SOURCE

Sunday, June 29, 1997

prayers

buffalo visions

A sacred place

& Yellowstone Park

By LORNA THACKERAY
Of The Gazette Staff

IN THE DEEP quiet that settled over the Sun Dance site in the back country of Yellowstone Park last Sunday night, H.P. Fritz dreamed of bison running through camp.

"It was so vivid I woke expecting to see buffalo around us," he said.

And then he felt the ground beneath him move, rumbling as if a vast herd approached.

"It could have been all those buffalo that have been killed," speculated Fritz, an Independence, Mo., hospital administrator. "Maybe they were trying to tell us something."

A few yards away, John Potter ran with wolves in a dream that has probably simmered beneath the surface for the two years The Billings Gazette artist has been planning the ceremony with Sun Dance Chief Scott Frazier.

"The three of us were running with them, and, as we ran, their radio collars fell off," Potter said.

The Sun Dance was a promise made to Yellowstone's wolves when Potter, of Ojibway and Seneca descent, and Frazier, whose ancestors are Sioux and Crow, adopted them in March 1995.

"Since they are our family, we wanted them to know our songs and be a part of our ceremonies," he said.

When the sun had risen and the praying was done on Wednesday, the third and final day of the Sun Dance, Potter could hear the wolves calling.

"They let me know they were there and that they heard our songs and that they were with us," he said.

Frazier, too, had a good feeling about what he, Potter and Fritz had accomplished.

"I think the Sun Dance we just did is going to open something up that was covered," he said.

Now they must wait and see what it is.

Patience

They are patient men — they do not expect sudden revelations or cataclysmic events. But they hope that, through time, their good will and their prayers will help restore the harmony between animals and man and man and the earth, that they believe has been disrupted by recent events such as the killing of bison who wander out of the park.

*Figure 5.9. Indian rituals returns to Yellowstone Park. In an effort "to restore the harmony between animals and men and the earth" which an Ojibwa, a Sioux-Crow and a non-Indian friend of theirs believed had been "disrupted by recent events such as the killing of bison who wander out of the Park," they were permitted to hold a Sun Dance above Blacktail Deer Creek in late June 1997 (*Billings Gazette, *Sunday Magazine Section, p. 1E–2E, June 29, 1997).*

These white historians stated a long time ago when Yellowstone Park first opened up that the Indian people were afraid of the geysers, that they just couldn't understand them and that they'd run and hide whenever these things would go off. I talked to some of our elders when I got back (from the park) and they just laughed. They thought that was funny. Because the only reason an Indian person would move away from that area is maybe they had children with them, and they didn't want them to be burnt by that hot scalding water. Our people had a very good common sense. Once one person got burnt they didn't go back and stick their hand back in it again [TT Interview, Pablo, Montana, August 22, 1995].

Despite the mounting evidence, already presented in this document, that argues for ancient and historical Indian travel through most corners and core locations of Yellowstone National Park, the question of Indian relations to its thermal fields remains a matter of some debate. To a great extent this is because of the tenacity of the Swedish scholar, Åke Hultkrantz, who nonetheless has modified somewhat in recent years his earlier insistence that Indians held the entire geyser region as a "taboo" area. Both his strident and softened viewpoints are combined in one of his most recent statements about this issue when, as our documentary overview hosted Dr. Hultkrantz and his wife for a tour of the park on July 26, 1994, Dr. Hultkrantz offered the following comment on videotape:

> The other [Plain Indian] tribes were very much surprised [at the geysers] when they came into the park, many of them at least, while the Sheep Eaters were quite familiar with the features here... The information I received from the last Sheep Eaters still alive who had roamed up in the mountains was that they were afraid of the geysers. This was quite definite. And I don't think that this is a late superstition that was introduced among them. This is what they thought. And we know from the early sources, practically all early sources, that the Sheep Eaters had this respect and fear for the geysers and consequently they didn't live exactly close to the geysers but out more in the woodlands. This didn't stop them from visiting the geysers now and then. And I think particulary for religious purposes, to have visions there, to give offering to the spirits, because they believed in spirits in the geysers [Yellowstone National Park Archives, Interview with Åke Hultkrantz, July 26, 1994].

For their part, the officials of Yellowstone National Park had already been modifying their 19th century endorsement of imputed Indian "fear of the geysers" and hence on their purported absence from the park heartland. In 1927, for instance, its ranger naturalist manual seemed willing to remind park employees and interpreters that in 1870 the Washburn-Langford expedition had found along the east bank of the Yellowstone River an old dismantled pit or trench—which could have been an Indian hunting blind of the sort described in Chapter 3 (Ranger Naturalist Manual of Yellowstone National Park 1927:19). By 1949, Yellowstone Ranger-writer Merrill Beal was no longer buying the notion that Indians stayed away from Yellowstone because of their fear of the place. Something of a romantic where Indians were concerned, he argued that:

> After all, Indians were children of nature; the earth was their mother. In Yellowstone Mother Earth was especially intriguing. They might not understand her; they might entertain great respect for her strange manifestations, but cringing trepidation? Hardly (Beal 1949:89)!

And by the summer of 1961 the park's official approach had advanced to the point that its press release announcing the donation of a soapstone pot to the Mammoth museum included the following statement:

> The National Park Service now believes that the Yellowstone Park Area may not have been taboo to the nomadic Indian tribes which frequented the Northwest in prehistoric times. Evidence collected over the past several years seems to indicate that many tribes have been more or less permanent residents of this geologically mysterious area [Department of the Interior Memorandum, National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park, August 4, 1961].

It is probable that this declaration was drafted by Aubrey L. Haines himself. For Haines had been sufficiently impressed by Dr. Carling Malouf's preliminary conclusions after his survey of the park during the summer of 1958—when Malouf identified over forty native occupation sites near thermal areas, at such locations as Sulphur Mountain, Gibbon Basin, Norris Basin, Thumb, the confluence of the Lewis and Snake Rivers, Mammoth, along the Firehole River, and even behind the Inn at Old Faithful (Malouf 1959:5–6)—to state for an in-house draft of his *History of Yellowstone National Park* that:

> There is no indication as to how the restlessness of the Late Prehistoric Period affected life on the Yellowstone Plateau. According to Dr. [Carling] Malouf, the evidence indicates that the people who occupied the northern part were culturally associated with sequences characteristic of Montana, while the occupancy of the southern part appears to have had its origin in Western Wyoming and Southeastern Idaho. He points out that use was continuous and relatively heavy, and that it *included the thermal areas* [Haines n.d.:87, emphasis his].

But a more ethnographic summary of evidence against the Hultkrantz thesis came in late 1991 when the Yellowstone Association, with additional funding from the Wyoming Council for the Humanities, assigned a Montana State University graduate student named Joseph Weixelman to conduct a short-term, fieldwork and library study on the relationships between "Native Americans and the Thermal Features of Yellowstone National Park." Under the direction of Yellowstone National Park historian Tom Tankersley, from October 1991 to July 1992 Weixelman interviewed representatives from various tribes and researched the relevant historical literature on Yellowstone National Park. His carefully footnoted, 101-page report concluded that:

> ...the thermal wonders of the Park did not frighten the native peoples of the region. Euro-Americans originated this idea and it must be dispelled before we can understand the true nature of Yellowstone's human past. Native peoples held varied beliefs concerning Yellowstone and different tribes used its resources differently. Each tribe found something of value here. The religious beliefs of a tribe and their proximity to the park shaped individual responses to the geysers. Many tribes approached Yellowstone as a sacred land for prayer and meditation., Some tribes found the thermal waters useful for healing, bathing, cooking and other activities [Weixelman 1992:60].

Refuges for the Sheep Eaters

In this final section we return to the subject of the fate of the Sheep Eaters, presumably the only full-time residents of Yellowstone National Park. We have waited until this chapter to add a sixth misperception about these mountain-dwelling Shoshone to the five we itemized already in Chapter 3. This sixth misrepresentation is one which remains alive and well today, the impression that the Sheep Eaters died out from smallpox, were totally annihilated by aggressive Plains tribes, or lost their separate identity through intermarriage with other Indians—in other words that they "vanished" or became "extinct."

As early as 1870 the broader Yellowstone region was witnessing a get-tough policy towards any and all surrounding Indians. When a fairly implausible rumor of possible Crow raids in the Gallatin and Yellowstone valleys reached James Stuart, for instance, he seized the opportunity to advocate no quarter, "I would like it better if it was a fight from the start; we would then kill every Crow that we saw, take the chances of their rubbing us out" (quoted in Haines 1974:63). At almost the same time a fabricated story in the Helena Daily Herald already referred to earlier, reporting the slaughter of 18 Indians at the Falls of the Yellowstone, revealed the tenor of the times. According to Aubrey L. Haines, anti-Indian sentiment was "common among the prospectors," who were swarming into the northern reaches of the park. In this false report the Sheep Eaters were singled out as target of both white rifles and inflammatory rhetoric:

> We felt no great uneasiness however, knowing full well that with our improved firearms, we would be enabled to overcome

> fifty of the sneaking red devils. It is proper to add, that the 'Sheep Eaters' are those of the Snake and Bannack tribes, who would not live with their brethren in peace with the whites....A body of savages who would gladly welcome death in preference to capture...[quoted in Haines 1974:41; Helena Daily Herald, May 18, 1870].

In 1871 J.A. Viall was appointed Superintendent for Indian Affairs in Montana for the Shoshone, Bannock and Sheep Eaters. This mixed group of mountain Indians, banded together for survival, gained their subsistence by fishing in the Salmon River region during the spring and summer before moving to the Yellowstone region to hunt buffalo in the fall and winter. Viall first tried to place these Indians with the Crow, an arrangement the Crow approved, and he sent A.J. Simmons to,

> Stinking Water Valley, Virginia City, Beaverhead, and other places, to gather together the scattered remnants of these tribes, who were prowling around the country half starved, and in deplorable condition, for the purpose of taking them to the Crow reservation [Viall 1971:831].

Apparently a few families did join the Crow but the majority, especially the Bannock, were not welcome because during the fall and winter buffalo hunt of 1870 they apparently stole some Crow horses, and the deal fell apart (Pease 1871:836). So Viall had Simmons escort the assembled group to a valley about twenty miles above the mouth of the Lemhi Fork of the Salmon River. Although not identified as such by Viall in his annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the valley was probably within the two townships of land described in the 1868 unratified treaty as the location for a Shoshone, Bannock, and Sheep Eater reservation. The location was also important as an access route through the mountains via Lemhi Pass and very near the route taken by Lewis and Clark when they crossed the Continental Divide. Mr. Simmons entrusted the Indians to A. I. Smith who set to work building fencing and plowing about 400 acres of land. Mr. Smith reported that the Indians were willing workers and that in the year they had dug nearly two miles of irrigation ditches, erected three log dwellings and two root cellars (Smith 1871:848). The fruits of their labor were reported as 3,000 bushels of potatoes, 160 bushels of wheat, and about the same of barley (Viall 1871:832). In addition they had caught, dried and stored 30,000 pounds of fish.

All in all the "Lemhi farm," as it was sometimes identified, had a pretty successful beginning for its small group of about 600 mountain Indians. Things were not so good by 1872, however, when the crops were severely damaged by grasshoppers and a new agent, J.C. Rainsford complained that obstructions on Columbia River were limiting the number of fish (Rainsford 1872:666). Crops were also destroyed by grasshoppers in 1875 (Fuller 1875:813) and the location of the agency buildings was moved a few miles in 1876 (Fuller 1877:448). Nonetheless the Lemhi Valley agency, then known as the "Ross Fork farm," continued until 1880 when the mountain Indians were instructed to move to Fort Hall. Ten Doy, the Shoshone usually recognized by the United States as their leader, was infuriated by this command, declaring that he would go to war before moving to Fort Hall (Wright 1879:160).

In 1907, one year after the noted anthropologist Robert Lowie had been to visit them, most of the Shoshone, Bannock and Sheep Eaters did move from the Lemhi Agency to Fort Hall (Clemmer and Stewart 1986:53).

Other Sheep Eaters remained in Yellowstone National Park and eventually joined Chief Washakie's Eastern Shoshones (Thompson and Thompson 1982:96). One has only fragmentary hints concerning who instigated this later Sheep Eater removal. Aubrey Haines, citing a letter from the Wind River Reservation agent of August 12, 1929, writes that at least some of the Sheep Eaters who had become isolated in the Yellowstone region entered the Wind River reservation about the year 1871, but we are given no details (Haines 1996:29, 333). There is Washakie's strongly worded objection during a council meeting called by Agent James Patten in June 1879 to propose the transfer of Ten Doy's band of Western or Lemhi Shoshone to Wind River. "Washakie rose and without hesitation," recalled Patten, to express his vehement opposition to the plan (Patten to Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. A. Hayt, June 11, 1879). According to the old chief, the Ten Doy group "are

mixed up with the Bannocks and there are a good many bad Indians in his band," and all his subchiefs concurred with their leader. Possibly some of those he called "bad Indians" were also Sheep Eaters, but they would have hailed from the Western group.

And yet from a letter by one D.G. Yeager, dated 1929, which Hultkrantz apparently perused in the Wind River Reservation files, one gathers that there was no such objection to the removal of the last Sheep Eaters from Yellowstone National Park to join Washakie's people at Wind River in 1879, but again no details are provided concerning the group's size or specifics concerning the transfer (Hultkrantz 1957:145). And one hears from anthropologist Joel C. Janetski that as both a consequence of the "Sheepeater War" and the worries of park Superintendent Col. P.W. Norris, that "the presence of Sheepeaters was perceived as a potential deterrent to tourist traffic," most of the Yellowstone Sheep Eaters were relocated at Wind River, Fort Hall, with a few quite likely transferred (presumably on or after 1879) to the Lemhi reservation on the Idaho-Montana line (Janetski 1987:54), but once again specifics are woefully absent.

Following the Sheep Eater removals, Norris and subsequent superintendents remained concerned about maintaining an Indian-free environment. As Norris wrote in his fifth annual report:

> The recent sale of the National Park and adjacent regions by these Indians insures future freedom from any save small horse-stealing bands of these tribes also. To prevent these forays, in council at their agency on Ross Fork of Snake River, in Idaho, and in Ruby Valley, in Montana, early in 1880 I obtained a solemn pledge from them to not thereafter go east of Henry's Lake, in Montana, or north of Hart Lake, in Wyoming, to which, as stated on page 3 of my report of 1880, they faithfully adhered. This pledge was renewed at Ross Fork when I was en route from Washington this year, and has again been sacredly observed [Norris 1881:45].

Although the hints of Sheep Eater dispersal present a different picture than that of mysterious extinction, we still need to know more precisely when, why and how the evacuation of Sheep Eaters from Yellowstone National Park took place. But what is almost as interesting as what actually happened to the Sheep Eaters, is what writers, bureaucrats and the general public wanted to think about what happened to them. The absence of hard facts about their fate provided ample opportunity for the image of the Sheep Eaters to become absorbed into iconic representations and self-serving stereotypes which were part of American consciousness concerning Indians during the late 19th century.

Sheep Eaters as "Vanishing Indians" and "Last of Her Tribe"

In the Euro-American imagination, the end of the old western frontier was often conveniently equated with the end of old Indian ways of life. In print and picture, the latter offered a poignant, sentimental symbol for the former: sad paintings and moody photographs depicting various renditions of Indians as a "Vanishing Race" became commonplace images, trickling down from fine art to mass-produced advertisements (see O'Brien 1996 and Simmons n.d. for the New England origins of both the "Vanishing Indian" and "Last of the ..." motifs in local histories and popular culture). The theory of the "Vanishing Indian" fit the wishful thinking of government bureaucrats, social planners and popular writers alike (Dippie 1973). It held that the demise of traditional Indian culture was a natural consequence of disease, depopulation, depression, an innate inability to evolve beyond the level of savagery, and, as U.S. Senator James R. Dolittle put it in 1867, "the natural effect of one race replacing another" (quoted in Nabokov 1991:188).

The romantic lament for bygone Indian days was an artistic accompaniment to this cultural and political prediction. But the "Vanishing Indian" theme was actually turned around so that early representations often portrayed the Indian as lamenting his own demise. This sentimental image in American popular culture can be heard in the "Rising Glory" genre of nationalistic poetry, such as the example written for the opening of the New York Theatre on September 1, 1821, where Charles Sprague rhapsodized about the growth of America,

during which "The startled Indian o'er the mountain flew/ The wigwam vanish'd, and the village grew" (quoted in Lubbers 1994:214). Although the 1820s were so replete with such sentiments that literary scholar Klaus Lubbers calls it the "last-of-the-Mohicans' decade," he documents how this icon of the "Indian's lament" over an irretrievable past had already been in the air for decades. Popular nostalgia for the Redman as dying race was also reiterated in the visual arts (Berkhofer 1978:537). Fine paintings, such as "The Last of the Race," an oil by Tompkins Harrison Matteson in 1847, showed dislocated Indian families looking disconsolately over the Pacific Ocean, having been rendered homeless at the very edge of the continent, or their demise was often pictorially equated with that of their mainstay, the doomed buffalo (As Joseph Dixon would lament in his *The Vanishing Race*: "The buffalo has gone from the continent, and now the Indian is following the deserted buffalo trail"—Dixon 1925:5).

A closely related icon, the "Last of his Tribe," often allowed for the localization and personalization of this "Vanishing Indian" stereotype. Poets revisited the birthplace of a famous local Indian chief, or described an old graveyard or pond where the ghosts of departed Indians evoked their vanished past, as Isaac McLellan, Jr. wrote in "The Fall of the Indian": "Yet sometimes in the gay and noisy street/Of the great City, which usurps the place/Of the small Indian village, one shall see/ Some miserable relic of that race..."(quoted in Lubbers 1994:220). But it was novels which most powerfully engraved this image into American consciousness, especially, of course, James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* (1826), although N.M. Hentz' less well-written *Tadeuskind, the Last King of the Lenapes* had come out the previous year. Even into the 20th century, this theme continued to fascinate non-Indians, as the story of "Ishi, the Last of the Yahi Yana" captivated readers from 1911 until the present day. That was when the nearly naked, sole Indian survivor of his band's virtual extermination turned up in a slaughterhouse corral in Oroville, California (Kroeber 1961). Across the nation these "Last of..." Indians continued to function as protagonists of novels, or the stuff of local legends, as still today one hears about or sees evocative photographs depicting the "last" Indian full-blood, the "last" speaker of an Indian language, the "last" Indian medicine man.

These images offered a psychological mechanism for outsiders to symbolically justify any physical removal or elimination of Indians that had occurred or which appeared imminent. With such sentimental requiems for the "passing of the Redman," by offering praiseworthy laments for their nobility, nostalgia for their heyday as Noble Savages and poignance at their extinction, non-Indians at the same time paved the way for their elimination and freed themselves of any guilt for it. One can readily grasp how neatly the poorly documented and uncertain finale to the Sheep Eater story could be manipulated into these preconceived themes and images.

Writing of his guide and key informant, Wesaw, Yellowstone National Park's second superintendent, P. W. Norris, was one of the first writers to hint at the fact how the Sheep Eater situation might fit with into the "vanishing Indian" theory of his day. He wrote in his first report:

> Owing to the isolation of the Park, deep amid snow mountains, and the superstitious awe of the roaring cataracts, sulphur pools, and spouting geysers over the surrounding pagan Indians, they seldom visit it, and only a few harmless Sheep-eater hermits, armed with bows and arrows, ever resided there, and even they now vanished [Norris 1877:842].

And in his official report three years later Norris added a reason for their absence, in a comment that his Indian guide,

> had made several trips before the one with Captain Jones, one of which was, as I understood him, to assist some friends who had intermarried with the Sheepeaters to leave the Park after the great small-pox visitation some twenty years ago [Norris 1881b:38].

Following the Norris commentaries, explanations for the scarcity of Sheep Eaters due to smallpox would become widespread over subsequent years. One principal proponent of the "smallpox extinction" theory was W. A. "Doc" Allen

whose book for general readers, *The Sheep Eaters*, was published in New York in 1913 by the Shakespeare Press. Unfortunately the work appears to be something of a fraud, as it is filled with inaccuracies that seem to be the product of Allen's imagination. Yet the book was the source of numerous other uninformed publications that dutifully reproduced its misinformation. Even today, nearly every summer some Montana newspaper carries a story about the "extinct Sheep Eaters" and their demise from small pox. As Allen quoted an old Indian woman about their final days:

> ...white man got lost and his ponies come into our camp. White man very sick. Medicine man put him in big tepee and take care of him, give much bath in hot water. Man got very red like Indian man, face much all over spots. By and by he die. Then sickness all over camp. Sheep Eater run off in forest and die. Sheep Eater all much scared and run away. Many tepee standing alone, all dead inside [Allen 1913:74].

Allen's text then explains that a handful of survivors descended into the valleys to be given refuge by other tribes. As noted above, this quote has been repeated so often that it has fused into an explanation for the virtual disappearance of all Sheep Eaters. Other authors merely stated that they were extinct, without providing any further explanation. As "Bill" Daniels wrote in 1953, "There are no known survivors today, but small bands of the Sheep-Eaters were common as late as 1880" (Daniels 1953:25). Historian Grace R. Hebard gave inter-tribal warfare as an explanation for their disappearance:

> They were a timid and fugitive people, who lived in the most inaccessible part of the Absaroka, Ten Sleep and Teton mountains, and who, in their rare contacts with whites, showed themselves generally friendly. Ultimately the Sioux penetrated to their recesses and virtually exterminated them. Of their history we know little, for though they left on the mountain walls many engravings and bright-colored paintings that may tell their story, the characters have never been interpreted [Hebard 1995:118].

Some authors have added more purple prose, such as magazine journalist Keith Barrette who offers the sort of eulogy to which other supposedly "vanishing" Indians like Mandans of North Dakota or the Yahis of California have been subject:

> Civilization proved too much for the Tukudeka...The plague was thorough—so thorough that the only memorials remaining are the empty campsites, the conical skeletons of abandoned lodges, the empty and silent sheep traps. Not even the saga of a battle has come down to us. The names of their great chiefs, or elders, if they had any, are unknown. The Tukudeka stand in the vague mists of western history, ghostly, almost formless shapes. Only the mountains are their remaining glory [Barrette 1963:58].

This dewy-eyed mixed-message, which writes an epitaph to Sheep Eater society so as not to be forced to deal with the complexity of their inter-mixed history, continues to be recycled today. For example, under the headline, "Sheepeaters were doomed by smallpox," in the July 9, 1979, issue of the Billings Gazette, journalist John Bonar writes:

> Beware of the white man's smallpox. The terrified cry echoed through what is now Yellowstone National Park. It was the early 1800's. This warning came from a shy tribe of small Indians known as the Sheepeaters [Bonar 1979:6].

The "smallpox extinction" idea promulgated by W.A. Allen is also perpetuated in a videography entitled "The Sheepeaters: Keepers of the Past" (Smith 1990), which is sold in Yellowstone National Park. A softer variant on the theme, in which most Sheep Eaters reportedly succumbed to European diseases once they were moved onto reservations, is also found in a recent Montana newspaper's feature story on these Indians (Bellinghausen 1995). The story's final scene has Sheep Eaters losing all separate identity as they are absorbed into the general population—despite the fact that the Idaho census continued to list them separately for years after they moved onto the reservation, and that when Hultkrantz and others conducted fieldwork among the Shoshones, everyone on the reservation knew which tribal members claimed Sheep Eater ancestry. The evidence is persuasive that allegations that the Sheep Eaters disappeared from European diseases to which they

were exposed after they moved out of the mountains, or lost identity after they intermarried with other Indians, lack credibility. But historical accuracy was ignored when the need arose for a popular cliche to wind up a book or news story.

When the book by W.A. Allen, *The Sheep Eaters*, was reprinted in 1989, however, it contained no updating or critical commentary. In the book's front matter was only a brief note informing the reader that the book concerns Wyoming Sheep Eaters, and refers anyone interested in the Sheep Eaters of Idaho to the University of Idaho archivist. But the new edition did include—without the author's permission—a reprint of "The Sheepeaters," an article written by David Dominick and originally published in Annals of Wyoming, October 1964. Reliable and well researched even if it lacked more updated information, it is still cited as a valuable source for Sheep Eaters aficionados. It should be noted that Åke Hultkrantz discredited the Allen book (Hultkrantz 1970b). But perhaps because Hultkrantz referred to these Indians by their Shoshone name, the *Tukadika*, instead of as Sheep Eaters, his critique has been ignored.

In addition to entering the Sheep Eater story under the "Vanishing Indian" genre, Allen also added his own version of "The Last of his Tribe" stereotype. For he claimed that the Indian-spoken account of the tragic end of the Sheep Eaters—the quote reproduced above—came from a woman named "Woman Under the Ground" who was the last living Sheep Eater Indian, and he even provided a frontispiece photograph of the individual, taken by the O.S. Goff. Allen claimed to have met this woman through the Crow Chief Pretty Eagle. Known locally as "Doc Allen," William Alonzo Allen practiced dentistry in Billings, Montana at the turn of the century, but by trade he was a blacksmith (Wagner and Allen 1936:150). Born in 1848, he appeared in Montana Territory about 1876. Shortly after his arrival, he claims to have heard of a Sheep Eater woman still living in the mountains and maintained that he finally stumbled upon her by chance while hunting in the Bighorn Canyon in 1877, while she was living among the Crow. It was through sign language that she reportedly communicated the sad tale of her tribe, "the ancient Sheep Eaters."

During photographic research for this overview we probed the origin of the uncredited photograph of "The Woman Under the Ground" which appeared as the frontispiece to Allen's book on the Sheep Eaters. In the Montana Historical Society we found a duplicate of the same image, but according to handwriting by O.S. Goff himself on the back of the historical print it was identified as the picture of an "Old Crow Squaw." Goff had taken the image in Fort Custer, Montana, where he served as the post photographer. Were we to assume that Goff was actually wrong, and she was indeed a Sheep Eater, there would then be a problem with her age. For Allen informs us that Woman Under the Ground was 115 years of age in 1877 and thus would have been 126 in 1888 when Goff made his picture, which seems highly unlikely. More probable is that Allen found a photograph of an old Indian woman to match his "invented Sheep Eater" and used it to enhance his credibility. Since Goff retired from the photography business in 1900, moving to Idaho until his death in 1917 (Watson 1962), perhaps Allen felt the photographer would never dispute his claim that she was the last living representative of her people.

So smitten was Superintendent Norris, too, by the sentimental image of the presumed demise of these mountain dwellers that he weighed in with his own poetic treatment on the theme. In his assortment of odd writings that swing between allusions to the "bloody raids" by Yellowstone's "superstitious" Indians and condemnations of white greed for Indian lands, one finds these verses under the title *The Mystic Lake of Wonderland*, which also betray a sense of guilt about Sheep Eater treatment at the hands of their evictors:

> And here by lonely rill I find -
> Sad trace of race to pale-face kind,
> But feeble, few, and shy of men -
> A wick-e-up of brush in glen,
> And (blanket-robed for want of grave),
> Last of his band, "Sheep-Eater" brave.
>
> And now I pause and sadly think
> Of cruel scenes ne'er traced in ink;
> Of kindly words and acts of those
> We curse and treat as savage foes,
> Yet practice crimes that dark disgrace
> Our Christian creed and bearded race
> [Norris 1884;47].

Survival of the Sheep Eaters

Such misrepresentations to the contrary, the Sheep Eaters did not vanish or become extinct. Among the most obvious refutations to premature declarations of their demise was the continued presence in southern Wyoming of a famous Sheep Eater guide and renowned medicine man named Togwotee. Prominent among the Sheep Eater contingent which was granted refuge on the Wind River Reservation around 1872 by Chief Washakie, throughout the early record of the Wind River Reservation the man's name periodically crops up. And yet in the following summary of our documentation on this somewhat mysterious character we also have an illustration of the contrast we often discover between outside, or public knowledge regarding an Indian figure which has been gleaned from written documents, and the more inside, private or even "esoteric" information which provides an Indian perspective that has been compiled largely from oral sources.

Insofar as the written record is concerned, we know that Togwotee was among the Sheep Eater minority of Shoshonean guides who led William A. Jones of the Corps of Engineers into northwestern Wyoming in the summer of 1873. With Togwotee personally leading the way, the Jones party navigated the mountain pass between the head of Wind River and a small tributary of the Snake River. During the journey one of the group's members, a geology professor named Theodore B. Comstock, got the impression that when his "mountain Shoshone" or Sheep Eater status caused other Indians to look down upon him or make derogatory remarks, the man known as Togwotee merely looked "annoyed" and generally paid them little mind, for "he was then of much importance on account of his superior knowledge of the country through which he was guiding us" (Jones 1875:275).

Clearly this Sheep Eater guide also made a favorable impression on the expedition's leader, for Jones made sure the man's name would live on. After being led across the pass known to Shoshone Indians as simply *pia wia:wi* or "Big Gap," Jones renamed it "Towgwotee Pass," in line with his preference for attaching easy Indian names, wherever possible, to the prominent features of the country (Jones 1875:55). Another story for this place-name harkens back to the literal meaning of Togwotee's Indian name—*togoti* is said to translate as "Shoots with a Spear," referring to his keen marksmanship. When he guided the Jones expedition through the "Big Gap," it was said to be as though he was sighting the white men towards a "bull's eye" with the same skill that made him always strike the center of his target (Sharon Kahin, from Charlie Beck, personal communication, July 15, 1996). This information ties the name to the arrow-throwing contest, a form of Indian competitive sport which is still practiced within Crow Indian reservation districts of south-central Montana each spring. To play the game, the Sheep Eaters first hurled a target arrow, which usually landed anywhere from fifty to seventy-five yards away. Then each contestant threw three, javelin-sized arrows tipped with heavy, unbarbed heads, aiming as close to the target as possible. According to one account, Togwotee was exceptionally adept at the game, and during a particular meet all his throws were said to actually touch the target arrow (Esther Mackler manuscript, p. 15, Dubois Museum, courtesy of Sharon Kahin, Museum Director).

Despite their assistance to Jones, in 1878 Togwotee and his followers were accused of participating in the Bannock War in Jackson Hole, and were rounded up by U.S. authorities. Since they were discovered in a large camp at the "Big Gap" pass, not far from the scene of those hostilities, it was assumed they had joined the Bannock rebels. In fact, they were only hunting elk. But a decade later Togwotee was characterized by an Episcopalian minister as a "veteran mountaineer," "reliable guide," "sub-chief" and "old scout of the Indian wars, trustworthy and intelligent," and cited by name as among the "Mountain-Sheep-Eating Shoshones" who helped to guide President Chester Arthur on his horse ride from Washakie Springs to the Yellowstone National Park along Indian Paths and wild game trails "through the primeval Forests and mountain passes" (Reverend John Roberts manuscript, quoted in Hultkrantz n.d., p. 87. ms. in possession of Roberts family). Not long afterwards, Togwotee was assigned the job of chief of the Indian police at the Shoshone Agency.

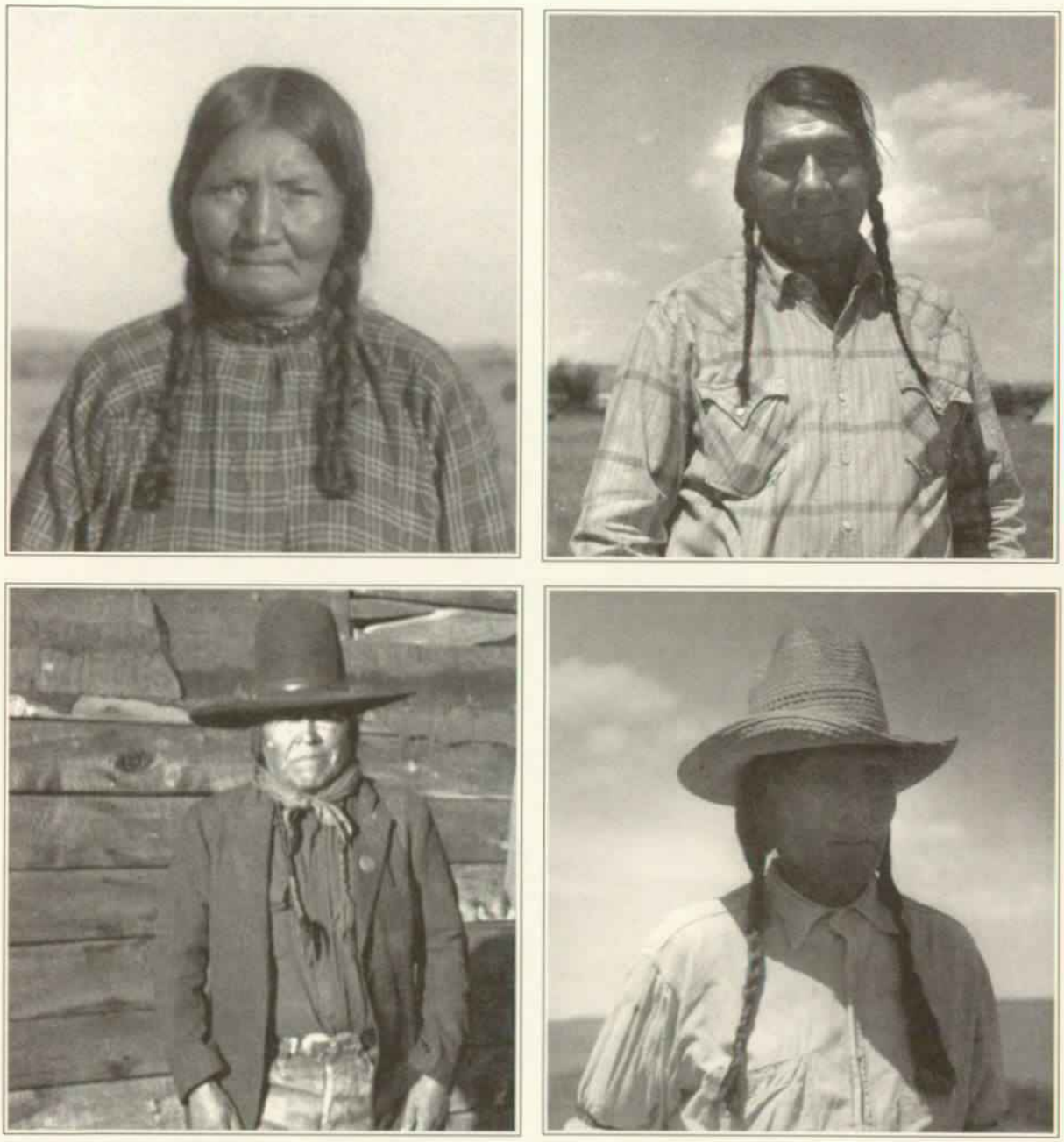


Figure 5.10 Wind River Reservation consultants of scholar Åke Hultkrantz who were either Sheep Eaters or in-laws to Sheep Eaters: (upper left) DT, Sheep Eater, 1948; (upper right) JG, part Sheep Eater, 1955; (lower left) TD, married to Sheep Eater woman; (lower right) CS, Sheep Eater, 1948 (Photographs courtesy of Åke Hultkrantz).

That fairly exhausts the written record for Togwotee. When it comes to what we learn from oral traditions, however, the emphasis is often less on physical prowess or scouting skills and more on metaphysical knowledge or the inner, supernatural dimensions of his personality. From the interviews of Åke Hultkrantz with Wind River Reservation consultants, for instance, we learn that among his own people Togwotee had a darker reputation as "both a medicine-man and witch doctor" than as a "chief." We may remember from Chapter 3 that only an especially strong and brave Sheep Eater might seek *puha*, or medicine power, from among the category of dangerous water spir-

its. And Togwotee was especially noted for his association with the most fearsome of these supernatural beings, the *pandzoavits*, or "water ghosts."

As for his physical appearance, Hultkrantz' Shoshone friends described Togwotee as "tall, slim and crook-nosed." Hultkrantz also learned that the man was known by two other names: *pa:yorowo*, or "making mark in the water," and *suga b ganigent*, meaning "home in the middle of the bush." When she was working among the Wind River Shosohone from 1977 to 1988, ethnographer Judith Vander heard that Togwotee might even have been instrumental in the subtle transformation of the older Shoshonean *Round Dance* into the tribe's expression of the Ghost Dance, which became known as the *Naraya*, as described in Chapter 3. At the core of the early version of Shoshone Ghost Dance doctrine was the theme of the resurrection of the dead. And as described by one of Vander's elder Wind River consultants who was well into his eighties, Togwotee devised his own sort of Jack O'Lantern to trick his people into participating in this new dance:

> One ole man, he was going to make them believe that there is something to that. So I guess he—that was old Togwotee—he's the one. They said they was having a Round Dances and he was kind of with them ones that's have that, in that belief. I guess one time he went and got old rotten wood. He took all that rotten stuff—the top was alright—rotten stuff out, that loose stuff, he push it out. He must of made it just part of it. And he made a hole and he cut eyes in it, where the nose is and the mouth. He must of made some kind of a thing in it so it would hold up that light, I guess, in there—candle. He put that in brush somewhere where he lived. I believe close there they have that Naraya—where they see it themselves. I guess there was a Naraya. And they saw that. Light down in the eyes, somebody down that. And then he told them, "You people dance hard." he said, "The dead is coming back. That's the leader over there."
>
> Judith Vander: "He fooled them."
>
> Consultant: "Old Togwotee" [Vander 1997:210].

Along with his endorsement of the Shoshone Ghost Dance, Togwotee also possessed special powers which he employed during the Sun Dance. According to what Hultkrantz learned, it was actually Togwotee's use of his destructive rather than curative powers which embroiled him in the sort of "shamanic duel" which has been reported from other parts of native America as well. The following account, from Hultkrantz' unpublished manuscript on the Sheep Eaters, also accounts for Togwotee's eventual death:

> He used to carry a doll that was clad in buckskin and tied to his necklace. He used his power to injure people, for example, by depriving them of [their] *navuzieip* ["free soul"]. His guardian spirit was *pandzoavits* ["water ghost']. He was also feared in the Sun Dance. If he [someone] danced forward [he became afraid], for then Togwotee might take his *navuzieip*. Especially was he feared when he stood at the center pole and whistled eagerly. His doll represented *pandzoavits*. Many good men and women were killed with this medicine. There was only one way of overcoming Togwotee and thus curing his victim: to call for a medicine-man who had still stronger medicine.
>
> Now Togwotee was living in the vicinity of [the present town of] Dubois. After many appeals from people a Ute [*yu;ta*] medicine man promised to out maneuver Togwotee. The Ute arrived at Fort Washakie, rolled up his sleeve and suck his arm, with his gaze steadily fixed in the direction of Dubois [about fifty miles to the northwest]. In this way [he] deprived Togwotee of his medicine. The Ute sucked the medicine into his body, both the necklace and the doll.
>
> He then vomited up the two objects and held them out in his hands, so that all those standing round about could see them. At his request he was now handed by my grandfather an old muzzle-loader used in buffalo hunting. With a knife he cut the doll into little pieces, loaded the gun with powder, stuffed the doll into the barrel of the gun, and fired. People could then hear the shriek of a child.

The Ute said, however, that this was Togwotee's own voice, and he also said that Togwotee's *puha* was now destroyed, and that Togwotee himself would now fall ill little by little, turn blue and waste away. This actually happened. The name of the Ute Indian was Little Doctor, and he was known as a very clever medicine-man [Hultkrantz n.d. II:88–89; also in Hultkrantz 1951:36–37].

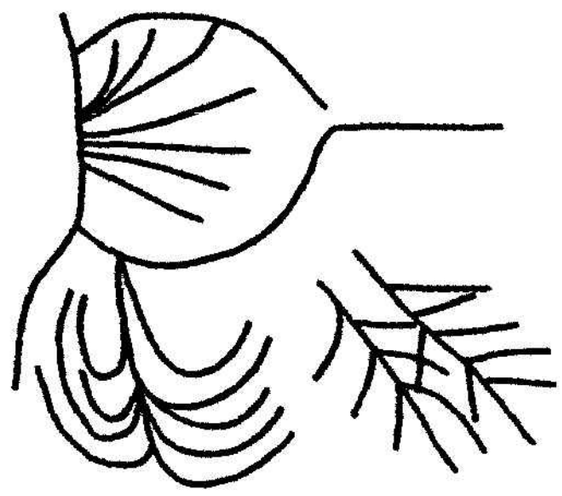
Togwotee may have been the best-known of the Sheep Eaters who survived on the Wind River Reservation. But there were other Sheep Eater families who sustained themselves in quiet obscurity for generations. At least one federal employee reported rumors of Sheep Eater persistence; former Washakie National Forest Ranger, A.G. Clayton, wrote in 1926:

> Several theories are advanced as to the final disappearance of the sheepeater. One is that diseases of various sorts entered their ranks; another that tribal Indians destroyed them, but it appears that the most likely one is the coming of the white man who, in subduing their enemies the lowland Indians, made it possible for them to return to their former homes and take up the life of the normal Indian. It is said by some that a few are still living on the Wind River Indian Reservation. In any event these people can justly be considered as the first users of the Washakie National Forest [Clayton 1926:278].

Completing research on the Wind River Reservation twenty-eight years later, Hultkrantz interviewed a half-dozen self-identified Sheep Eaters, including the old woman profiled in Chapter 3, who was said to have been born in the mountains. Although today their numbers are not large, descendants of these individuals continue to live and work on both the Wind River and Fort Hall reservations. As a reminder of this fact, this overview closes with a telling moment that occurred during our third and final field season.

On June 25, 1996, during the last of our three summer field seasons, with the help of the Branch of Cultural Resources, we sponsored at the park headquarters in Mammoth a round-table discussion between Yellowstone National Park officials and twenty members of the Fort Hall Shoshone and Bannock and the Wind River Shoshone Indian communities. At the outset of our morning session, each of the Indian visitors were asked to introduce themselves, giving name and some identification. When this well-intentioned request was made we were in innocent ignorance of a deep-seated reluctance by these particular tribespeople to expose this sort of personal information. "The Wind River Shoshone do not like to tell their names," wrote Demitri Shimkin, the anthropologist who had interviewed the parents of some of those very same Wind River individuals who were now struggling with the assistant superintendent's invitation, "a man rarely does so—more readily if alone than in the presence of other tribesmen—a woman never" (Shimkin 1947a:303). And while working among the Lemhi Shoshone to the west, then residing on the Fort Hall reservation, anthropologist Robert Lowie also learned that "The Lemhi people still show great reluctance in divulging their native names; a middle-aged man who had lived with the whites for many years obstinately denied having a Shoshone name, though it was subsequently discovered by chance" (Lowie 1909:211).

Realizing that we were uninformed about their forms of etiquette, however, and wanting to avoid starting off on the wrong foot, the Indian visitors graciously complied with the official's request. But when they did introduce themselves, it was remarkable that a number of them not only stated that they hailed from this or that Shoshone or Bannock community. About a half-dozen of the visitors also volunteered that they were of mixed descent—"...*and Sheep Eater*," both men and women added emphatically. It was as if this ethnic identification, which for so long had occupied the most denigrated Indian status in the Anglo-American literature on Shoshone peoples, was now holding its head high and claiming its rightful place as an indigenous presence within the Yellowstone heartland.



Summary

In this ethnographic overview we have investigated numerous features of the different relationships between a range of Native American groups and the greater Yellowstone ecosystem. This has been no easy task, and not only because of the deep-seated misconceptions about those interactions which we have attempted to address. It has also been difficult because about 130 years ago many of those traditional relationships began to be undermined by the federal government. Coincident with the sequestering of Plains and Plateau Indians on reservations in the late 19th century was the forced cessation of native hunting and foraging, open travel, and religious or other cultural endeavors in and around Yellowstone National Park. It is ironic that in the same era that wildlife were being protected against extermination from hunters through the creation of National Parks, in the government's view Indians were being "protected" against their extinction from Indian-white warfare by means of the official assimilation policy and the creation of Indian reservations to which they were forcibly relocated. This break between Indians and their traditional environments led to a diminished body of oral traditions conveying mythical or historical information, place-names and other geographic knowledge as well as personal memories regarding the greater Yellowstone region.

Yet we have tried to assemble and sequence into meaningful mosaic-like narratives enough bits and pieces of data from archaeological, ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources to bring the misconceptions into serious question. Specifically, we hope to have persuasively suggested that (*a*) the Yellowstone Plateau was not a *terra incognita* prior to the coming of Euro-Americans into its confines; (*b*) that the "Eaters of the Bighorn Sheep" were somewhat more than the timid, stunted outcasts hiding out in their mountain haunts as much of the literature conveys; (*c*) that Plains and Plateau Indian peoples did know the Yellowstone ecosystem with varying degrees of intimacy and were not deterred from exploring and exploiting its diverse habitats because of the geyser activity—which was regarded every bit as awesome by Euro-Americans as it was by Indians; and finally, (*d*) that most of these same native groups today retain an interest in their histories related to the park as well as in reconstructing some sorts of special, "traditional" relationships with its resources.

It has not been our job to assess or suggest, in any manner, just which of these native peoples might have stronger or weaker historical or cultural ties or claims to the park and its immediate environs. The state of our knowledge still remains too thin or fragmentary to hint at such differential relationships, and each of these groups also had qualitatively contrasting relationships to the Yellowstone Plateau which make the question akin to comparing the proverbial apples and oranges. In addition, much research clearly remains to be done on the subjects addressed in this study: government records, regional newspapers, and other data still need to be plumbed, detailed field notes of earlier ethnographers are still worth exhuming from often distant archives, the archaeological picture of the park deserves a major effort, and, surprisingly enough, our own experiences during the work on this document have demonstrated that the possibility of narratives still being held within tribal memory needs to be left open. As with the

case of the excellent Miwok Indian museum and library-archives within California's Yosemite National Park, with the more open and inviting policy towards Indian history and cultural interests which the park has been initiating over the last few years hopefully native peoples will be inspired to come forward and contribute to a comparable archive at Yellowstone. Indeed, our experiences with American Indian consultants in the park demonstrated that they were exceedingly interested in the Mammoth collections, photographic and otherwise.

To continue to document this wider cultural contribution to the evolution of Yellowstone National Park by American Indians, however, and for the diverse Indian cultural story to become belatedly integrated into the park's self-presentations and interpretations, will take not only an appreciation of the sort of data which we have begun to unearth. It will also necessitate a profound reassessment of the field of symbols, associations and ideas which has developed around Yellowstone National Park. This task means that this unique park whose origins and legacy have been largely associated with the non-human aspects of the natural environment as seen through the eyes of one particular culture, will now have to explore the cultural and historical aspects of its environment as seen through Native American eyes as well. This, too, will be no easy task, since the special personalities of institutions such as our national parks are born in their beginnings and harden over years, and Yellowstone is, of course, the father of them all.

To shift ever so slightly the perspective from Yellowstone's traditional focus on wildlife and natural wonders is not unlike contemplating the expansion of associations tied to America's battlefield "Sacred Ground" parks so as to reach beyond their entrenched, fundamental themes of "martial sacrifice and national regeneration" (quoted from back jacket copy of Edward Linenthal's *Sacred Ground: Americans and their Battlefields*, 1993). Transforming an institution's personality is difficult to do. Expanding the self-definition of Yellowstone, and truly factoring Indians into its equation, also means shifting away from the underlying patriotic symbolism of such sites with their earlier nationalistic agendas. For in the wake of the divisive Civil War, one of the underlying reasons for creating such parks was that they produced sacred landscapes which all American pilgrims could visit in order to see their shared God manifest his powers and heal their wounded nation (for such use of parks like Niagara Falls, Yosemite and Yellowstone as centers of nationalistic tourism, see Sears 1989).

But as soon as Yellowstone National Park scholars and the Albright Visitor Center exhibits began to create and promote their own stories of why and how Yellowstone became a park in the first place, the park itself opened the door to such a redefinition by adding themes of human culture history to the earlier emphases upon natural history, wildlife preservation, and scenic grandeur. And once it fleshed out the human personalities, administrative as well as artistic, who advocated for, painted pictures of, and fashioned the park's mandate and image, and put them into historical context, it thereupon left the safe realm of leave-it-alone wilderness and entered the realm of public relations and self-conscious discourse. While it seems a small step from this self-reflective, often self-congratulatory focus to bringing the complex stories of Indians more fully into the panorama of the park's culture history, the fact is that, as the debate over establishment of the Pajarito or Cliff Dwellers' National Park demonstrated years ago, national parks designed around the allure of American Indian culture, prehistoric and historic, have had a hard time appealing to legislators and tourists in the past (Altherr 1985). But the failure of the Pajarito effort occurred in another era (1900–1920), when Indians history was not of as general interest as they are now. We would hope today, with Americans seeking "a dramatic new park ethic" (*Los Angeles Times*, August 3, 1997, p. M4), that Yellowstone would become a pioneer in viewing its custodianship of a well-aged, multi-stranded American Indian past as an educational and promotional asset.

We would also hope that just as everyone is now aware that notions of parks as pristine "wilderness" are antiquated, and that human beings have been shaping their environmental surroundings for thousands of years, that the pre-contact, historic, and contemporary relations between Indians and the region not be hampered by externally imposed criteria for what are "pristine" and

"traditional" Indian data and what are not. The ongoing Native American history in the entire Yellowstone region runs deep and wide and deserves to find its place in the park's autobiography.

The moral and intellectual imperatives to initiate such a redefinition of Yellowstone's presentation of itself, comprehensively embracing and representing the Indian culture-histories and not just window-dressing them, seems different for this park. It certainly contrasts with parks in other cultural and ecological settings, where the protective nets of national preserves or game refuges have been thrown over resident, indigenous peoples who still subsist in traditional ways and were never removed from the area (for a useful, comparative range of international case studies about this convergence of natural preservation, cultural preservation, and rural development, see West and Brechin 1991). In such situations, as with the Havasupai in Grand Canyon, the living native peoples are generally considered an essential part of the area's cultural resources (Hough 1991:228). Yet even here the struggle to create dialogue between Indians and park officials has been no less difficult for Grand Canyon than it has for Yellowstone; as John Hough has written, "Historically, the relationship between the National Park Service and the Havasupai has been one of distrust and enmity. This has improved considerably in recent years...However, there is still a certain level of distrust and, consequently, misperception of the other's intent" (Hough 1991:229).

To relieve such misperceptions and to contribute to improved working relationships between Indians and Yellowstone National Park officials, as well as to augment the story and significance of Yellowstone National Park by incorporating the intimate and ancient associations between Indians and the greater Yellowstone ecosystem, we offer this document. Our summaries have been based on information gleaned during the three summer field seasons of our study, and on our gradual appreciation of the native experiences and attitudes that even extend beyond those data. It reflects ethnographic and ethnohistorical work on relationships between American Indian peoples and Yellowstone National Park which, like all such commissions, has been of necessity restricted by time and funding. This document must be regarded as an interim report covering our best research efforts conducted between 1994 and 1998. But as so often happens with a topic of this magnitude and complexity, its vast subject has not been definitively covered through the time-bound scope of our work.

This compilation of available information describing certain Indian peoples as having particular associations with the park must not preclude the emergence of new ethnographic or archival information which might identify other Indian nations with such claims or which might corroborate or refute our proposed reconstruction of tribal activities in the region. Any historical summary such as this is a provisional contribution, a work-in-progress. Given these important provisos about the contingent nature of such cultural research and reconstruction, it remains our conviction, however, that a narrative summary rather than a "checklist of sites" has been the most constructive way to present our data. Only then could we call attention to the human nature of the "data beneath the data," the motivational structures and cultural and historical contexts and circumstances by which any of it makes sense. Only then could we invite readers and park visitors into the processes by which history itself is constantly enriched, revised, interpreted and transformed into fuller-bodied understandings of our often separate pasts and how they influence our shared present.

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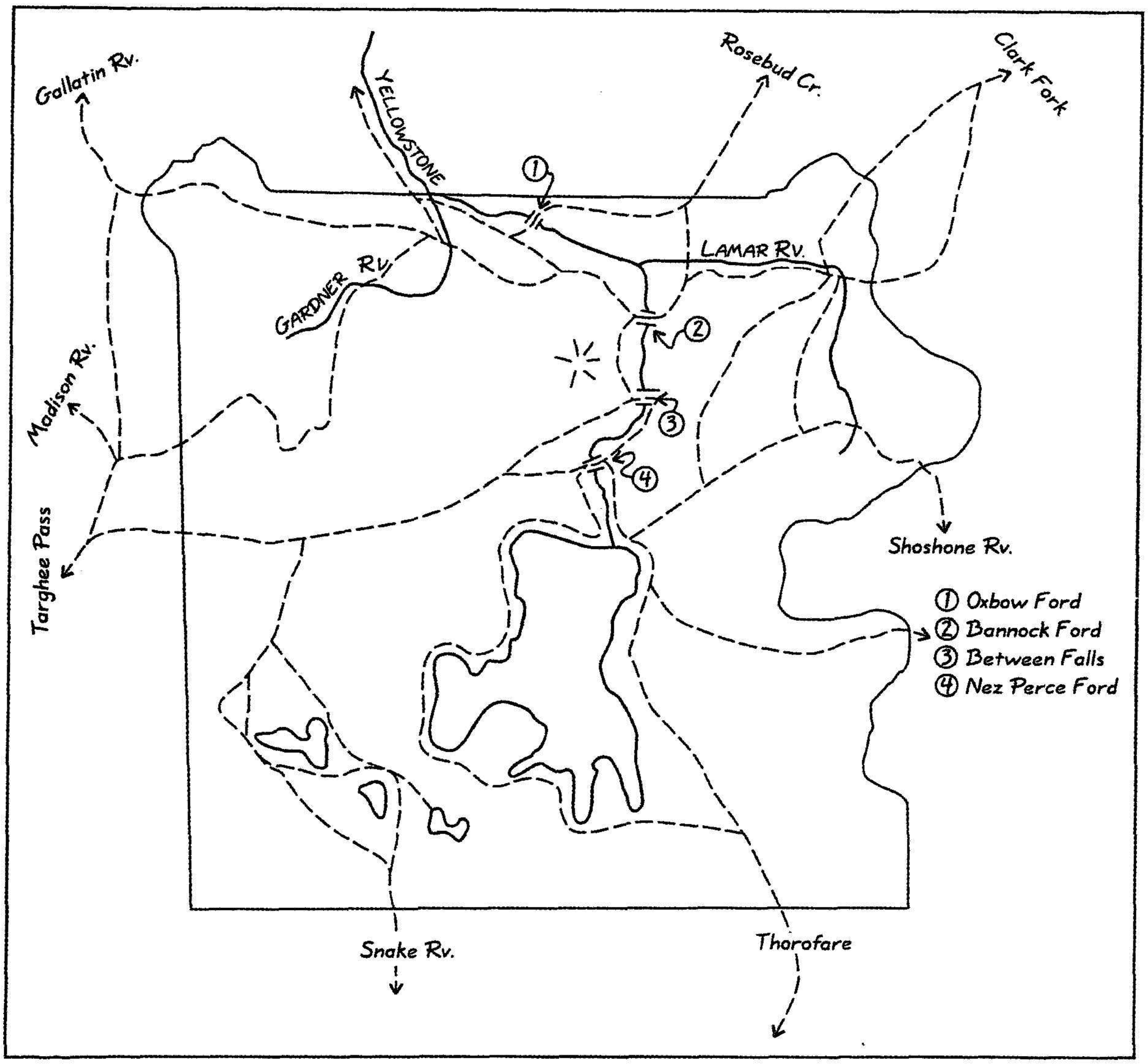
Appendix A

Indian Trails:

Research notes and sources of Aubrey L. Haines for sketching his map of Indian Trails of Yellowstone National Park Region (Courtesy of Aubrey L. Haines).



Page 1

Indians,
trails of (see also, "trails, Indian)

(Sam Eagle, 1948: statement, 8/14/48 @ W. Yellowstone
(G.F. Henderson, 1948: statement, 8/14/48 "
(Billy Marshall, 1948: statement, 8/14/48 "
(Alex Stewart, 1948: statement, 7/10/48
(Osborne Russell, 1055: 27-28 [Journal of a Trapper]
(F.V. Hayden, 1872: 79-80 [Preliminary Report for 1872]
Helena Herald, 9/26/70: 1/1-2 [Langford's account]
(John W. Barlow, 1872: 31, 37 [Recon of the Yellowstone Rv., 187]
(W.W. deLacy, 1876: 135, 138 [A Trip Up South Snake Rv., 1863]
(Cornelius Hedges, 1870: 8/25 [Diary, MS]
(Wm. A Jones, 1875; 27, 54, 36, 38-40, 54 [Rep on a Recon, 1873]
(Mrs. G.F. Cowan, 1904: 2 ["Life of a Pioneer," in Bozeman Chronicle, 2/24]
? (Louis C. Cramton, 1932: 118 [Doane's Rep, in Appel M]
? (N.P. Langford, 1905: 15-16 [Discovery---]
(Cornelius Hedges, 1870: 21 (Thurs, 25 - Diary)
1966? Haynes Guide, 1959: 40
Wilson & Gannett, 1878: map
Deer Lodge New-Wy, 10/14/71: 2
(Mabel C. Osmond, 1927: 3 [Memories of a Trip Through..., 1874]
(Ed. W. Norris, 1881b: 15 [Fifth Ann. Report, 1881]

~~Sources - 1~~

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? (A. Bart Henderson, 1866: 80, 92, 93

↘ Over Targhee Pass
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Blacktail Deer Cr.
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(up Yellowstone Riv. from
Yankee Jim Canyon
Tracing enclosed
My copy is misplaced
over Sylvan Pass

("Transcription of A. Haines Handwritten Notes for 'Map of Indian Trails'")

[Indians,
trails of (see also, "trails, Indian)]

Sam Eagle, 1948: statement, 8/14/48 @ W. Yellowstone	Over Targhee Pass
G.F. Henderson, 1948: statement 8/14/48 @ W. Yellowstone	Traces Bannock Trail Targhee to Mammoth
Billy Marshall, 1948: statement, 8/14/48 @ W. Yellowstone	Cattle drives on Bannock Madison Valley to Mammoth
Alex Stewart, 1948: statement 7/10/48 @ W. Yellowstone	Personal knowledge of Bannock Trail
Osborne Russell, 1955:27–28 [Journal of a Trapper]	Trail thru Lamar Canyon & ford at Tower Fall
F.V. Hayden, 1872: 79–80 [Preliminary Report for 1872]	Don't have info at hand
Helena Herald, 9/26/70: 1/1–2 [Langford's account]	Indian ford, Bannock Tr.
John W. Barlow, 1872: 31, 37 [Recon of the Yellowstone Rv., 1871]	N. of Shoshone L. & in Thorofare Valley
W.W. deLacy, 1876; 135, 138 [A Trip Up South Snake Rv., 1863]	Madison Valley to Gallatin, Tom Miner & Spanish Cr.
Cornelius Hedges, 1870: 8/25 [Diary, MS]	In Paradise Valley
Wm. A Jones, 1875, 27, 54, 36, 38–40, 54 [Rep on a Reconn, 1873	Canyon-Tower, Thorofare W. & S. of Yell. L.
Mrs. G.F. Cowan, 1904: 2 ["Life of a Pioneer," in Bozeman Chronicle, 2/24]	Don't have copy
Louis C. Cramton, 1932: 118 [Doane's Rep, in Apped. M]	Bannock Trail up Yell. Riv.
N. P. Langford, 1905:15–16 [Discovery---]	From Gardner Rv. to Blacktail Deer Cr.
Cornelius Hedges, 1870: 21 (Thurs. 25 - Diary)	Up Yellowstone Riv. From Gardiner
Haynes Guide, 1959:40	Up Yellowstone Riv. From Yankee Jim Canyon
Wilson & Gannett, 1878: map	Tracing enclosed
Deer Lodge New N-W, 10/14/71:2	My copy is misplaced
Mabel C. Osmond, 1927:3 ["Memories of a Trip Through...,"]1874	My copy is misplaced
W.W. Norris, 1881b:15 [Fifth Ann. Report, 1881]	Over Sylvan Pass
T.N. Christense, Oct. 1963:2-3 "Shoshoni Trail", The Trowel & Screen, IV/10	
A. Bart Henderson, 1866:80, 92, 93	Mirror Plateau

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(520) 721-9136

December 12. 1996

Mr. Peter Nabokov
12722 Greene Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90066

Dear Peter

I had to have the Wilson-Gannett, 1878 [Hayden, 1883], map done in two strips because the sheet was two inches too large, top to bottom, for the copying machine. As it came out the top margin data was lost so I have restored it with a pen. This is only a very crude working copy of a very worn and abused map which probably survived at Yellowstone more by accident than anything else. Now that the Park's fabulous collection is an official annex to the National Archives, the Park Reference Library gets better care.

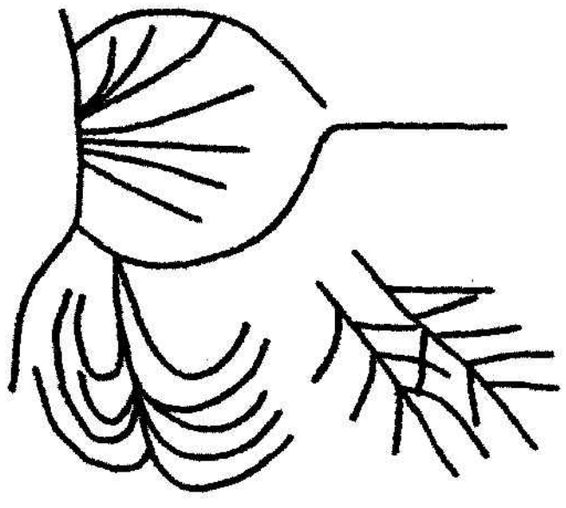
A word about the map this is a copy of, it is, of course, a surviving relic of the topographic knowledge gathered by the Hayden Survey during its eight years of endeavor in the Yellowstone wilderness (1871-1878), when the Geological Survey of the Territories was absorbed into the new United States Geological Survey. When I became the Park's first historian in 1960 I found the reference library—several thousand books, many maps, manuscript cases, etc.—jammed into a 30-foot square room in the basement of the Museum building. In one corner were rolled maps leaned against the wall, their bottoms stained by leakage from a radiator, and one of those was this treasure. The library had the occasional care of some untrained clerk who could be spared from everyday work, and the place was wide open to everybody who wanted to paw around there. I made a functional library out of that mess and later got it under National Archive supervision. There is now a full time librarian-curator.

I hope this copy does what you need. My map, which was assembled from Xeroxed pieces, and not very well put together, served my purposes when I was doing the place names book. Let me know if I can help you find some of the obscure things that are important to you.

Sincerely,

Aubrey

Aubrey L. Haines



Appendix B

Indian Uses of Plants:

Survey of Possible Ethnobotanical Resources of Yellowstone National Park, by Janet L. Nixon, Project Botanical Consultant.

Ethnobotanical Resources of Yellowstone National Park

BY
JANET L NIXON

Evaluating the flora of Yellowstone National Park from an ethnobotanical perspective utilized two avenues: research of the historical record, and determining what plants are used present-day (or within recent times) by the tribal groups who have a historic presence in the Park: Blackfoot, Crow, Flathead, Kiowa, Nez Perce and Shoshone.

Before starting to research the ethnobotanical component, it was necessary to determine what plant resources were and are present within Park boundaries and in portions of the surrounding Federal, state and private lands (as described in the main body of this report).

Method

Plant records and specimens were reviewed at the Park Herbarium and the Herbarium at Montana State University-Bozeman. Relevant published floras, field guides and collection records were consulted (Coulter and Nelson 1937; Despain 1975; Dorn 1984, 1988; Hartman, 1990; Hitchcock et al. 1961; McDougall and Baggley 1936; Nelson 1900, 1912; Parry 1875; Witt et al. 1988; and Shaw 1974, 1976).

Next, published ethnobotanical material was extensively reviewed, along with native-language dictionaries and vocabulary compilations, from which a cross-referenced list of plants was developed: Aoki 1994, Appendix C; Denig 1961; Ebeling 1986; Flathead Cultural Committee 1995; Gilmore 1919; Hart 1976; Hellson and Gadd 1974; Hutchens 1973; Johnston 1987; Kindscher 1987, 1992; Kuhnlein and Turner 1991; Linderman 1972; Malouf 1979; McCleary 1995; Medicine Horse 1987; Moore 1979; Murphey 1959; Nickerson 1966; Reeve 1980, 1986; Scully 1970; Shimkin 1947b; Steward 1938; Trenholm and Carley 1964; and Woodhead 1992.

In recent years, numerous books on edible or herbal/medicinal uses of native plants have been published, some incorporating ethnobotanical references. In addition, ethnobotany studies of tribes outside our immediate sphere of consideration were briefly surveyed, particularly those incorporating plant species which occur in Yellowstone National Park. Although there has been relatively little research into the scientific basis for the medical efficacy of plants native to the Rocky Mountains, that literature also was surveyed. All of these publications were reviewed for helpful supporting information. They include: Balls 1962; Czeczuga and Eversman 1993; Diamond et al.

1985; Gunther 1973; Halmo et al, 1993; Harrington 1967a, 1967b; Hedberg 1993; Heidel 1996; Heinerman 1989; Hutchens 1973; Long Standing Bear Chief nd; Mayes and Lacy 1989; Moerman 1991; Mooney and Billings 1963; Moore 1989; Nabhan 1989; Saklani and Upreti 1992; Sweet 1976; Szczawinski and Hardy 1967; Tetenyi 1970; Turner et al. 1990; Willard 1992; Williams 1984; Woodhead 1992; and Yen et al. 1991.

The initial intention was to determine the entire body of plants used in common among the groups under consideration. However, the scope of funding and the time frame established for this project dictated a less-inclusive approach, and a group of approximately twenty-five plants was selected, to be researched intensively. The list was cross-checked against Park Botanist Jennifer Whipple's "Draft Vascular Plant Species List: Yellowstone National Park - July 1991" to verify occurrence in the Park. The plants selected include representatives from several usage categories: foods, medicinal, ceremonial, and material (i.e., clothing, construction, utensils, etc.). Collectively, the references in the previous two paragraphs were used to assemble the accompanying Table A.

Available information on archeological sites in and near the Park was also surveyed, to develop a feel for the plant and animal resource use over time. Among others cited, see: Cannon and Phillips 1993; Conner 1960; Frison et al. 1986; Haines 1964; Lahren 1971, 1973; Reeve, 1980, 1986, and 1989; Reeve et al. 1980; and Wright 1978. Only the scantiest of botanical information can be gleaned from the pollen and plant fragments recovered from these sites; the available information to date offers tantalizing clues, but nowhere near a complete picture.

Much specialized lore of plants is no longer available, as many researchers have noted, due to the death of tribal elders for whom there were no suitable successors. Lost is not only the practical information of how, when and where the plant material should be collected, how to preserve and prepare it, and (if medicinal) what conditions or symptoms it was suitable for, but associated ceremonies and procedures which accompanied and were an integral part of the process. The rigorously applied governmental policy of suppressing tribal languages and customs in the latter part of the 19th Century and much of the 20th, has been all too successful in obscuring just the knowledge and practices which this project seeks to examine.

Nonetheless, individuals from all the groups investigated—as well as other tribes in the Rocky Mountains and Pacific Northwest—continue to utilize plants as traditional foods, medicines, ceremonial adjuncts, and, to a lesser degree, in producing material items such as nets, baskets, or other "manufactured" items for personal use or commercial trade (e.g. Downing and Furniss 1968; Kuhnlein and Turner 1991; Malouf 1979; Turner and Hebda 1990; and Turner et al. 1990).

An attempt was made to contact knowledgeable informants within the tribes under consideration. Wide variance was encountered in how willing the native groups, and individuals within the groups, were to share the information requested. My thanks to all who participated in this process, to whatever degree. There is an encouraging trend developing of younger tribal members seeking to learn and practice traditional ways, and many tribes are now implementing policies aimed at preserving the lore that remains available, through recording of oral histories, conducting retreats and workshops (Edmo, pers comm; Tanner, pers comm). See also Laurie Montour's Foreword to Kuhnlein and Turner's **Traditional Plant Foods of Canadian Indigenous Peoples** (1991).

Setting the Scene

As was discussed at some length in the main report, the Park's vegetation occupies several physiographic provinces. Depending on a tribe's point of access to the Park, the characteristics of these provinces determined what plant resources a given group would most readily come in contact with. Also important, as Reeve (1980, 1986) and Wright (1978) point out, is the time of year the plant resource was available. This will be discussed at greater length below.

Don Despain's **Yellowstone Vegetation** (1990) outlines these provinces in excellent detail; see especially *Chapter Six: Descriptions of the Geovegetation Provinces*. He notes: "These provinces each have a characteristic bedrock type that has produced a particular group of soils. The bedrock types also produce topography that in turn

produces characteristic microclimates. This results in distinctive combinations of habitat types." And the constituent members of each habitat type comprise the available plant resource.

Approximately eighty per cent of Yellowstone Park is covered by forest habitat types, each with an array of understory shrubs, forbs and grasses. Such factors as slope, aspect, moisture availability, soils, and elevation determine which tree species are dominant on a given site, and the typical understory plants associated with each. Some associations offer much better potential food resources than others. Dense forest (especially on low-water-capacity, low-nutrient soils) with a relatively closed canopy does not support a rich diversity of plant life, and provides neither direct-usage food resources (e.g., roots, greens, berries) nor much forage for wild game species. Non-forested plant communities occur within each major geoprovince. These are the shrub-and-grasslands, wetlands (marshes and bogs), and alpine tundra. Their importance will be discussed at greater length below. Ecotones—zones of transition from one set of ecological conditions to another—are often particularly resource rich, since they contain elements of both communities. Wright (1978) notes that many of the seasonal high elevation plant procurement locations he has studied are sited "at the intersection of two or more vegetation zones."

After my research it is important to recognize that I conclude that it was NOT—with a very few exceptions—the plant resources that exclusively brought any given group into the Park. Almost any plant which might be utilizable is both more reliably available and more abundant outside the Park, particularly along the well-watered river corridors and associated side canyons of the Madison, Gallatin, Yellowstone, Boulder, Stillwater and Shoshone Rivers, and the moist meadows of northern Jackson Hole and easternmost Idaho. This is particularly true of food resources, to a much greater degree than for plants used strictly in a medicinal or ceremonial capacity, where relative scarcity in no way lessens the perceived value of the plant.

That is not to say that plant food resources were inadequate to support groups living in the Park, whether permanently or seasonally, but that such resources were and are widely dispersed, and better suited to exploitation by small, mobile bands rather than larger, more sedentary groups.

Except for the Yellowstone River/Lamar Valley geovegetation province, all others (see Despain 1990) are dominated by forest cover. All of these, however, have some small percentage of nonforested and riparian habitat types within the province; these often provide the most readily available human food-plant resources, as well as game browse, breeding habitat, and cover. The nonforested communities offer several possibilities for "destination" plant food resources: those abundant or reliable enough to be the impetus or target prompting a group's trip into the Park. In contrast to this, it seems likely that in most cases plant resources were harvested adventitiously, as they were encountered in conjunction with hunting of game, rather than as the primary focus—"destination"—of a given trip.

One such possible "destination" resource occurs in the Bechler Meadows area of the far southwestern portion of the Park, which supports populations of *Camassia quamash*. Camas was a root food of great importance to the Nez Perce, Shoshone, and Flathead (Downing and Furniss 1968; Hart 1976; Malouf 1979; Shimkin, 1947b). Because the Crow and Blackfoot home territories lie mostly outside the biogeographic distribution of camas, other plants (e.g., bitterroot, chokecherry) were of greater importance in their food procurement strategies (Denig 1961; Johnston 1987; Hellson and Gadd 1974).

Compared to camas populations further west, or slightly south in Jackson Hole, the southwest corner of the Park's camas meadows are relatively modest in size, occurring in small enclaves interspersed among forest, along the area's watercourses: the Bechler, Fall and Warm Rivers. These enclaves are more-or-less continuous (in stepping stone fashion) with those cataloged by Statham's (1976) survey of the camas resources in southeastern Idaho, but lie outside her survey boundaries and thus were not evaluated in that paper. Camas may be observed right up to the moist meadow only a few hundred meters from the Bechler Ranger Station, and is even more abundant in the Bechler Meadows area, further within the Park.

The carbohydrates in camas are primarily long-chain starches (inulin), relatively indigestible

and unpalatable when raw. Typically, camas was baked at or close to the collection sites, in rock-lined pits which were heated by fire, then lined with other vegetation (especially graminoids, and sometimes the black tree lichen *Alectoria*) to prevent scorching and provide moisture. Camas and other bulbs available from the same collecting sites, such as sego lily (*Calochortus)* or yellowbell *(Fritillaria)*, were layered in the pit with more grasses and leaves, then covered over with a layer of earth, on top of which another fire was built. Such earthoven features would be used year after year, as the group returned on its annual subsistence-procurement round. Reeve's investigation (1980, 1986) of sites associated with camas occurrence in the northern Jackson Hole and Rockefeller Parkway areas showed remarkable continuity of use over several thousand years, seemingly unaffected to any great extent by climatic variations, and providing a picture of a stable transhumance pattern.

To date no earthovens have been identified in the Bechler area, but that does not constitute proof that no collecting or preparation took place there. Reeve (1986) describes three different size features associated with cooking of root foods: "Small features of fewer than 100 rocks may have served as hearths or small earthovens. Features between 0.5 and 2.0 m were probably single-family earthovens, while features with reconstructed areas greater than 2.0 m suggest extremely large harvests, probably involving gathering efforts by several women. These large features are classified as communal earth-ovens...." Any future survey of camas habitat in the Bechler region should bear in mind that the relatively lower abundance of the resource would have encouraged exploitation by smaller (probably single family) groups, thus involving smaller archeological features.

Reeve (1986) further notes: "Features at other meadow sites [than the large earthovens at Lawrence and Two Ocean sites] range within the limits of single-family earthovens or hearths and probably represent female task group or incidental residential camp food preparation by families or bands during seasonal subsistence rounds." Such sites were used more to supply current dietary needs than to provide surpluses for winter. Wright (1978) also notes differences between short-term or transient occupation sites and those located near major resources which would have been occupied for longer time periods and presumably by larger groups.

Another group of camas populations not included in Statham's survey occurs in the Henry's Lake Flats portion of the Targhee Plateau, in an area which would have been traversed by Shoshone, Bannock, Nez Perce, and possibly Flathead approaching Yellowstone via Reas and Targhee Passes. These populations have been heavily impacted by development activities around the Lake, and particularly in the Island Park Resort area at the southern rim of the Flats, and are greatly reduced in the past few decades. Camas also occurs east of Targhee Pass in the *Wyethia*-dominated moist meadows along the South Fork of the Madison River, and possibly at one time also occurred in meadow bottoms along the main Madison River inside Park boundaries, where there appears to be suitable habitat. Population size in all these loci suggest transient or short-term utilization, since quantities available would not support sustained heavy exploitation.

Reeve (1980) discusses at some length the collecting of root foods—primarily camas, but also springbeauty, onion, bitterroot, tobacco root, sego lily and several others—as a spring/early summer activity of great cultural and economic significance, starting at lowest elevations and moving upslope as the season passes. His Figure 4, Page 373, depicts the distribution of camas populations within the two National Parks and the Rockefeller Parkway region. Both that paper, and Reeve's dissertation (1986), offer excellent overviews of other plant resources available, detailed by habitat type and by elevational zone. Mooney and Billings (1968) note that they and other researchers have discovered unusually high concentrations of carbohydrates in high-elevation populations of several plants. Greater food value per unit collected would help to offset the presumed lessened abundance of these high populations caused by more rigorous climatic conditions. Camas does not occur above about 2650m elevation, but other root foods can be quite plentiful well up into the subalpine/alpine ecotone (e.g., springbeauty, *Claytonia lanceolata*, tobacco root, *Valeriana edule*, biscuitroot, *Lomatium cous,* and onion, *Allium* spp).

The locations discussed above are not the only camas populations in and adjacent to Yellowstone: Shaw (1974) points out that the northern edge of Yellowstone Lake offers easily-accessible populations, and Reeve (1989, and sources cited in that paper) discusses the numerous occupation sites around the Yellowstone Lake outlet, along the Lake's northwest shore and down to Bridge and Mary Bays, as well as sites in the West Thumb area and the Molley Islands of the Southwest Arm, covering a time period of several thousand years. He hypothesizes a combination of fishing and root gathering as the main driving force behind the long utilization (as evidenced by differences in lithic materials deposited over time), supplemented by small game procurement. Timing of visits to these sites for camas collecting could well have been synchronized with the spring cutthroat trout spawning run. The present-day highway south of the Lake Hotel turnoff traverses a remnant camas meadow.

Camas also occurred in the Tower Fall area (McDougall and Baggley, 1937); it may have been dependent on the moist meadow conditions encouraged by beaver activity. Camas has declined in that part of the Park—if not disappeared altogether —following the lowering of beaver populations in historic times (esp 1920–1950) and a subsequent shift to drier meadow conditions. It seems that the Lamar Valley would have also provided suitable habitat, but herbarium collections do not reflect a presence there. See discussion in Houston (1982), pp 92–93 and 182–83, plus plate 36 (Tower Falls area); plate 41 (Slough Creek); plate 29 (Elk Creek); and plate 11 (Beaver Lake/Obsidian Cliff).

Two other possible "destination" food resources should be noted: bitterroot *(Lewisia rediviva)*, and pine nuts (primarily whitebark pine, *Pinus albicaulis)*. Both whitebark and limber pine *(P. flexilis*, which replaces whitebark at lower elevations) have large, essentially wingless seeds with a high lipid content. Both these species are cyclic in productivity, with whitebark pine maturing substantially larger crops every six to eight years; 1996 was one such year. Shoshone bands, not infrequently including Bannock and Nez Perce, would typically spend some time collecting pine seeds as they passed through Yellowstone on their way to hunt buffalo east of the Park, either taking the seeds with them or caching quantities until the return trip (Steward 1938). A good seed-crop year would permit collecting quantities that would make a significant contribution to the band's winter nutrition needs, and had the added advantage of requiring no processing prior to transporting, although some drying would need to be done for long term storage. Pine nuts were sometimes a trade item when there were surpluses.

Bitterroot periodicity is much less predictable; 1989—the first year post fire—saw a region-wide mass blooming, not necessarily occurring on burned sites, and thus more likely responding to climatic factors. So far as I know, no research has been conducted on this particular mass blooming phenomenon, which had not been observed in the two decades prior to 1989, and has not recurred since. Typically, numbers range from at least two-three times to seven or eight times more plants blooming than in a "normal" year. Such an abundance would have made a trip into the Park area worthwhile, with bitterroot as a primary impetus. As an example, the broad, lower flanks of Specimen Ridge sloping down to the Lamar River supported hundreds—perhaps thousands—of bitterroot blooming in late June/early July of 1989, where normally only a few dozen might be observed. The Bannock Trail crossing of the Yellowstone River, located just above Tower Fall, comes across a saddle just east of this, and would have put bands traveling over the trail in close proximity to good collecting areas. Other parts of the steppe and shrub steppe of the Lamar Valley also supported substantial blooms that year, as well as areas outside the Park (e.g., Tom Miner Basin, Yellowstone River terraces below Carbella, and the ridges flanking Yankee Jim Canyon).

Numerous other species show some degree of periodicity in fruit or seed production, such as service berry *(Amelanchier alnifolia)* (Blauer et al. 1975), but are so widely dispersed within the Park that they likely did not serve as "destination" resources.

It is true that the vegetative cover of the Park has changed substantially over geologic time, in response to the great climatic swings that saw the advances and retreats of the various ice ages, and to the catastrophic changes imposed by regional

orogeny and particularly by vulcanism in and around the Park. However, when we narrow our frame of reference to the time span since the retreat and disappearance of the last glaciers, approximately 10,000–11,500 YBP, the amplitude of these changes is greatly reduced. Inference of changes must be based on subtle and fragmentary evidence: pollen records, soil development, and vegetal fragments recovered from occupation sites.

Particularly interesting for the purposes of this study is the evidence, such as that presented by Cannon and Phillips (1993, especially Appendix C, by Cummings), of the long record of exploitation of plant resources that are essentially unchanged from those found at the same sites today. Cannon and Phillips investigated three occupation or task sites along the north bank of the Yellowstone River a few miles upstream from Gardiner. From hearth features at these sites, they recovered pollen and/or macrofloral remains that may indicate food processing activities of members of the grass and nightshade families (Gramineae/Poaceae, Solanaceae), composites (Asteraceae/Compositae) in the tribe Liguliflorae, and the "Cheno-Am" complex - goosefoots and pigweeds (Chenopodiaceae, *Amaranthus)*. Charred macrofloral remains permitted identification of some plants to the level of genus: *Opuntia* (prickly-pear cactus), *Juniperus* (juniper) and probably *Polygonum* (buckwheat), as well as unidentifiable fragments of grass and other seeds, and an unidentified berry. All the identifiable species are present on or near the same sites today. Reeve (1980, 1986), and Wright (1978) also note the long history of utilization of plant resources indistinguishable from what occurs on those same sites today, discussed in the camas paragraphs, above. The projectile point sequence in valley floor sites of Jackson Hole itself, at less that 7000 feet elevation, begins close to 10,000 years ago—not long, in other words, after the recession of the Pinedale glaciation.

It appears that the warm, dry conditions associated with the Altithermal (approximately 7,000 YBP), which caused profound changes in lower elevation semi-arid areas such as the Great Basin (Butler 1972; Ebeling 1987; Spaulding 1990; Swanson and Muto 1975), and no doubt the Bighorn Basin, may actually have led to—or at least greatly encouraged—a pattern of high elevation usage in the Yellowstone/Grand Teton/Rockefeller Parkway region. "By the beginning of the Altithermal," Wright notes (1978:117), "there is clear evidence for the exploitation of the higher elevations (+8000 feet). Early side-notched points are known from +9000 feet...."

Wright (1978) discusses at some length his hypothesis of a high elevation adaptive schedule of resource procurement, focused in the Jackson Hole/Teton Range/Rockefeller Parkway areas: "...the economy from late spring into autumn was structured around plant food availability, rather than being focused on hunting.... That is, the adaptive schedule for this time interval was keyed to the predictability of plant resource productivity.... In addition, the late summer migration into the higher elevations put these hunters and gatherers on the late summer-early fall ranges of major game animals such as bighorn sheep and mule deer.... Winter exploitative territories, of necessity, were outside of Jackson Hole proper. Groups using the north and west of the [Jackson Hole] valley moved into extreme eastern Idaho and/or utilized the thermal areas of Yellowstone National Park, the microniche where bison and mule deer are found at that season today...."

Wright describes the pattern of this seasonal usage, based on his own research and that of Reeve as one that: "...seems to have been remarkably stable. Although projectile point types changed radically over the nearly 7,000 years since the early Altithermal, the Lawrence collection...has no significant breaks in the point sequence. In addition, the base camps from +8000 feet generally show several point types that differ widely in time, indicating a number of reoccupations." He concludes that there was "no cultural change in Jackson Hole from the Altithermal until the late Late Prehistoric Period, around the fifteenth century." There seems little reason to suppose that the pattern of seasonal migration to high-elevation plant resource locations might not have utilized suitable sites within the Park, as well. However, Wright contends, based on Dominick's (1964) research, that the Sheepeaters were following a different strategy or adaptation when they moved into higher elevation sites during the summer, because they were following primarily the game resource, not plant

foods (1978:127).

One additional point should be commented on: the affect of fire on the plant resource base. Fire, of course, has been an important factor in shaping the landscape of Yellowstone. Whether or not the early native peoples deliberately set fires—as was the case in parts of the Great Plains, for instance—seems doubtful, but is still an open question. Lightning-caused fires happened frequently enough in what is now Yellowstone Park to make it almost unnecessary for deliberate fire-setting to be resorted to. In fact, in terms of fire's affect on forested habitats, the short-term effect may very well be a reduction, not an increase, in plant food resources. During the first few years following a stand-replacing fire, burns may show very limited shrub and forb return. In more lightly burned areas, however, deep-seated roots/corms/tubers such as glacier lily or springbeauty may bloom amid the ashes starting the first year post-fire; this was observable many places in the Park starting in 1989. Many of the Rosaceous shrubs (e.g., *Amelanchier, Rubus)* sprout readily from root crowns or rhizomes after light to moderate burn intensities (Noste and Bushey 1987). Even for plant species sensitive to fire temperatures, the residual seed bank often finds congenial germination conditions in the newly-opened seed bed, or plants may recolonize a burned area from nearby unburned patches (Stickney 1990). The greatest diversity and productivity is reached several years post fire, and continues (in forested plant communities) until the approach of canopy closure, decades later.

Burned grasslands, on the other hand, often immediately start to resprout (depending on the season the fire occurs), and thus show enhanced forage availability very quickly. A common result of moderate burn intensity or frequent reburning is suppression or elimination of big sagebrush *(Artemisia tridentata).* Despain (1990) notes that some species—fireweed (*Epilobium angustifolium)* and elk sedge (*Carex geyeri),* a forest understory species—are grazed more on burned than adjacent unburned sites, at least for two to five years post fire. Nutritive value and perhaps palatibility may be enhanced by the potassium and other nutrients leached into the seedbed from accumulated ashes.

Ethnobotanical Uses of Yellowstone's Plants

Table A brings together the information compiled on the selected group of plants, from published sources (noted above) and conversations with representatives of the tribes with a prominent historic presence in the Park.

One concern with the approach we finally settled on is that it sifts the plant resource information with a fairly coarse mesh: by selecting only twenty-five out of the whole array of plants occurring in the Park that are known to have been used by one or more of the groups under consideration, we run a very real risk of failing to include plants of great cultural importance.

When the ethnobotany literature is reviewed, it is evident that there is a gradient represented—from very detailed information on plant species which can be identified as to scientific name, and including specific plant part, collection and preparation information—to such generalized references (along the lines of "the Indians" ate this or used that) or of such unclear attribution as to which tribal group is being referred to, that the information is essentially useless. Steward (1938) reviews the various early references to the Shoshones, Bannocks, and others of the northern Great Basin from journals, letters and expedition reports, underscoring how difficult unraveling such references can be.

Another gradient which has become evident relates to usage categories: food uses have been widely documented, and are reasonably well known, although verifying the identity of species in some older works can be problematical. Likewise, the "material" uses—clothing, basketry, construction, personal adornment or hygiene—are reasonably well known. In general, the information was widely disseminated within the tribe, and anyone who wished could obtain and use the desired plant as needed. There were, of course, cultural divisions of labor in force: women generally were responsible for collecting and processing foodstuffs, while men obtained lodge poles, and materials relating to hunting activities, for instance. Stories about plants and how their usage came about were important parts of the oral cultural tra-

dition of virtually all the native people in this and other regions (e.g., Bruchac 1995; Clark 1966; Gilmore 1919).

Herbal and medicinal uses ranged from what Johnston (1987) terms the purely "pharmaceutical" to those combining the pharmaceutical with the supernatural or magical. In some ways this is an artificial distinction imposed by the contemporary academic approach; such distinctions were not necessarily part of the way plants were viewed by their indigenous users.

Almost every "food" plant also has "medicinal" uses, as will be evident from an examination of Table A. Frequently one species has applications for several different ailments, using different parts of the plant. However, I believe there is agreement that knowledge of medicinal uses was less a part of the tribe's general knowledge, but was often closely held by one or a few practitioners, with only a worthy family member or chosen apprentice being taught the associated lore for a plant's use; often only they were permitted to collect, process and use the subject plant (e.g., Heinerman 1989; Hellson and Gadd (1974); and Johnson 1987). Some plants were used by and administered only to men; others were "women's medicine," and their use was overseen by the medicine women of the tribe. Whoever was responsible for the preservation and passing on of knowledge, it was the power inherent in the plant that was being tapped into. Not infrequently, visions would be sought in which a particular plant was revealed as efficacious, sometimes with an associated song or ritual to accompany its use.

Plants were and are frequently used as ceremonial or religious adjuncts, as cleansing, blessing and protective agents watching over the human participants. Much of this information is considered sacred and proprietary, and is only passed along to those who have proved themselves worthy of the knowledge. Plants may be part of sacred bundles whose possession and use relates to specific rituals that are part of the deepest spiritual observances of a people. The power inherent in the plant is even more important in this regard. The relative abundance or scarcity of the plant in the landscape is irrelevant for this category of plant resource; if it is necessary to make a special trip, even to a distant location, to acquire a needed plant, it would be done. The Flathead, who count their ancestral territory as having spread out into the Great Plains and encompassed Yellowstone in the distant past, still have elders who travel out to collect some specific Plains plants for ceremonial purposes. The cultural importance of such plants is great. It is a major concern that—because of the "coarse mesh" approach of this study—we have undoubtedly missed gaining information on some of those uncommon plants, present in Yellowstone, whose importance is much greater than their frequency in the landscape would suggest.

How to assess the present-day potential use of plant resources found in the Park, when it has been administrative policy for many decades that no plant parts should be picked, nor plants collected, except with a specific permit for scientific research? The assumption was made early on in the project, that if a given people used a given plant resource in their home territory, they would have recognized and made use of that same plant, or a closely related species, in their Park sojourns. This assumption was discussed with the various tribal representatives and informants who participated in this project, and all agreed it was a logical approach. Wright (1978) addresses a point relevant to this issue, in discussing his proposed dates for Shoshonean migration into Jackson Hole, when he suggests that those migrating into a new area would first colonize new territories in which little or no adaptive readjustments were necessary. Familiar plants inside Yellowstone would have been utilized as readily, and in the same ways, as they had been elsewhere.

The information assembled here should be viewed not as an end product, but as a springboard to future, even more intensive research into the topic. Broadening our understanding of the use of plant resources is as much a part of preserving the Park's cultural heritage as is protecting the physical artifacts.

Sources Table A and B

Following are the primary published sources from which the ethnobotanical information found in Table A and B was compiled. Wherever possible, present-day speakers of the respective languages were also consulted—my thanks for their time, patience, and interest in the project.

Blackfeet: Frantz and Russell 1989; Hellson and Gadd 1974; Johnston, 1987; Kuhnlein and Turner 1991; Lanning 1882; McClintock 1910; Moerman 1998

Crow: Boschi 1898; Linderman 1932; Medicine Horse 1987; Moerman 1998

Flathead: Flathead Cultural Committee 1976, 1981; Kuhnlein and Turner 1991; Malouf 1979; Moerman 1998

Kiowa: Kindscher 1987, 1992; Moerman 1998

Nez Perce: Anonymous ND; Aoki 1994; Kuhnlein and Turner, 1991; Missionary of the Society of Jesus 1895; Moerman 1998

Shoshone: Heinerman 1989; Moerman 1998; Shimkin 1947; Statham 1976; Trenholm & Carley 1964

Notes Table A and B

1. In the section giving the indigenous vocabulary for the selected plants, no attempt has been made to regularize or standardize the orthography or syllabification from one source to another; the terms are presented as given in the original sources. Persons interested in the linguistic aspect of this material should refer to the source material for pronunciation guides and other information.

2. In the USE/PART USED categories, the plant part used (if indicated in the source material) is noted first; then how it was prepared, and (for medicinal) what it was considered efficacious for; then the tribal designation (e.g., B, NP) for that particular use.

3. In the USE, COLLECTED, and PRESERVED/PREPARED CATEGORIES, the term "root" is used for convenience to denote any underground portion of a plant in which nutrients are stored: true roots, tubers, corms, bulbs, and rhizomes. "Lf" or "lvs" refers to foliage, sometimes with associated stems, bracts or other structures. "Frt" refers to fruit of any kind, whether dry (e.g., pods or individual seeds) or fleshy. "Flr" is used for whole flowers, or floral parts such as petals, stamens, pollen, etc. Although the seed-producing structures of the gymnosperm *Juniperus* are frequently referred to as "berries" they are modified cones with fleshy scales (often wholly or partly fused), technically described as a *galbulus*; in this appendix they are referred to as "cones."

4. For convenience, "tea" is used to describe a substance prepared in water and drunk or used as a wash, whether technically an infusion, decoction, or other method of preparation. "Juice" denotes the liquid pressed from fresh material: fruit, leaves, etc., which may be drunk or used as an external wash. Interested parties should refer to the ethnobotanical material cited for more detailed preparation information.

Table A. Ethnobotanical uses of plants found in Yellowstone National Park (compiled by Janet L. Nixon, 1998).

Section I. Trees

Species: Scientific Name:	**Lodgepole Pine** *Pinus contorta*	**Whitebark Pine** *Pinus albicaulis*	**Subalpine Fir** *Abies lasiocarpa*
Blackfoot (B)			katoy-yis; kutoyisks; katoya
Crow (C)	báachiia	báachiia	baailíchitche
Flathead (F)	$q^{w}q^{w}li?t$		ṁanínɬp
Kiowa (K)			
Nez Perce (NP)	qalámqalam	lalxzáway lalak	patóysiwey; pá·toy
Shoshone (S)		woŋgoduba	
Use/Part Used: Food	Resin—chewed like gum (B, F); Cambium—eaten fresh or dried for winter (B, F); Young needles—emergency food; Seeds—edible but not very palatable	Seeds (S, NP)	Cone fragments—pulverized, mixed w/ backfat & marrow, eaten as a confection & digestive aid (B)
Medicine	Resin—tea, tuberculosis, coughs (B); Resin—applied as antiseptic; Cambium—eaten as spring tonic, also used as poultice; Resin (w/ bone marrow)—poultice for burns (F)	Resin—applied to cuts and wounds; Young shoots—tea for colds & catarrh, used to produce sweating; Needles—boiled & vapor inhaled for nasal congestion	Resin on wounds, antiseptic (B); resin—tea, colds & lung trouble (B); resin—poultice for fevers, chest colds (B); needles—smudge, for tuberculosis, headaches & fainting (B)
Ceremonial	Needles—pulverized & worn around a baby's neck as an amulet to assure good health (S)		Cleansing (B, NP); incense/ smudge (B); medicine pipe bundles (B); needles—chewed and sprayed over Horn ceremonial containers to purify (B)
Material	Trunks—tipi poles, travois (B, C: íi-chiia); young trunks—bed supports, backrest poles, story sticks (B); Resin—boiled w/ buffalo phallus for glue/waterproofing for head-dresses, bows, moccasins (B)	Resin—protection against sunburn, also 'glue'; Roots—weaving baskets	Needles—mixed w/ grease, hairdressing (B, F); and hung on horse's neck for perfume, also smudge to fumigate sick horses (B); Needles—packed w/ stored items as deodorant, burned as household smudge (B); Needles—pulverized, on baby rashes (F); Needles/resin—tea for colds (S); Resin—waterproofing, glue
Collected: Where?	Montane and subalpine forests, esp on low-nutrient soils	High mountain slopes and ridges to upper treelimit	Common component of subalpine forests up to treelimit
When?	Cambium best for very limited time in spring, depending on elevation & weather, when sap is rising	Late summer into fall (cones are held on trees intact for a long time)	As needed
Ceremonies assoc. w/ collection?			When being collected for ceremonial purposes
Use restrictions?			
Preserved/ Prepared How?		Intact cones dried in sun or by roasting in coals, pounded until seeds could be extracted; seeds roasted and stored, or crushed with dried *Amelanchier* fruit, pounded to a fine powder, mixed w/ water and/or animal fat to form a mush	
Trade Item?	Tipi poles—to tribes outside its distributional boundaries	Traded to Great Plains and Great Basin tribes when there were surpluses (S)	

Table A. continued

Section I. Trees

Species: Scientific Name:	**Engelmann Spruce** *Picea engelmannii*	**Rocky Mountain Juniper** *Juniperus scopulorum*	**Cottonwood** *Populus* spp.
Blackfoot (B)		siksi-noko	as-sí-tsix-im;
Crow (C)		buluxpée, baailíchitchixaape	báhkashua
Flathead (F)	ɬəsté; ɬsɬsé	punɬp	mulš; *cambium:* ćeḱ^{w}yé
Kiowa (K)			
Nez Perce (NP)	heslíps	ciḱé· yelx	qápqap
Shoshone (S)	pasŭ		sohovi
Use/Part Used:	Young needles—tea; Needles—used to flavor roasted bear meat (NP)	Cone ("berry")—dried & ground, prepared as mush or a cake	Cambium, buds (B, C, F); Sap—drunk (B, C: báhkashuawilaxxee)
Food			
Medicine	poultice; resin—tea (B)	Cone—tea or chewed (B, C, F, K, NP); Bark—tea, liver (B); Bark (w/ *Populus* lvs)—'liniment' for backache (B); Root—tea, general tonic (B); Cones—tea (poss w/ *Arctostaphylos* or *Chimaphila* to make less irritating), urinary inflammations; Cones—tea, diarrhea (C)	Tonic tea [w/ juniper] (B, C); Bark—tea, liver trouble, heartburn, general discomfort (B): Resin from buds—external wash for skin irritation, cuts, bruises, rash; Root—tea, wash for headaches (S); Bark—tea (w/ other plants), blood tonic, general debility, tuberculosis, VD (S); Lvs—poultice, for horse sores (NP)
Ceremonial	Needles—incense (B, C, K); [C: smudge w/ cedar: *dah-ká-pee*]	Needles/twigs—incense, used on alter of the sacred woman @ Sun Dance (B); Needles/twigs—burned to purify air & ward off illness (F)	Center pole for Sun Dance & other sacred ceremonies (B, C); Sap—drunk as refreshment by Sun Dance participants during fast; Punk from inner bark [B: apustam] used in lighting ceremonial pipes; Twigs—smoke sticks, peyote ceremony (K)
Material	Roots—used in basketry	Cones ('berries")—boiled, threaded, dried, then greased, possibly smoked & made into necklaces & clothing decoration, sometimes w/ *Eleagnus commutata* berries; Bark—pulled off in long strips, used for cordage	Seeds("cotton")—mixed with buffalo brains & liver in tanning process (C); Young flr/lf buds—yellow dye (B); Small branches—pipe stems; Sap—used to conceal human scent when stealing horses (B); Branches—fuel (all)
Collected: Where?	Common component of subalpine forests up to treelimit	Open, parklike stands of dry grassy to gravelly slopes, also river bottoms	Riparian area and alluvial plains, low to moderate elevations
When?	As needed	Cones—when completely ripe @ end of 2nd year, or in 3rd year; Needles—any time	Young twigs—spring/summer; winter—twigs & branches for horse forage
Ceremonies assoc. w/ collection?			Associated with collection of trunks for Sun Dance use (B, C)
Use restrictions?			Horn Society collected trunk for Sun Dance (B)
Preserved/ Prepared How?	Needles—could be dried for later use; Resin—collected as needed	Cones collected as needed, or dried for future use; used whole for teas and washes, or ground to make meal or 'flour' to make mush or cakes	Cambium—scraped off in long 'noodle-like' strips, eaten fresh; did not store well, but could be collected at times of year when other food resources were scanty
Trade Item?			

Table A. continued

Section II. Shrubs and Half-shrubs

Species: Scientific Name:	**Willow** *Salix* spp.	**Black Hawthorn** *Crataegus douglasii*	**Serviceberry** *Amelanchier alnifolia*
Blackfoot (B)	o-che-pes; ot-sipis		*fruit:* ok-kun-okin; ooo-koo-noo-kee
Crow (C)	biliiché	akbilichishíia; akbilitchishée	*fruit:* baáchuuawuuleete
Flathead (F)	ppo; q̓əwq̓əwpúɬ	$sx^{w}ex^{w}$ʔénče; *fruit:* sx^{w}eʔné	sɬaq; sy̓ey̓é
Kiowa (K)	ai-pee-aǵaw; sen-ya-daw		
Nez Perce (NP)	táxs; p̓íp̓lá·c	císnim; *sweet black:* sísnim	kiké·ye
Shoshone (S)	agai suhu; šiʰ̓iʰ̓ipi		duambi; duemb; duhavi
Use/Part Used: Food	Young shoots and buds may have been eaten in spring	Fruit (All, though not highly regarded, due to large seeds and insipid flavor)	Fruit—alone or mixed w/ less palatable or abundant berries (All); Juice—beverage [C: *balápuuwilishpite*; most important vegetable food]
Medicine	Root—tea, internal hemorrhage, sore throat or eyes (B, C, F, K, S), also mixed w/ kidney fat & applied to head sores (B); Twigs—tea, fever & pain (B, K), also for urinary inflammations: bark (C); Lf—tea (K, S); Root—mashed, applied to gums for toothache (S). Bark—poultice/wash, skin irritations, wounds, dandruff	Fruit—tea, mild laxative (B)	Juice—upset stomach, mild laxative (B); juice of underripe berry—eyewash (B)
Ceremonial	Branches—sweatlodge (B: *tsiskani*, C, NP); branches—peeled & polished for ceremonial staffs & sticks (B); galls—incense (B)		Ritual soup (B); mixed w/ *Nicotiana* and elk manure in Tobacco Planting ceremony (B)
Material	Twigs/buds—yellow and reddsih dyes; Branches—furniture (e.g., backrest); baskets; sweatlodge frames (B); Root—dried then crushed, soaked in water and/or grease, used as hair tonic (B); Bark—cordage	Branches—digging sticks (B, C, F)	Stems/branches—arrow shafts (F, S, C: *balakaáshe*); digging sticks, fasteners; Sap—boiled w/ bison hooves, resulting jelly mixed w/ paint made color hold, could be dried for later use (C). Sharpened twigs used to drain horses' swollen ankles (F)
Collected: Where?	Riparian areas, ponds, seeps, moist gullies at moderate to high elevations	Open slopes and riparian areas at moderate elevations	River bottoms, moist meadows, aspen woodlands
When?	Young twigs—spring; Shoots—sweat lodge—as needed; Branches—furniture—when dormant	Fruit—ripens later than *Amelanchier* and remains on bush longer	Fruit—ripens late July to mid August; Stems—collect any time
Ceremonies assoc. w/ collection?	Associated with collection for sweat lodges or other ceremonial purposed	*C. chrysocarpa:* (B) small gift given the tree before fruits picked, so they would not upset the stomach	
Use restrictions?	Each type of sweat lodge had specific number of willows used in frame; frames were left standing after use (B)		Berries a favorite snack (w/ *Cornus stolonifera* berries) reserved for men (B?)
Preserved/ Prepared How?		Dried fruit did not keep well, and could cause stomach ache or constipation if too many eaten; dried fruit often eaten with fatty meats, or prepared w/ marmot or bear fat to relieve their dryness	Raw as snacks or pounded into pemmican for flavor (sometimes w/ *Prunus*); dried on perforated hide in sun (Shoshone dried in shade), greased & stored in bags (B); Soup—berries, assorted roots, buffalo or deer fat, water, sometimes blood, or *Alectoria* (B); Mixed w/ dried meat and animal fat in pemmican (B, C); 'sausage' of mashed berries mixed w/ fat, stuffed into an intestine & boiled (B); mashed & formed into cakes or loaves, sometimes smoked (all); Lvs—dried, crushed & mixed w/ bison blood for winter broth (B)
Trade Item?	Finished items such as backrests		Dried loose berries or cakes—important trade item

Table A. continued

Section II. Shrubs and Half-shrubs

Species: Scientific Name:	**Raspberry; Thimbleberry** *Rubus idaeus; R. parviflorus*	**Chokecheery** *Prunus virginiana*	**Ground Cedar** *Juniperus communis; J. horizontalis*
Blackfoot (B)		puk-keep	sik-si-nou-koo
Crow (C)	baáxuhke	balápua; malupwa; baáchuutaale	awákochilua
Flathead (F)	*R. id:* l̓iac; *R. par:* pólplqən	schla-scha; ɬx̓^{w}ɬo	punɬp; cíqənɬp
Kiowa (K)		o-hpan-ai-gaw	
Nez Perce (NP)	*R. id:* he?ilpe?ilp; ?ilp; *R. par:* ta·xtá·x	tíms; timis	cik̓é·yelx
Shoshone (S)			
Use/Part Used: Food	Fruit (All); Young shoots—peeled, eaten raw or steamed; Lvs—tea (B)	Fruit (All); Juice from crushing frt for pemmican saved to drink (B); Twigs—stripped of bark, stuck in roasting meat as spice (B)	Cones ("berries")—eaten fresh or dried
Medicine	Fruit—eat, chest disorders (B); Lvs—tea, diarrhea & dysentery, also ♀ excessive bleeding during menses	Juice—diarrhea, sore throat (B); Bark—tea, diarrhea (B, C) and as wash for sores & burns (C); Cambium—tea(w/ *Lygodesmia*), Cambium—tea (sometimes w/ *Amelanchier*), purgative (B), also coughs, chills, fevers, canker sores etc (C, F), and as vermifuge (F)	Bark—tea (B, C); Cone—tea, kidney trouble, vomiting (B, C); Cones—tea, ♀drank daily to prevent pregnancy; Root—tea, general tonic (B); Twigs—heated & rubbed on measles eruptions to relieve itching (S); Twigs—tea, as blood tonic (S)
Ceremonial		Fruit—ritual soup (B); twigs—incense tongs (B)	Sun Dance—carpet/mat of branches, also branches carried & worn as headpiece (B); Vision quest—mattress of branches (B); needles/twigs—smudge for cleansing (B, C)
Material	Fruit—smeared over newly tanned hides & dried in sun to dye them, then scraped off & hide polished (B); Fruit—applied to quivers 'to strengthen them' (B)	Branch—digging sticks, backrests (B, C); Twigs—tongs for carrying hot coals, also roasting skewers (B); Sap—mixed w/ clay & used for paint	Root—'tea', to sooth face after whiskers plucked, also used as footwash (B); Root—soaked for a wash for making horses' hair shine (B); wash, as anti-dandruff rinse; cones—dried, greased, then smoked & polished to make beads
Collected: Where?	Forest understory/edges and aspen woodlands at moderate elevations	Streamsides, valley bottoms, moist areas at moderate elevations	*J.c:* forest edges & slopes @ moderate to high elevations; *J. h:* dry sandy or rocky slopes
When?	Shoots—early spring; Fruit—mid-late summer	Late summer to early fall—best after light frost	Cones—best fall of 2nd year of growth, or spring of 3rd yr
Ceremonies assoc. w/ collection?			
Use restrictions?			
Preserved/ Prepared How?	Eaten fresh or dried; mild flavor could be used to extend supplies of stronger-flavored fruit (e.g., huckleberry, *Vaccinium* spp.); dried loose or mashed & formed into cakes	Fruit—mashed/pounded (usually w/ pits intact), formed into cakes, dried; used to flavor pemmican, stews; whole fruit dried in sun, greased and stored in bags (B, K, S); an important staple of diet; could be stored fresh in a cool, shady place for 'several months': important component of pemmican (all)	Cones—flavoring for meat or stews, fresh or dried; collected as needed, or collected, dried if needed, stored then soaked before using
Trade Item?		Traded to Great Basin tribes	

Table A. continued

Section II. Shrubs and Half-shrubs

Species: Scientific Name:	**Kinnikinnik** *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*	**Fringed Sagewort** *Artemisia frigida*	**Buffalo berry** *Shepherdia argentea*
Blackfoot (B)	ka-sixie; kuk-see; ka-ka-sin	kaksa-mis; kaksimi; ninny-kaksa-miss	me-e-nixen; miksin-itisim
Crow (C)	*óopiishiia*	*ammitáaniisahchaxuuwe*	*baalashiísshe; ingahawmp*
Flathead (F)	sk^{W}əlsé; *Lf:* sk^{W}lis		sx^{W}ósəm
Kiowa (K)			
Nez Perce (NP)	hotó·to	*A. tridentata:* qémqem	
Shoshone (S)	bíadumaya; trim-i-yah	pɔ́hɔ	bíawiyümbi
Use/Part Used: Food	Fruit—eaten raw, dried or cooked (B, F, NP); frt—mashed in fat, fried (B); Lvs—tea (B)	Lvs—crushed, mixed w/ stored meat to retard spoilage (B)	Fruit (All—but considered too bitter to be relished much); fruit—soup (B)
Medicine	Lvs—tea/mouthwash for canker, sore gums (B, C), also urinary tract inflammations; Lf—salve (w/ grease & boiled hoof), skin sores, rash, peeling scalp (B), also as wash for inflammations or rash; Lvs—poultice for burns, also smoke from dried lvs for earaches (F)	Lvs—chewed, poultice for swelling or nose-bleed (B); Lvs—tea, fever, ♀ irregular menses (B); Lvs— tea (S); Lvs—tea, heartburn (B), also for lung congestion, tuberculosis; Lvs (*A. tridentata*)— hot poultice on forehead for migraine, elsewhere for aches & pains (S); Roots—boiled as drink for mtn fever (B)	Fruit—eaten, for stomach trouble, as mild laxative (B); *S. canadensis*: Bark—tea for chronic coughs, wash for sore eyes, and for gonorrhea (F)
Ceremonial	Smoking (B: mixed w/ *Nicotiana & Cornus* cambium; S); heavy set of fruit was taken as a sign of severe winter coming (B)		
Material	Dried berries used in rattles, *preferred over stones because* lighter & didn't make dust (B); Dried berries strung on necklaces (B)	Plant—"adornment" (S); *Lvs—pad for ♀ during menses* (B); Lvs— smudge (w/ *A. ludoviciana*) to disourage flies & mosquitoes around horses (B); *Lvs—wash for hides* (B); Lvs—stuffed in moccasins & other items as deodorant (B)	Bark—tough, made strong rope for tying skins & parfleches when rawhide not available (B); Fruit used to make a red dye (B)
***Collected:* Where?**	*Forest understory at moderate* elevations	Dry sandy to gravelly soils, semi-arid grasslands and ridges	Grassy slopes and forest edges at moderate elevations.
When?	Fruit—Late summer thru til spring; Lvs—any time (evergreen shrub)	As needed; preferably prior to blooming	Early fall, after frost [fruit becomes sweeter w/ alternate freeze/thaw]
Ceremonies assoc. w/ collection?			
Use restrictions?		Considered 'woman sage' by many peoples	
Preserved/ Prepared How?	Fruit—tart until after frost; eaten raw or dried and 'soaked later with sugar' (B); dried fruit might be greased for storage; dried, powdered fruit used as condiment w/ deer liver (F); Lvs—dried ('toasted") over fire for smoking (All)	Lvs—collected as needed, or branches collected in early summer, prior to blooming; bunches hung in shade to dry, then packed in bags	Eaten only in lean times, due to bitterness (B); robe/blanket was spread under bush, which was struck with sticks—fruit fell off readily after frost; mashed into cakes and dried, or mixed with meat and fat to make permmican; also cooked as sauce for meat
Trade Item?			

Table A. continued

Section III. Forbs and Grasses

Species: Scientific Name:	**Camas** *Camassia quamash*	**Biscuitroot; Bear Root** *Lomatium* spp.	**Prickly Pear Cactus** *Opuntia* spp.
Blackfoot (B)	miss-issia	o-muck-kas	ohkotoksatsis; o-tok'-tsist
Crow (C)		*L. macrocarpum:* iisée	bichkiliiá
Flathead (F)	*raw:* sx^{w}é?li; *cooked:* itx^{w}e?	pčlu; čéyči	sx^{w}yéne?
Kiowa (K)			
Nez Perce (NP)	qém̓-es	*L.cous:* qá·msit; *L. canbyi:* qeqí·t	?ístis
Shoshone (S)	kamaç		
Use/Part Used: Food	Root (All); a primary food source for all groups whose territory lay within its distributional range.	*L. cous:* root (B, F, NP, S); *L. triternatum:* flowers occas. mixed w/ pemmican (B); *L. macrocarpum:* root—often used w/ other roots, flavoring (F)	Stems ("pads")—raw or cooked after spines pulled or burned off; Fruit—relished fresh, in jams, or made into candy (K)
Medicine	Root—tea, induce labor (B); "Grass"—tea to help expel afterbirth (B)	*L. triternatum:* Fruit—chewed by long distance runners to avoid sideache (B): Root/lvs—tea, chest trouble (B): root—chewed, blown onto affected part thru eagle bone tube (B); *L. dissectum*: Root—tea (often w/ *Lewisia, Valeriana* and/or *Yucca*) for tonic and for horse colic or distemper, also smudged w/ same (B)	Stem pulp—mashed for poultice for wounds, backache (F), bruises and warts; Spines—stuck in affected part and burned (B), also used to puncture boils (K); Glochidia (small hairlike spines)—rubbed on warts & moles (B)
Ceremonial	Camas Dances in January & June (B)	*L. dissectum:* Root—sliced, dried & strung around a mare's neck as a fertility amulet (B); Mixed w/ brains, used in tanning (B)	
Material		*L. triternatum:* fruits stuffed into pelts during tanning to prevent smelling (B); porcupine foot stuffed with fruits for young girls' good luck charm (B)	Spines heated to harden them, used as awls or pins; Stems—sliced open, rubbed over painted designs to fix colors (C); Stems—sliced open & used to 'varnish' moccasins (K), also put in muddy water to clarify it (B)
Collected: Where?	Moist fertile meadows at moderate elevations, more common west of Cont Divide	*L. dissectum:* Fertile river bottoms & moist meadows; *L. cous, triternatum:* sagebrush grasslands & slopes	Dry sandy or rocky area at moderate elevations, esp in northern YNP around Mammoth
When?	After flowering, in summer (some groups dug them in spring, B dug in "fall" after flowering)	In late spring, right after flowering; however, B collected in the 'fall'	Stems—best in spring, but could be used any time; Fruit—soon after ripening thru winter
Ceremonies assoc. w/ collection?	"First Roots" ceremony	"First Roots" ceremony	
Use restrictions?		*L. macrocarpum:* Only vegetative (non-flowering) plants collected	
Preserved/ Prepared How?	Baked in earthovens at/near collection sites; eaten immediately after cooling or mashed into patties or cakes, dried for storage; boiled in soups/stews w/ fat, blood, marrow, other roots, meat when available, sometimes ground seeds and/or dried berries; boiled alone to create molasses-like sweetener; Boiled—liquid drunk as a sweet, hot beverage, or flour added to make gravy (F)	*L. dissectum: Peeled,* sliced, strung on a thong, dried, then greased w/ back or kidney fat, stored in a fetal fawnskin or sheepskin bag (B); Roots—pit baked, could be stored (NP). *L. macrocarpum:* baked or boiled, also sliced and dried; *L. cous:* peeled and dried, sometimes ground into flour [NP—*raw.* qá·msit; *peeled/dried:* qá·ws qawas]	Fruit & stems—eaten raw, or pit-cooked, boiled or roasted, mixed w/ berries and deer fat; spines removed by singeing , or outer rind removes easily after cooking; an important 'famine' food since readily located even in winter
Trade Item?	Next to salmon, most widely traded food item; B obtained from Kootenay; C obtained from NP, S, and F	*L. cous, L. macrocarpum:* Surpluses were traded to those outside the plant's range	

Table A. continued

Section III. Forbs and Grasses

Species: Scientific Name:	**Yampah** *Perideridia gairdneri*	**Arrowleaf balsamroot** *Balsamorhiza sagittata*	**Bitterroot** *Lewisia rediviva*
Blackfoot (B)	nits-ik-opa	ohm-ah-gahs; a-pono-kauki; o-to-kap-atis	eks-ix-ix
Crow (C)	bikkaasáhte		baaisaaxaawé
Flathead (F)	sƛúk^{w}əm; sƛuk^{w}m	ṃtčẇe	spéƛəm; spƛ̓m
Kiowa (K)			
Nez Perce (NP)	cawí·tx cawitak	pá·sx pasax̣; *root:* tá·q^{w}o?	ɬitá·n
Shoshone (S)	yümb; yomba		kon-ah
Use/Part Used: Food	Root (All); an important staple of diet	Root—cooked then dried (B, F); Young shoots & budstalks—eaten raw or cooked as greens (B, F, NP); Seeds—roasted or dried, ground into flour	Root (All); an important primary food
Medicine	Root—eaten, diuretic, mild laxative (B); Root—chewed, poultice on blisters/sores (B); Root—tea, diuretic (incl for horses), for coughs & sore throat, also as wash for nostrils for catarrh and by ♀ for sore breasts (B); Root— smudge, nagging coughs (B); Root—poultice for inflammation (B)	Root—smudge, inhaled for body ache (B); Root—chewed, applied to blisters, sores, for toothache (B); Root—tea, taken @ onset of labor to aid easy birth (B); Lvs/stems/roots—tea, for colds & stomach pain (B)	Root—tea (sometimes mixed w/ *Lomatium dissectum*, *Valeriana* spp. and/or *Yucca*) for colic or distemper in horses; Root—eaten or tea for increased milk after childbirth (F, NP); Root—tea, heart pain or pleurisy (F, NP)); Root—died or fresh, diabetes (NP)
Ceremonial		Root—incense/smudge (B); Lvs—used in ceremonial while roasting camas (B) Lvs—used in camas cooking, for moisture & to prevent scorching	
Material	Root—chewed by buffalo runners to extend endurance (B); Root—chewed, given to 'lazy horses' to enliven them (B); Root—rubbed on arrows for shine and waterproofing (B)		
Collected: Where?	Moist meadows at moderate to high elevations	Open grassy slopes at moderate elevations, especially southern exposures	Dry sandy or gravelly slopes and ridges at moderate elevations
When?	Early to mid summer, before flowering (some groups preferred after flowering)	Sprouts/bud shoots—as soon as visible; seeds—when mature; roots—any time ground not frozen	Dug in spring prior to blooming, when flr buds just visible
Ceremonies assoc. w/ collection?			"First Roots" ceremony
Use restrictions?	Some medical applications were administered only by diviners (B)		
Preserved/ Prepared How?	Root peeled and eaten fresh as snack; sun-dried for later use; steamed in pits then dried; baked; boiled in soup w/ deer meat, service berries, and/or black tree lichen (*Alectoria*)	Root—dried/flaked for smudge (B); Root—peeled, pit-cooked then dried; sometimes steamed (B, F); Seeds—dried and eaten whole or ground to meal, eaten alone or mixed w/ grease, pine seeds, berries and/or sweetener, formed into cakes, boiled as porridge or in soup (B, F, NP); Immature stems—peeled, eaten raw (NP); Lvs—used in cooking camas (B)	Root—peeled promptly after digging and the next year's growth shoot removed to reduce bitterness, then soaked; roots were then steamed, boiled; pit-cooked or eaten fresh; large quantities dried for winter use or trade; served boiled in soups, w/ berries, deer fat, sometime other bulbs or greens; soup made w/ root and crushed bones [marrow?]
Trade Item?	Was a trade item when surpluses were available		Important trade item

Table A. continued
Section III. Forbs and Grasses

Species: Scientific Name:	**Sagewort; Mugwort** *Artemisia ludoviciana*	**Dogbane** *Apocynum* spp.	**Onion** *Allium* spp.
Blackfoot (B)		*A. cannabinum:* nuxa-pist	pis-satsé-mi-kim; pe-sar-chere-nik-kim
Crow (C)	iísachchaxuuwe		bítxua
Flathead (F)	qəpqəpté; qpqpté		*A. cernuum:* q^{w}léye?
Kiowa (K)		gho-la	
Nez Perce (NP)		qé·mu	sé·x; ca·xcá·x cá·x
Shoshone (S)		aŋgawana; bahunduwayaá;ʒicogi	bădusi; gunk; kuŋ ga; sii; ɔ́ xartonʒiap
Use/Part Used: Food	Lvs—chewed as confection (B)	No food use recorded, but K used sap (dried overnight after extraction) as chewing gum.	Root (All), primarily for flavoring; Lvs—as greens for flavoring, especially soups & stews
Medicine	Lvs—salve w/ "neck fat" (C); Lvs—tea, headache, phlegm (F, K, S); Lvs—steam, respiratory disorders (B); Lvs—tea, chest & throat constrictions, nasal congestion (inc horses) (B); Lvs—poultice, on blisters, boils (B); Plant—tea, as wash for bruises & itching (F); Lvs—poultice (esp babies) for fevers (S)	Root—tea, kidney trouble, rheumatism, asthma, laxative (B) and general tonic; Sap—chewing gum (K); Sap (*A. androsaemifolium*)—applied to warts; Root —wash to prevent hair from falling out (B); Root—cathartic and febrifuge (poisonous in large doses)	Root—tea, to stop vomiting, persistent cough, also as eyewash (B); Lf (w/ *Monarda*)—tea, emetic, also used as wash for swellings, sores (B); Root—dried, 'snuff' to open sinuses; Root—smudge, colds, headaches, nasal congestion (inc horses) (B); Root—tea (S)
Ceremonial	Lvs—incense/smudge (C, K); Lvs—sweat lodge, strewn on floor & lvs chewed to relieve thirst (B); Plant—bundles tied on *ceremonial objects & Sun* Dancers, and for wiping Horn Society headdresses prior to transfer (B)	Smoking—*A. cannabinum* (S)	
Material	Lvs—smudge (w/ *A. frigida*) to dispel flies & mosquitoes around horses (B); Lvs—stuffed in pillows, hide bags, moccasins & quivers as deodorant (B)	Stem/bark—cordage, basketry (NP, S), and bags (NP); Root—wash for falling hair (B)	Root—rubbed on quivers as a deodorant, also piece of hide dipped in *Allium* juice used to shine arrows (B)
Collected: Where?	Common in meadows and grasslands @ low to moderate elevations	Dry grassland slopes and disturbed areas, at moderate elevations	Dry to moist grasslands and meadows
When?	Any time during summer months (B)	Root—collected in fall; Stem—after fruit matures but before plant dries for season	*A. cernuum:* May-June (B, F); *A. textile*: May-June, prior to blooming
Ceremonies assoc. w/ collection?	Proper disposal after ceremonial use: toss away toward east, rather than burning (B)		
Use restrictions?	Considered 'man sage'; used fresh in sweat lodges (B)		
Preserved/ Prepared How?	Used fresh in sweat lodges, dried for smudging (B); bunches hung in shade to dry, then stored in bags	Stems—for cordage, dried then remoistened, rolled or pounded to free fibers; might also be chewed to release fibers	Eaten raw but more often baked, stewed (often with meat, perhaps also marrow and other roots) or dried; cooking changes indigestible inulin starches to more digestible and palatable forms; fried
Trade Item?		Finished product (cordage) might be traded	

Table A. continued

Section III. Forbs and Grasses

Species: Scientific Name:	**Gumweed** *Grindelia squarrosa*	**Yarrow** *Achillea millefolium*	**Field mint** *Mentha arvense*
Blackfoot (B)	aks-peis; oaks-pe-kow		sax-ika-kitsim; cax-si-simmo; kak-it-simo
Crow (C)	baauchpashíilitshia	chihpachíiskisshe	shússhua
Flathead (F)	t̓ə+šisqá	nepp̓səncú; n̓k̓^{w}k̓^{w}a	x̣ənx̣né
Kiowa (K)			
Nez Perce (NP)		wapalwá·pal	heqé·qe; tiwantí·wan
Shoshone (S)	oakap	padonzia; towoiyuŋkha; háne; ʼengë; kušiaŋgaŋgé	bagwana; baugona
Use/Part Used: Food	No food uses reported	Lvs/flrs—"pleasant" tea (B)	Lf/stem—tea (All), dried to spice pemmican, soups (B); Fir/Seed (C); Fresh lvs—chewed as candy (K)
Medicine	Lvs—tea, bronchitis, asthma, kidney trouble, antisyphilitic (B, C, F, S); Tops/lvs boiled to wash horse saddle sores; Root—dried, ground, for tonic, liver problems (B); Resin—tea, coughs, & wash for rashes, sores, burns etc.; Flr heads—held in mouth w/out swallowing for toothache;Dried buds—tea, for coughs & dropsy (S), and as wash for swellings, wounds, broken bones (S)	Lf/flr—tea, sore throat, fever (B, F, S); Lf—tea, induce labor, expel afterbirth&improve milk flow (B); Lf—tea, eywash (incl for horses) (B); Lf—fresh or dried, chewed, placed in ear for aches, also poultice for wounds, abrasions, boils, burns (C, F)	Lf/stem—tea (B, C, F, K); Lvs—tea (w/ *Madia glomerata*), as poultice on snakebite (C); Lf—dried, chewed & swallowed for heart ailments, chest pains (B); Lvs—used to induce abortion during early pregnancy (C); Lvs—tea, for coughs, colds, fevers & as tonic (F, S); Lvs—powdered, sprinkled on meat as insect repellent (F)
Ceremonial			
Material	Gum used as waterproofing, to plug holes, etc., (B)		Traps boiled w/ mint to remove blood smell and human scent (B); Lvs—placed in parfleches to flavor meat (B); Lvs—used as mask for smells in home
Collected: Where?	Open, dry grasslands and disturbed areas	Forest edges and open grasslands at wide range of elevations	Springs, seeps, riparian areas at moderate elevations
When?	Flr heads or whole plant—just before flowering	Whole plant—at or just before blooming	Any time during summer or fall, but preferably prior to blooming
Ceremonies assoc. w/ collection?			
Use restrictions?			
Preserved/ Prepared How?	Fresh lvs—crushed for poultice or tea; Dried flr heads or whole plant, dried and reconstituted for tea or wash [wash reported for other groups as used for poison oak/ivy]	Whole plant hung in dark (or at least shade) to dry; leaves retain medicinal properties for a long time	Lvs—layered w/ dried meat to discourage insects, aid preservation; Whole stems—tied in bunches and dried for tea, and to spice pemmican and soups (All); dried lvs mixed w/ service berries or sprinkled on meat as flavoring (F)
Trade Item?			

Table A. continued

Section III. Forbs and Grasses

Species: Scientific Name:	**Beebalm** *Monarda fistulosa*	**Sweetgrass** *Hierochloe odorata*	**Tobacco; tobacco mixtures**
Blackfoot (B) **Crow (C)** **Flathead (F)** **Kiowa (K)** **Nez Perce (NP)** **Shoshone (S)**	ma-ne-ka-pe bahpuushé po-et-on-sai-on	siputs-sima; se-pat-semo bachúate sxsésṭiye?	ne-etś-ti-nis; é-nis [common tobacco] a-pup-óo-pe [mixed: óop-ii-shuua]
Use/Part Used: Food	Dry flowerheads used by invalids for sucking broth/soup (B)	No food uses recorded	
Medicine	Lf—tea, colds, coughs, fever (B, F); Flr head—bound onto burst boils (B); Lf/flrs (w/ *Allium*)—for stomach pains, emetic (B): root—chewed, swollen neck glands (B); 'pieces of plant'—applied to cuts (B); Flrs—boiled and applied as eyewash (B); Plant—hung on walls for colds, used for toothache (F); Lvs—tea, ♀, to help expel afterbirth (F)	Plant—tea, ♀, stop postpartum bleeding & expel afterbirth, ♂ treat VD (B); Lvs/stems—tea, coughs, sore throat, also mixed w/ grease as salve for chapping, wind-burn (B)	
Ceremonial		Plant—smudging (B, C); Chewed when fasting (B); braided strands tied to ceremonial objects (B, C), and Sun Dancers; Stems—burned during prayers in many ceremonies; Lvs—mixed with red ochre to make it smell good (B)	Mixes might include: *Hierochle* mixed w/ tobacco (*Nicotiana*); *Nicotiana multivalvis*, [B: *na-wah'-to-ski*]; Lf, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*; Cambium—dried, *Cornus stolonifera* (B); other possible ingredients include: *Alnus* cambium, dried; *Ledum groenlandicum* leaf, dried or 'toasted'; *Artemisia frigida*, lvs, dried; *Lobelia* spp. lvs (C); some Salishan peoples smoked lvs of *Balsamorhiza*
Material	Dry flowerheads used to apply water to a green hide to make it easier to scrape (B); Lvs—boiled as poultice for acne (B); Lvs—wash, insect bites/stings & as perfume (K)	Plant (dried)–perfume (B, F, K); Plant —soaked/boiled in water then mixed w/ gelatin from boiled hooves for hair tonic (B); Lvs—used as stuffing for pillows, mattresses (K), and used as general clothes/body perfume	
Collected: Where?	Moist meadows	Open grasslands and gullies, at moderate elevations	
When?		Late summer (B)	Numerous ceremonies assoc. w/ collecting individual components for ceremonial use
Ceremonies assoc. w/ collection?			Tobacco mixtures were smoked only by men (B)
Use restrictions?		Used by everyone as incense w/ daily prayers (B)	
Preserved/ Prepared How?	Flr heads—collected @full bloom, dried; Lvs—collected prior to blooming, dried	Stems/lvs—braided into double strands, dried (B, C)	
Trade Item?		Traded or sold	

Table B. Native American terms for animals, fish, birds and minerals found in Yellowstone National Park (compiled by Janet L. Nixon, 1998).

Section I. Animals Fish and Birds

Species: Scientific Name:	**Bison** *Bison bison*	**Elk** *Cervus canadensis*	**Bighorn Sheep** *Ovus canadensis*
Blackfoot	iinii; *bull:* $_{E}$ n$_{E}$ oo; *cow:* sk$_{E}$ n$_{E}$ oo; *calf:* an is tok se	po no ka	miistaksoomahkihkinaa; e m$_{A}$ kik e n$_{A}$
Crow	bishée; *young:* chíipkalishte; ♀: zírupe	iichíilikaashe	iisaxpúatahchee *ram:* iisaxpúatahcheechiilape
Flathead	q̓^{w}eyq̓^{w}áy; q̓^{w}iq̓^{w}áy̓	*bull:* tšeć; *cow:* sne	ɬʔúmənе; ɬʔúmne
Nez Perce	qoq̓á·lx; *calf:* kulkuĺé·lx; *yearling:* ʔaláwa	wisé·w; *bull:* wewúkiye; *cow:* tasí·px; *calf <1yr:* qeʔéyix; *yearling:* qé·tet	♂: tiɬ́ú·n; ♀: hiyé·te
Shoshone			

Species: Scientific Name:	**Moose** *Alces alces*	**Mule [blacktail] Deer** *Odocoileus hemionus*	**Antelope** *Antilocapra americana*
Blackfoot	tsix tsis so	is son kut too ya	awakaasi; saokiawakaasi; soux $_{A}$ w$_{A}$ kos
Crow	apashbía	chíisuhpashihpe; *buck:* aashxaawé; ♀: áshgavé	áapsaxxe; úuxkaashe
Flathead	sx̣ásəlqs; sx̣alqs	st̓ʔlć̓eʔ *general:* ć̓uʔúlix^{w}	staán
Nez Perce	sá·slaqs	*general:* ʔímes; *buck:* té·wisi·n; *spike:* tú·k̓ec; *doe:* yeʔémes; *yearling:* múʔpic	♂: lak̓á·lix ♀: zukuláinin; coq̓aláyniń
Shoshone			

Species: Scientific Name:	**Grizzly** *Ursus horribilis*	**Mountain Lion** *Felis concolor*	**Wolverine** *Gulo luscus*
Blackfoot	otahkoissksisiyoohkiaayo *brown bear: oto kiy o*	omahkatayo; o muk it ti yo	piinotoyi *badger:* me sin skee
Crow	itbuuisée; *silver tip:* daxpitcheeiiáakeechiate	iishbíia	
Flathead	səmx̣é; *general:* n̓ámqeʔ	sk^{w}tísəmyé	sx^{w}éyən *badger:* six̣^{w}eyx̣^{w}o
Nez Perce	x̣áx̣a·c *black bear: yá·kaʔ*	k̓oy̓aṁá	se·pinʔisé·pin sé·pin; *badger:* sí·kiʔ
Shoshone			

Table B. continued
Section I. Animals Fish and Birds

Species: Scientific Name:	**Weasel** *Mustela* spp.	**Wolf** *Canis lupus*	**Coyote** *Canis latrans*
Blackfoot	*brown phase:* otaa; *white phase:* aapaia; miistsaapaaa	omahkapi'si; makoyi ap p_E se	aapi'si; ♀: ksina'oo
Crow	úutte	cheéte *timber:* cheéttaale	búattee
Flathead	*white phase [winter]:* ɬpa; *brown phase [summer]:* ɬc̓iṁ; ɬc̓iṁ	n̓ć́ ícən; ḥc̓íʔcn	sənc̓ĺé; suc̓le
Nez Perce	c̓iɬiɬe·	hími·n	ʔiceyé·ye ʔice
Shoshone			

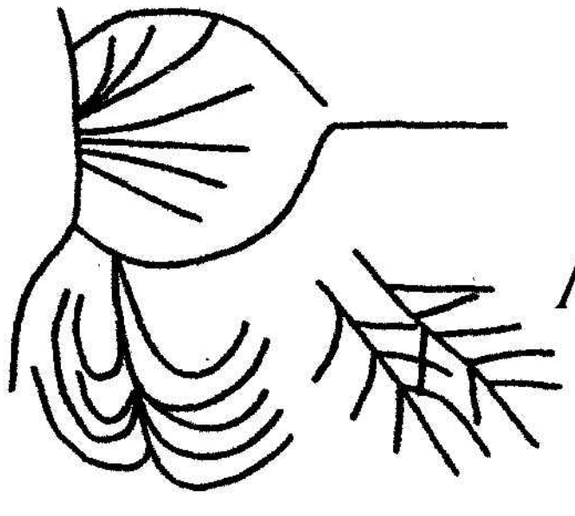
Species: Scientific Name:	**Bald Eagle** *Haliaeetus leucocephalus*	**Trumpeter Swan** *Olor buccinator*	**Hawks** [various species]
Blackfoot	ksikkihkini; *golden:* piitaa; pe t_A	iimahkayii	*red-tail:* ksikkapiitaipanikimm; *sparrowhawk:* pisspsksi
Crow	dúuptakoische *golden:* xáxxe		baaíipuushchia; chilaxtaléaxe; chilaxté; iisaxchisée
Flathead	pqəlqéy *golden:* məlqnú	spqəmí; spqmí	*general:* ć́əlć́əlšmú; *red-tail:* aatat; *chicken hawk:* c̓ĺc̓ĺšmú
Nez Perce	saq̓antá·yx sa·q̓an; *golden:* wé·ptes	wetyétmes	*sparrowhawk:* taʔmapcáʔyo; *red-tailed:* qáya; *little red hawk:* yí·xyix
Shoshone			

Species: Scientific Name:	**Trout** *Salmo* spp.	**Marmot** *Marmota flaviventris*	**Beaver** *Castor canadensis*
Blackfoot	iita'pomii *fish:* m_A me		ksisskstaki; kists stuk e
Crow	buaxáxxe; *fish:* buá	chihpaxiióoshe	
Flathead	pisɬ; *small trout:* ɬk^{w}ik ^{w}ùú	səmc̓éc̓; smc̓éc̓	sqlew̓
Nez Perce	*cutthroat:* waẇá·ɬam; *steelhead:* hé·yey	cé·xcem; ʔisqó·ùqoù	táx̣cpol
Shoshone			

Table B. continued
Section II. Minerals

Species: Scientific Name:	**Obsidian**	**Red Ochre**	**Pipestone**
Blackfoot **Crow** **Flathead** **Nez Perce** **Shoshone**		maohka'saan; akai'tsii; *dark red:* ni'iitsi'saan; *red clay:* a-wá-xuu-we	

Species: Scientific Name:	**Sulphur**	**Water**
Blackfoot **Crow** **Flathead** **Nez Perce** **Shoshone**	*[yellow paint]:* o ta kooy	*spring:* maksisskomm; *waterfall:* ohpsskouaka'si *[also used for 'geyser']* *river:* áa-she; spring: ba-hée *waterfall:* bi-li-xa-wuá *river:* ntx̣^{w}e; *spring:* esocqʔé; *stream:* n̓ɬšiy̓é; *waterfall:* estipmétk^{w} *creek:* póol; *river:* píkun; *spring:* uáuam



Appendix C

Indian Uses of Buffalo:

Manuscript from WPA Papers, 1936–1946, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University, Bozeman, Montana, Box file 300.021.030/128. Elderly Flathead and ex-policeman Oliver Gebeau interviewed by his daughter, Lizzie Barber, and Bon Whealdon on June 10, 1941, in Ronan, Montana. Title: "The Buffalo provided the Flatheads with food, shelter, and clothing."

"I asked my grandfather, the aged James Finley, why the buffaloes were so important to the early Indians? He was silent for a long time, then he put his pipe away and spoke.

'Son, you are like a white man; you eat, think and live as he does. You will scarcely understand me, when I tell you just what the buffalo gave my people in the days before the white man came. My heart sorrows that you do not know the old ways of your prople [*sic*], but I will tell you.

The buffalo provided us with food, shelter, and clothing. Fresh meat for the camps, while on our hunting trips on the plains. east of the mountains. Then we cured great quantities of the flesh for the long Montana winters. Of course, in those days there was an abundance of deer and elk, but buffalo-meat was preferred by all Indians.

Then there was the tallow, and the marrow from large bones. These gave us the grease element in our diet of meat and roots, I recall the women boiled or roasted the bones and when they had cooled, we sat near the camp-fires, cracking the bones and digging out the rich marrow.

We had another use for the tallow. Our Warriors were very particular about the care of their hair. They knew that the scalps must be kept in a healthful condition in order to grow good crops of glossy hair. Whenever they found time, they took either raw or cooked marrow from buffalo bones and massaged it into their scalps and hair. Son, you smile, but I tell you our Indians had thick growths of black hair. It was not thin and gray like the hair of breeds and whites. Our hair did not fall off, leaving bare spots to shine like late snow-patches on Elk Mountain.

Our teepees were covered with tanned buffalo hides. It took 9 or 10 skins to make a covering for an ordinary teepee. The teepees were conical shaped, with fire spot in center directly under flap-opening at the top, so smoke could pass out. There were always buffalo mats with hair on for day purposes and other robes for blankets. The teepees were very neat, warm, and comfortable.

Buffalo-hides, because of their thickness, made the best, longest wearing soles for moccasins. It required a buffalos hair robe to make a shirt like blouse for a warrior.

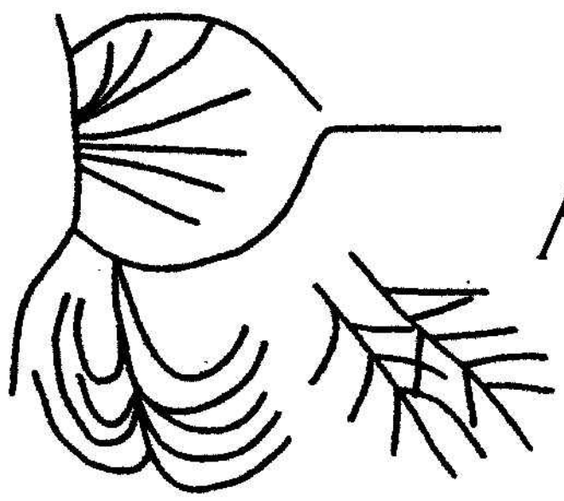
When the cold weather came, the hair-side was worn next to the body. When the days were warm, the warrior would turn the garment, hair-side out.

Son, you wonder how the Indian women sewed together the buffaloskins to make teepee-coverings, articles of clothing, bags and moccasins, since they had not the white man's needles? When we cracked the buffalo bones, pieces came off in splinters or slivers with sharp, tapering points. These our sewers used as awls, in puncturing the hides along seams to be coarsely laces orse [*sic*]

Elk sinew was often used as cord or thread in sewing, but we like the stout sinew from big buffalo tendrons better than that from any other animal.

Buffalo-bladders were used as samll [*sic*] bags in which to store small articles. From buffalo raw hide was made the pipe bag, which contained the medicine smoke pipe. Then there were other buffalo bags; flint-bags and saddle bags.

While on hunting trips, we used dried buffalo dung-cakes for fuel. We had no wood on the prairies, and the dung fuel was better anyhow, as it furnished plenty of heat and did not give off much smoke to attract the Piegans, who hated our people.'"



Appendix D

Horn Bows:

Notes on Indian Horn Bows by Bill Holm, Professor Emeritus, Burke Museum, Seattle, Washington. Also printed in Appendix 1. "On Making Horn Bows," by Bill Holm in *Native American Bows* by T.M. Hamilton, Special Publication No. 5. Columbia, Missouri: Missouri Archaeological Society, 1982, pp. 116–130). Courtesy of Bill Holm.

There is something very exciting and romantic about the idea of a bow made of mountain sheep horn, short enough to be handily shot from a galloping horse and powerful enough to kill a buffalo. Early travelers and writers on the Plains mentioned them in glowing terms. In 1951, as an enthusiastic student of Indian culture and a moderately proficient archer, I was fascinated to the point of acquiring a big old ram horn and trying to make one. I had never knowingly seen a horn bow and knew nothing of the principles involved in their construction. I had seen lots of plains sinew reinforced bows—in fact owned one which I occasionally shot—so I modeled my sheep horn bow after a double curved wooden bow and, in ignorance, substituted a rawhide back for the sinew reinforcement. The bow was made of two pieces spliced at the grip, was about 40 inches long by about 1 1/4 inches wide and 1/2 inch thick, and was embellished with a handsome strip of rattlesnake skin glued over the rawhide back. I thought it a very elegant bow (although of only about 30 pounds weight and of disappointing cast) until one day it almost literally exploded at full draw, leaving me with a lump on the head and pieces of sheep horn, rawhide and snakeskin spread around the countryside. I decided that the problem had been that the bow was made of old, long dried horn and vowed someday to make another and better one. I now believe that the bow broke because of the absence of sinew.

In anticipation of this project I began, in 1961, to make a fancy otterskin quiver and bowcase which reached a fair state of completion and then reposed in a closet until 1977 when, to my good fortune, I read T. M. Hamilton's book *Native American Bows*. The information on horn bows was a revelation. About the same time I had the opportunity to examine, photograph and measure a total of 14 old sheep horn bows. I had some horns and sinew available and couldn't wait to try another with my newfound knowledge.

The first one in the new series was intended as an experiment and was made of a single strip of horn about 34 inches long after straightening. With its heavy sinew back it was about 7/8 of an inch wide and 3/4 of an inch thick. This little bow had an even curved reflex of about 4 inches. When braced it had a smooth "D" form. I made a tillering frame and drew and weighted the bow. I was amazed to draw this 30 inch (braced length) bow over 20 inches at which point it weighed 60 pounds! This seemed to be the real limit as the weight suddenly increased to more than I could draw. I believe the sinew had reached the limit of its stretch.

The bow was very difficult for me to brace, partly because it was not quite straight as viewed from the back or belly and partly because it was narrow and tended to twist suddenly as the reflex was being taken up, unless held very tightly. This violent twist puts great stress on the horn. The bow had what seemed at the time to be the very un-

usual property of having one limb or the other slowly overwhelm its opposite until it was almost straight while the other increased its curve. On one occasion this continued until the bow suddenly reversed. The strain was so great that one limb was cracked straight across and nearly through the horn. I decided that, if the theory of the horn being in compression and the sinew in tension was correct, the bow should still function. I gingerly braced it, fastended it to the tillering frame and slowly brought it to a full draw— with no apparent change of form or weight!

Since the bow was experimental I proceeded to distress it to pieces, scraping and tillering, overdrawing and twisting, until I finally could only salvage the sinew. I found that tillering by scraping the horn thinner made surprisingly little difference, the stiffness of the limbs seemingly mainly dependent on the thickness of the sinew.

The excitement of making the sheephorn bow inspired the completion of the long delayed quiver project (Figure 1), and the next bow was begun. This one was made of two pieces spliced at the grip. The tapered lap is about 4 inches long and

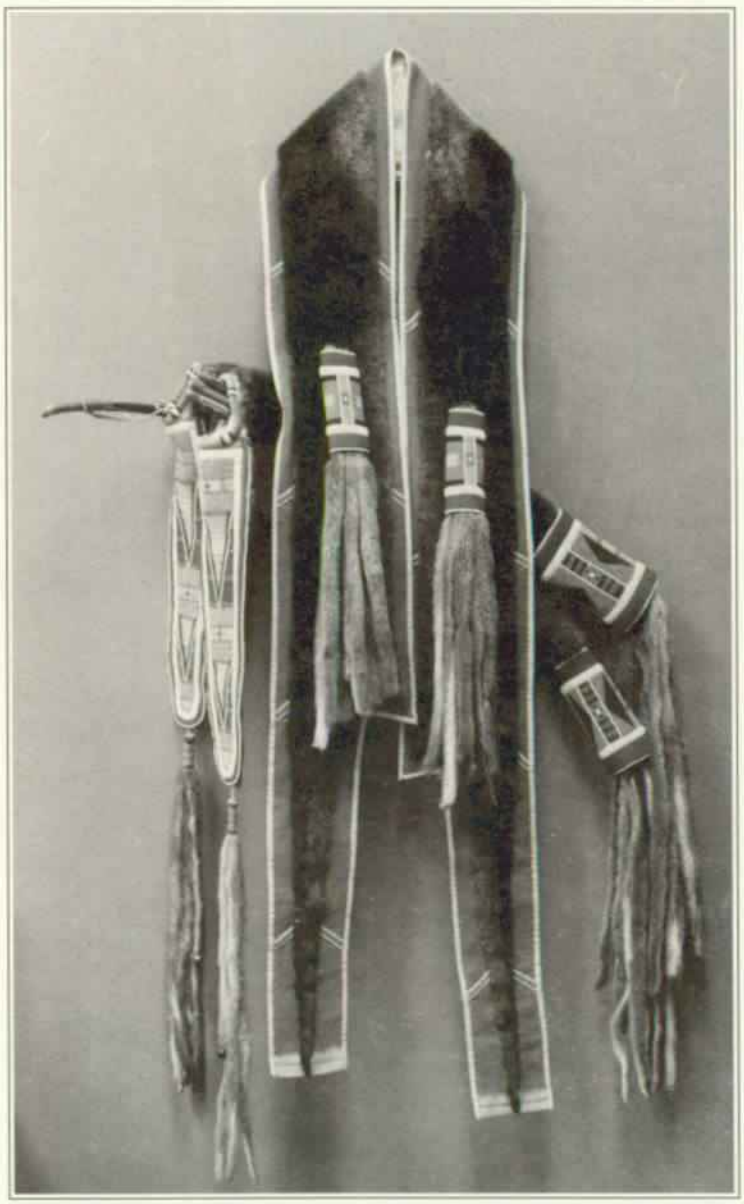


Figure 1. An otterskin quiver and bowcase made by Bill Holm in the Crow-Nez Perce tradition, complete with bandolier.

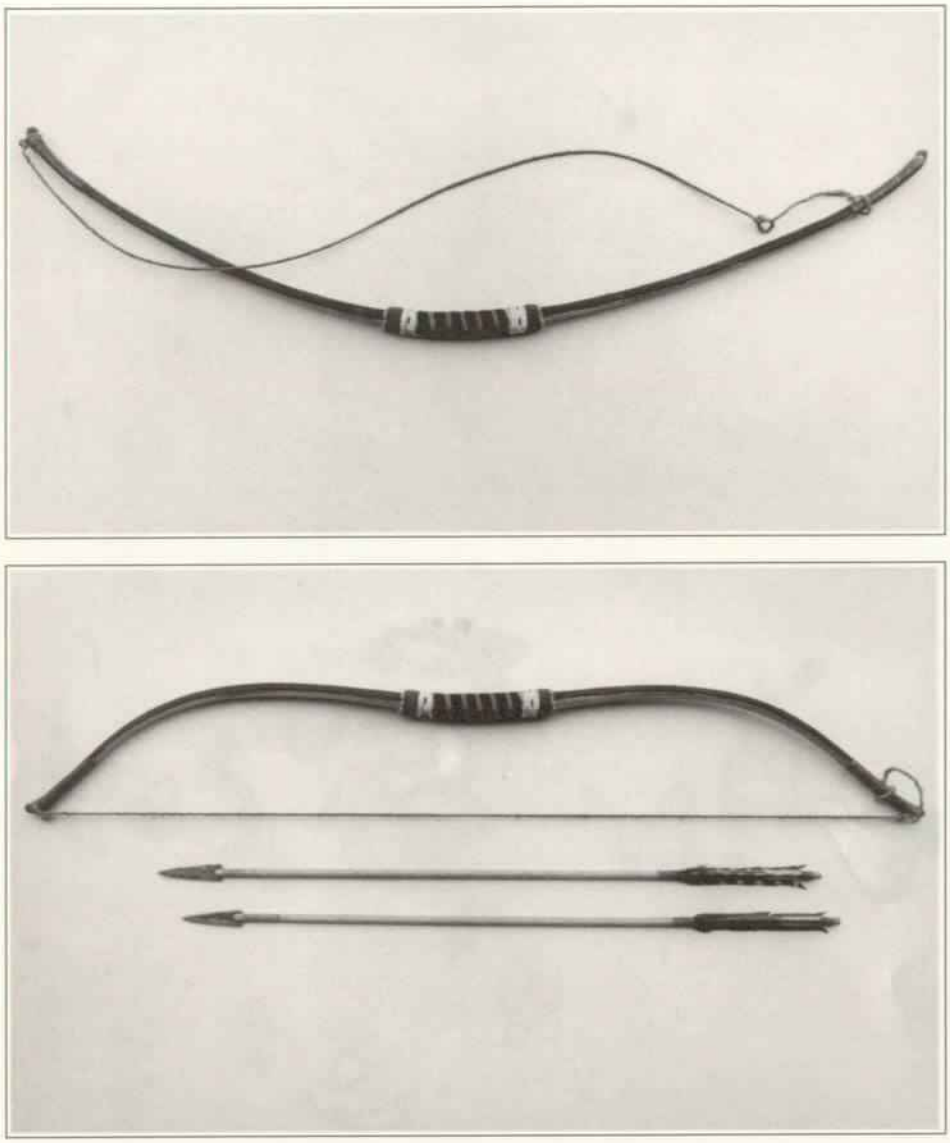


Figure 2. The second sheephorn bow made by Bill Holm, shown relaxed and braced. It is 39 inches long, measured along the curve, 1 x 5/8 inches at the grip, 13/16 x 1/2 at midlimb and 1/2 x 5/8 below the nocks. When braced, it is 35 1/2 inches long. This bow weighs 55 pounds at full draw of 22 inches.

fastened with four copper rivets and glue. The splice could be less rugged as the primary force on it is compression. The bow (Figure 2) is 39 inches along the curve, 1 inch by 5/8 inch at the grip, 13/16 by 1/2 inch at midlimb and 1/2 by 3/8 inch below the nocks, which are merely wrappings of sinew. When braced it is 35 1/2 inches long. This bow also takes a while after bracing to stabilize, one limb or the other tending to straighten somewhat. I think it is this tendency which results in horn bows reversing while still strung, as seen in some old specimens. If the bow is left braced for hours the limbs lose some of their reflex curve when relaxed, but regain most of it within a few minutes and the rest of it in about thirty minutes as the sinew contracts.

This bow is very similar in dimension to a fine bow collection by Paul Kane in 1846 and now in the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature in Winnipeg. Like the experimental bow this second bow is narrow, with a strong reflex, and is difficult to brace without twisting. Sure enough, a care-

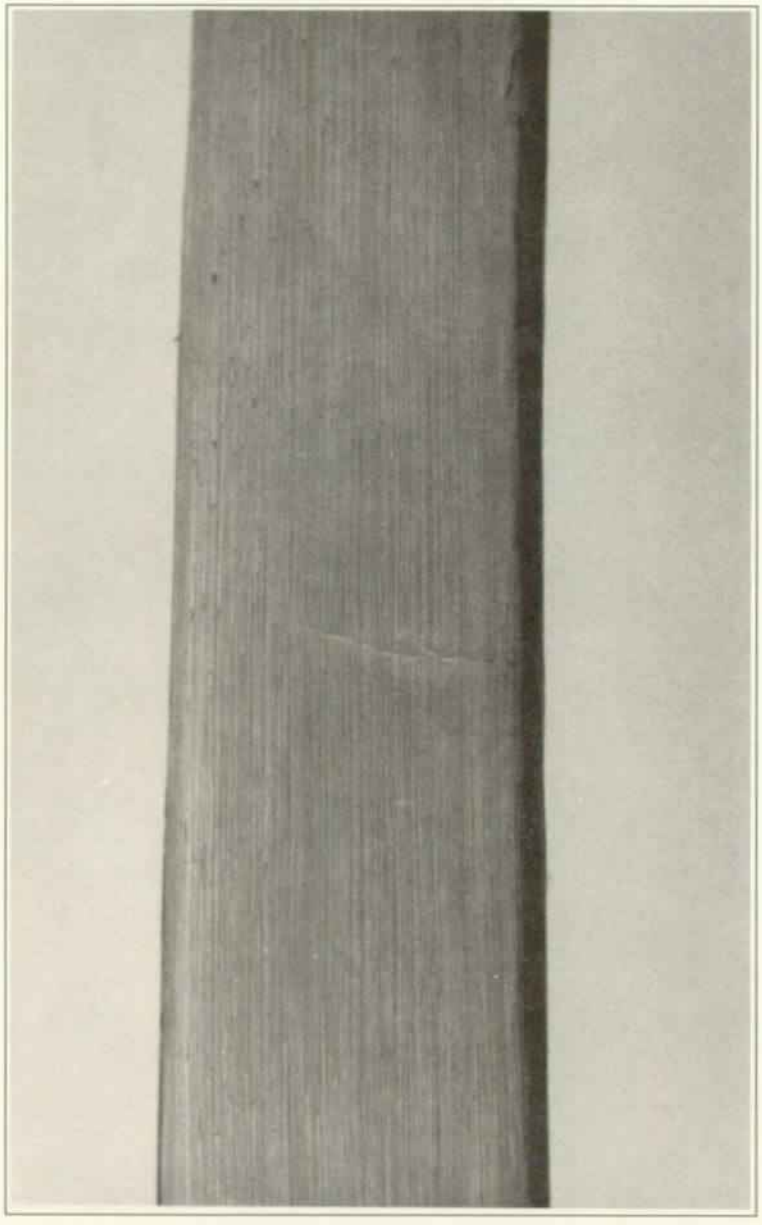


Figure 3. The crack in the belly of the bow after reversing itself while being braced. The horn and sinew were glued together and the bow still registers 55 pounds at 22 inches!

less bracing allowed the bow to reverse suddenly and one limb cracked almost exactly as had the little test bow (Figure 3). But as in that bow, there is not a sign of any effect on the bow's function or form. It weights 55 pounds at the 22 inch maximum draw, at which point it stiffens. The outer layer of sinew stretches 1½ inches over the length of the bow as measured relaxed and at full draw!

This little bow consistently shoots around 200 yards. My longest shots have been 235 yards (Figure 4). I find it hard to shoot at a target because I can't easily hold the 55 pounds at such a short draw. I'm sure such bows were ordinarily drawn and shot in one motion, rather than holding at full draw while aiming. Probably the draw length would be increased if the bow had less reflex.

One of the bows in the United States National Museum is particularly pleasing in form to me and I decided to make a one piece bow based on that model and record the process. After my previous

Figure 5. Cutting the grooves on each side of the horn before splitting it with wedges.

Figure 6. Thinning the inner surface of the horn with a hatchet.

very easy to work with and is such an interesting material that using it affords a lot of satisfaction. The sinews lie in very thin, flat bands just under the muscle layer on each side of and parallel to the spine. They are quite easily separated from the surrounding muscles with fingers. They should be thoroughly scraped free of any clinging muscle and fat and washed. Laid out flat they will dry in a few hours to a stiff, thin sheet. On one face the sinew strip is covered with a thin paperlike fascia which can be removed by scraping or by working the sinew until it loosens. Shredding the sinew for bow backing is simply a matter of splitting it with the fingers to narrow strands. Before applying, it is soaked in water. An hour in warm water is sufficient. Sinew can be softened very quickly by chewing, as described in some of the old accounts. Saliva seems to penetrate it very fast, aided by the working of the fibers. This technique is most useful if a small amount of sinew needs to be softened quickly.

On the first two bows I glued the sinew with

Figure 7. The strip of tape used as a guide so the horn strip will cut out straight.

Figure 8. The strip of horn before boiling.

commercial hide glue, heated in a double boiler and applied hot. That worked fine, but I was interested in the native preparation of glues so experimented with boiling salmon skin and buffalo hide scrapings. Both were successful. The last bow was made with buffalo hide glue. The scrapings were boiled for about 5 hours, adding water from time to time. The scrapings don't melt into glue, as one might anticipate from written accounts, but the water becomes thicker and browner as it boils, and the kettle of hide scrapings produced just enough fine hide glue, nearly identical to the commercial product, to attach the sinew.

The back of the bow was prepared for the sinew and glue by scratching (Figure 11) rather deeply with the back of a knife point, in a close crosshatched pattern. With glue pot and wet sinew handy I clamped the bow in place and wet the back thoroughly with hot water to soften the surface and clean away any oil. Then I laid a thin coat of hot glue on the grip area and one limb. Holding a strand of sinew in one hand I pinched it between thumb-

Figure 9. Final shaping of the horn belly by scraping.

Figure 10. Forming the reflex by boiling the horn belly.

nail and finger of the other hand and scraped it flat. Then I dipped it in the hot glue (kept quite thin by adding water from time to time), held it up over the pot and stripped the hot glue the length of the strand before placing the thicker end on the grip of the bow and laying the strand right up the limb (Figure 12). The glue must be kept somewhat below boiling, or the sinew will shrivel up and be useless. Elk and big mule deer back sinews will reach across the grip, up the limb and over the end onto the belly of such a short bow.

After placing, the sinew strand was smoothed and flattened into place with the finger. This process was repeated, laying the strands carefully alongside one another until the entire limb and grip were covered. The process was repeated for the other limb. The overlapping at the grip somewhat stiffens it. One or two layers of sinew can be laid in place before the bow is set aside to dry.

The hide glue sets up to a jelly-like consis-

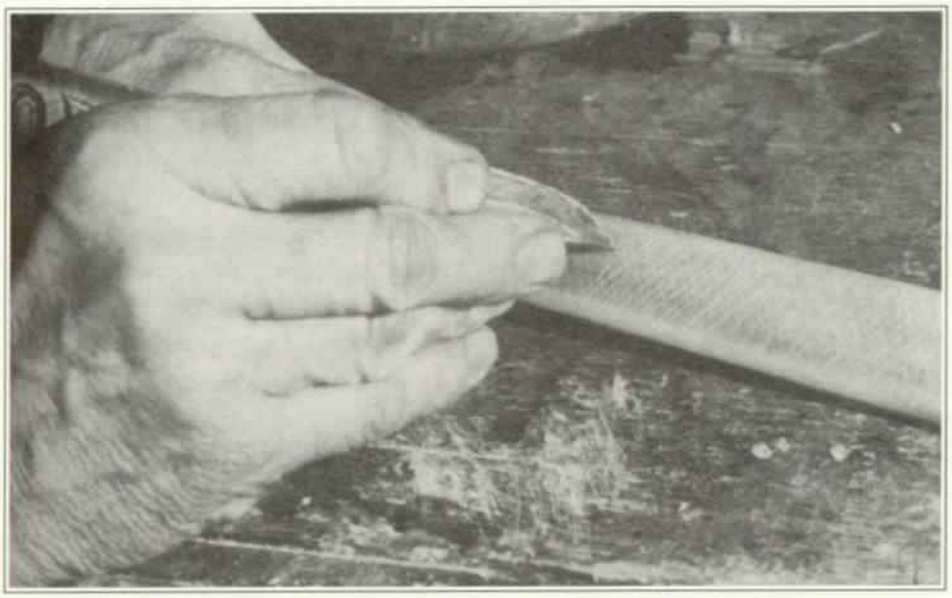


Figure 11. Crosshatching the back of the belly in the preparation for the glue and sinew.

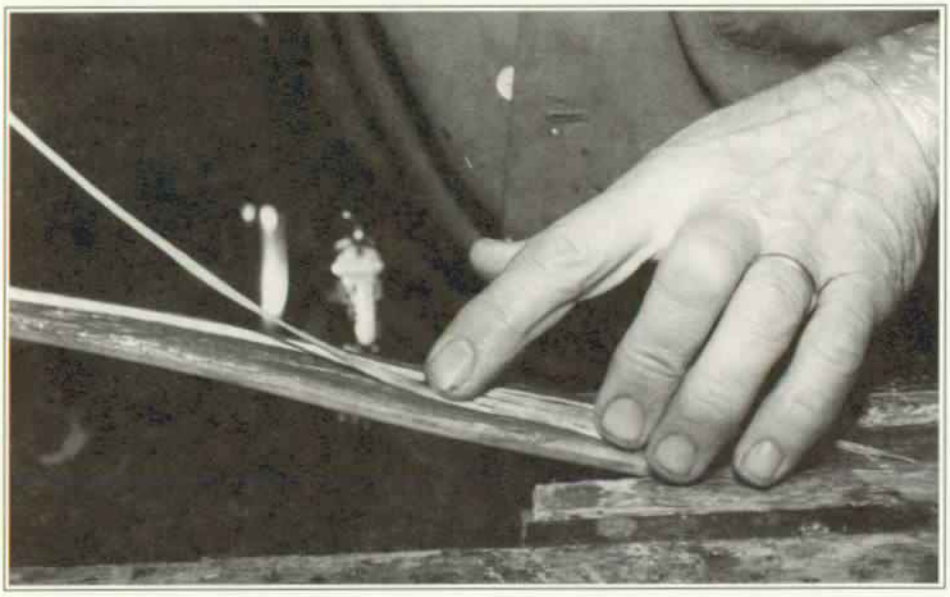


Figure 12. Applying the sinew-in-glue back to the horn belly.

tency as it cools. The sinew must be in good contact as it takes a few hours for the sinew and glue to dry, and as it dries, the sinew shrinks. On a reflexed back the shrinking tends to pull the sinew away from the horn. This problem is most acute at the area of greatest reflex, the grip. Some bowmakers are said to have wrapped the drying bow with bark. I experimented with a strip of canvas which worked fairly well if the glue was allowed to set up somewhat before wrapping. On the third bow I used a strip of nylon net, tightly wrapped over the drying sinew. In good drying conditions a single layer of glue and sinew dries enough in about a day so that new layers can be added.

I allowed two full days drying before bending the bow. The sinew continues to shrink over many months, increasing the reflex. A little sinew goes a long way for power. This little bow would probably have weighed 15 pounds if I had dared

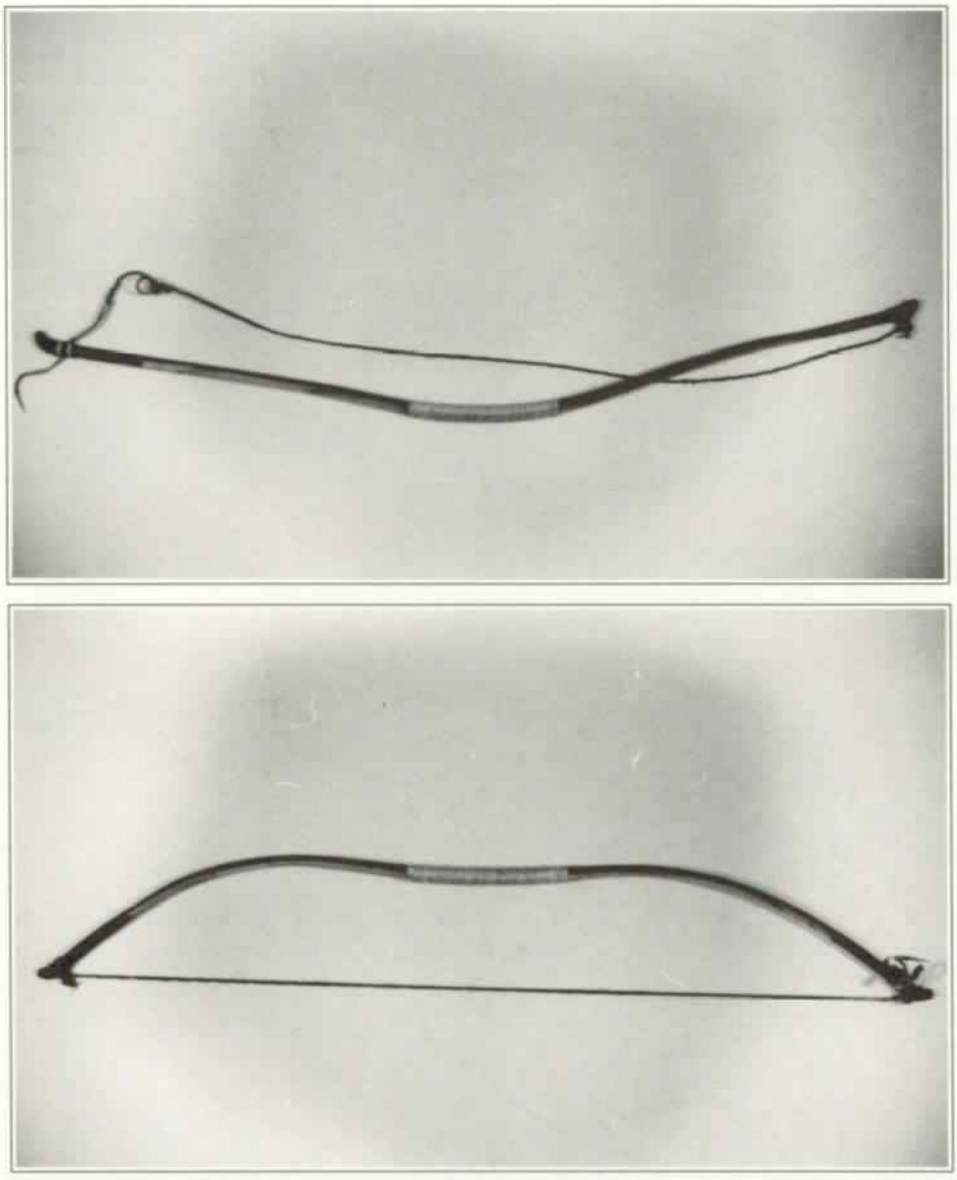


Figure 13. The completed bow shown relaxed and braced. This bow has five layers of sinew in its back and weighs 50 pounds at 20 inches of draw. It is 7/16 inches thick at the grip and 3/8 at the nocks. Approximately 1/3 of the thickness of the bow is sinew.

draw it before backing. With five layers of sinew it weighs over 50 pounds at a 20 inch draw! It is 7/16 inch thick at the grip and 3/8 inch thick below the nock. Approximately 1/3 of this thickness is sinew (Figure 13).

After the sinew layers were all in place to my satisfaction, the grip and ends were wrapped with glued sinew and "nocks" were formed by wrapping sinew around each end below the recurved tips. A tight wrapping of buckskin at the grip completed this bow. The other one is more elaborate. The sinew back is painted black, the end wrappings vermilion, and the grip covered with blue and red stroud, plaited porcupine quill wrapping, buckskin thong and beaded edging, all sewn with sinew.

The bowstrings are of three ply twisted sinew. I have a fixed loop at each end, one end fastened firmly and the other attached loosely with a buckskin tie. I usually sit down to brace. I put one tip

behind my left knee with my right knee against the belly at the grip. Holding the lower limb tightly with my left hand, I bend the upper limb toward me with my right hand until the loop can be slipped over the tip with my left hand. The bow must be firmly held while bending until the tips have passed well beyond the plane of the grip or they may suddenly reverse, with the danger of cracking the horn. The greater the reflex or the narrower the bow, the more chance of twisting around when bracing. The last bow, being wider and with less reflex than the others, is far easier to brace.

These little bows look like toys. The shorter one is only 32 inches overall, about average for mountain sheep horn bows. It weights just 8 ounces, but its power is truly impressive. The sheep horn bow is not as difficult to make as it might seem. A number of others have also experimented with them, including Norman Feder of Sidney, B.C., Reginald Laubin of Moose, Wyoming, and Jack Contor of Fort Hall, Idaho. I expect I'll make at least one more, and I also intend to try my hand at an elk antler bow.

Table 1. Measurements of antler and horn bows by Bill Holm (updated 2001).

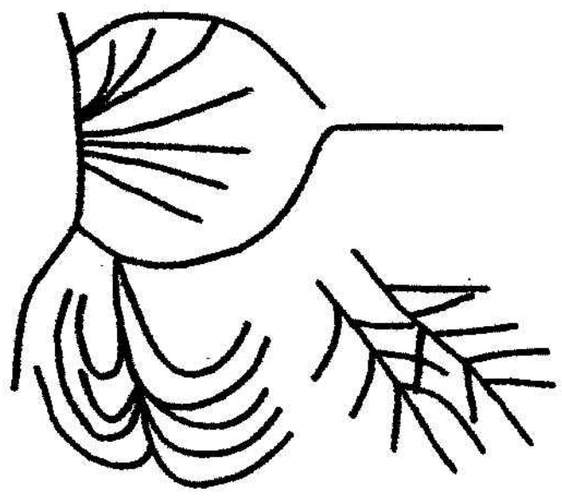
ANTLER BOWS (all measurements in centimeters and lengths in inches)

		Centimeters	Inches
American Museum of Natural History 50.1/7363		109.8 x 4.8 x 3	43 1/4
Museum of the American Indian 20/6557		89 x 2.5 x 3/4	35
Royal Scottish Museum 283 101.6		40	
Peabody Museum, Salem E22099		103 x 3.2	40 1/2
Linden Museum, Stuttgart 12 572		88 x 3 x 1/6	34 1/2
Canadian Museum of Civilization A01-06		82 x 3.2	32 1/4
Paul Dyck collection		95.3	37 1/2
British Museum 5024		86.3 x 2.5 x 1.4	34
		101 x 2.8 x 2.3	39 3/4
US National Museum	14526	85 x 3.2 x 1.5	33 1/2
	287128	101.2 x 2.5 x 1.5	39 1/2
	8419	99 x 2.7 x 1.4	39
	381678	79 x 2.5 x 1.5	31 1/8
Masco collection		94 x 2.4	37
Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford 110.5 x 3 x 2.5		43 1/2	
Kitsap Historical Museum 49-75-3		86 x 3 x 1.5	33 7/8
Peabody Museum, Harvard U. 99-12-10/52946		78 x 2.5	30 3/4
North Dakota Historical Society			
Cleveland Museum of Natural History			
Average length of antler bows (those measured)		94.4	37 1/8
Range		79 cm (31 1/8") to 110.5 cm (43 1/2")	

SHEEP HORN BOWS

		Centimeters	Inches
American Museum of Natural History 1/27/07		96 x 3.8 x 2.4	37 3/4
US National Museum	154015	87.5 x 2.8 x 2	34 1/2
	1882	84 x 2.5 x 1.5	33
	21286	75 x 2.7 x 1.5	29 1/2
	11219	84 x 2.7 x 1.5	33
	14521	79 x 3 x 2	31 1/8
	203812	98 x 3.5 x 2	38 1/2
	12028	76 x 2.5 x 1.5	30
	154014	81.3 x 2.5	32
	16526	83 x 3.2 x 1.7	32 5/8
	6326	91.5 x 3 x 2	36
	381688	83 x 3.2 x 1.7	32 5/8
	16417	80.7 x 3.3 x 1.2	31 3/4
	23842		
	9046		
Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature H4.5.4		84 x 2.5 x 1.7	33
Jackson Hole Preserve, Colter Bay 56681 x 3 x 1.7		31 7/8	
Kitsap Historical Museum 49-75-2		93 x 3.8 x 1.4?	36 1/2
Oregon State University		97.2 x 3.2	38 1/4
Pitt Rivers 820		99 x 3.4 x 2	39
Cheney Cowles Museum, Spokane		104 x 4 x 2.3	41
Sublette County (WY) Historical Society		83 x ? x 1.6	32 3/4
Average length of horn bows (those measured)		86.8	34 1/8
If the one extra long one (104 cm) is left out the average is		85.9	33 3/4
Range		75 cm (29 1/2") to 98 cm (38 1/2") minus the extra long one, 104 cm (41")	

All bows that I measured were measured *along* the curve. Some that were measured by others may have been measured from tip to tip.



Appendix E

Bannock Trail:

Description of Bannock Trail by Wayne F. Replogle. From *Yellowstone's Indian Trails*, by Wayne F. Replogle, Park Naturalist, Yellowstone Interpretative Series, No. 6. Yellowstone Park, Wyoming: Yellowstone National Park, 1956, pp. 22–30.

Yellowstone's Bannock Indian Trails

Leaving the ancestral Bannock camps of eastern Idaho in the now famous Camas Meadows in the vicinity of Henry's Lake, a fine and popular campground, the Bannock Trail starts to unfold its long ribbon of stone and earth. Following northward up the gradual incline of Targhee Creek, a branch of Henry's Fork, the Trail then cuts through Targhee Pass a hundred feet above and west of the site of the present highway. The country is perfect for travel—plenty of water, semicover, no chance for surprise. There was always a source of game. The comparatively open country suited the Indian temperament. Through Targhee Pass, the Trail strikes north toward Horse Butte, where the country is open and rolling—good grass for the horses and fine camping on our present Madison River. The Indians crossed the Madison at the old Indian ford.

Once at Horse Butte the Trail branches, either trail following a general course toward the north. One branch was chosen for use in good weather, the other for bad weather. The near and short trail passes east of the butte and goes along the open slopes toward the valley of Duck Creek south of the present Hamilton's ranch. The second branch follows down the Madison (now covered by Hebgen Lake) west and north of the butte to the Great Spring, a great campground according to Bill "Pea Soup" Myers. The Great Spring, now known as Cory Spring, is at the site of the present ranchhouse of the Armstrong ranch on Montana State Highway No. 1, 8 miles north and 2 miles west of the present West Yellowstone.

The time element played an important part in Indian travel only so far as to assure that he reached camping spots of preference fairly early in the day, with good country for grazing and plenty of timber for fuel. The Great Spring offered the most likely spot for the meeting of large groups through the entire course of the Trail. Many relics of aboriginal antiquity have been found here, indicating the value of the spot as a ceremonial ground, a place with plenty of water, wood, and food, affording an opportunity to celebrate the oncoming hunt and the trip through the country of mystery, Yellowstone.

Leaving the Great Spring the two trail branches join just north of Duck Creek near the present junction of U.S. Highway No. 191 and Montana Highway No. 1. At this spot, a short distance inside the western boundary of Yellowstone National Park, the Yellowstone Bannock Trail makes its entrance into the park as a single trail.

As we stand on the sage-covered flat north

of Montana's Duck Creek, which, once inside Yellowstone National Park, is named Campanula Creek, we scan the eastern horizon as every group of Bannocks must have done, for to the east lies a great tree-covered plateau backdropped by the forbidding Gallatin Mountains in the distance. One pauses and wonders about the course he must follow, for in every direction there seem to be hazards insurmountable for the traveler afoot or on horseback. In the left foreground there rises a landmark, a round butte covered with quaking aspen and skirted by sage. It now is called Sandy Butte. The valley to the right is the course of Campanula and beyond it to the south is an uninviting forested plateau, an area of some 8 by 10 miles. To the left and ahead to the east lie the slopes and foothills leading up to Mt. Holmes and the White Peaks.

The Trail starts south of Sandy Butte fairly low down toward Campanula but always above the swampy ground adjacent to Campanula. East of Sandy Butte the creek flows from the north, draining an area southwest of the rugged Crags. As Campanula Creek reaches the valley it is joined by Gneiss Creek and flows on out into Montana. Just east of Sandy Butte for a mile or more we encounter an extensive development of beaver dams, and for this reason the last years of use of the Trail included a skirting of this area along the base of Sandy Butte to a spot north of the beaver workings where there is a beautiful closed valley with fresh springs issuing from the base of the hills, a perfect hidden campground. Crossing the creek, the Trail follows along the shoulder of the hill down the east side of Campanula for a mile or more to the valley where it joins the original Trail coming from the west and south of Sandy Butte.

Now, continuing eastward, we follow up the valley of Gneiss Creek on its north side through both open and tree-covered areas, always where walking is the easiest, to the spot where Gneiss leaves the foothills of the White Peaks. Here the Trail crosses Gneiss and passes over a series of tonguelike slopes reaching down from the foothills to the east. We come at length to Maple Creek, which at this point is a clear, rapid, broad mountain stream abounding in fish even today. Maple Creek drains a large area toward the White Peaks. At Maple the Trail branches, the undoubted result of varying weather condition and time elements.

The longer but easier course drifts along the base of the foothills, southeastward, finally crossing the old Park Company horse pastures, there turning northeast up Cougar Creek. It constantly stays near water, ultimately passing over the long, open slopes of upper Cougar Creek and dropping down into Winter Creek, on again through a pass some miles south of Trilobite Point to Indian Creek, there joining the original or summer high-country trail.

This main trail turns up Maple Creek on its north side. Then through a grassy, tree-covered, flat valley the trail, easily followed, turns east to enter its course of rough country. For some 3 or 4 miles the going is easy. Campsites are endless, and can be found on either side of the stream. Invitation to camp for long periods in this valley is enticing. A prolonged stay was probably a necessity before braving the next few days' travel, as well as on the return trip after reaching this area through the White Peaks from the east. Reaching the uppermost flats of this valley, we remain on the north side of Maple Creek and follow the trail through the trees on an abrupt slope declining southward to Maple Creek, traveling northeast for about 4 miles. Crossing Maple Creek to the south side we move over a gradual slope inclining northeast for 3 miles to the valley of Duck Creek. Turning up Duck Creek on the north side we follow an easily traced path through tree-covered country to the upper reaches of Duck Creek, here a swift stream carrying considerable water even in late August. Duck Creek then enters a treacherous box canyon, impassable for man, necessitating one's leaving the course of the stream by way of one rocky pass to the south. For about 300 yards the climb up is difficult and somewhat dangerous. I consider this small section leading out of Duck Creek to be one of two spots on the westernmost part of the Trail where effort beyond the normal is required. This discouraging bit of travel is contrary to the usual Indian characteristics of pathfinding, but to find a better way out of this area is impossible.

Once again on the lodgepole-covered plateau to the southeast we move in that direction far enough to skirt the uppermost parts of the lateral and head streams of Duck Creek along a natural divide separating Cougar and Duck Creeks. The

area seems covered endlessly by second-growth lodgepole pine. It is about 4 miles from Duck Creek before water is again available from Cougar Creek.

Now in high country the trail follows one and only one natural course. The land here, except for one divide, slopes to the east and west. This condition made a perfect place for the Indians to travel. Water sources occur every 3 or 4 miles. The cover is lodgepole. The grass in the verdant valleys is abundant. In the summertime game is plentiful in this section. The days are warm and the night are crisp and the air is fresh from the summer-abiding snowdrifts. Edible plants grow, and from the summits of the White Peaks scouts could ably inspect the country in all directions for game or man. The pathway follows this divide west of the White Peaks on a natural bench, under the trees, and at long length, in the vicinity of Mt. Holmes and northwest of Echo Peak it passes by a small lake nestled on the bench, the very headwaters of Grayling Creek. Through Echo Pass to the south is the small but beautiful Echo Lake. In this grand cirque is evidence of a great campground, and, although difficult of descent, a rarely used trail starts from this area down Indian Creek.

However, the main high-country trail leaves the small unnamed lake west of Echo Peak and, passing northward, rises through a pass just south of Three Rivers Peak. At this point the trail winds itself down the precipitous and rocky slopes of Antler Peak to Indian Creek and continues, again through a passable valley between Dome Mountain and Antler Peak and into the open but rolling country down along Indian Creek. This section of the trail is dotted in on an old map made by F. V. Hayden, U.S. geologist, in 1878.

Through the years in the fertile valley of Indian Creek the earth drift and the plant growth have erased small sections of the Trail, but by careful investigation one may pick it up on the north side of the creek. On this side the sage has grown to maturity in the trail, but one may yet pick his way, seldom with any difficulty, until this trail merges with the south-side trail at the confluence of Indian Creek and the Gardner River. On the south side the deep and plain trail reaches Indian Creek from the south through a low pass from Winter Creek. Once at this spot it follows along the south side through the trees until it unites with the north-side trail. It is unnecessary to determine which creekbank a traveler would take along Indian Creek except as he desired to travel in the open or in the shade. One side offered no greater difficulty or ease of travel than the other.

In this valley there is evidence to indicate that probably here was one of the finest campgrounds on the Bannock Trail, for apparently it was from here that the traveling groups made side trips to one of the greatest stone quarries in the Rockies, Obsidian Cliff. Points, knives, spears, and scrapers made from obsidian and other materials were essential to the life of the mountain Bannock Indian. From the artifacts and other evidence found here a picture of the activity of this important camp easily can be reconstructed. For great distances in each valley and over each slope there are countless workings of blanks. This was the spot for the replenishing of the tools. Though instruments for causing death, they were also the means of sustaining life. Once supplied, the groups moved on, ready for the hunt.

Here the Trail branched again. One route followed up the east side of the Gardner River until it crested the open hills west of Swan Lake. The other branch followed the course of the present highway to a point just south of the southernmost pond in Swan Lake Flat. There it passed west of Swan Lake over the open hills. At the north end it joined with the Gardner River trail. Again as a single trail it went north and west of Swan Lake across the flat and at the southwest base of Terrace Mountain it moved northward, making its entrance into the present Mammoth Springs area through Snow Pass.

From the pass it is with great ease that one may follow it down the hill across the highway and down the slope, again striking the highway at the hairpin turn where a road leads to the old C. C. C. camp. Here it leaves the road and runs downhill below the old graveyard and to a cut south of the power plant. Down the hill it winds, east of the power plant, through the valley where the present Government homes are established. Over the gently rolling hill the Trail descends toward the Gardner River, crossing it near the present footbridge below the old road camp. Across the river, it turns upstream on the east side by an unnamed falls, then up past Undine Falls, and on to the val-

ley where the road reaches Lava Creek.

Another important branch of the Trail in this section comes out of the Antler-Quadrant valley and cuts directly toward Bunsen Peak, crossing both branches previously described just south of Swan Lake. It continues across the highway and drifts east of Bunsen Peak. Along this narrow route game may have been driven or had a natural trail of its own, for in this pass above Osprey Falls on the Bunsen shoulder one may still conceal himself in one of the finest coverts to be found in all of Yellowstone. This branch trail continued on down to cross the Gardner a mile below Osprey Falls, and, once abruptly up the hill to the east, it drops into a basin campground 200 yards square, well hidden from traffic in nearby areas. Upon leaving this campground this path descends rapidly down and across Lava Creek to join the main trail.

The area of the Lava Creek bridge contains one of the great campgrounds. Here I found two of the most prized gifts for my years of searching. One was a "blood-tipped" ceremonial arrow point and the other a true stone knife. The Trail here, traced through sage and deep soil, is usually well cut and easily followed. Upon leaving the Lava Creek campground it stays north of the road at varying distances until it reaches the ponds at the east end of the valley. It again crosses the road, passes through a natural cut, and emerges about a hundred yards south of the Blacktail Deer Creek bridge of the present day. It then drifts up the gradual slope south of the main highway, crossing and recrossing the highway at the hairpin curve near the top of the slope, 2 miles up from Blacktail Deer Creek.

The famous path followed much the same route as does the old Tower Fall road to the head of Elk Creek, through the so-called "Gut" or cut west of Crescent Hill. This is the section of the Trail that the Washburn-Langford-Doane party followed and down which Truman C. Everts staggered on his way back to his timely rescue. Through the Gut the Trail again crosses the old road and just south of Crescent hill it moves rather abruptly to a spot at the base of Crescent Hill. Below can be seen the cut of Elk Creek, and, once across this small valley, it can be followed down through the ghostlike buildings at Yancey's. It circles to the south of the valley for a half-mile and then goes over a shoulder to a point half a mile above the present Tower Fall Ranger Station, where for a short distance it is blotted out by the highway. Crossing over to the south side, it makes a series of branches to reach the Lamar Valley.

Skirting the valley to the right and staying high in the forest on a ridge, our Trail reappears in the open by an old sulphur hot spring often mentioned as the first hot spring encountered by members of the Washburn-Langford-Doane party. Some 200 yards backtrail toward the ranger station a branch inclines to the crest of the shoulder, thereby passing over the spur of which Overhanging Cliff is a familiar landmark. From the hot spring a second branch comes up the present highway by Rainy Lake and soon climbs sharply up the slope to the south to join the first branch. Together they parallel the precipice of Overhanging Cliff, drop down into Tower Creek, pass directly through the present public auto campground to its upper or southernmost end and there, crossing the highway, drop downhill over Antelope Creek, over the shoulder separating it and the Yellowstone River, and on into the narrow valley of the Yellowstone. It is here that the Yellowstone is easily forded in late summer and autumn, but probably with some difficulty during spring thaws. After crossing the river the Trail climbs up the slope to reach the grassy shoulder of the famous horseshoe curve of Specimen Ridge.

This marks the beginning of another system of important divisions. One, evidently the main course, drops northeast down and across the valley to a point midway on the south shore of Trumpeter Lake where it is joined by two other branches. The first of these others had left the original or main Trail near the sulphur spring by branching to the north on the shelf above the Yellowstone River, going down the river to the place where the present highway rises up the hill after crossing the Yellowstone. This branch follows north of Junction Butte, again joining the main Trail south of Trumpeter Lake. From the sulphur spring the second of these alternate trails drifts east to a spot about a hundred feet south of the highway bridge over the Yellowstone River, where there is a ford. Crossing here, it then climbs up the hill to join the first alternate route. There is evidence that a third

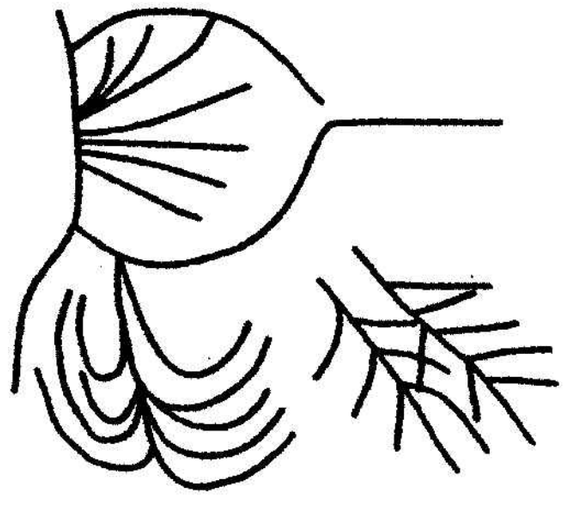
branch parallels the present Northeast Entrance highway for one-half mile above the Yellowstone bridge. It crosses to the north side of the highway between the lakes on the south side of Junction Butte and the butte itself. Then down across the valley it joins the main branch one-quarter mile south of Trumpeter Lake.

At Trumpeter Lake all branches join and proceed east through the stone buttes and along the Lamar River. Near the confluence of Slough Creek and the Lamar it can be traced up the south bank of the Lamar, crossing the highway eight-tenths of a mile southwest of the Lamar bridge.

Another crossing of the Yellowstone by a branch of the Bannock Indian Trail occurs many miles downstream from these near the confluence of the Yellowstone and Lamar Rivers. From the Lava Creek campground a trail skirts the base of Mt. Everts and goes northeast down Blacktail Deer Creek to the place where it flows into the Yellowstone. The cut at the Blacktail cabin is very evident. It crosses the creek and follows up the south bank of the Yellowstone about a half-mile, there crossing the Yellowstone to the north side. Nearby stands the marker for the corner of the old Crow Agency. Chalcedony and obsidian workings are easily found here. Campgrounds long ago covered by drift are again being exposed by new river cuttings, especially near the river at this point and farther upstream at Little and Big Cottonwood Creeks. At a vantage point between the Cottonwood Creeks, the highest open spot on this trail, almost directly across from the mouth of Geode Creek, I found an old fire and signal cairn. It is in a spot visible for many miles from valleys and nearby peaks in all directions. This trail continues on the north side of the Yellowstone until it turns up the Lamar and finally crosses to join the main Trail in the vicinity of the mouth of Slough Creek.

Now the Bannock Trail moves along midvalley, crossing Crystal Creek, and at length reaching a natural bench below the general crest of Specimen Ridge and the flats of the Lamar Valley. Here the old Cooke City road has placed one of its tracks in the Trail and follows it almost continually to the crossing of the Lamar River at the upper end of the valley.

Once across the Lamar, there is still another division, one branch forking to Cooke Pass above Cooke City and the other passing through the Absaroka Mountains to Timber Creek. Following along up Soda Butte Creek and over Cooke Pass, the track is still plain in many places. After the Lamar River crossing, this trail veers to the left and crosses Soda Butte Creek one mile above its joining with the Lamar and there, north of the main highway, it parallels the road, staying near the crest of the near hills where footing is good and winds keep the summer insects blown away. The route continues on over the hills, down by Trout Lake, and emerges near Pebble Creek. From here on it is constantly covered by the highway or is alongside it on one side or the other until it leaves the Yellowstone area, since there is but one course it can logically follow, and on or near this course the Cooke City highway has been established. It is possible to continue to pick out the trail miles out of the park, and finally, where Clark's Fork leaves Montana to flow into Wyoming, there on the shoulder above the stream continues the old but ageless trail, echoing the hoofs of the pinto.



Appendix F

Relevant Indian Treaties and Documents:

Treaties and Documents related to Indian tribes with historical connections to the greater Yellowstone, and also tied to lands in Yellowstone Park region (from *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Compiled and Edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1904. Treaties, Volume II, and Laws, Volume I and V).

Treaties, Vol. II.

1. Crow—"Treaty of Fort Laramie With Sioux, Etc., 1851."
2. Nez Perce—"Treaty With The Nez Perces, 1855."
3. Flathead—"Treaty With The Flatheads, Etc., 1855."
4. Blackfeet—"Treaty With The Blackfeet, 1855."
5. Nez Perce—"Treaty With The Nez Perces, 1863."
6. Eastern Shoshone—"Treaty With The Eastern Shoshoni, 1863."
7. Northwestern Shoshone—"Treaty With The Shoshoni—Northwestern Bands, 1863."
8. Western Shoshone—"Treaty With The Western Shoshoni, 1863."
9. Crow— "Treaty With The Crows, 1868."
10. Eastern Shoshone and Bannock—"Treaty With The Eastern Band Shoshoni And Bannock, 1868."
11. Shoshone, Bannock and Sheep Eater—"[Unratified] Treaty With Shoshones, Bannacks, and Sheepeaters, September 24, 1868."
12. Nez Perce—"Treaty With The Nez Perce, 1868."
13. Crow—"Agreement With The Crows, 1880."

Laws, Vol. I.

14. Shoshone—Purchase of South Part of Reservation, 1874.
15. Crow—Purchase of Portion of Reservation, 1882.
16. Crow—Sale of Portion of Reservation For Railroad, 1882.
17. Crow—Sale of Lands, 1890.

TREATY OF FORT LARAMIE WITH SIOUX, ETC., 1851.

Sept. 17, 1851.
11 Stats., p. 749.

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Fort Laramie, in the Indian Territory, between D. D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs, and Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian agent, commissioners specially appointed and authorized by the President of the United States, of the first part, and the chiefs, headmen, and braves of the following Indian nations, residing south of the Missouri River, east of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the lines of Texas and New Mexico, viz, the Sioux or Dahcotahs, Cheyennes, Arrapahoes, Crows, Assinaboines, Gros-Ventre Mandans, and Arrickaras, parties of the second part, on the seventeenth day of September, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.[a]

Peace to be observed.

ARTICLE 1. The aforesaid nations, parties to this treaty, having assembled for the purpose of establishing and confirming peaceful relations amongst themselves, do hereby covenant and agree to abstain in future from all hostilities whatever against each other, to maintain good faith and friendship in all their mutual intercourse, and to make an effective and lasting peace.

Roads may be established.

ARTICLE 2. The aforesaid nations do hereby recognize the right of the United States Government to establish roads, military and other posts, within their respective territories.

Indians to be protected.

ARTICLE 3. In consideration of the rights and privileges acknowledged in the preceding article, the United States bind themselves to protect the aforesaid Indian nations against the commission of all depredations by the people of the said United States, after the ratification of this treaty.

Depredations on whites to be satisfied.

ARTICLE 4. The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby agree and bind themselves to make restitution or satisfaction for any wrongs committed, after the ratification of this treaty, by any band or individual of their people, on the people of the United States, whilst lawfully residing in or passing through their respective territories.

Boundaries of lands.

ARTICLE 5. The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby recognize and acknowledge the following tracts of country, included within the metes and boundaries hereinafter designated, as their respective territories, viz:

Sioux.

The territory of the Sioux or Dahcotah Nation, commencing the mouth of the White Earth River, on the Missouri River; thence in a southwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River; thence up the north fork of the Platte River to a point known as the Red Bute, or where the road leaves the river; thence along the range of mountains known as the Black Hills, to the head-waters of Heart River; thence down Heart River to its mouth; and thence down the Missouri River to the place of beginning.

Grosventre, etc.

The territory of the Gros Ventre, Mandans, and Arrickaras Nations, commencing at the mouth of Heart River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River; thence up the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Powder River in a southeasterly direction, to the head-waters of the Little Missouri River; thence along the Black Hills to the head of Heart River, and thence down Heart River to the place of beginning.

Assiniboin.

The territory of the Assinaboin Nation, commencing at the mouth of Yellowstone River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Muscle-shell River; thence from the mouth of the Muscle-shell River in a southeasterly direction until it strikes the head-waters of

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[a] This treaty as signed was ratified by the Senate with an amendment changing the annuity in Article 7 from fifty to ten years, subject to acceptance by the tribes. Assent of all tribes except the Crows was procured (see Upper Platte C., 570, 1853, Indian Office) and in subsequent agreements this treaty has been recognized as in force (see post p. 776).

Big Dry Creek; thence down that creek to where it empties into the Yellowstone River, nearly opposite the mouth of Powder River, and thence down the Yellowstone River to the place of beginning.

Blackfoot. The territory of the Blackfoot Nation, commencing at the mouth of Muscle-shell River; thence up the Missouri River to its source; thence along the main range of the Rocky Mountains, in a southerly direction, to the head-waters of the northern source of the Yellowstone River; thence down the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Twenty-five Yard Creek; thence across to the head-waters of the Muscle-shell River, and thence down the Muscle-shell River to the place of beginning.

Crow. The territory of the Crow Nation, commencing at the mouth of Powder River on the Yellowstone; thence up Powder River to its source; thence along the main range of the Black Hills and Wind River Mountains to the head-waters of the Yellowstone River; thence down the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Twenty-five Yard Creek; thence to the head waters of the Muscle-shell River; thence down the Muscle-shell River to its mouth; thence to the head-waters of Big Dry Creek. and thence to its mouth.

Cheyenne and Arapaho. The territory of the Cheyennes and Arrapahoes, commencing at the Red Bute, or the place where the road leaves the north fork of the Platte River; thence up the north fork of the Platte River to its source; thence along the main range of the Rocky Mountains to the head-waters of the Arkansas River; thence down the Arkansas River to the crossing of the Santa Fé road; thence in a northwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River, and thence up the Platte River to the place of beginning.

Rights in other lands. It is, however, understood that, in making this recognition and acknowledgement, the aforesaid Indian nations do not hereby abandon or prejudice any rights or claims they may have to other lands; and further, that they do not surrender the privilege of hunting, fishing, or passing over any of the tracts of country heretofore described.

Head chiefs of said tribes. ARTICLE 6. The parties to the second part of this treaty having selected principals or head-chiefs for their respective nations, through whom all national business will hereafter be conducted, do hereby bind themselves to sustain said chiefs and their successors during good behavior.

Annuities. ARTICLE 7. In consideration of the treaty stipulations, and for the damages which have or may occur by reason thereof to the Indian nations, parties hereto, and for their maintenance and the improvement of their moral and social customs, the United States bind themselves to deliver to the said Indian nations the sum of fifty thousand dollars per annum for the term of ten years, with the right to continue the same at the discretion of the President of the United States for a period not exceeding five years thereafter, in provisions, merchandise, domestic animals, and agricultural implements, in such proportions as may be deemed best adapted to their condition by the President of the United States, to be distributed in proportion to the population of the aforesaid Indian nations.

Annuities suspended by violation of treaty. ARTICLE 8. It is understood and agreed that should any of the Indian nations, parties to this treaty, violate any of the provisions thereof, the United States may withhold the whole or a portion of the annuities mentioned in the preceding article from the nation so offending, until, in the opinion of the President of the United States, proper satisfaction shall have been made.

In testimony whereof the said D. D. Mitchell and Thomas Fitzpatrick commissioners as aforesaid, and the chiefs, headmen, and braves, parties hereto, have set their hands and affixed their marks, on the day and at the place first above written.

D. D. Mitchell
Thomas Fitzpatrick
Commissioners.

Sioux:
Mah-toe-wha-you-whey, his x mark.
Mah-kah-toe-zah-zah, his x mark.
Bel-o-ton-kah-tan-ga, his x mark.
Nah-ka-pah-gi-gi, his x mark.
Mak-toe-sah-bi-chis, his x mark.
Meh-wha-tah-ni-hans-kah, his x mark.
Cheyennes:
Wah-ha-nis-satta, his x mark.
Voist-ti-toe-vetz, his x mark.
Nahk-ko-me-ien, his x mark.
Koh-kah-y-wh-cum-est, his x mark.
Arrapahoes:
Bè-ah-té-a-qui-sah, his x mark.
Neb-ni-bah-seh-it, his x mark.
Beh-kah-jay-beth-sah-es, his x mark.

Crows:
Arra-tu-ri-sash, his x mark.
Doh-chepit-seh-chi-es, his x mark.
Assinaboines:
Mah-toe-wit-ko, his x mark.
Toe-tah-ki-eh-nan, his x mark.
Mandans and Gros Ventres:
Nochk-pit-shi-toe-pish, his x mark.
She-oh-mant-ho, his x mark.
Arickarees:
Koun-hei-ti-shan, his x mark.
Bi-atch-tah-wetch, his x mark.

In the presence of—

A. B. Chambers, secretary.
S. Cooper, colonel, U. S. Army.
R. H. Chilton, captain, First Drags.
Thomas Duncan, captain, Mounted Riflemen.
Thos. G. Rhett, brevet captain R. M. R.
W. L. Elliott, first lieutenant R. M. R.
C. Campbell, interpreter for Sioux.
John S. Smith, interpreter for Cheyennes.
Robert Meldrum, interpreter for the Crows.
H. Culbertson, interpreter for Assiniboines and Gros Ventres.
Francois L'Etalie, interpreter for Arickarees.
John Pizelle, interpreter for the Arrapahoes.
B. Gratz Brown.
Robert Campbell.
Edmond F. Chouteau.

TREATY WITH THE NEZ PERCÉS, 1855.

June 11, 1855.

12 Stats., 957.
Ratified Mar. 8, 1859.
Proclaimed Apr. 29, 1859.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at the treaty ground, Camp Stevens, in the Walla-Walla Valley, this eleventh day of June, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, by and between Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Washington, and Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon Territory, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, head-men, and delegates of the Nez Percé tribe of Indians occupying lands lying partly in Oregon and partly in Washington Territories, between the Cascade and Bitter Root Mountains, on behalf of, and acting for said tribe, and being duly authorized thereto by them, it being understood that Superintendent Isaac I. Stevens assumes to treat only with those of the above-named tribe of Indians residing within the Territory of Washington, and Superintendent Palmer with those residing exclusively in Oregon Territory.

Cession of lands to the United States.

ARTICLE 1. The said Nez Percé tribe of Indians hereby cede, relinquish and convey to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to the country occupied or claimed by them, bounded and described as

Boundaries.

follows, to wit: Commencing at the source of the Wo-na-ne-she or southern tributary of the Palouse River; thence down that river to the main Palouse; thence in a southerly direction to the Snake River, at the mouth of the Tucanon River; thence up the Tucanon to its source in the Blue Mountains; thence southerly along the ridge of the Blue Mountains; thence to a point on Grand Ronde River, midway between Grand Ronde and the mouth of the Woll-low-how River; thence along the divide between the waters of the Woll-low-how and Powder River; thence to the crossing of Snake River, at the mouth of Powder River; thence to the Salmon River, fifty miles above the place known [as] the "crossing of the Salmon River;" thence due north to the summit of the Bitter Root Mountains; thence along the crest of the Bitter Root Mountains to the place of beginning.

Reservation.

ARTICLE 2. There is, however, reserved from the lands above ceded for the use and occupation of the said tribe, and as a general reserva-

tion for other friendly tribes and bands of Indians in Washington Territory, not to exceed the present numbers of the Spokane, Walla-Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla tribes and bands of Indians, the tract of land included within the following boundaries, to wit: Commencing where the Moh-ha-na-she or southern tributary of the Palouse River flows from the spurs of the Bitter Root Mountains; thence down said tributary to the mouth of the Ti-nat-pan-up Creek; thence southerly to the crossing of the Snake River ten miles below the mouth of the Al-po-wa-wi River; thence to the source of the Al-po-wa-wi River in the Blue Mountains; thence along the crest of the Blue Mountains; thence to the crossing of the Grand Ronde River, midway between the Grand Ronde and the mouth of the Woll-low-how River; thence along the divide between the waters of the Woll-low-how and Powder Rivers; thence to the crossing of the Snake River fifteen miles below the mouth of the Powder River; thence to the Salmon River above the crossing; thence by the spurs of the Bitter Root Mountains to the place of beginning.

Boundaries.

All which tract shall be set apart, and, so far as necessary, surveyed and marked out for the exclusive use and benefit of said tribe as an Indian reservation; nor shall any white man, excepting those in the employment of the Indian Department, be permitted to reside upon the said reservation without permission of the tribe and the superintendent and agent; and the said tribe agrees to remove to and settle upon the same within one year after the ratification of this treaty. In the mean time it shall be lawful for them to reside upon any ground not in the actual claim and occupation of citizens of the United States, and upon any ground claimed or occupied, if with the permission of the owner or claimant, guarantying, however, the right to all citizens of the United States to enter upon and occupy as settlers any lands not actually occupied and cultivated by said Indians at this time, and not included in the reservation above named. And provided that any substantial improvement heretofore made by any Indian, such as fields enclosed and cultivated, and houses erected upon the lands hereby ceded, and which he may be compelled to abandon in consequence of this treaty, shall be valued under the direction of the President of the United States, and payment made therefor in money, or improvements of an equal value be made for said Indian upon the reservation, and no Indian will be required to abandon the improvements aforesaid, now occupied by him, until their value in money or improvements of equal value shall be furnished him as aforesaid.

Reservation to be set apart, and Indians to settle thereon.

Whites not to reside thereon without, etc.

Improvements to be paid for by the United States.

ARTICLE 3. And provided that, if necessary for the public convenience, roads may be run through the said reservation, and, on the other hand, the right of way, with free access from the same to the nearest public highway, is secured to them, as also the right, in common with citizens of the United States, to travel upon all public highways. The use of the Clear Water and other streams flowing through the reservation is also secured to citizens of the United States for rafting purposes, and as public highways.

Roads may be made.

The exclusive right of taking fish in all the streams where running through or bordering said reservation is further secured to said Indians; as also the right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed places in common with citizens of the Territory; and of erecting temporary buildings for curing, together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses and cattle upon open and unclaimed land.

Privileges secured to Indians.

ARTICLE 4. In consideration of the above cession, the United States agree to pay to the said tribe in addition to the goods and provisions distributed to them at the time of signing this treaty, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, in the following manner, that is to say, sixty thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, the first year after the ratification of this treaty,

Payments by the United States.

in providing for their removal to the reserve, breaking up and fencing farms, building houses, supplying them with provisions and a suitable outfit, and for such other objects as he may deem necessary, and the remainder in annuities, as follows: for the first five years after the ratification of this treaty, ten thousand dollars each year, commencing September 1, 1856; for the next five years, eight thousand dollars each year; for the next five years, six thousand each year, and for the next five years, four thousand dollars each year.

Payments, how to be applied.

All which said sums of money shall be applied to the use and benefit of the said Indians, under the direction of the President of the United States, who may from time to time determine, at his discretion, upon what beneficial objects to expend the same for them. And the superintendent of Indian affairs, or other proper officer, shall each year inform the President of the wishes of the Indians in relation thereto.

The United States to establish schools, etc.

ARTICLE 5. The United States further agree to establish, at suitable points within said reservation, within one year after the ratification hereof, two schools, erecting the necessary buildings, keeping the same in repair, and providing them with furniture, books, and stationery, one of which shall be an agricultural and industrial school, to be located at the agency, and to be free to the children of said tribe,

To build mechanics' shops, etc.

and to employ one superintendent of teaching and two teachers; to build two blacksmiths' shops, to one of which shall be attached a tin-shop and to the other a gunsmith's shop; one carpenter's shop, one wagon and plough maker's shop, and to keep the same in repair, and furnished with the necessary tools; to employ one superintendent of farming and two farmers, two blacksmiths, one tinner, one gunsmith, one carpenter, one wagon and plough maker, for the instruction of the

Sawmill.

Indians in trades, and to assist them in the same; to erect one saw-mill and one flouring-mill, keeping the same in repair, and furnished with the necessary tools and fixtures, and to employ two millers; to erect a

Hospital.

hospital, keeping the same in repair, and provided with the necessary medicines and furniture, and to employ a physician; and to erect, keep in repair, and provide with the necessary furniture the buildings required for the accommodation of the said employees. The said buildings and establishments to be maintained and kept in repair as aforesaid, and the employees to be kept in service for the period of twenty years.

Salary to head chief; house, etc.

And in view of the fact that the head chief of the tribe is expected, and will be called upon, to perform many services of a public character, occupying much of his time, the United States further agrees to pay to the Nez Percé tribe five hundred dollars per year for the term of twenty years, after the ratification hereof, as a salary for such person as the tribe may select to be its head chief. To build for him, at a suitable point on the reservation, a comfortable house, and properly furnish the same, and to plough and fence for his use ten acres of land. The said salary to be paid to, and the said house to be occupied by, such head chief so long as he may be elected to that position by his tribe, and no longer.

And all the expenditures and expenses contemplated in this fifth article of this treaty shall be defrayed by the United States, and shall not be deducted from the annuities agreed to be paid to said tribe; nor shall the cost of transporting the goods for the annuity-payments be a charge upon the annuities, but shall be defrayed by the United States.

Reservation may be surveyed into lots and assigned to individuals or families.

ARTICLE 6. The President may from time to time, at his discretion, cause the whole, or such portions of such reservation as he may think proper, to be surveyed into lots, and assign the same to such individuals or families of the said tribe as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege, and will locate on the same as a permanent home, on

the same terms and subject to the same regulations as are provided in the sixth article of the treaty with the Omahas in the year 1854, so far as the same may be applicable.

ARTICLE 7. The annuities of the aforesaid tribe shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals. Annuities not to pay debts of individuals.

ARTICLE 8. The aforesaid tribe acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all citizens thereof, and pledge themselves to commit no depredations on the property of such citizens; and should any one or more of them violate this pledge, and the fact be satisfactorily proved before the agent, the property taken shall be returned, or in default thereof, or if injured or destroyed, compensation may be made by the Government out of the annuities. Nor will they make war on any other tribe except in self-defence, but will submit all matters of difference between them and the other Indians to the Government of the United States, or its agent, for decision, and abide thereby; and if any of the said Indians commit any depredations on any other Indians within the Territory of Washington, the same rule shall prevail as that prescribed in this article in cases of depredations against citizens. And the said tribe agrees not to shelter or conceal offenders against the laws of the United States, but to deliver them up to the authorities for trial. Tribes to preserve friendly relations. To pay for depredations. Not to make war except in self-defense. Offenders to be delivered up.

ARTICLE 9. The Nez Percés desire to exclude from their reservation the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent their people from drinking the same; and therefore it is provided that any Indian belonging to said tribe who is guilty of bringing liquor into said reservation, or who drinks liquor, may have his or her proportion of the annuities withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine. Annuities may be withheld from those who drink ardent spirits.

ARTICLE 10. The Nez Percé Indians having expressed in council a desire that William Craig should continue to live with them, he having uniformly shown himself their friend, it is further agreed that the tract of land now occupied by him, and described in his notice to the register and receiver of the land-office of the Territory of Washington, on the fourth day of June last, shall not be considered a part of the reservation provided for in this treaty, except that it shall be subject in common with the lands of the reservation to the operations of the intercourse act. Land of William Craig.

ARTICLE 11. This treaty shall be obligatory upon the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States. When treaty to take effect.

In testimony whereof, the said Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Washington, and Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian affairs for Oregon Territory, and the chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the aforesaid Nez Percé tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and seals, at the place, and on the day and year hereinbefore written.

Isaac I. Stevens, [L. S.]
Governor and Superintendent Washington Territory.
Joel Palmer, [L. S.]
Superintendent Indian Affairs.

Aleiya, or Lawyer, Head-chief of the Nez Percés, [L. S.]
Appushwa-hite, or Looking-glass, his x mark. [L. S.]
Joseph, his x mark. [L. S.]
James, his x mark. [L. S.]
Red Wolf, his x mark. [L. S.]
Timothy, his x mark. [L. S.]
U-ute-sin-male-cun, his x mark. [L. S.]
Spotted Eage, his x mark. [L. S.]
Stoop-toop-nin or Cut-hair, his x mark. [L. S.]
Tah-moh-moh-kin, his x mark. [L. S.]
Tippelanecbupooh, his x mark. [L. S.]
Hah-hah-stilpilp, his x mark. [L. S.]
Cool-cool-shua-nin, his x mark. [L. S.]
Silish, his x mark. [L. S.]
Toh-toh-molewit, his x mark. [L. S.]
Tuky-in-lik-it, his x mark. [L. S.]
Te-hole-hole-soot, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ish-coh-tim, his x mark. [L. S.]
Wee-as-cus, his x mark. [L. S.]
Hah-hah-stoore-tee, his x mark. [L. S.]
Eee-maht-sin-pooh, his x mark. [L. S.]
Tow-wish-au-il-pilp, his x mark. [L. S.]
Kay-kay-mass, his x mark. [L. S.]

Speaking Eagle, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Kole-kole-til-ky, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Wat-ti-wat-ti-wah-hi, his x mark.	[L. S.]	In-mat-tute-kah-ky, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Howh-no-tah-kun, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Moh-see-chee, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Tow-wish-wane, his x mark.	[L. S.]	George, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Wahpt-tah-shooshe, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Nicke-el-it-may-ho, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Bead Necklace, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Say-i-ee-ouse, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Koos-koos-tas-kut, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Wis-tasse-cut, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Levi, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Ky-ky-soo-te-lum, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Pee-oo-pe-whi-hi, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Ko-ko-whay-nee, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Pee-oo-pee-iecteim, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Kwin-to-kow, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Pee-poome-kah, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Pee-wee-au-ap-tah, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Hah-hah-stlil-at-me, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Wee-at-tenat-il-pilp, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Wee-yoke-sin-ate, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Pee-oo-pee-u-il-pilp, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Wee-ah-ki, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Wah-tass-tum-mannee, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Necalahtsin, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Tu-wee-si-ce, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Suck-on-tie, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Lu-ee-sin-kah-koose-sin, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Ip-nat-tam-moose, his x mark.	[L. S.]	Hah-tal-ee-kin, his x mark.	[L. S.]
Jason, his x mark.	[L. S.]		

Signed and sealed in presence of us—

James Doty, secretary of treaties, W. T.
Wm. C. McKay, secretary of treaties, O. T.
W. H. Tappan, sub-Indian agent,
William Craig, interpreter,
A. D. Pamburn, interpreter,
Wm. McBean,
Geo. C. Bomford,
C. Chirouse, O. M. T.
Mie. Cles. Pandosy,
Lawrence Kip,
W. H. Pearson.

TREATY WITH THE FLATHEADS, ETC., 1855.

July 16, 1855.

12 Stats., 975.
Ratified Mar. 8, 1859.
Proclaimed Apr. 18, 1859.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at the treaty-ground at Hell Gate, in the Bitter Root Valley, this sixteenth day of July, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, by and between Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Washington, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, head-men, and delegates of the confederated tribes of the Flathead, Kootenay, and Upper Pend d'Oreilles Indians, on behalf of and acting for said confederated tribes, and being duly authorized thereto by them. It being understood and agreed that the said confederated tribes do hereby constitute a nation, under the name of the Flathead Nation, with Victor, the head chief of the Fleathead tribe, as the head chief of the said nation, and that the several chiefs, head-men, and delegates, whose names are signed to this treaty, do hereby, in behalf of their respective tribes, recognise Victor as said head chief.

Cession of lands to the United States.

ARTICLE 1. The said confederated tribe of Indians hereby cede, relinquish, and convey to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to the country occupied or claimed by them, bounded and described as follows, to wit:

Boundaries.

Commencing on the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains at the forty-ninth (49th) parallel of latitude, thence westwardly on that parallel to the divide between the Flat-bow or Kootenay River and Clarke's Fork, thence southerly and southeasterly along said divide to the one hundred and fifteenth degree of longitude, (115°,) thence in a southwesterly direction to the divide between the sources of the St. Regis Borgia and the Cœur d'Alene Rivers, thence southeasterly and southerly along the main ridge of the Bitter Root Mountains to the divide between the head-waters of the Koos-koos-kee River and of the southwestern fork of the Bitter Root River, thence easterly along the divide separating the waters of the several tributaries of the Bitter Root River from the waters flowing into the Salmon and Snake Rivers to the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains, and thence northerly along said main ridge to the place of beginning.

Reservation.

ARTICLE 2. There is, however, reserved from the lands above ceded, for the use and occupation of the said confederated tribes, and as a general Indian reservation, upon which may be placed other friendly tribes and bands of Indians of the Territory of Washington who may agree to be consolidated with the tribes parties to this treaty, under the common designation of the Flathead Nation, with Victor, head chief of the Flathead tribe, as the head chief of the nation, the tract of land included within the following boundaries, to wit:

Boundaries.

Commencing at the source of the main branch of the Jocko River; thence along the divide separating the waters flowing into the Bitter Root River from those flowing into the Jocko to a point on Clarke's Fork between the Camash and Horse Prairies; thence northerly to, and along the divide bounding on the west the Flathead River, to a point due west from the point half way in latitude between the northern and southern extremities of the Flathead Lake; thence on a due east course to the divide whence the Crow, the Prune, the So-ni-el-em and the Jocko Rivers take their rise, and thence southerly along said divide to the place of beginning.

Whites not to reside thereon unless, etc.

All which tract shall be set apart, and, so far as necessary, surveyed and marked out for the exclusive use and benefit of said confederated tribes as an Indian reservation. Nor shall any white man, excepting those in the employment of the Indian department, be permitted to reside upon the said reservation without permission of the confederated

tribes, and the superintendent and agent. And the said confederated tribes agree to remove to and settle upon the same within one year after the ratification of this treaty. In the meantime it shall be lawful for them to reside upon any ground not in the actual claim and occupation of citizens of the United States, and upon any ground claimed or occupied, if with the permission of the owner or claimant.

Guaranteeing however the right to all citizens of the United States to enter upon and occupy as settlers any lands not actually occupied and cultivated by said Indians at this time, and not included in the reservation above named. *And provided*, That any substantial improvements heretofore made by any Indian, such as fields enclosed and cultivated and houses erected upon the lands hereby ceded, and which he may be compelled to abandon in consequence of this treaty, shall be valued under the direction of the President of the United States, and payment made therefor in money, or improvements of an equal value be made for said Indian upon the reservation; and no Indian will be required to abandon the improvements aforesaid, now occupied by him, until their value in money or improvements of an equal value shall be furnished him as aforesaid.

Indians to be allowed for improvements on land ceded.

ARTICLE 3. *And provided*, That if necessary for the public convenience roads may be run through the said reservation; and, on the other hand, the right of way with free access from the same to the nearest public highway is secured to them, as also the right in common with citizens of the United States to travel upon all public highways.

Roads may be made through reservation.

The exclusive right of taking fish in all the streams running through or bordering said reservation is further secured to said Indians; as also the right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed places, in common with citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary buildings for curing; together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses and cattle upon open and unclaimed land.

Rights and privileges of Indians.

ARTICLE 4. In consideration of the above cession, the United States agree to pay to the said confederated tribes of Indians, in addition to the goods and provisions distributed to them at the time of signing this treaty the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, in the following manner—that is to say: For the first year after the ratification hereof, thirty-six thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of the President, in providing for their removal to the reservation, breaking up and fencing farms, building houses for them, and for such other objects as he may deem necessary. For the next four years, six thousand dollars each year; for the next five years, five thousand dollars each year; for the next five years, four thousand dollars each year; and for the next five years, three thousand dollars each year.

Payments by the United States.

All which said sums of money shall be applied to the use and benefit of the said Indians, under the direction of the President of the United States, who may from time to time determine, at his discretion, upon what beneficial objects to expend the same for them, and the superintendent of Indian affairs, or other proper officer, shall each year inform the President of the wishes of the Indians in relation thereto.

How to be applied.

ARTICLE 5. The United States further agree to establish at suitable points within said reservation, within one year after the ratification hereof, an agricultural and industrial school, erecting the necessary buildings, keeping the same in repair, and providing it with furniture, books, and stationery, to be located at the agency, and to be free to the children of the said tribes, and to employ a suitable instructor or instructors. To furnish one blacksmith shop, to which shall be attached a tin and gun shop; one carpenter's shop; one wagon and plough-maker's shop; and to keep the same in repair, and furnished with the

United States to establish schools.

Mechanics' shop.

necessary tools. To employ two farmers, one blacksmith, one tinner, one gunsmith, one carpenter, one wagon and plough maker, for the instruction of the Indians in trades, and to assist them in the same. To erect one saw-mill and one flouring-mill, keeping the same in repair and furnished with the necessary tools and fixtures, and to employ two millers. To erect a hospital, keeping the same in repair, and provided with the necessary medicines and furniture, and to employ a physician; and to erect, keep in repair, and provide the necessary furniture the buildings required for the accommodation of said employees. The said buildings and establishments to be maintained and kept in repair as aforesaid, and the employees to be kept in service for the period of twenty years.

Hospital.

To pay salary to head chiefs.

And in view of the fact that the head chiefs of the said confederated tribes of Indians are expected and will be called upon to perform many services of a public character, occupying much of their time, the United States further agree to pay to each of the Flathead, Kootenay, and Upper Pend d'Oreilles tribes five hundred dollars per year, for the term of twenty years after the ratification hereof, as a salary for such persons as the said confederated tribes may select to be their head chiefs, and to build for them at suitable points on the reservation a comfortable house, and properly furnish the same, and to plough and fence for each of them ten acres of land. The salary to be paid to, and the said houses to be occupied by, such head chiefs so long as they may be elected to that position by their tribes, and no longer.

Certain expenses to be borne by the United States and not charged on annuities.

And all the expenditures and expenses contemplated in this article of this treaty shall be defrayed by the United States, and shall not be deducted from the annuities agreed to be paid to said tribes. Nor shall the cost of transporting the goods for the annuity payments be a charge upon the annuities, but shall be defrayed by the United States.

Lots may be assigned to individuals.

ARTICLE 6. The President may from time to time, at his discretion, cause the whole, or such portion of such reservation as he may think proper, to be surveyed into lots, and assign the same to such individuals or families of the said confederated tribes as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege, and will locate on the same as a permanent home, on the same terms and subject to the same regulations as are provided in the sixth article of the treaty with the Omahas, so far as the same may be applicable.

Ante, p. 612.

Annuities not to pay individuals' debts.

ARTICLE 7. The annuities of the aforesaid confederated tribes of Indians shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.

Indians to preserve friendly relations.

ARTICLE 8. The aforesaid confederated tribes of Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all citizens thereof, and pledge themselves to commit no depredations upon the property of such citizens. And should any one or more of them violate this pledge, and the fact be satisfactorily proved before the agent, the property taken shall be returned, or, in default thereof, or if injured or destroyed, compensation may be made by the Government out of the annuities. Nor will they make war on any other tribe except in self-defence, but will submit all matters of difference between them and other Indians to the Government of the United States, or its agent, for decision, and abide thereby. And if any of the said Indians commit any depredations on any other Indians within the jurisdiction of the United States, the same rule shall prevail as that prescribed in this article, in case of depredations against citizens. And the said tribes agree not to shelter or conceal offenders against the laws of the United States, but to deliver them up to the authorities for trial.

Indians to pay for depredations, not to make war except, etc.

To surrender offenders.

Annuities to be reserved from those who drink, etc., ardent spirits.

ARTICLE 9. The said confederated tribes desire to exclude from their reservation the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent their people from drinking the same; and therefore it is provided that any Indian belonging to said confederated tribes of Indians who is guilty of bringing

liquor into said reservation, or who drinks liquor, may have his or her proportion of the annuities withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine.

Guaranty of reservation against certain claims of Hudson Bay Company.

ARTICLE 10. The United States further agree to guaranty the exclusive use of the reservation provided for in this treaty, as against any claims which may be urged by the Hudson Bay Company under the provisions of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain of the fifteenth of June, eighteen hundred and forty-six, in consequence of the occupation of a trading-post on the Pru-in River by the servants of that company.

Bitter Root Valley to be surveyed, and portions may be set apart for reservation.

ARTICLE 11. It is, moreover, provided that the Bitter Root Valley, above the Loo-lo Fork, shall be carefully surveyed and examined, and if it shall prove, in the judgment of the President, to be better adapted to the wants of the Flathead tribe than the general reservation provided for in this treaty, then such portions of it as may be necessary shall be set apart as a separate reservation for the said tribe. No portion of the Bitter Root Valley, above the Loo-lo Fork, shall be opened to settlement until such examination is had and the decision of the President made known.

Meanwhile not to be opened for settlement.

When treaty to take effect.

ARTICLE 12. This treaty shall be obligatory upon the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Washington, and the undersigned head chiefs, chiefs and principal men of the Flathead, Kootenay, and Upper Pend d'Oreilles tribes of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and seals, at the place and on the day and year hereinbefore written.

Isaac I. Stevens, [L. S.]
Governor and Superintendent Indian Affairs W. T.

Victor, head chief of the Flathead Nation, his x mark. [L. S.]
Alexander, chief of the Upper Pend d'Oreilles, his x mark. [L. S.]
Michelle, chief of the Kootenays, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ambrose, his x mark. [L. S.]
Pah-soh, his x mark. [L. S.]
Bear Track, his x mark. [L. S.]
Adolphe, his x mark. [L. S.]
Thunder, his x mark. [L. S.]

Big Canoe, his x mark. [L. S.]
Kootel Chah, his x mark. [L. S.]
Paul, his x mark. [L. S.]
Andrew, his x mark. [L. S.]
Michelle, his x mark. [L. S.]
Battiste, his x mark. [L. S.]

Kootenays.

Gun Flint, his x mark. [L. S.]
Little Michelle, his x mark. [L. S.]
Paul See, his x mark. [L. S.]
Moses, his x mark. [L. S.]

James Doty, secretary.
R. H. Lansdale, Indian Agent.
W. H. Tappan, sub Indian Agent.

Henry R. Crosire,
Gustavus Sohon, Flathead Interpreter.
A. J. Hoecken, sp. mis.
William Craig.

TREATY WITH THE BLACKFEET, 1855.

Oct. 17, 1855.

11 Stat., 657.
Ratified Apr. 15, 1856.
Proclaimed Apr. 25, 1856.

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at the council-ground on the Upper Missouri, near the mouth of the Judith River, in the Territory of Nebraska, this seventeenth day of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, by and between A. Cumming and Isaac I. Stevens, commissioners duly appointed and authorized, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the following nations and tribes of Indians, who occupy, for the purposes of hunting, the territory on the Upper Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers, and who have permanent homes as follows: East of the Rocky Mountains, the Blackfoot Nation, consisting of the Piegan, Blood, Blackfoot, and Gros Ventres tribes of Indians. West of the Rocky Mountains, the Flathead Nation, consisting of the Flathead, Upper Pend d'Oreille, and Kootenay tribes of Indians, and the Nez Percé tribe of Indians, the said chiefs, headmen and delegates, in behalf of and acting for said nations and tribes, and being duly authorized thereto by them.

Peace to exist with the United States.

ARTICLE 1. Peace, friendship and amity shall hereafter exist between the United States and the aforesaid nations and tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, and the same shall be perpetual.

Peace to exist with each other and with certain other tribes.

ARTICLE 2. The aforesaid nations and tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, do hereby jointly and severally covenant that peaceful relations shall likewise be maintained among themselves in future; and that they will abstain from all hostilities whatsoever against each other, and cultivate mutual good-will and friendship. And the nations and tribes aforesaid do furthermore jointly and severally covenant, that peaceful relations shall be maintained with and that they will abstain from all hostilities whatsoever, excepting in self-defense, against the following-named nations and tribes of Indians, to wit: the Crows, Assineboins, Crees, Snakes, Blackfeet, Sans Arcs, and Aunce-pa-pas bands of Sioux, and all other neighboring nations and tribes of Indians.

Blackfoot territory recognized as common hunting ground.

ARTICLE 3. The Blackfoot Nation consent and agree that all that portion of the country recognized and defined by the treaty of Laramie as Blackfoot territory, lying within lines drawn from the Hell Gate or Medicine Rock Passes in the main range of the Rocky Mountains, in an easterly direction to the nearest source of the Muscle Shell River, thence to the mouth of Twenty-five Yard Creek, thence up the Yellowstone River to its northern source, and thence along the main range of the Rocky Mountains, in a northerly direction, to the point of beginning, shall be a common hunting-ground for ninety-nine years, where all the nations, tribes and bands of Indians, parties to this treaty, may enjoy equal and uninterupted privileges of hunting, fishing and gathering fruit, grazing animals, curing meat and dressing robes. They further agree that they will not establish villages, or in any other way exercise exclusive rights within ten miles of the northern line of the common hunting-ground, and that the parties to this treaty may hunt on said northern boundary line and within ten miles thereof.

Provided, That the western Indians, parties to this treaty, may hunt on the trail leading down the Muscle Shell to the Yellowstone; the Muscle Shell River being the boundary separating the Blackfoot from the Crow territory.

No settlements to be made thereon.

And provided, That no nation, band, or tribe of Indians, parties to this treaty, nor any other Indians, shall be permitted to establish permanent settlements, or in any other way exercise, during the period above mentioned, exclusive rights or privileges within the limits of the above-described hunting-ground.

And provided further, That the rights of the western Indians to a whole or a part of the common hunting-ground, derived from occupancy and possession, shall not be affected by this article, except so far as said rights may be determined by the treaty of Laramie.

Vested rights not affected.

ARTICLE 4. The parties to this treaty agree and consent, that the tract of country lying within lines drawn from the Hell Gate or Medicine Rock Passes, in an easterly direction, to the nearest source of the Muscle Shell River, thence down said river to its mouth, thence down the channel of the Missouri River to the mouth of Milk River, thence due north to the forty-ninth parallel, thence due west on said parallel to the main range of the Rocky Mountains, and thence southerly along said range to the place of beginning, shall be the territory of the Blackfoot Nation, over which said nation shall exercise exclusive control, excepting as may be otherwise provided in this treaty. Subject, however, to the provisions of the third article of this treaty, giving the right to hunt, and prohibiting the establishment of permanent villages and the exercise of any exclusive rights within ten miles of the northern line of the common hunting-ground, drawn from the nearest source of the Muscle Shell River to the Medicine Rock Passes, for the period of ninety-nine years.

Certain territory to belong to the Blackfoot Nation.

Provided also, That the Assiniboins shall have the right of hunting, in common with the Blackfeet, in the country lying between the aforesaid eastern boundary line, running from the mouth of Milk River to the forty-ninth parallel, and a line drawn from the left bank of the Missouri River, opposite the Round Butte north, to the forty-ninth parallel.

ARTICLE 5. The parties to this treaty, residing west of the main range of the Rocky Mountains, agree and consent that they will not enter the common hunting ground, nor any part of the Blackfoot territory, or return home, by any pass in the main range of the Rocky Mountains to the north of the Hell Gate or Medicine Rock Passes. And they further agree that they will not hunt or otherwise disturb the game, when visiting the Blackfoot territory for trade or social intercourse.

How to enter and leave the common hunting ground.

ARTICLE 6. The aforesaid nations and tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, agree and consent to remain within their own respective countries, except when going to or from, or whilst hunting upon, the "common hunting ground," or when visiting each other for the purpose of trade or social intercourse.

Indians to remain in their respective territories except, etc.

ARTICLE 7. The aforesaid nations and tribes of Indians agree that citizens of the United States may live in and pass unmolested through the countries respectively occupied and claimed by them. And the United States is hereby bound to protect said Indians against depredations and other unlawful acts which white men residing in or passing through their country may commit.

Citizens may pass through and live in the Indian Territory.

Protection against depredations.

ARTICLE 8. For the purpose of establishing travelling thoroughfares through their country, and the better to enable the President to execute the provisions of this treaty, the aforesaid nations and tribes do hereby consent and agree, that the United States may, within the countries respectively occupied and claimed by them, construct roads of every description; establish lines of telegraph and military posts; use materials of every description found in the Indian country; build houses for agencies, missions, schools, farms, shops, mills, stations, and for any other purpose for which they may be required, and permanently occupy as much land as may be necessary for the various purposes above enumerated, including the use of wood for fuel and land for grazing, and that the navigation of all lakes and streams shall be forever free to citizens of the United States.

Roads, telegraph lines, and military posts, etc., may be established.

ARTICLE 9. In consideration of the foregoing agreements, stipulations, and cessions, and on condition of their faithful observance, the

Annual payment for benefit of Blackfoot Nation.

United States agree to expend, annually, for the Piegan, Blood, Blackfoot, and Gros Ventres tribes of Indians, constituting the Blackfoot Nation, in addition to the goods and provisions distributed at the time of signing the treaty, twenty thousand dollars, annually, for ten years, to be expended in such useful goods and provisions, and other articles, as the President, at his discretion, may from time to time determine; and the superintendent, or other proper officer, shall each year inform the President of the wishes of the Indians in relation thereto: *Provided, however*, That if, in the judgment of the President and Senate, this amount be deemed insufficient, it may be increased not to exceed the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars per year.

Same object.

ARTICLE 10. The United States further agree to expend annually, for the benefit of the aforesaid tribes of the Blackfoot Nation, a sum not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars annually, for ten years, in establishing and instructing them in agricultural and mechanical pursuits, and in educating their children, and in any other respect promoting their civilization and Christianization: *Provided, however*, That to accomplish the objects of this article, the President may, at his discretion, apply any or all the annuities provided for in this treaty: *And provided, also*, That the President may, at his discretion, determine in what proportions the said annuities shall be divided among the several tribes.

Provisions to secure peace, and indemnity against Indian depredations.

ARTICLE 11. The aforesaid tribes acknowledge their dependence on the Government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all citizens thereof, and to commit no depredations or other violence upon such citizens. And should any one or more violate this pledge, and the fact be proved to the satisfaction of the President, the property taken shall be returned, or, in default thereof, or if injured or destroyed, compensation may be made by the Government out of the annuities. The aforesaid tribes are hereby bound to deliver such offenders to the proper authorities for trial and punishment, and are held responsible, in their tribal capacity, to make reparation for depredations so committed.

War not to be made on other tribes except in self-defense.

Nor will they make war upon any other tribes, except in self-defense, but will submit all matter of difference, between themselves and other Indians, to the Government of the United States, through its agents, for adjustment, and will abide thereby.

Provision against depredations of other Indians.

And if any of the said Indians, parties to this treaty, commit depredations on any other Indians within the jurisdiction of the United States, the same rule shall prevail as that prescribed in this article in case of depredations against citizens.

Criminals to be surrendered.

And the said tribes agree not to shelter or conceal offenders against the laws of the United States, but to deliver them up to the authorities for trial.

Annuities may be stopped in case of violation of this treaty.

ARTICLE 12. It is agreed and understood, by and between the parties to this treaty, that if any nation or tribe of Indians aforesaid, shall violate any of the agreements, obligations, or stipulations, herein contained, the United States may withhold, for such length of time as the President and Congress may determine, any portion or all of the annuities agreed to be paid to said nation or tribe under the ninth and tenth articles of this treaty.

Provision against intoxication or the introduction of ardent spirits.

ARTICLE 13. The nations and tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, desire to exclude from their country the use of ardent spirits or other intoxicating liquor, and to prevent their people from drinking the same. Therefore it is provided, that any Indian belonging to said tribes who is guilty of bringing such liquor into the Indian country, or who drinks liquor, may have his or her proportion of the annuities withheld from him or her, for such time as the President may determine.

This treaty to be in full for compensation.

ARTICLE 14. The aforesaid nations and tribes of Indians, west of the Rocky Mountains, parties to this treaty, do agree, in consideration of

the provisions already made for them in existing treaties, to accept the guarantees of the peaceful occupation of their hunting-grounds, east of the Rocky Mountains, and of remuneration for depredations made by the other tribes, pledged to be secured to them in this treaty out of the annuities of said tribes, in full compensation for the concessions which they, in common with the said tribes, have made in this treaty.

The Indians east of the mountains, parties to this treaty, likewise recognize and accept the guarantees of this treaty, in full compensation for the injuries or depredations which have been, or may be committed by the aforesaid tribes, west of the Rocky Mountains.

ARTICLE 15. The annuities of the aforesaid tribes shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals. Annuities not to be taken for debt.

ARTICLE 16. This treaty shall be obligatory upon the aforesaid nations and tribes of Indians, parties hereto, from the date hereof, and upon the United States as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate.

In testimony whereof the said A. Cumming and Isaac I. Stevens, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the aforesaid nations and tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, have hereunto set their hands and seals at the place and on the day and year hereinbefore written.

A. Cumming. [L. S.]
Isaac I. Stevens. [L. S.]

Piegans:
Nee-ti-nee, or "the only chief," now called the Lame Bull, his x mark. [L. S.]
Mountain Chief, his x mark. [L. S.]
Low Horn, his x mark. [L. S.]
Little Gray Head, his x mark. [L. S.]
Little Dog, his x mark. [L. S.]
Big Snake, his x mark. [L. S.]
The Skunk, his x mark. [L. S.]
The Bad Head, his x mark. [L. S.]
Kitch-eepone-istah, his x mark. [L. S.]
Middle Sitter, his x mark. [L. S.]

Bloods:
Onis-tay-say-nah-que-im, his x mark. [L. S.]
The Father of All Children, his x mark. [L. S.]
The Bull's Back Fat, his x mark. [L. S.]
Heavy Shield, his x mark. [L. S.]
Nah-tose-onistah, his x mark. [L. S.]
The Calf Shirt, his x mark. [L. S.]

Gros Ventres:
Bear's Shirt, his x mark. [L. S.]
Little Soldier, his x mark. [L. S.]
Star Robe, his x mark. [L. S.]
Sitting Squaw, his x mark. [L. S.]
Weasel Horse, his x mark. [L. S.]
The Rider, his x mark. [L. S.]
Eagle Chief, his x mark. [L. S.]
Heap of Bears, his x mark. [L. S.]

Blackfeet:
The Three Bulls, his x mark. [L. S.]
The Old Kootomais, his x mark. [L. S.]
Pow-ah-que, his x mark. [L. S.]
Chief Rabbit Runner, his x mark. [L. S.]

Nez Percés:
Spotted Eagle, his x mark. [L. S.]
Looking Glass, his x mark. [L. S.]
The Three Feathers, his x mark. [L. S.]
Eagle from the Light, his x mark. [L. S.]
The Lone Bird, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ip-shun-nee-wus, his x mark. [L. S.]
Jason, his x mark. [L. S.]
Wat-ti-wat-ti-we-hinck, his x mark. [L. S.]
White Bird, his x mark. [L. S.]
Stabbing Man, his x mark. [L. S.]
Jesse, his x mark. [L. S.]
Plenty Bears, his x mark. [L. S.]

Flathead Nation:
Victor, his x mark. [L. S.]
Alexander, his x mark. [L. S.]
Moses, his x mark. [L. S.]
Big Canoe, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ambrose, his x mark. [L. S.]
Kootle-cha, his x mark. [L. S.]
Michelle, his x mark. [L. S.]
Francis, his x mark. [L. S.]
Vincent, his x mark. [L. S.]
Andrew, his x mark. [L. S.]
Adolphe, his x mark. [L. S.]
Thunder, his x mark. [L. S.]

Piegans:
Running Rabbit, his x mark, [L. S.]
Chief Bear, his x mark. [L. S.]
The Little White Buffalo, his x mark. [L. S.]
The Big Straw, his x mark. [L. S.]

Flathead:
Bear Track, his x mark. [L. S.]
Little Michelle, his x mark. [L. S.]
Palchinah, his x mark. [L. S.]

Bloods:
The Feather, his x mark. [L. S.]
The White Eagle, his x mark. [L. S.]

Executed in presence of—

James Doty, secretary.
Alfred J. Vaughan, jr.
E. Alw. Hatch, agent for Blackfeet.
Thomas Adams, special agent Flathead Nation.
R. H. Lansdale, Indian agent Flathead Nation.
W. H. Tappan, sub-agent for the Nez Percés.
James Bird, A. Culbertson, Benj. Deroche, } Blackfoot interpreters.
Benj. Kiser, his x mark, Witness, James Doty, Gustavus Sohon, } Flat Head interpreters.
W. Craig, Delaware Jim, his x mark, Witness, James Doty, } Nez Percé interpreters.
A Cree Chief (Broken Arm,) his mark. Witness, James Doty.
A. J. Hoeekeorsg,
James Croke,
E. S. Wilson,
A. C. Jackson,
Charles Shucette, his x mark.
Christ. P. Higgins,
A. H. Robie,
S. S. Ford, jr.

TREATY WITH THE NEZ PERCÉS, 1863.

June 9, 1863.

14 Stats., 647.
Ratified Apr. 17, 1867.
Proclaimed Apr. 20, 1867.

Articles of agreement made and concluded at the council-ground, in the valley of the Lapwai, W. T., on the ninth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, between the United States of America, by C. H. Hale, superintendent of Indian affairs, and Charles Hutchins and S. D. Howe, U. S. Indian agents for the Territory of Washington, acting on the part and in behalf of the United States, and the Nez Percé Indians, by the chiefs, head-men, and delegates of said tribe, such articles being supplementary and amendatory to the treaty made between the United States and said tribe on the 11th day of June, 1855.

Cession of lands to the United States.

ARTICLE 1. The said Nez Percé tribe agree to relinquish, and do hereby relinquish, to the United States the lands heretofore reserved for the use and occupation of the said tribe, saving and excepting so much thereof as is described in Article II for a new reservation.

Reservation.

ARTICLE 2. The United States agree to reserve for a home, and for the sole use and occupation of said tribe, the tract of land included within the following boundaries, to wit: Commencing at the northeast corner of Lake Wa-ha, and running thence, northerly, to a point on the north bank of the Clearwater River, three miles below the mouth of the Lapwai, thence down the north bank of the Clearwater to the mouth of the Hatwai Creek; thence, due north, to a point seven miles distant; thence, eastwardly, to a point on the north fork of the Clearwater, seven miles distant from its mouth; thence to a point on Oro Fino Creek, five miles above its mouth; thence to a point on the north fork of the south fork of the Clearwater, five miles above its mouth; thence to a point on the south fork of the Clearwater, one mile above the bridge, on the road leading to Elk City, (so as to include all the Indian farms now within the forks;) thence in a straight line, westwardly, to the place of beginning.

Boundaries.

Reservation to be for the sole use of the tribe, who shall settle thereon within a year.

All of which tract shall be set apart, and the above-described boundaries shall be surveyed and marked out for the exclusive use and benefit of said tribe as an Indian reservation, nor shall any white man, excepting those in the employment of the Indian Department, be permitted to reside upon the said reservation without permission of the tribe and the superintendent and agent; and the said tribe agrees that so soon after the United States shall make the necessary provision for fulfilling the stipulations of this instrument as they can conveniently arrange their affairs, and not to exceed one year from its ratification, they will vacate the country hereby relinquished, and remove to and settle upon the lands herein reserved for them, (except as may be hereinafter provided.) In the meantime it shall be lawful for them to reside upon any ground now occupied or under cultivation by said Indians at this time, and not included in the reservation above named. And it is provided, that any substantial improvement heretofore made by any Indian, such as fields inclosed and cultivated, or houses erected upon the lands hereby relinquished, and which he may be compelled to abandon in consequence of this treaty, shall be valued under the direction of the President of the United States, and payment therefor shall be made in stock or in improvements of an equal value for said Indian upon the lot which may be assigned to him within the bounds of the reservation, as he may choose, and no Indian will be required to abandon the improvements aforesaid, now occupied by him, until said payment or improvement shall have been made. And it is further provided, that if any Indian living on any of the land hereby relinquished should prefer to sell his improvements to any white man, being a loyal citizen of the United States, prior to the same being valued as aforesaid, he shall be allowed so to do, but the sale or transfer of said improvements shall be made in the presence of, and with the consent

Improvements on lands ceded to be paid for.

May be sold to loyal whites.

Certificates of sale.

and approval of, the agent or superintendent, by whom a certificate of sale shall be issued to the party purchasing, which shall set forth the amount of the consideration in kind. Before the issue of said certificate, the agent or superintendent shall be satisfied that a valuable consideration is paid, and that the party purchasing is of undoubted loyalty to the United States Government. No settlement or claim made upon the improved lands by any Indian will be permitted, except as herein provided, prior to the time specified for their removal. Any sale or transfer thus made shall be in the stead of payment for improvements from the United States.

Boundary lines to be marked and lands surveyed into lots.

ARTICLE 3. The President shall, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, cause the boundary-lines to be surveyed, and properly marked and established; after which, so much of the lands hereby reserved as may be suitable for cultivation shall be surveyed into lots

Heads of families may locate on lot.

of twenty acres each, and every male person of the tribe who shall have attained the age of twenty-one years, or is the head of a family, shall have the privilege of locating upon one lot as a permanent home for such person, and the lands so surveyed shall be allotted under such rules and regulations as the President shall prescribe, having such reference to their settlement as may secure adjoining each other the location of the different families pertaining to each band, so far as the same may be practicable. Such rules and regulations shall be prescribed by the President, or under his direction, as will insure to the family, in case of the death of the head thereof, the possession and enjoyment of such permanent home, and the improvements thereon.

Certificates therefor.

When the assignments as above shall have been completed, certificates shall be issued by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, or under his direction, for the tracts assigned in severalty, specifying the names of the individuals to whom they have been assigned respectively, and that said tracts are set apart for the perpetual and exclusive use and

These lots to be exempt from levy, taxes, etc.

benefit of such assignees and their heirs. Until otherwise provided by law, such tracts shall be exempt from levy, taxation, or sale, and shall be alienable in fee, or leased, or otherwise disposed of, only to the United States, or to persons then being members of the Nez Percé tribe, and of Indian blood, with the permission of the President, and under such regulations as the Secretary of the Interior or the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall prescribe; and if any such person or family shall at any time neglect or refuse to occupy and till a portion of the land so assigned, and on which they have located, or shall rove from place to place, the President may cancel the assignment, and may also withhold from such person or family their proportion of the annuities or other payments due them until they shall have returned to such permanent home, and resumed the pursuits of industry; and in default of their return, the tract may be declared abandoned, and

Residue to be held in common.

thereafter assigned to some other person or family of such tribe. The residue of the land hereby reserved shall be held in common for pasturage for the sole use and benefit of the Indians: *Provided, however*, That from time to time, as members of the tribe may come upon the reservation, or may become of proper age, after the expiration of the time of one year after the ratification of this treaty, as aforesaid, and claim the privileges granted under this article, lots may be assigned from the lands thus held in common, wherever the same may be suit-

Restriction not to be removed without the consent of Congress.

able for cultivation. No State or territorial legislature shall remove the restriction herein provided for, without the consent of Congress, and no State or territorial law to that end shall be deemed valid until the same has been specially submitted to Congress for its approval.

Payments to the tribe.

ARTICLE 4. In consideration of the relinquishment herein made the United States agree to pay to the said tribe, in addition to the annuities provided by the treaty of June 11, 1855, and the goods and provisions distributed to them at the time of signing this treaty, the

sum of two hundred and sixty-two thousand and five hundred dollars, in manner following, to wit:

First. One hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to enable the Indians to remove and locate upon the reservation, to be expended in the ploughing of land, and the fencing of the several lots, which may be assigned to those individual members of the tribe who will accept the same in accordance with the provisions of the preceding article, which said sum shall be divided into four annual instalments, as follows: For the first year after the ratification of this treaty, seventy thousand dollars; for the second year, forty thousand dollars; for the third year, twenty-five thousand dollars; for the fourth year, fifteen thousand dollars.

Second. Fifty thousand dollars to be paid the first year after the ratification of this treaty in agricultural implements, to include wagons or carts, harness, and cattle, sheep, or other stock, as may be deemed most beneficial by the superintendent of Indian affairs, or agent, after ascertaining the wishes of the Indians in relation thereto.

Third. Ten thousand dollars for the erection of a saw and flouring mill, to be located at Kamia, the same to be erected within one year after the ratification hereof.

Fourth. Fifty thousand dollars for the boarding and clothing of the children who shall attend the schools, in accordance with such rules or regulations as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may prescribe, providing the schools and boarding-houses with necessary furniture, the purchase of necessary wagons, teams, agricultural implements, tools, &c., for their use, and for the fencing of such lands as may be needed for gardening and farming purposes, for the use and benefit of the schools, to be expended as follows: The first year after the ratification of this treaty, six thousand dollars; for the next fourteen years, three thousand dollars each year; and for the succeeding year, being the sixteenth and last instalment, two thousand dollars.

Churches.

Fifth. A further sum of two thousand five hundred dollars shall be paid within one year after the ratification hereof, to enable the Indians to build two churches, one of which is to be located at some suitable point on the Kamia, and the other on the Lapwai.

Subordinate chiefs

ARTICLE 5. The United States further agree, that in addition to a head chief the tribe shall elect two subordinate chiefs, who shall assist him in the performance of his public services, and each subordinate chief shall have the same amount of land ploughed and fenced, with comfortable house and necessary furniture, and to whom the same salary shall be paid as is already provided for the head chief in article 5 of the treaty of June 11, 1855, the salary to be paid and the houses and land to be occupied during the same period and under like restrictions as therein mentioned.

And for the purpose of enabling the agent to erect said buildings, and to plough and fence the land, as well as to procure the necessary furniture, and to complete and furnish the house, &c., of the head chief, as heretofore provided, there shall be appropriated, to be expended within the first year after the ratification hereof, the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars.

Further appropriation.

And inasmuch as several of the provisions of said art. 5th of the treaty of June 11, 1855, pertaining to the erection of school-houses, hospital, shops, necessary buildings for employe[e]s and for the agency, as well as providing the same with necessary furniture, tools, &c., have not yet been complied with, it is hereby stipulated that there shall be appropriated, to be expended for the purposes herein specified during the first year after the ratification hereof, the following sums, to wit:

Schools.

First. Ten thousand dollars for the erection of the two schools, including boarding-houses and the necessary out-buildings; said schools to be conducted on the manual-labor system as far as practicable.

Hospital.

Second. Twelve hundred dollars for the erection of the hospital, and providing the necessary furniture for the same.

Blacksmith's shop, tools, etc.

Third. Two thousand dollars for the erection of a blacksmith's shop, to be located at Kamia, to aid in the completion of the smith's shop at the agency, and to purchase the necessary tools, iron, steel, &c.; and to keep the same in repair and properly stocked with necessary tools and materials, there shall be appropriated thereafter, for the fifteen years next succeeding, the sum of five hundred dollars each year.

Houses, mills, etc.

Fourth. Three thousand dollars for erection of houses for employe[e]s, repairs of mills, shops, &c., and providing necessary furniture, tools, and materials. For the same purpose, and to procure from year to year the necessary articles—that is to say, saw-logs, nails, glass, hardware, &c.—there snall be appropriated thereafter, for the twelve years next succeeding, the sum of two thousand dollars each year; and for the next three years, one thousand dollars each year.

Matrons, teachers, mechanics, millers.

And it is further agreed that the United States shall employ, in addition to those already mentioned in art. 5th of the treaty of June 11, 1855, two matrons to take charge of the boarding-schools, two assistant teachers, one farmer, one carpenter, and two millers.

All the expenditures and expenses contemplated in this treaty, and not otherwise provided for, shall be defrayed by the United States.

Payment to the chief, Timothy.

ARTICLE 6. In consideration of the past services and faithfulness of the Indian chief, Timothy, it is agreed that the United States shall appropriate the sum of six hundred dollars, to aid him in the erection of a house upon the lot of land which may be assigned to him, in accordance with the provisions of the third article of this treaty.

Claims for services and for horses to be paid.

ARTICLE 7. The United States further agree that the claims of certain members of the Nez Percé tribe against the Government for services rendered and for horses furnished by them to the Oregon mounted volunteers, as appears by certificate issued by W. H. Fauntleroy, A. R. Qr. M. and Com. Oregon volunteers, on the 6th of March, 1856, at Camp Cornelius, and amounting to the sum of four thousand six hundred and sixty-five dollars, shall be paid to them in full, in gold coin.

Authority, etc., of the United States acknowledged.

ARTICLE 8. It is also understood that the aforesaid tribe do hereby renew their acknowledgments of dependence upon the Government of the United States, their promises of friendship, and other pledges, as set forth in the eighth article of the treaty of June 11, 1855; and further, that all the provisions of said treaty which are not abrogated or specifically changed by any article herein contained, shall remain the same to all intents and purposes as formerly,—the same obligations resting upon the United States, the same privileges continued to the Indians outside of the reservation, and the same rights secured to citizens of the U. S. as to right of way upon the streams and over the roads which may run through said reservation, as are therein set forth.

Roads and highways.

But it is further provided, that the United States is the only competent authority to declare and establish such necessary roads and highways, and that no other right is intended to be hereby granted to citizens of the United States than the right of way upon or over such roads as may thus be legally established: *Provided, however*, That the roads now usually travelled shall, in the mean time, be taken and deemed as within the meaning of this article, until otherwise enacted by act of Congress or by the authority of the Indian Department.

Hotels and stage stands.

And the said tribe hereby consent, that upon the public roads which may run across the reservation there may be established, at such points as shall be necessary for public convenience, hotels, or stage-stands, of the number and necessity of which the agent or superintendent shall be the sole judge, who shall be competent to license the same, with the privilege of using such amount of land for pasturage and other pur-

poses connected with such establishment as the agent or superintendent shall deem necessary, it being understood that such lands for pasturage are to be enclosed, and the boundaries thereof described in the license.

Ferries and bridges.

And it is further understood and agreed that all ferries and bridges within the reservation shall be held and managed for the benefit of said tribe.

Such rules and regulations shall be made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, as shall regulate the travel on the highways, the management of the ferries and bridges, the licensing of public houses, and the leasing of lands, as herein provided, so that the rents, profits, and issues thereof shall inure to the benefit of said tribe, and so that the persons thus licensed, or necessarily employed in any of the above relations, shall be subject to the control of the Indian Department, and to the provisions of the act of Congress "to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers."

Timber.

All timber within the bounds of the reservation is exclusively the property of the tribe, excepting that the U. S. Government shall be permitted to use thereof for any purpose connected with its affairs, either in carrying out any of the provisions of this treaty, or in the maintaining of its necessary forts or garrisons.

Springs or fountains.

The United States also agree to reserve all springs or fountains not adjacent to, or directly connected with, the streams or rivers within the lands hereby relinquished, and to keep back from settlement or entry so much of the surrounding land as may be necessary to prevent the said springs or fountains being enclosed; and, further, to preserve a perpetual right of way to and from the same, as watering places, for the use in common of both whites and Indians.

Robert Newell to receive a patent for a tract of land.

ARTICLE 9. Inasmuch as the Indians in council have expressed their desire that Robert Newell should have confirmed to him a piece of land lying between Snake and Clearwater Rivers, the same having been given to him on the 9th day of June, 1861, and described in an instrument of writing bearing that date, and signed by several chiefs of the tribe, it is hereby agreed that the said Robert Newell shall receive from the United States a patent for the said tract of land.

Treaty, when to take effect.

ARTICLE 10. This treaty shall be obligatory upon the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof the said C. H. Hale, superintendent of Indian affairs, and Charles Hutchins and S. D. Howe, United States Indian agents in the Territory of Washington, and the chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the aforesaid Nez Perce tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and seals at the place and on the day and year hereinbefore written.

Calvin H. Hale,
Superintendent Indian Affairs, Wash. T. [SEAL.]
Chas. Hutchins,
United States Indian agent, Wash. T. [SEAL.]
S. D. Howe,
United States Indian agent, Wash. T. [SEAL.]

Fa-Ind-7-1803 Lawyer, Head Chief Nez Perces Nation.	[SEAL.]	We-as-cus, x	[SEAL.]
Ute-sin-male-e-cum, x	[SEAL.]	Pep-hoom-kan, (Noah,) x	[SEAL.]
Ha-harch-tuesta, x	[SEAL.]	Shin-ma-sha-ho-soot, x	[SEAL.]
Tip-ulania-timecca, x	[SEAL.]	Nie-ki-lil-meh-hoom, (Jacob,) x	[SEAL.]
Es-coatum, x	[SEAL.]	Stoop-toop-nin, x	[SEAL.]
Timothy, x	[SEAL.]	Su-we-cus, x	[SEAL.]
Levi, x	[SEAL.]	Wal-la-ta-mana, x	[SEAL.]
Jason, x	[SEAL.]	He-kaikt-il-pilp, x	[SEAL.]
Ip-she-ne-wish-kin, (Capt. John,) x	[SEAL.]	Whis-tas-ket, x	[SEAL.]
		Neus-ne-keun, x	[SEAL.]
		Kul-lou-o-haikt, x	[SEAL.]
Weptas-jump-ki, x	[SEAL.]	Wow-en-am-ash-il-pilp, x	[SEAL.]

Kan-pow-e-een, x [SEAL.]
Watai-watai-wa-haikt, x [SEAL.]
Kup-kup-pellia, x [SEAL.]
Wap-tas-ta-mana, x [SEAL.]
Peo-peo-ip-se-wat, x [SEAL.]
Louis-in-ha-cush-nim, x [SEAL.]
Lam-lim-si-lilp-nim, x [SEAL.]
Tu-ki-lai-kish, x [SEAL.]
Sah-kan-tai, (Eagle,) x [SEAL.]
We-ah-se-nat, x [SEAL.]
Hin-mia-tun-pin, x [SEAL.]
Ma-hi-a-kim, x [SEAL.]
Shock-lo-turn-wa-haikt, (Jonah,) x [SEAL.]
Kunness-tak-mal, x [SEAL.]
Tu-lat-sy-wat-kin, x [SEAL.]
Tuck-e-tu-et-as, x [SEAL.]
Nic-a-las-in, x [SEAL.]
Was-atis-il-pilp, x [SEAL.]
Wow-es-en-at-im, x [SEAL.]
Hiram, x [SEAL.]
Howlish-wampum, x [SEAL.]
Wat-ska-leeks, x [SEAL.]
Wa-lai-tus, x [SEAL.]
Ky-e-wee-pus, x [SEAL.]
Ko-ko-il-pilp, x [SEAL.]
Reuben, Tip-ia-la-na-uy-kala-tsekin, x [SEAL.]
Wish-la-na-ka-nin, x [SEAL.]
Me-tat-ueptas, (Three Feathers,) x [SEAL.]
Ray-kay-mass, x [SEAL.]

Signed and sealed in presence of—

George F. Whitworth, Secretary.
Justus Steinberger, Colonel U. S. Volunteers.
R. F. Malloy, Colonel Cavalry, O. V.
J. S. Rinearson, Major First Cavalry Oregon Volunteers.
William Kapus, First Lieutenant and Adjutant First W. T. Infantry U. S. Volunteers.
Harrison Olmstead.
Jno. Owen, (Bitter Root.)
James O'Neill.
J. B. Buker, M. D.
George W. Elber.
A. A. Spalding, assistant interpreter.
Perrin B. Whitman, interpreter for the council.

TREATY WITH THE EASTERN SHOSHONI, 1863.

July 2, 1863.

18 Stats., 685.
Ratified Mar. 7, 1864.
Proclaimed June 7, 1869.

Articles of Agreement made at Fort Bridger, in Utah Territory, this second day of July, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, by and between the United States of America, represented by its Commissioners, and the Shoshone nation of Indians, represented by its Chiefs and Principal Men And Warriors of the Eastern Bands, as follows:

ARTICLE 1.

Friendly relations reestablished: perpetual peace.

Friendly and amically relations are hereby re-established between the bands of the Shoshonee nation, parties hereto, and the United States; and it is declared that a firm and perpetual peace shall be henceforth maintained between the Shoshonee nation and the United States.

ARTICLE 2.

Routes of travel; safety of travelers; settlements and posts; offenders.

The several routes of travel through the Shoshonee country, now or hereafter used by white men, shall be and remain forever free and safe for the use of the government of the United States, and of all emigrants and travellers under its authority and Protection, without molestation or injury from any of the people of the said nation. And if depredations should at any time be committed by bad men of their nation, the offenders shall be immediately seized and delivered up to the proper officers of the United States, to be punished as their offences shall deserve; and the safety of all travellers passing peaceably over said routes is hereby guaranteed by said nation. Military agricultural settlements and military posts may be established by the President of the United States along said routes; ferries may be maintained over

the rivers wherever they may be required; and houses erected and settlements formed at such points as may be necessary for the comfort and convenience of travellers.

ARTICLE 3.

Telegraph and overland stage lines.

The telegraph and overland stage lines having been established and operated through a part of the Shoshonee country, it is expressly agreed that the same may be continued without hindrance, molestation, or injury from the people of said nation; and that their property, and the lives of passengers in the stages, and of the employes of the respective companies, shall be protected by them.

Railway.

And further, it being understood that provision has been made by the Government of the United States for the construction of a railway from the plains west to the Pacific ocean, it is stipulated by said nation that said railway, or its branches, may be located, constructed, and operated, without molestation from them, through any portion of the country claimed by them.

ARTICLE 4.

Boundaries of Shoshoni country.

It is understood the boundaries of the Shoshonee country, as defined and described by said nation, is as follows: On the north, by the mountains on the north side of the valley of Shoshonee or Snake River; on the east, by the Wind River mountains, Peenahpah river, the north fork of Platte or Koo-chin-agah, and the north Park or Buffalo House; and on the south, by Yampah river and the Uintah mountains. The western boundary is left undefined, there being no Shoshonees from that district of country present; but the bands now present claim that their own country is bounded on the west by Salt Lake.

ARTICLE 5.

Annuity: acceptance as a compensation for loss of game.

The United States being aware of the inconvenience resulting to the Indians in consequence of the driving away and destruction of game along the routes travelled by whites, and by the formation of agricultural and mining settlements, are willing to fairly compensate them for the same; therefore, and in consideration of the preceding stipulations, the United States promise and agree to pay to the bands of the Shoshonee nation, parties hereto, annually for the term of twenty years, the sum of ten thousand dollars, in such articles as the President of the United States may deem suitable to their wants and condition, either as hunters or herdsmen. And the said bands of the Shoshonee nation hereby acknowledge the reception of the said stipulated annuities, as a full compensation and equivalent for the loss of game, and the rights and privileges hereby conceded.

ARTICLE 6.

Presents acknowledged.

The said bands hereby acknowledge that they have received from said Commissioners provisions and clothing amounting to six thousand dollars, as presents, at the conclusion of this treaty.

ARTICLE 7.

Amendment.

Nothing herein contained shall be construed or taken to admit any other or greater title or interest in the lands embraced within the territories described in said Treaty with said tribes or bands of Indians than existed in them upon the acquisition of said territories from Mexico by the laws thereof.

S. Doc. 319, 58-2, vol 2——54

Done at Fort Bridger the day and year above written.

James Duane Doty,
Luther Mann, jr.,
Commissioners.
Washakee, his x mark.
Wanapitz, his x mark.
Toopsapowet, his x mark.
Pantoshiga, his x mark.
Ninabitzee, his x mark.
Narkawk, his x mark.
Taboonshea, his x mark.
Weerango, his x mark.
Tootsahp, his x mark.
Weeahyukee, his x mark.
Bazile, his x mark.

In the presence of—
Jack Robertson, interpreter.
Samuel Dean.

TREATY WITH THE SHOSHONI—NORTHWESTERN BANDS, 1863.

July 30, 1863.
13 Stats., 663.
Ratified Mar. 7, 1864.
Proclaimed Jan. 17, 1865.

Articles of agreement made at Box Elder, in Utah Territory, this thirtieth day of July, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, by and between the United States of America, represented by Brigadier-General P. Edward Connor, commanding the military district of Utah, and James Duane Doty, commissioner, and the northwestern bands of the Shoshonee Indians, represented by their chiefs and warriors:

Peace and friendship.

ARTICLE 1. It is agreed that friendly and amicable relations shall be re-established between the bands of the Shoshonee Nation, parties hereto, and the United States, and it is declared that a firm and perpetual peace shall be henceforth maintained between the said bands and the United States.

Treaty of Fort Bridger assented to.

ARTICLE 2. The treaty concluded at Fort Bridger on the 2nd day of July, 1863, between the United States and the Shoshonee Nation, being read and fully interpreted and explained to the said chiefs and warriors, they do hereby give their full and free assent to all of the provisions of said treaty, and the same are hereby adopted as a part of this agreement, and the same shall be binding upon the parties hereto.

Annuity increased.

ARTICLE 3. In consideration of the stipulations in the preceding articles, the United States agree to increase the annuity to the Shoshonee Nation five thousand dollars, to be paid in the manner provided in said treaty.

Receipt.

And the said northwestern bands hereby acknowledge to have received of the United States, at the signing of these articles, provisions and goods to the amount of two thousand dollars, to relieve their immediate necessities, the said bands having been reduced by the war to a state of utter destitution.

Boundary of Pokatello's country.

ARTICLE 4. The country claimed by Pokatello, for himself and his people, is bounded on the west by Raft River and on the east by the Porteneuf Mountains.

ARTICLE 5. Nothing herein contained shall be construed or taken to admit any other or greater title or interest in the lands embraced within the territories described in said treaty in said tribes or bands of Indians than existed in them upon the acquisition of said territories from Mexico by the laws thereof.

Done at Box Elder, this thirtieth day of July, A. D. 1863.

James Duane Doty,
Governor and acting superintendent of Indian affairs in Utah Territory.
P. Edw. Connor,
Brigadier-General U. S. Volunteers, commanding District of Utah.
Pokatello, his x mark, chief.
Toomontso, his x mark, chief.
Sanpitz, his x mark, chief.
Tosowitz, his x mark, chief.
Yahnoway, his x mark, chief.
Weerahsoop, his x mark, chief.
Pahragoosahd, his x mark, chief.
Tahkwetoonah, his x mark, chief.
Omashee, (John Pokatello's brother,) his x mark, chief.

Witnesses:
Robt. Pollock, colonel Third Infantry, C. V.
M. G. Lewis, captain Third Infantry, C. V.
S. E. Jocelyn, first lieutenant Third Infantry, C. V.
Jos. A. Gebone, Indian interpreter.
John Barnard, jr., his x mark, special interpreter.
Willis H. Boothe, special interpreter.
Horace Wheat.

TREATY WITH THE WESTERN SHOSHONI, 1863.

Oct. 1, 1863.
18 Stats., 689.
Ratified June 26, 1866.
Proclaimed Oct. 21, 1869.

Treaty of Peace and Friendship made at Ruby Valley, in the Territory of Nevada, this first day of October, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, between the United States of America, represented by the undersigned commissioners, and the Western Bands of the Shoshonee Nation of Indians, represented by their Chiefs and Principal Men and Warriors, as follows:

ARTICLE 1.

Peace established: depredations to cease.

Peace and friendship shall be hereafter established and maintained between the Western Bands of the Shoshonee nation and the people and Government of the United States; and the said bands stipulate and agree that hostilities and all depredations upon the emigrant trains, the mail and telegraph lines, and upon the citizens of the United States within their country, shall cease.

ARTICLE 2.

Routes of travel: offenders: safety of travelers.

The several routes of travel through the Shoshonee country, now or hereafter used by white men, shall be forever free, and unobstructed by the said bands, for the use of the government of the United States, and of all emigrants and travellers under its authority and protection, without molestation or injury from them. And if depredations are at any time committed by bad men of their nation, the offenders shall be immediately taken and delivered up to the proper officers of the United States, to be punished as their offences shall deserve; and the safety of all travellers passing peaceably over either of said routes is hereby guarantied by said bands.

Military posts; stations.

Military posts may be established by the President of the United States along said routes or elsewhere in their country; and station houses may be erected and occupied at such points as may be necessary for the comfort and convenience of travellers or for mail or telegraph companies.

ARTICLE 3.

Telegraph and overland stage lines.

The telegraph and overland stage lines having been established and operated by companies under the authority of the United States through a part of the Shoshonee country, it is expressly agreed that the same may be continued without hindrance, molestation, or injury from the people of said bands, and that their property and the lives and property of passengers in the stages and of the employes of the respective companies, shall be protected by them. And further, it being understood that provision has been made by the government of the United States for the construction of a railway from the plains west to the Pacific ocean, it is stipulated by the said bands that the said railway or its branches may be located, constructed, and operated, and without molestation from them, through any portion of country claimed or occupied by them.

Railway.

ARTICLE 4.

Explorations, mines, settlements, use of timber.

It is further agreed by the parties hereto, that the Shoshonee country may be explored and prospected for gold and silver, or other minerals; and when mines are discovered, they may be worked, and mining and agricultural settlements formed, and ranches established whenever they may be required. Mills may be erected and timber taken for their use, as also for building and other purposes in any part of the country claimed by said bands.

ARTICLE 5.

Boundaries of western bands of Shoshoni.

It is understood that the boundaries of the country claimed and occupied by said bands are defined and described by them as follows:

On the north by Wong-goga-da Mountains and Shoshonee River Valley; on the west by Su-non-to-yah Mountains or Smith Creek Mountains; on the south by Wi-co-bah and the Colorado Desert; on the east by Po-ho-no-be Valley or Steptoe Valley and Great Salt Lake Valley.

ARTICLE 6.

Reservations may be established.

The said bands agree that whenever the President of the United States shall deem it expedient for them to abandon the roaming life, which, they now lead, and become herdsmen or agriculturalists, he is hereby authorized to make such reservations for their use as he may deem necessary within the country above described; and they do also hereby agree to remove their camps to such reservations as he may indicate, and to reside and remain therein.

ARTICLE 7.

Annuity, acceptance of, as compensation for loss of game.

The United States, being aware of the inconvenience resulting to the Indians in consequence of the driving away and destruction of game along the routes travelled by white men, and by the formation of agricultural and mining settlements, are willing to fairly compensate them for the same; therefore, and in consideration of the preceding stipulations, and of their faithful observance by the said bands, the United States promise and agree to pay to the said bands of the Shoshonee nation parties hereto, annually for the term of twenty years, the sum of five thousand dollars in such articles, including cattle for herding or other purposes, as the President of the United States shall deem suitable for their wants and condition, either as hunters or herdsmen. And the said bands hereby acknowledge the reception of the said stipulated annuities as a full compensation and equivalent for the loss of game and the rights and privileges hereby conceded.

ARTICLE 8.

The said bands hereby acknowledge that they have received from said commissioners provisions and clothing amounting to five thousand dollars as presents at the conclusion of this treaty. Presents acknowledged.

Done at Ruby Valley the day and year above written.

James W. Nye.
James Duane Doty.

Te-moak, his x mark.
Mo-ho-a.
Kirk-weedgwa, his x mark.
To-nag, his x mark.
To-so-wee-so-op, his x mark.
Sow-er-e-gah, his x mark.
Po-on-go-sah, his x mark.
Par-a-woat-ze, his x mark.
Ga-ha-dier, his x mark.
Ko-ro-kout-ze, his x mark.
Pon-ge-mah, his x mark.
Buck, his x mark.

Witnesses:

J. B. Moore, lieutenant-colonel Third Infantry California Volunteers.
Jacob T. Lockhart, Indian agent Nevada Territory.
Henry Butterfield, interpreter.

TREATY WITH THE CROWS, 1868.

May 7, 1868.

15 Stats., 649.
Ratified, July 25, 1868.
Proclaimed, Aug. 12, 1868.

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory, on the seventh day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, by and between the undersigned commissioners on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and head-men of and representing the Crow Indians, they being duly authorized to act in the premises.

Peace and friendship.

ARTICLE 1. From this day forward peace between the parties to this treaty shall forever continue. The Government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they hereby pledge their honor to maintain it. If bad men among the whites or among other people, subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington City, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also re-imburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

Offenders among the whites to be arrested and punished.

Among the Indians, to be given up to the United States or, etc.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black, or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States and at peace therewith, the Indians herein named solemnly agree that they will, on proof made to their agent and notice by him, deliver up the wrong-doer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws; and in case they refuse willfully so to do the person injured shall be re-imbursed for his loss from the annuities or other moneys due or to become due to them under this or other treaties made with the United States. And the President, on advising with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shall prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under the provisions of this article as in his judgment may be proper. But no such damages shall be adjusted and paid until thoroughly examined and passed upon by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and no one sustaining loss while violating, or because of his violating, the provisions of this treaty or the laws of the United States shall be re-imbursed therefor.

Rules for ascertaining damages.

Reservation boundaries.

ARTICLE 2. The United States agrees that the following district of country, to wit: commencing where the 107th degree of longitude west of Greenwich crosses the south boundary of Montana Territory; thence north along said 107th meridian to the mid-channel of the Yellowstone River; thence up said mid-channel of the Yellowstone to the point where it crosses the said southern boundary of Montana, being the 45th degree of north latitude; and thence east along said parallel of latitude to the place of beginning, shall be, and the same is, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit amongst them; and the United States now solemnly agrees that no persons, except those herein designated and authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents, and employés of the Government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article for the use of said Indians, and henceforth they will, and do hereby, relinquish all title, claims, or rights in and to any portion of the territory of the United States, except such as is embraced within the limits aforesaid.

Who not to reside thereon.

Buildings to be erected by the United States.

ARTICLE 3. The United States agrees, at its own proper expense, to construct on the south side of the Yellowstone, near Otter Creek, a

warehouse or store-room for the use of the agent in storing goods belonging to the Indians, to cost not exceeding twenty-five hundred dollars; an agency-building for the residence of the agent, to cost not exceeding three thousand dollars; a residence for the physician, to cost not more than three thousand dollars; and five other buildings, for a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, miller, and engineer, each to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; also a school-house or mission-building, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced by the agent to attend school, which shall not cost exceeding twenty-five hundred dollars.

The United States agrees further to cause to be erected on said reservation, near the other buildings herein authorized, a good steam circular saw-mill, with a grist-mill and shingle-machine attached, the same to cost not exceeding eight thousand dollars.

Reservation to be the permanent home of the Indians.

ARTICLE 4. The Indians herein named agree, when the agency-house and other buildings shall be constructed on the reservation named, they will make said reservation their permanent home, and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere, but they shall have the right to hunt on the unoccupied lands of the United States so long as game may be found thereon, and as long as peace subsists among the whites and Indians on the borders of the hunting districts.

Agent to make his home and reside where.

ARTICLE 5. The United States agrees that the agent for said Indians shall in the future make his home at the agency-building; that he shall reside among them, and keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint, by and against the Indians, as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their treaty stipulations, as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined on him by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property, he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded, together with his finding, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose decision shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.

His duties.

Heads of families desiring to commence farming may select lands, etc.

ARTICLE 6. If any individnal belonging to said tribes of Indians, or legally incorporated with them, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of land within said reservation, not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the "land book," as herein directed, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it.

Effect of such selection.

Persons not heads of families.

Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may in like manner select and cause to be certified to him or her, for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above directed.

Certificate of selection to be delivered, etc., to be recorded.

For each tract of land so selected a certificate, containing a description thereof and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the "Crow land book."

Survey.

The President may at any time order a survey of the reservation, and, when so surveyed, Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of settlers in their improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property as between Indians, and on all subjects connected with the government of the Indians on said reservations and the internal police thereof, as may be thought proper.

Alienation and descent of property.

Children between 6 and 16 to attend school.

ARTICLE 7. In order to insure the civilization of the tribe entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially by such of them as are, or may be, settled on said agricultural reservation; and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children, between said ages, who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher, competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education, shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for twenty years.

Duty of agent.

Schoolhouses and teachers.

Seeds and agricultural implements.

ARTICLE 8. When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected lands and received his certificate as above directed, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seed and agricultural implements for the first year in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of three years more, he shall be entitled to receive seed and implements as aforesaid in value twenty-five dollars per annum.

Instruction in farming.

And it is further stipulated that such persons as commence farming shall receive instructions from the farmer herein provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil, a second blacksmith shall be provided, with such iron, steel, and other material as may be required.

Delivery of articles in lieu of money and annuities.

ARTICLE 9. In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named, under any and all treaties heretofore made with them, the United States agrees to deliver at the agency house, on the reservation herein provided for, on the first day of September of each year for thirty years, the following articles, to wit:

Clothing.

For each male person, over fourteen years of age, a suit of good substantial woolen clothing, consisting of coat, hat, pantaloons, flannel shirt, and a pair of woolen socks.

For each female, over twelve years of age, a flannel skirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woolen hose, twelve yards of calico, and twelve yards of cotton domestics.

For the boys and girls under the ages named, such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed to make each a suit as aforesaid, together with a pair of woollen hose for each.

Census.

And in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein named, it shall be the duty of the agent, each year, to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians, on which the estimate from year to year can be based.

Annual appropriation in money for ten years.

And, in addition to the clothing herein named, the sum of ten dollars shall be annually appropriated for each Indian roaming, and twenty dollars for each Indian engaged in agriculture, for a period of ten years, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in the purchase of such articles as, from time to time, the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper. And if, at any time within the ten years, it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing, under this article, can be appropriated to better uses for the tribe herein named, Congress may, by law, change the appropriation to other purposes; but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named. And the President shall annually detail an officer of the Army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians, and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and quality of the goods and the manner of their delivery; and it is expressly stipulated that

May be changed.

Army officer to attend delivery of goods.

Subsistence.

each Indian over the age of four years, who shall have removed to and settled permanently upon said reservation, and complied with the stipulations of this treaty, shall be entitled to receive from the United States, for the period of four years after he shall have settled upon said reservation, one pound of meat and one pound of flour per day, provided the Indians cannot furnish their own subsistence at an earlier date. And it is further stipulated that the United States will furnish and deliver to each lodge of Indians, or family of persons legally incorporated with them, who shall remove to the reservation herein described, and commence farming, one good American cow and one good, well-broken pair of American oxen, within sixty days after such lodge or family shall have so settled upon said reservation.

Cow and oxen to each family.

ARTICLE 10. The United States hereby agrees to furnish annually to the Indians the physician, teachers, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmiths as herein contemplated, and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time, on the estimates of the Secretary of the Interior, as will be sufficient to employ such persons.

Physician and teachers, etc.

ARTICLE 11. No treaty for the cession of any portion of the reservation herein described, which may be held in common, shall be of any force or validity as against the said Indians unless executed and signed by, at least, a majority of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the same, and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such a manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his right to any tract of land selected by him as provided in Article 6 of this treaty.

Cession of reservation not to be valid, unless, etc.

ARTICLE 12. It is agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for three years from the date when they commence to cultivate a farm, shall be expended in presents to the ten persons of said tribe who, in the judgment of the agent, may grow the most valuable crops for the respective year.

Annual presents for most valuable crops

W. T. Sherman,
Lieutenant-General.
Wm. S. Harney,
Brevet Major-General and Peace Commissioner.
Alfred H. Terry,
Brevet Major-General.
C. C. Augur,
Brevet Major-General.
John B. Sanborn.
S. F. Tappan.

Ashton S. H. White, Secretary.

Che-ra-pee-ish-ka-te, Pretty Bull, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Chat-sta-he, Wolf Bow, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Ah-be-che-se, Mountain Tail, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Kam-ne-but-sa, Black Foot, his x mark. [SEAL.]
De-sal-ze-cho-se, White Horse, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Chin-ka-she-arache, Poor Elk, his x mark. [SEAL.]
E-sa-woor, Shot in the Jaw, his x mark. [SEAL.]
E-sha-chose, White Forehead, his x mark. [SEAL.]
—— Roo-ka, Pounded Meat, his x mark. [SEAL.]
De-ka-ke-up-se, Bird in the Neck, his x mark. [SEAL.]
Me-na-che, The Swan, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Attest:

George B. Willis, phonographer.
John D. Howland.
Alex. Gardner.
David Knox.
Chas. Freeman.
Jas. C. O'Connor.

TREATY WITH THE EASTERN BAND SHOSHONI AND BANNOCK, 1868.

July 3, 1868.

15 Stat., 673.
Ratified Feb. 26, 1869.
Proclaimed Feb. 24, 1869.

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Fort Bridger, Utah Territory, on the third day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, by and between the undersigned commissioners on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and head-men of and representing the Shoshonee (eastern band) and Bannack tribes of Indians, they being duly authorized to act in the premises:

Peace and friendship.

ARTICLE 1. From this day forward peace between the parties to this treaty shall forever continue. The Government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they hereby pledge their honor to maintain it.

Offenders among the whites to be arrested and punished.

If bad men among the whites, or among other people subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, at Washington City, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also re-imburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

Among the Indians to be given up to the United States, etc.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black, or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States, and at peace therewith, the Indians herein named solemnly agree that they will, on proof made to their agent and notice by him, deliver up the wrong-doer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to the laws; and in case they wilfully refuse so to do, the person injured shall be re-imbursed for his loss from the annuities or other moneys due or to become due to them under this or other treaties made with the United States. And

Rules for ascertaining damages.

the President, on advising with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shall prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under the provisions of this article as in his judgment may be proper. But no such damages shall be adjusted and paid until thoroughly examined and passed upon by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and no one sustaining loss while violating or because of his violating the provisions of this treaty or the laws of the United States, shall be reimbursed therefor.

Reservation.

ARTICLE 2. It is agreed that whenever the Bannacks desire a reservation to be set apart for their use, or whenever the President of the United States shall deem it advisable for them to be put upon a reservation, he shall cause a suitable one to be selected for them in their present country, which shall embrace reasonable portions of the "Port Neuf" and "Kansas Prairie" countries, and that, when this reservation is declared, the United States will secure to the Bannacks the same rights and privileges therein, and make the same and like expenditures therein for their benefit, except the agency-house and residence of agent, in proportion to their numbers, as herein provided for the Shoshonee reservation. The United States further agrees that the follow-

ing district of country, to wit: Commencing at the mouth of Owl Creek and running due south to the crest of the divide between the Sweetwater and Papo Agie Rivers; thence along the crest of said divide and the summit of Wind River Mountains to the longitude of North Fork of Wind River; thence due north to mouth of said North Fork and up its channel to a point twenty miles above its mouth; thence in a straight line to head-waters of Owl Creek and along middle of channel of Owl Creek to place of beginning, shall be and the same is set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Shoshonee Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit amongst them; and the United States now solemnly agrees that no persons except those herein designated and authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents, and employés of the Government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article for the use of said Indians, and henceforth they will and do hereby relinquish all title, claims, or rights in and to any portion of the territory of the United States, except such as is embraced within the limits aforesaid.

Boundaries.

Who not to reside thereon.

ARTICLE 3. The United States agrees, at its own proper expense, to construct at a suitable point of the Shoshonee reservation a warehouse or store-room for the use of the agent in storing goods belonging to the Indians, to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; an agency building for the residence of the agent, to cost not exceeding three thousand; a residence for the physician, to cost not more than two thousand dollars; and five other buildings, for a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, miller, and engineer, each to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; also a school-house or mission building so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced by the agent to attend school, which shall not cost exceeding twenty-five hundred dollars.

Buildings to be erected by the United States.

The United States agrees further to cause to be erected on said Shoshonee reservation, near the other buildings herein authorized, a good steam circular-saw mill, with a grist-mill and shingle-machine attached, the same to cost not more than eight thousand dollars.

Mills.

ARTICLE 4. The Indians herein named agree, when the agency house and other buildings shall be constructed on their reservations named, they will make said reservations their permanent home, and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere; but they shall have the right to hunt on the unoccupied lands of the United States so long as game may be found thereon, and so long as peace subsists among the whites and Indians on the borders of the hunting districts.

Reservation to be permanent home of Indians.

ARTICLE 5. The United States agrees that the agent for said Indians shall in the future make his home at the agency building on the Shoshonee reservation, but shall direct and supervise affairs on the Bannack reservation; and shall keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint by and against the Indians as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their treaty stipulations, as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded, together with his finding, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose decision shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.

Agent to make his home and reside where.

ARTICLE 6. If any individual belonging to said tribes of Indians, or legally incorported with them, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of land within the reservation of his tribe, not exceeding three hundred

Heads of families desiring to commence farming may select lands, etc.

and twenty acres in extent, which tract so selected, certified, and recorded in the "land-book," as herein directed, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it.

Effect of such selection.

Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may in like manner select and cause to be certified to him or her, for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above described. For each tract of land so selected a a certificate, containing a description thereof, and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate indorsed thereon that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the "Shoshone (eastern band) and Bannack land-book."

Persons not heads of families.

Certificates of selection to be delivered, etc., to be recorded.

The President may at any time order a survey of these reservations, and when so surveyed Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of the Indian settlers in these improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property as between Indians, and on all subjects connected with the government of the Indians on said reservations, and the internal police thereof, as may be thought proper.

Survey.

Alienation and descent of property.

ARTICLE 7. In order to insure the civilization of the tribes entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservations, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions af this article to continue for twenty years.

Children between 6 and 16 to attend school.

Duty of agent.

Schoolhouses and teachers.

ARTICLE 8. When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected lands and received his certificate as above directed, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year, in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of three years more, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements as aforesaid in value twenty-five dollars per annum.

Seeds and agricultural implements.

And it is further stipulated that such persons as commence farming shall receive instructions from the farmers herein provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons on either reservation shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil, a second blacksmith shall be provided, with such iron, steel, and other material as may be required.

Instructions in farming.

Second blacksmith.

ARTICLE 9. In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named, under any and all treaties heretofore made with them, the United States agrees to deliver at the agency-house on the reservation herein provided for, on the first day of September of each year, for thirty years, the following articles, to wit:

Delivery of articles in lieu of money and annuities.

For each male person over fourteen years of age, a suit of good substantial woollen clothing, consisting of coat, hat, pantaloons, flannel shirt, and a pair of woollen socks; for each female over twelve years of age, a flannel skirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair

Clothing, etc.

of woollen hose, twelve yards of calico; and twelve yards of cotton domestics.

For the boys and girls under the ages named, such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed to make each a suit as aforesaid, together with a pair of woollen hose for each.

Census.

And in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein named, it shall be the duty of the agent each year to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians, on which the estimate from year to year can be based; and in addition to the clothing herein named, the sum of ten dollars shall be annually appropriated for each Indian roaming and twenty dollars for each Indian engaged in agriculture, for a period of ten years, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in the purchase of such articles as from time to time the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper. And if at any time within the ten years it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing under this article can be appropriated to better uses for the tribes herein named, Congress may by law change the appropriation to other purposes; but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named. And the President shall annually detail an officer of the Army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians, and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and quality of the goods and the manner of their delivery.

May be changed.

Army officer to attest delivery of goods, etc.

Physician, teachers, carpenter, etc.

ARTICLE 10. The United States hereby agrees to furnish annually to the Indians the physician, teachers, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmith, as herein contemplated, and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time, on the estimates of the Secretary of the Interior, as will be sufficient to employ such persons.

Cession of reservation not to be valid unless, etc.

ARTICLE 11. No treaty for the cession of any portion of the reservations herein described which may be held in common shall be of any force or validity as against the said Indians, unless executed and signed by at least a majority of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the same; and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his right to any tract of land selected by him. as provided in Article 6 of this treaty.

Presents for most valuable crops.

ARTICLE 12. It is agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for three years from the date when they commence to cultivate a farm, shall be expended in presents to the ten persons of said tribe who, in the judgment of the agent, may grow the most valuable crops for the respective year.

ARTICLE 13. It is further agreed that until such time as the agency-buildings are established on the Shoshonee reservation, their agent shall reside at Fort Bridger, U. T., and their annuities shall be delivered to them at the same place in June of each year.

N. G. Taylor, [SEAL.]
W. T. Sherman, [SEAL.]
Lieutenant-General.
Wm. S. Harney, [SEAL.]
John B. Sanborn, [SEAL.]
S. F. Tappan, [SEAL.]
C. C. Augur, [SEAL.]
Brevet Major-General, U. S. Army, Commissioners.
Alfred H. Terry, [SEAL.]
Brigadier-General and Brevet Major-General, U. S. Army.

Attest:
A. S. H. White, Secretary.

Shoshones:

Wash-a-kie,	his x mark.
Wau-ny-pitz,	his x mark.
Toop-se-po-wot,	his x mark.
Nar-kok,	his x mark.
Taboonshe-ya,	his x mark.
Bazeel,	his x mark.
Pan-to-she-ga,	his x mark.
Ninny-Bitse,	his x mark.

Bannacks:

Taggee,	his x mark.
Tay-to-ba,	his x mark.
We-rat-ze-won-a-gen,	his x mark.
Coo-sha-gan,	his x mark.
Pan-sook-a-motse,	his x mark.
A-wite-etse,	his x mark.

Witnesses:

Henry A. Morrow,
Lieutenant-Colonel Thirty-sixth Infantry and
Brevet Colonel U. S. Army, Commanding Fort Bridger.
Luther Manpa, United States Indian agent.
W. A. Carter.
J. Van Allen Carter, interpreter.

TREATY WITH SHOSHONES, BANNACKS, AND SHEEPEATERS, SEPTEMBER 24, 1868

September 24, 1868.
Unratified.

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Virginia City, Montana Territory, on the twenty-fourth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, by and between W. J. Cullen, commissioner, and James Tufts, secretary of Montana Territory, and acting governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and headmen of, and representing, the mixed tribes of Shoshones, Bannacks, and Sheepeaters, they being duly authorized to act in the premises

ARTICLE I

The object of treaties being the strict maintenance of peace between the contracting parties, the faithful observance of each stipulation is absolutely necessary. The United States, acting in good faith, expect the like conduct on the part of the Indians, so that perpetual amity and friendship may be maintained between the parties hereto.

ARTICLE II

The chiefs and headmen representing the Indians aforesaid do most solemnly promise and agree with the parties representing the United States as aforesaid, that they will surrender, and they do hereby surrender to the United States of America, all their right, title, interest, claims, and demands of, in, and to, all lands, tracts, or portions of land, which they may now or have heretofore possessed or occupied within the territory of the United States.

ARTICLE III

The United States sets apart for the use and occupation of Indian tribes, parties hereto, the following described section or portion of country: Two townships of land, commencing at or about a point known as "the Point of Rocks," on the north fork of the Salmon River, about twelve miles above Fort Lemhi. The said townships and tract of land to be located and surveyed by or under the direction of their agent, or the superintendent of Indian affairs, as the Secretary of the Interior may direct.

ARTICLE IV

The aforesaid tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, agree and consent to remain within their own country, set apart under this treaty, except when visiting other sections of the country for the purposes of trade or social intercourse.

ARTICLE V

It is agreed and understood by and between the parties to this treaty that if any nation or tribe of Indians as aforesaid shall violate any of the agreements, obligations, or stipulations herein contained, the United States may withhold, for such length of time as the President may determine, any portion or all of the annuities agreed to be paid to said tribes under the sixth article of this treaty.

ARTICLE VI

In consideration of the foregoing and following agreements, stipulations, and cessions, and on condition of their faithful observance, the United States agree to expend for the mixed tribe of Shoshones, Bannacks, and Sheepeaters, the sum of thirty thousand dollars for the first year, twenty thousand dollars for the second year, and annually thereafter for eighteen years the sum of twelve thousand dollars, in such useful goods and provisions as the President, at his discretion, may from time to time determine; and the superintendent, or other proper Indian agent, shall each year inform the President of the wishes of the Indians in relation thereto.

ARTICLE VII

The tribes of Indians parties to this treaty desire to exclude from their country the use of ardent spirits or other intoxicating liquors, and to prevent their people from drinking the same: *Therefore it is provided*, That any Indian belonging to the said tribes who is guilty of bringing such liquor into the Indian country, or who drinks liquor, may have his or her proportion of the annuities withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine.

ARTICLE VIII

And the United States doth further covenant and agree that, in addition to the appropriation heretofore made under article sixth, there shall be made an appropriation of $8,000 for the erection of a saw-mill upon the reservation as aforesaid.

ARTICLE IX

The United States do further agree that an annual appropriation shall be made for the compensation of one farmer, one physician, one blacksmith, one carpenter, one engineer, and one interpreter, who are to reside upon the reservation and to give their exclusive time, care, skill, and energy to the interests of the reservation in their respective departments, and to the instruction of the Indians.

ARTICLE X

The United States doth further covenant, promise, and agree, for and in consideration aforementioned, to appropriate annually the sum of $2,500 for the purpose of maintaining a mission school, to be under the direction of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

ARTICLE XI

This treaty shall be obligatory upon the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said W. J. Cullen, commissioner, and James Tufts, acting governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and headmen of the aforesaid tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, have hereunto set their hands and seals at the place and on the day and year aforesaid.

W. J. CULLEN, *Commissioner*. [SEAL]
JAMES TUFTS, [SEAL]
Acting Governor, and ex officio Superintendent Indian Affairs.

TIN-DOI, his x mark. [SEAL]
PE-PE-A-MOR, his x mark. [SEAL]
WOI-E-COCRA, his x mark. [SEAL]
MAT-GE-NUP, his x mark. [SEAL]
PAR-GET-E-WAY, his x mark. [SEAL]
OUI-DIN-GOI-YUP, his x mark. [SEAL]
PE-CEW-TSY, his x mark. [SEAL]
ORA-GO-NOI, his x mark. [SEAL]
WAT-SUNG, his x mark. [SEAL]
PE-GE, his x mark. [SEAL]
CUBE-ROA, his x mark. [SEAL]
ARGIN-OWN-NIN, his x mark. [SEAL]

WM. BEALL, *Secretary*.
Witnessed by—
EDWARD GODDARD.
Mr. L. DAEMS, *M'y*.
W. F. SANDERS.
JOHN W. POWELL, *Interpreter*.
H. L. WARREN, *Chief Justice Montana Territory*.
ANSON S. POTTER.
THOS. B. WADE.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, VIRGINIA CITY, M. T.,
September 25, 1868.

SIR: We, W. J. Cullen, commissioner, and James Tufts, secretary of Montana, and acting governor, and superintendent of Indian affairs, have the honor to make the following report respecting the mixed nation of Shoshone Indians, consisting of the Bannacks and Sheepeaters, and the treaty made and concluded with them near Virginia City, Montana Territory, on the 24th instant. This nation is scattered over a large extent of country westward from the Yellowstone to a mountain between the Bitter Root and Big Hole, running through Montana into Idaho. They are very poor, frequently being in great want both of provisions and clothing, and too weak, as a warlike nation, to contend with the more powerful tribes of Sioux upon the buffalo hunting grounds. They are sparsely supplied with stock, so that their game hunts are confined to very limited boundaries. Many of them depend, in a great measure, for subsistence upon the bounty of citizens in towns, and upon ranches. They are peacefully disposed towards the whites, and very few of them are ever engaged in the larceny or spoliation of the property belonging to the whites. The territory now occupied by the whites in Montana, and over which a land survey district has been extended, is entirely without treaty stipulations for the extinguishment of Indian titles. Many of these people are willing and anxious to work, and only require the encouragement and direction of the United States to cultivate the land and foster habits of thrift and industry, making themselves not only self-supporting but, to a limited extent, contribute to the agricultural development of the country. They are tractable and intelligent, receiving instruction quite readily and with profit. These being the circumstances which surround and govern these people, we have thought it advisable to make a treaty with them. We, therefore, assembled the chiefs and headmen, representing from 500 to 600 of these people, and proposed articles of treaty to them, which were readily and thankfully acceded to and endorsed by them, each provision of the treaty being plainly and fully explained to them.

The annual appropriations required of the Government under this treaty are exceedingly small, not being more than $18,000 or $19,000 after the first and second years, but sufficiently large to be of vast service to these dependent people.

We most earnestly recommend that this treaty be submitted to the United States Senate for ratification.

Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

W. J. CULLEN,
Commissioner.

JAMES TUFTS,
Secretary, Acting Gov'r. and Sup't Indian Affairs, M. T.

Hon. N. G. TAYLOR,
Commissioner Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.

TREATY WITH THE NEZ PERCÉS, 1868.

Aug. 13, 1868.

15 Stats., 693.
Ratified Feb. 16, 1869.
Proclaimed Feb. 24, 1869.

Whereas certain amendments are desired by the Nez Percé tribe of Indians to their treaty concluded at the council ground in the valley of the Lapwai, in the Territory of Washington, on the ninth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three; and whereas the United States are willing to assent to said amendments; it is therefore agreed by and between Nathaniel G. Taylor, commissioner, on the part of the United States, thereunto duly authorized, and Lawyer, Timothy, and Jason, chiefs of said tribe, also being thereunto duly authorized, in manner and form following, that is to say:

Reservation.

ARTICLE 1. That all lands embraced within the limits of the tract set apart for the exclusive use and benefit of said Indians by the 2d article of said treaty of June 9th, 1863, which are susceptible of cultivation and suitable for Indian farms, which are not now occupied by the United States for military purposes, or which are not required for agency or other buildings and purposes provided for by existing treaty stipulations, shall be surveyed as provided in the 3d article of said treaty of June 9th, 1863, and as soon as the allotments shall be plowed and fenced, and as soon as schools shall be established as provided by existing treaty stipulations, such Indians now residing outside the reservation as may be decided upon by the agent of the tribe and the Indians themselves, shall be removed to and located upon allotments within the reservation: *Provided, however*, That in case there should

Allotments.

not be a sufficient quantity of suitable land within the boundaries of the reservation to provide allotments for those now there and those residing outside the boundaries of the same, then those residing outside, or as many thereof as allotments cannot be provided for, may remain upon the lands now occupied and improved by them, provided, that the land so occupied does not exceed twenty acres for each and every male person who shall have attained the age of twenty-one years or is the head of a family, and the tenure of those remaining upon lands outside the reservation shall be the same as is provided in said 3d article of said treaty of June 9th, 1863, for those receiving

allotments within the reservation; and it is further agreed that those now residing outside of the boundaries of the reservation and who may continue to so reside shall be protected by the military anthorities in their rights upon the allotments occupied by them, and also in the privilege of grazing their animals upon surrounding unoccupied lands.

Timber to be protected.

ARTICLE 2. It is further agreed between the parties hereto that the stipulations contained in the 8th article of the treaty of June 9th, 1863, relative to timber, are hereby annulled as far as the same provides that the United States shall be permitted to use thereof in the maintaining of forts or garrisons, and that the said Indians shall have the aid of the military authorities to protect the timber upon their reservation, and that none of the same shall be cut or removed without the consent of the head-chief of the tribe, together with the consent of the agent and superintendent of Indian affairs, first being given in writing, which written consent shall state the part of the reservation upon which the timber is to be cut, and also the quantity, and the price to be paid therefor.

School moneys, etc.

ARTICLE 3. It is further hereby stipulated and agreed that the amount due said tribe for school purposes and for the support of teachers that has not been expended for that purpose since the year 1864, but has been used for other purposes, shall be ascertained and the same shall be re-imbursed to said tribe by appropriation by Congress, and shall be set apart and invested in United States bonds and shall be held in trust by the United States, the interest on the same to be paid to said tribe annually for the support of teachers.

In testimony whereof the said Commissioner on the part of the United States and the said chiefs representing said Nez Percé tribe of Indians have hereunto set their hands and seals this 13th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, at the city of Washington, D. C.

N. G. Taylor, [L. S.]
Commissioner Indian Affairs.
Lawyer, Head Chief Nez Percés. [L. S.]
Timothy, his x mark, Chief. [L. S.]
Jason, his x mark, Chief. [L. S.]

In presence of—
Charles E. Mix.
Robert Newell, United States Agent.
W. R. Irwin.

AGREEMENT WITH THE CROWS, 1880.

May 14, 1880.

Unratified.*
Indian Office, Montana C. 839 (1880).
See note a, Vol. 1, p. 195.

The chiefs of the Crow tribe of Indians now present in Washington hereby give their own consent and promise to use their best endeavors to procure the consent of the adult male members of said tribe to cede to the United States all that part of the present Crow reservation in the Territory of Montana described as follows, to wit:

Beginning in mid-channel of the Yellowstone River, at a point opposite the mouth of Boulder Creek; thence up the mid-channel of said river to the point where it crosses the southern boundary of Montana, being the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; thence east along said parallel of latitude to the one hundred and ninth meridian of longitude; thence north on said meridian, to a point six miles south of the first standard parallel south, being on the township-line between townships six and seven south; thence west on said township-line to the one hundred and tenth meridian of longitude; thence north along said meridian to a point either west or east of the source of the Eastern Branch of Boulder Creek; thence in a straight line to the source of the Eastern Branch of Boulder Creek; thence down said Eastern Branch to Boulder Creek; thence down Boulder Creek, and to the place of beginning.

The said chiefs of the Crow tribe of Indians promise to obtain the

consent of their people as aforesaid to the cession of the territory of their reserve as above, on the following express conditions:

First. That the Government of the United States cause the agricultural lands remaining in their reservation to be properly surveyed and divided among the said Indians in severalty in the proportions hereinafter mentioned, and to issue patents to them respectively therefor, so soon as the necessary laws are passed by Congress. Allotments in severalty of said surveyed lands shall be made as follows: To each head of a family not more than one-quarter of a section, with an additional quantity of grazing-land, not exceeding one-quarter of a section. To each single person over eighteen years of age not more than one-eighth of a section, with an additional quantity of grazing-land not exceeding one-eighth of a section. To each orphan child under eighteen years of age not more than one-eighth of a section, with an additional quantity of grazing land not exceeding one-eighth of a section, and to each other person, under eighteen years, or who may be born prior to said allotments, one-eighth of a section, with a like quantity of grazing land. All allotments to be made with the advice of the Agent for said Indians, or such other person as the Secretary of the Interior may designate for that purpose, upon the selection of the Indians, heads of families selecting for their minor children, and the agent making the allotment for each orphan child.

The title to be acquired by the Indians shall not be subject to alienation, lease, or incumbrance, either by voluntary conveyance of the grantee or his heirs, or by the judgment, order, or decree of any court, or subject to taxation of any character, but shall be and remain inalienable, and not subject to taxation for the period of twenty-five years, and until such time thereafter as the President may see fit to remove the restriction, which shall be incorporated in the patents.

Second. That in consideration of the cession of territory to be made by the said Crow tribe, the United States, in addition to the annuities and sums for provisions and clothing stipulated and provided for in existing treaties and laws, agrees to appropriate annually for twenty-five years, the sum of thirty thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of the President for the benefit of the said Indians, in assisting them to erect houses, to procure seeds, farming implements, stock, or in cash, as the President may direct.

Third. That if at any time hereafter the Crow Indians shall consent to permit cattle to be driven across their reservation or grazed on the same, the Secretary of the Interior shall fix the amount to be paid by parties desiring to so drive or graze cattle; all moneys arising from this source to be paid to the Indians under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

Fourth. All the existing provisions of the treaty of May seventh, 1868, shall continue in force.

Done at Washington, this fourteenth day of May, anno Domini, eighteen hundred and eighty.

Plenty Coos, his x mark.
Old Crow, his x mark
Two Belly, his x mark
Long Elk, his x mark
Pretty Eagle, his x mark
Medicine Crow, his x mark.

Witnesses:
A. M. Quivly, Interpreter.
E. J. Brooks
J. F. Stoek
A. R. Keller, United States Indian Agent.

NOTE.—This agreement was not ratified, but substituted by that of June 12, 1880, which was ratified April 11, 1882 (22 Stat., 42.)

ACTS OF FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION, 1874.

CHAP. 2.—An Act to confirm an agreement made with the Shoshone Indians (eastern band) for the purchase of the south part of their reservation in Wyoming Territory.[b]

Dec. 15, 1874.
18 Stat., 291.

Agreement with Shoshoni Indians confirmed.
See 18 Stat., 166.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the agreement entered into on the twenty-sixth day of September, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-two, between Felix R. Brunot, commissioner on the part of the United States, and the chief, head-men, and

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[a] Consent of Winnebago given July 11, 1874. See Winnebago W. 1091. Deed from Omaha for 12,347.55 acres, dated July 31, 1874, approved August 12, 1874. See Omaha W. 1225. Recorded in vol. 6, p. 215, Indian deeds.

[b] The following other acts confirm agreements with the Shoshoni tribe: July 3, 1882, chapter 268 (post, p. 199); September 1, 1888, chapter 936 (post, p. 292); June 7, 1897, chapter 3 (post, p. 624), and June 6, 1900, chapter 813 (post, p. 704).

men of the eastern band of Shoshone Indians, in the words and figures following, be, and the same is hereby, confirmed, satisfied [ratified], and approved by the Congress and President of the United States: *Provided:* That the cattle furnished under this agreement shall be good, young American cattle, suitable for breeding purposes.

Condition as to cattle.

Date of agreement; parties.

Articles of a convention made and concluded at the Shoshone and Bannock Indian agency in Wyoming Territory, this twenty-sixth day of September, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-two, by and between Felix R. Brunot, commissioner on the part of the United States, and the chief, head-men, and men of the eastern band of Shoshone Indians, constituting a majority of all the adult male Indians of said band on [or] tribe of Indians, and duly authorized to act in the premises, witnesseth:

Preamble.

That whereas by article eleven [two] of a treaty with the Shoshone (eastern band) and Bannock tribes of Indians, made the third day of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, at Fort Bridger, Utah Territory, a reservation was set apart for the use and occupancy of said tribes of Indians in the following words: "The United States further agrees that the following district of country, to wit, 'commencing at the mouth of Owl Creek and running, due south, to the crest of the divide between the Sweetwater and the Papo-Agie Rivers; thence along the crest of said divide and the summit of Wind River Mountains to the longitude of North Fork of Wind River; thence due north, to mouth of said Nork [North] Fork, and up its channel to a point twenty miles above its mouth; thence in a straight line to head-waters of Owl Creek, and, along middle of channel of Owl Creek, to place of beginning,' shall be, and the same is, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Shoshone Indians herein named;"

Vol. 2, p. 1020.

And whereas, previous to and since the date of said treaty, mines have been discovered, and citizens of the United States have made improvements within the limits of said reservation, and it is deemed advisable for the settlement of all difficulty between the parties, arising in consequence of said occupancy, to change the southern limit of said reservation:

Cession to the United States of part of reservation.

I. The Shoshone band or tribe of Indians (eastern band) hereby cede to the United States of America that portion of their reservation in Wyoming Territory which is situated south of a line beginning at a point on the eastern boundary of the Shoshone and Bannock reservation, due east to the mouth of the Little Papo-Agie, at its junction with the Papo-Agie, and running from said point west to the mouth of the Little Papo-Agie; thence up the Papo-Agie to the North Fork, and up the North Fork to the mouth of the canyon; thence west to the western boundary of the reservation.

Location.

Consideration for cession of land.

II. The United States agree to pay to the Shoshone (eastern band) or tribe the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars; said sum to be expended under the direction of the President for the benefit and use of said Indians in the following manner, viz: On or before the tenth day of August of each year, for the term of five years after the ratification of this agreement, five thousand dollars shall be expended in the purchase of stock-cattle, and said cattle delivered to the Shoshones on their reservation. Second. The salary of five hundred dollars per annum shall be paid by the United States for the term of five years to Wash-a-kie, chief of the Shoshones.

Salary of chief of Shoshoni.

III. Within the term of six months, and as soon as practicable after the ratification of this agreement, the United States shall cause the southern line of the Shoshone reservation, as herein designated, to be surveyed and marked at suitable points on the ground, and until said line has been so surveyed and marked, the United States binds itself not to permit the intrusion of any white persons upon any of the agricultural or other lands within the limit of the district proposed to be ceded.

Southern line of reservation to be marked.

Intrusion of white persons.

IV. This convention or agreement is made subject to the approval of the President and the ratification or rejection of the Congress of the United States.

Agreement subject to ratification.

Approved, December 15, 1874.

NOTE.—See annual report for 1872, p. 127, for signers to agreement.

CHAP. 74.—An act to accept and ratify the agreement (*a*) submitted by the Crow Indians of Montana for the sale of a portion of their reservation in said Territory, and for other purposes, and to make the necessary appropriations for carrying out the same. (*b*)

Apr. 11, 1882.
22 Stat., 42.

Preamble.

Whereas certain individual Indians and heads of families representing a majority of all the adult male members of the Crow tribe of Indians occupying or interested in the Crow Reservation in the Territory of Montana have agreed upon, executed, and submitted to the Secretary of the Interior an agreement for the sale to the United States of a portion of their said reservation, and for their settlement upon lands in severalty, and for other purposes: Therefore,

Crow Indians, Montana, agreement of, for sale of lands accepted, ratified, and confirmed.

Vol. 2, p. 1011.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That said agreement be, and the same is hereby, accepted, ratified, and confirmed. Said agreement is executed by a majority of all the adult male members of said tribe, in conformity with the provisions of article eleven of the treaty with the Crow Indians of May seventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, and is in words and figures as follows, namely:

"We, the undersigned individual Indians and heads of families of the Crow tribe of Indians now residing upon the Crow Reservation in the Territory of Montana, do, this twelfth day of June, anno Domini eighteen hundred and eighty, hereby agree to dispose of and sell to the Government of the United States, for certain considerations to be hereinafter mentioned, all that part of the present Crow Reservation in the Territory of Montana described as follows, to wit: Beginning in the mid-channel of the Yellowstone River at a point opposite the mouth of Boulder Creek; thence up the mid-channel of said river to the point where it crosses the southern boundary of Montana Territory, being the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; thence east along said parallel of latitude to a point where said parallel crosses Clarke's Fork; thence north to a point six miles south of the first standard parallel, being on the township-line between townships six and seven south; thence west on said township-line to the one hundred and tenth meridian of longitude; thence north along said meridian to a point either west or east of the source of the eastern branch of Boulder Creek; thence down said eastern branch to Boulder Creek; thence down Boulder Creek to the place of beginning; for the following considerations:

Boundaries of portion of reservation agreed upon for sale.

"First. That the Government of the United States cause the agricultural lands remaining in our reservation to be properly surveyed and divided among us in severalty, in the proportions hereinafter mentioned, and to issue patents to us respectively therefor, so soon as the necessary laws are passed by Congress. Allotments in severalty of said surveyed lands shall be made as follows:

Condition of sale.

Allotment of lands in severalty.

"To each head of a family not more than one quarter-section, with

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(*a*) The agreement of May 14, 1880 (see p. 277 of annual report for 1880), signed at Washington, D. C., was not ratified by the Crow Nation of Indians, and this agreement was substituted therefor.

(*b*) Subsequent acts ratifying agreements with the Crow Indians are those of July 10, 1882, chapter 284 (post, p. 201), and March 3, 1891, chapter 543, section 31 (post, p. 432), modified by the act of 1892, ch. 164, post, p. 448. By the act of July 13, 1892, chapter 164 (post, p. 447), allotments under the latter act, are not to conflict with prior valid claims of settlers. Relative to the allotments upon the Crow Reservation, see the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1901, page 53.

By the act of March 2, 1895, chapter 188 (post, p. 565), settlers on the Crow Reservation are authorized to file suits for damages in the Court of Claims.

The act of March 1, 1899, chapter 324 (post, p. 687), authorizes the use of annuity money for the completion of the irrigation system.

The distribution of the "common herd" of cattle (see act of March 3, 1891, supra), and of money arising from sales of stock is directed by the act of May 27, 1902, chapter 888 (post, p. 754).

Railroads.—The following special acts authorize the construction of railroads through the Crow Reservation: March 3, 1887, chapter 366 (post, p. 254); June 4, 1888, chapter 344 (post, p. 277); February 12, 1889, chapter 134 (post, p. 309); and March 1, 1893, chapter 192 (post, p. 479).

an additional quantity of grazing land not exceeding one quarter-section.

"To each single person over eighteen years of age not more than one-eighth of a section, with an additional quantity of grazing land not exceeding one-eighth of a section.

"To each orphan child under eighteen years of age not more than one-eighth of a section, with an additional quantity of grazing land not exceeding one-eighth of a section; and

"To each other person under eighteen years, or who may be born prior to said allotments, one-eighth of a section, with a like quantity of grazing land.

"All allotments to be made with the advice of our agent, or such other person as the Secretary of the Interior may designate for that purpose upon our selection, heads of families selecting for their minor children, and the agent making the allotment for each orphan child.

Title inalienable for twenty-five years.

The title to be acquired by us, and by all members of the Crow tribe of Indians, shall not be subject to alienation, lease, or incumbrance, either by voluntary conveyance of the grantee or his heirs or by the judgment, order, or decree of any court, nor subject to taxation of any character, but shall be and remain inalienable and not subject to taxation for the period of twenty-five years, and until such time thereafter as the President may see fit to remove the restriction, which shall be incorporated in each patent.

Patent.

Annuity for twenty-five years.

"Second. That in consideration of the session of territory to be made by us as individual Indians and heads of families of the Crow tribe to the Government of the United States, said Government of the United States, in addition to the annuities and sums for provisions and clothing stipulated and provided for in existing treaties and laws, hereby agrees to appropriate annually, for twenty-five years, the sum of thirty thousand dollars, to be expended, under the direction of the President, for our benefit, in assisting us to erect houses, to procure seeds, farming implements, and stock, or in cash, as the President may direct.

Driving or grazing cattle on reservation.

"Third. That if at any time hereafter we, as a tribe, shall consent to permit cattle to be driven across our reservation or grazed thereon, the Secretary of the Interior shall fix the amount to be paid by parties so desiring to drive or graze cattle; all moneys arising from this source to be paid to us under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

Vol. 2, p. 1008.

"Fourth. That all the existing provisions of May seventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, shall continue in force.

"Done at Crow Agency, Montana Territory, this twelfth day of June, anno Domini eighteen hundred and eighty."

Secretary of Interior to carry provisions of act into effect.

SEC. 2. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to cause to be surveyed a sufficient quantity of land on the Crow Reservation to secure the settlement in severalty of said Indians as provided in said agreement, and upon the completion of said survey he shall cause allotments of land to be made to each and all of the Indians of said Crow tribe in quantity and character as mentioned and set forth in the agreement above named, and upon the approval of said allotments by the Secretary of the Interior he shall cause patents to issue to each and every allottee for the lands so allotted, with the same considerations, restrictions, and limitations mentioned therein as are provided in said agreement.

Approval of allotments.
Patents to issue.

Appropriations.

SEC. 3. That for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this act into effect the following sums, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and they are hereby, set aside, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior as follows, namely:

Expense of survey.

For the expense of the survey of the lands as provided in the second section of this act, the sum of fifteen thousand dollars.

For the first of twenty-five installments, as provided in said agreement, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in such manner as the President may direct, the sum of thirty thousand dollars.

Approved, April 11, 1882.

CHAP. 284.—An act to accept and ratify an agreement with the Crow Indians for the sale of a portion of their reservation in the Territory of Montana required for the use of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and to make the necessary appropriations for carrying out the same.

July 10, 1882.

22 Stat., 157.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a certain agreement made between the United States of America, represented by Llewellyn A. Luce, William H. Walker, and Charles A. Maxwell, special agents duly appointed in that behalf by the Secretary of the Interior, of the one part, and the Crow tribe of Indians resident on the Crow Reservation in the Territory of Montana, acting under the supervision and with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, of the other part, be, and the same is hereby, ratified and confirmed. Said agreement is executed by a majority of all the adult male Indians of the Crow tribe occupying or interested in the lands therein more particularly described, in conformity with the provisions contained in article eleven of the treaty with the Crow Indians of May seventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, and is in the words following, namely:

Acceptance and ratification of agreement with Crow Indians for sale of portion of reservation in Montana to the United States, for use of Northern Pacific Railroad.

See note to 1882, c. 74, ante, p. 195.

Vol. 2, p. 1011.

"Whereas by section one of an act of Congress approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-four, entitled 'An act granting lands to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, on the Pacific coast, by the northern route (thirteenth Statutes at Large, page three hundred and sixty-five), the Northern Pacific Railroad Company was authorized and empowered to lay out, locate, construct, furnish, maintain, and enjoy a continuous railroad and telegraph line, with the appurtenances, namely: Beginning at a point on Lake Superior in the State of Minnesota or Wisconsin, thence westerly by the most eligible railroad route, as shall be determined by said company, within the territory of the United States, on a line north of the forty-fifth degree of latitude, to some point on Puget Sound; and

Preamble.
13 Stat., 365.

"Whereas by section two of said act Congress granted to said company the right of way for the construction of said railroad and telegraph line to the extent of two hundred feet in width on each side of said railroad where it may pass through the public domain, including all necessary ground for station-buildings, workshops, depots, machine-shops, switches, side-tracks, turn-tables, and water-stations; and

"Whereas by said section two Congress provided that the United States should extinguish as rapidly as may be consistent with public

policy and the welfare of the Indians the Indian titles to all lands falling under the operation of this act and acquired in the donation to the road named in the act; and

Vol. 2, p. 1008.

"Whereas by treaty between the United States and the Crow Indians concluded at Fort Laramie, May seventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, and duly ratified and proclaimed (fifteenth Statutes at Large, page six hundred and forty-nine), a district of country in the Territory of Montana was set apart as a reservation for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of said Indians; and

"Whereas there is no provision or stipulation in said treaty authorizing said company or recognizing its right to construct its road through said reservation; and

"Whereas the said company did, on the twenty-fifth day of June, eighteen hundred and eighty-one, file in the Department of the Interior a map showing the definite location of its line of railroad from the one hundred and seventh degree of longitude west from Greenwich westwardly through said reservation and adjacent territory to the western boundary of the said reserve, as provided by said act of eighteen hundred and sixty-four, the company having first obtained the permission of the Secretary of the Interior to survey its line in said reservation; and

"Whereas the said company desires to construct its line of railroad upon such designated route, and claims the right by virtue of said act so to do:

Agreement

"Now, therefore, in order to fulfill the obligations of the Government in the premises, this agreement, made this twenty-second day of August anno Domini eghteen hundred and eighty-one, between the Crow tribe of Indians resident on the Crow Reservation, in the Territory of Montana, represented by their chiefs, headmen, and heads of a majority of families, and being a majority of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the lands hereinafter described, the said Indians acting under the supervision and with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior of the United States, of the one part, and the United States of America, represented by Llewellyn A. Luce, William H. Walker, and Charles A. Maxwell, special agents duly appointed in this behalf by the Secretary of the Interior, of the other part, witnesseth. That for the consideration hereinafter mentioned the Crow tribe of Indians do hereby surrender and relinquish to the United States all their right, title and interest in and to all that part of the Crow Reservation situate in the Territory of Montana and described as follows, namely:

Description of land relinquished for right of way; area 5,384 acres.

"A strip of land not exceeding four hundred feet in width, that is to say, two hundred feet on each side of the line laid down on the map of definite location hereinbefore mentioned, wherever said line runs through said reservation between the one hundred and seventh degree of longitude west of Greenwich on the east and the mid-channel of the Big Boulder River on the west, containing five thousand three hundred and eighty-four acres, more or less. An official copy of said map of definite location was, on this twenty-second day of August, anno Domini eighteen hundred and eighty-one, produced before said special agents and the Indians in council, was fully explained to said Indians, and is hereunto attached, marked A, and made a part of this agreement. Also the several parcels of land situate along and adjoining the said strip of land hereinbefore mentioned between the one hundred and seventh degree of longitude west of Greenwich on the east and the mid-channel of the Big Boulder River on the west, as defined and described on a map produced before said agents and the Indians in council on the day and date above mentioned, and fully explained to and understood by said Indians; said tracts being designated on the aforesaid map by the

letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, and K, and containing, respectively the following area, that is to say: Tract A, twenty-six and twenty-three hundredths acres; tract B, twenty-eight and fifty-four hundredths acres; tract C, twenty-six and twenty-three hundredths acres; tract E, twenty-six and twenty-three hundredths acres; tract F, twenty-six and twenty-three hundredths acres; tract G, twenty-six and twenty-three hundredths acres; tract H, twenty-six and twenty-three hundredths acres; tract I, twenty-six and twenty-three hundredths acres; tract J, twenty-eight and thirty-two hundredths acres; tract K, twenty-six and twenty-three hundredths acres, aggregating two hundred and sixty-six acres more or less, said map being hereunto attached, marked B, and made a part of this agreement; which last mentioned tracts are intended for the use of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company for station-houses, depots, switches, and so forth. It is further stipulated and agreed that the United States will not permit the said railroad company, its employees or agents, to trespass upon any part of the lands of the Crow Indian Reservation not hereby relinquished, nor permit said company, its employees or agents, to cut any timber, wood, or hay from the lands embraced in the reservation.

Trespass.

"And it is further stipulated and agreed that the Secretary of the Interior, upon such terms as he may see fit to impose, may permit to be constructed, maintained, and used within said Crow Indian Reservation wagon roads not exceeding three in number, in addition to any established wagon roads which may now be in use therein; the said three roads to connect with the line of said railroad at such points as the Secretary of the Interior may designate; all of which wagon roads shall be under the control of the Government of the United States.

Wagon roads.

"In consideration for the lands hereby relinquished, amounting in the aggregate to five thousand six hundred and fifty acres, more or less, and for the privileges herein granted, the United States stipulates and agrees to pay to the Crow tribe of Indians the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, to be deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the said tribe of Indians upon the ratification of this agreement by Congress, and the necessary appropriation made therefor, the sum aforesaid to be expended for the benefit of said Indians in such manner as the Secretary of the Interior may direct; the same to be in addition to any and all moneys to which the said Indians are entitled under the provisions of the treaty of May seventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, hereinbefore mentioned.

Payment to Crows.

Vol. 2, p. 1008.

"All provisions of existing treaties with the Crow Indians not affected by this agreement are to remain in full force and effect, and this agreement is to be subject to ratification by Congress.

"Executed at Crow Agency, in the Territory of Montana, this twenty-second day of August, anno Domini eighteen hundred and eighty-one, as witness the following signatures."

SEC. 2. That for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this act into effect the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars is hereby set aside, out of any moneys in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be deposited in the United States Treasury to the credit of the Crow tribe of Indians, and to be expended for the benefit of the said Indians in such manner as the Secretary of the Interior may direct.

Appropriation.

SEC. 3. That the right of way over the land relinquished by said agreement to the United States for the construction of said Northern Pacific Railroad, and the use of the several parcels of land so relinquished intended to be used for depots, stations, sidings, and so forth, for said railroad, are hereby granted to said Northern Pacific Railroad Company, its successors and assigns, for the uses and purposes in said agreement set forth; but the land, or any part

Right of way.

thereof, relinquished to the United States by said agreement shall not be used for railroad purposes by or for the said Northern Pacific Railroad Company, its successors or assigns, except upon the condition precedent that the said company, its successors or assigns, shall, within sixty days from the taking effect of this act, pay to the Treasurer of the United States said sum of twenty-five thousand dollars hereby appropriated to be paid by the United States for the lands relinquished to the United States by said agreement, and shall within the same time file with the Secretary of the Interior its written acceptance of the conditions of this section; nor shall said land, or any part thereof, be continued to be used for railroad purposes by or for said Northern Pacific Railroad Company, its successors or assigns, except upon the further condition that said company, its successors or assigns, will pay any and all damages which the United States or said Indians, individually or in their tribal capacity, or any other Indians lawfully occupying said reservation, may sustain by reason or on account of the act or acts of said company, its successors or assigns, its agents or employees, or on account of fires originating by or in the construction or operation of said railroad, the damages in all cases to be recovered in any court of the Territory of Montana having jurisdiction of the amount claimed, upon suit or action instituted by the proper United States attorney in the name of the United States: *Provided*, That the said United States attorney may accept such sum of money in satisfaction of any such injury or damages as in his discretion may be just; and if so accepted before suit or action is commenced, no suit or action shall be instituted, and if accepted after commencement of suit or action, the same shall be dismissed at the cost of said company, its succesors or assigns.

Payment to the United States.

Acceptance filed with Secretary of Interior.

Damages.

Proviso.

Moneys accepted or recovered to be covered into Treasury; if for damages, credited to Crow Indians.

Exceptions.

SEC. 4. That all moneys accepted or recovered under the provisions of section three of this act shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States, and if accepted or recovered on account of damages sustained by said Indians as aforesaid, they shall be placed to the credit of said Indians in their tribal-names, to be expended by the Secretary of the Interior for the benefit of said Indians in such manner as he may deem for their best interest, except in the case of an individual Indian, when the amount covered into the Treasury shall be expended for his sole benefit.

Approved, July 10, 1882.

Agreement with Crow Indians, Montana, ratified.
See note to 1882, ch. 74, ante p. 195.

SEC. 31. The following agreement entered into by J. Clifford Richardson, Charles M. Dole, and Rockwell J. Flint, commissioners on the part of the United States, and Carl Lieder and others on behalf of the Crow Indians, on the eighth day of December, eighteen hundred and ninety, with the Crow tribe of Indians, in Montana, which said agree-

ment is hereby accepted, ratified, and confirmed, and is now on file in the Department of the Interior and is in the words and figures as follows, to wit:

Agreement.

We, the undersigned, adult male Indians of the Crow tribe now residing on the Crow Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana, do, this eighth day of December A. D. eighteen hundred and ninety, hereby agree to dispose of and sell to the Government of the United States, for certain considerations hereinafter mentioned, all that portion of the Crow Indian Reservation, in the State of Montana, lying west and south of the following lines, to wit:

Lands sold.

Description.

Beginning in the mid-channel of the Yellowstone River, at a point which is the northwest corner of section Number thirty-six, township Number two north, of range twenty-seven east, of the principal meridian of Montana, thence running in a southwesterly direction, following the top of the natural divide between the waters flowing into the Yellowstone and Clarke's Fork Rivers upon the west and those flowing into Pryor Creek and West Pryor Creek on the east, to the base of West Pryor Mountain. Thence due south and up the north slope of said Pryor Mountain on a true meridian line to a point fifteen miles due north from the established line between Montana and Wyoming; thence in a due easterly course on a parallel of latitude to a point where it intersects the mid-channel of the Big Horn River, thence following up the mid-channel of said river to a point where it crosses the Montana and Wyoming State line.

Consideration.

That in consideration of the cession of territory herein made by us as individual Indians and heads of families of the Crow tribe to the Government of the United States, the said Government of the United States, in addition to the annuities and sums for provisions and clothing stipulated and provided for in existing treaties and laws, hereby agrees to pay the sum of nine hundred and forty-six thousand dollars lawful money of the United States, in the manner hereinafter described:

Amount to be used for irrigation.

First. That of the above-named sum there is hereby appropriated and set apart two hundred thousand dollars to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior in the building of dams, canals, ditches, and laterals for the purposes of irrigation in the valleys of the Big Horn and the Little Big Horn Rivers and on Pryor Creek and such other streams as the Secretary of the Interior may deem proper: *Provided*, That not to exceed fifty thousand dollars shall be expended annually in performing this work: *And provided further*, That the superintendent in charge of said works shall, in the employment of laborers, be required to give preference to such Indians of the Crow tribe as are competent and willing to work at the average wages paid to common laborers for the same kind of work, and the labor so employed shall be paid in cash.

Proviso.
Annual expenditure.
Employment of Indians.

Irrigating fund.

That the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars is hereby appropriated and set apart as an irrigating fund, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior for the maintenance and management of the system of irrigation provided for in this agreement.

Grist mills.

Third. That the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated and set apart, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, for the construction of three grist mills, to be located, one on Pryor Creek, one on the Big Horn, and one on the Little Big Horn River at such points as the Indian agent may deem convenient and practicable and at such times as the needs of the Indians may require.

Sub-depot.

Fourth. That the sum of twenty thousand dollars is hereby appropriated and set apart to be expended in the construction and maintenance of a sub-Indian depot, to be located on Pryor Creek, provided that the Secretary of the Interior shall deem it advisable to establish such depot on the reservation; otherwise the amount herein appropri-

ated shall, at the expiration of two years from the date of this agreement, be placed in the fund provided for by section nine (9) of this agreement.

School houses. Fifth. That the sum of five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior in the building of schoolhouses at such points on the reservation and at such times as the Indians may require, and upon the recommendation of the Indian agent.

Repairing houses, etc. Sixth. That the sum of ten thousand dollars is hereby appropriated and set aside as a fund to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior in repairing and improving the houses of the Indians now erected on the reservation, and to make them as far as possible warm and comfortable dwellings.

Blacksmith shops. Seventh. That the sum of three thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated for the construction and equipment of three blacksmith shops, to be located at such places upon the reservation, and to be built at such times as the Indian agent may recommend, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

Annuity fund. Eighth. That the sum of five hundred and fifty-two thousand dollars is hereby appropriated and set aside as an annuity fund, to be

Distribution. distributed as follows: Each Indian of the Crow tribe, male and female, shall receive an annual annuity of twelve dollars in cash for the period of twenty years from the date of this agreement. Said annuity to be paid semi-annually in accordance with such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

Purchase of cattle. Ninth. That the sum of forty-six thousand dollars is hereby appropriated and set aside, to be expended by the Indian agent, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, in the purchase of cattle from time to time as may be deemed advisable; the cattle so purchased to form a herd to be held in common by the Crow tribe. All cattle

Herd fund. sold from said herd shall be paid for in cash, and the net proceeds of such sale shall constitute a fund to be known as the Crow herd fund. When said fund shall exceed the sum of fifteen thousand dollars, it shall be the duty of the Indian agent, and he is hereby required, to apportion to each Indian entitled to the annual annuity provided for in section eighth the sum of five dollars, to be paid in cash under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe.

Disposition of balances. Tenth. That when each object for which a specific appropriation has been made in this agreement shall have been fully carried out and completed, then the balance remaining of such appropriation shall constitute a fund to be expended for the benefit of the Crow tribe in such manner as the Secretary of the Interior may determine.

Prior allotments confirmed. Eleventh. That all lands upon that portion of the reservation to be herein ceded which, prior to the date of this agreement, have been allotted in severalty to Indians of the Crow tribe shall be retained and

Provisos. enjoyed by them: *Provided, however*, That such Indians shall have the right at any time within three years to surrender his or her allotment,

New selections. and select a new allotment within the retained reservation upon the same terms and conditions as were prescribed in selecting the first allotment.

Improvements on allotments. *It is further provided*, That every Indian who shall surrender an allotment within the time specified, that has improvements upon it, shall have like improvements made for him upon the new allotment, and for this purpose the sum of five thousand dollars, or so much of it as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated and set apart.

Allotments already made, not impaired. Vol. 2, p. 1008. Twelfth. It is further provided, in accordance with provisions of Article VI of the treaty of May seventh, Anno Domini eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, that this cession of lands shall not be construed to deprive without his or her consent, any individual Indian of the Crow tribe of his or her right to any tract of land selected by him or

her in conformity with said treaty, or as provided by the agreement approved by Congress April eleven, Anno Domini eighteen hundred and eighty-two; and it is further provided that in ratifying this agreement the Congress of the United States shall cause all such lands to be surveyed and certificates duly issued for the same to said Indians, as provided in the treaty of May seventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, before said ceded portion of the reservation shall be opened for settlement.

Ante, p. 195.

Survey. Vol. 2, p. 1008.

Thirteenth. It is a condition of this agreement that it shall not be binding upon either party until ratified by the Congress of the United States, and when so ratified that said cession of lands so acquired by the United States shall not be opened for settlement until the boundary lines set forth and described in this agreement have been surveyed and definitely marked by suitable permanent monuments, erected every half mile, wherever practicable, along the entire length of said boundary line.

Ratification.

Boundary monuments.

Fourteenth. That the sum of five thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated and set apart to pay the expenses of twelve Crow chiefs and one interpreter to visit the President of the United States at Washington, to consult with him for the benefit of the Crow tribe, at such time as the President may determine, within one year from the date of this agreement.

Expenses of chiefs' visit to Washington.

Fifteenth. That all existing provisions of the treaty of May seventh Anno Domini eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, and the agreement approved by act of Congress dated April eleventh, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, shall continue in force.

Former provisions continued. Vol. 2, p. 1008. Ante, p. 195.

Done at Crow Agency, Montana, this eighth day of December, A. D. eighteen hundred and ninety.

Signatures.

J. CLIFFORD RICHARDSON,
C. M. DOLE,
R. J. FLINT,
Commissioners to the Crow Indians.
Carl Lieder and others, for the said Indians.

SEC. 32. That for the purpose of carrying the provisions of the foregoing agreement into effect there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the said sum of nine hundred and forty-six thousand dollars, so agreed to be paid, to be expended for the purposes and in the manner provided in said agreement.

Payment to Indians.

SEC. 33. That the sum of seven thousand five hundred dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the survey of the boundary line between the Crow Reservation and the lands ceded by said agreement, as stipulated in section fourteen thereof, and for the survey of lands selected by members of the Crow tribe of Indians under the provisions of article six of the treaty between the United States and the Crow Indians, concluded May seventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, or under the provisions of the act approved April eleventh, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, entitled "An act to accept and ratify the agreement submitted by the Crow Indians of Montana for the sale of a portion of their reservation in said Territory, and for other purposes, and to make the necessary appropriations for carrying out the same." And certificates shall be issued for such selections under said article, as required by section twelve of the foregoing agreement.

Survey of boundary and selections.

Vol. 2, p. 1008.

Ante, p. 195.

Certificates. Supra.

SEC. 34. That whenever any of the lands acquired by the agreement with said Crow Indians hereby ratified and confirmed shall by operation of law or the proclamation of the President of the United States be open to settlement, they shall, except mineral lands, be disposed of

[26 Stat., 1043.] Ceded lands open only to homestead entry.

R. S., sec. 2301.

to actual settlers only, under the provisions of the homestead laws, except section twenty-three hundred and one of the Revised Statutes, which shall not apply: *Provided, however*, That each settler, under and in accordance with the provisions of said homestead laws, shall, before receiving a patent for his homestead, pay to the United States for the land so taken by him, in addition to the fees provided by law, and within five years from the date of the first original entry the sum of one dollar and fifty cents for each acre thereof one half of which shall be paid within two years; and any person otherwise qualified who has attempted to, but for any cause failed to secure a title in fee to a homestead under existing law, or who made entry under what is known as the commuted provision of the homestead law, shall be qualified to make a homestead entry upon any of said lands in conformity with the provisions of this section. That any person who may be entitled to the privilege of selecting land in severalty under the provisions of article six of the treaty of May seventh, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, with the Crow Indians, and which provisions were continued in force by the agreement with said Indians ratified and confirmed by the act of Congress, approved April eleventh, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, or any other act or treaty, shall have the right for a period of sixty days to make such selections in any part of the territory by said agreement ceded, and such locations are hereby confirmed: *Provided, further*, That all white persons who located upon said Crow Reservation by reason of an erroneous survey of the boundary and were afterwards allowed to file upon their location in the United States Land Office, shall have thirty days in which to renew their filings, and their locations are hereby confirmed, and that in all cases where claims were located under the mining laws of the United States, and such location was made prior to December first eighteen hundred and ninety, by a locator qualified therefor who believed that he or she was so locating on lands outside the Crow Indian Reservation, such locator shall be allowed thirty days within which to re-locate the said mining claims so theretofore located by them, within the limits of the ceded portion of said Crow Indian Reservation, and upon such re-location such proceedings shall be had as are conformable to law and in accordance with the provisions of this act.

Provisos. Additional payment.

Selections in severalty to be made in sixty days. Vol. 2, p. 1008.

Certain erroneous locations confirmed.

Mining claims.

Lands for religious uses.

SEC. 35. That whenever under and by reason of the provisions herein contained, ratifying and confirming agreements with any Indian tribe, the right is reserved to any religious society or organization to purchase lands the subject of such agreement, the price and time and terms of payment thereof may be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior, but not less than that at which the other lands subject to said agreement are sold for.

Lease of school lands in Oklahoma.

SEC. 36. That the school lands reserved in the Territory of Oklahoma by this and former acts of Congress, may be leased for a period not exceeding three years for the benefit of the school fund of said Territory by the governor thereof, under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior.

Division of Oklahoma lands into counties.

SEC. 37. That before any lands in Oklahoma are open to settlement it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to divide the same into counties which shall contain as near as possible not less than seven hundred square miles in each county. In establishing said county line the Secretary is hereby authorized to extend the lines of the counties already located so as to make the area of said counties equal, as near as may be, to the area of the counties provided for in this act. At the first election for county officers the people of each county may vote for a name for each county, and the name which receives the greatest number of votes shall be the name of such county: *Provided further*, That as soon as the county lines are designated by the Secretary he shall reserve not to exceed one-half section of land in

Naming counties.

Proviso. County seats reserved.

each county, to be located near the center of said county, for county seat purposes, to be entered under sections twenty-three hundred and eighty-seven and twenty-three hundred and eighty-eight of the Revised Statutes.

Sections 16 and 36 reserved for schools, etc.

SEC. 38. No provision for settlement on or sale of the lands in the various agreements hereinbefore mentioned shall apply to sections sixteen and thirty-six thereon, which land in the States are hereby granted to the State in which they are situated, for the support of the common schools of such State under the limitations prescribed by law, and such sections in the Territories of the United States are reserved from occupancy, entry, or sale, under any land law of the United States; but this provision shall not apply to mineral land which may be disposed of under the laws applicable thereto.

Mineral lands.

Approved, March 3, 1891.