

# THE SHEEPEATER MYTH OF NORTHWESTERN WYOMING

Susan S. Hughes



## Abstract

A TRIBE OF DIMINUTIVE AND TIMID SHEEPEATER INDIANS thought to be the only permanent residents of Yellowstone National Park are embedded in the local history and folklore of western Wyoming. Considerable mystery shrouds these people because historical and ethnographic information is scarce. Most problematic is that Sheepeaters vanished by the time Yellowstone Park was established in 1872. According to most accounts, the only traces of this vanished tribe are abandoned conical timber lodges, drive lines, and other wood structures encountered at high elevations. This paper is a critical review of the Sheepeater phenomenon in northwestern Wyoming. Through a detailed examination of nineteenth-century literature and Shoshone ethnography, this paper explores two ideas. First, the Sheepeaters as depicted in northwestern Wyoming folklore are predominantly a myth derived from the medieval wild man and an Indian stereotype passed down through colonial history, and second, a permanent band of Sheepeaters in Yellowstone National Park may never have existed.

*Keywords: Sheepeaters, myths, Shoshone Indians, northwestern Wyoming, central Idaho.*

## Introduction

ACCORDING TO HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS AND LOCAL FOLKLORE, the only permanent residents of Yellowstone National Park were the Sheepeaters, a vanished tribe of mountain-dwelling pygmies. Because no Sheepeaters remain and little factual information exists about them, these Indians are shrouded in mystery (Hultkrantz 1970:246; Murphy and Murphy 1960:309). According to tradition, all that remains of their presence are primitive timber structures such as conical timber lodges (Figure 1), sheep traps, and other wood and brush structures located at high elevations in the Rocky Mountains (Frost 1941:17; Norris 1881:35; Tholson 1966; Hultkrantz 1970:257).

This paper is a critical review of the Sheepeater phenomenon in northwestern Wyoming. I propose that the image associated with the Sheepeaters is predominantly a myth passed down from the mid-nineteenth century and rooted in Victorian romanticism and colonial stereotypes of Native Americans. This paper uses the

---

*Article reprinted from Plains Anthropologist 45 no. 171 (2000): 63–83.*

standard dictionary definition of *myth*, a fictional story developed to explain a basic truth (see Hultkrantz 1986:340–2 for a discussion of other meanings of myth). An *image* is a pictorial or mental representation of a people (Berkhofer 1978:xvii).

I propose that the Sheepeater myth is a non-Indian invention, the application of a borrowed Northern Shoshone word to an existing image replayed throughout colonial history. This myth developed during the 1870s, when Philetus Norris, second superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, popularized it to explain the abandoned Indian structures in Yellowstone Park.

This paper does not deny the existence of people who might have called themselves Sheepeaters or were called Sheepeaters by other Shoshone Indians. A myth generally has some factual basis. It does argue that the image applied to these mysterious people, the myth itself, is not factually based, that it is a Euro-American invention, and that the structures often attributed to Sheepeater occupation may be explained in other ways.

In support of this argument, I will explore two lines of evidence. First, the word *sheepeater* has a different meaning to the Northern Shoshone than that conveyed in the myth. Second, the Sheepeater image was in existence long before the word *sheepeater* was attached to it. Lastly, I will explore the evidence that links timber structures to the Sheepeaters in Yellowstone National Park.

## The Sheepeater Myth of Northwestern Wyoming

THE MYSTERIOUS SHEEPEATER has appeared frequently in historical and popular literature of northwestern Wyoming (Allen 1913; Chittenden 1940:6–7; Frost 1941; Norris 1880:11, 26; Norris 1881:35; Sheridan 1882:12; Tholson 1966; Thompson 1941; Topping 1983:6). Norris provides a classic description of these people in his 1881 report on Yellowstone Park:

The only real occupants of the Park were the pigmy 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 flesh and skin of the bighorn sheep for food and clothing, and their skill in hunting these animals amid the cliffs, crags, and canons of the



*Figure 1. Soapy Dale Lodge, northwest Wyoming, typical of the conical timber lodges attributed to the Sheepeaters (Wyoming Bureau of Land Management photo).*

snowy mountains....Whether these people are the remnant of some former race, as the legendary wild men of the mountains, or are descendants of refugees from the neighboring Bannock and Shoshone Indians, is not known, although their own traditions and the similarity of their languages and signals indicate a common origin, or at least, occasional intermingling. These Sheepeaters were very poor, nearly destitute of horses and firearms....On account of this lack of tools they constructed no permanent habitations, but as evinced by traces of smoke and fire-brands they dwelt in caves and nearly inaccessible niches in the cliffs, or in skin-covered lodges, or circular upright brush-heaps called wickeups....Other traces of this tribe are found in the rude, decaying, and often extensive pole or brush fences for drive-ways of the deer, bison, and other animals... (Norris 1881:35).

Topping adds another element to the image:

The cold and privations endured by the Sheepeaters have left their mark, for they are small of stature, and in brain diminutive, and compare very unfavorably with their relatives, the Shoshones (Topping 1883:6).

These descriptions combine to create a romanticized notion of a vanished tribe of pygmies who lived in the lofty recesses of the mountains in northwestern Wyoming, and especially Yellowstone National Park. Pervasive elements of the image are their lack of horses, impoverished state, small size, isolation, and timidity.

While most writers agree on the basic elements of the image, considerable disagreement exists over the relationship of the Sheepeaters to other Indian tribes. As noted above, Norris recognizes a similarity in language to the Shoshone and Bannock, but ponders whether the vanished Sheepeaters represented a separate "race." At about the same time, Sheridan suggests that the Sheepeaters were "a band of Snake or Shoshone Indians, probably renegades" who took refuge in the mountains to protect themselves from their own people and other marauding Indians (Sheridan 1882:12). Most later accounts describe them as renegades or outcasts of other tribes, usually Shoshone or Bannock tribes (Thompson 1941; Tholson 1966; Trenholm and Carley 1981:23). Haines (1977:22–24) describes them not as outcasts, but as people who could not compete against the gun-wielding and equestrian Indian societies of the eighteenth century. To Hultkrantz, a leading ethnographer of the Eastern Shoshone, they represent Shoshone "walkers," Shoshone who "retained the old way of living from the time before horses were introduced and who established a specialized mountain culture" (Hultkrantz n.d.:152; Hultkrantz 1970:247). The conflicting notions of who the Sheepeaters were adds to the mystery and is a clue that the phenomenon may be more myth than fact.

## **The Shoshone Word for Sheepeater**

I PROPOSE THAT THE SHEEPEATER MYTH represents the attachment of a Northern Shoshone word to an enduring Euro-American stereotype of the Native American. A review of Shoshone ethnographic literature reveals that its meaning to the Northern

Shoshone is different from the meaning conveyed in the myth. The Indians in the myth are usually described as a discrete political unit, either a band, tribe, or race, characterized by a unique cultural-ecological adaptation.

In the pre-reservation era, the Shoshone occupied the central Great Basin from southern Nevada to central Idaho and western Wyoming (Figure 2). The Northern and Eastern Shoshone who are ethnically linked to the Sheepstealers occupied the northern Great Basin, middle Rockies, and eastern Plains along with a large group of Bannock speakers who recently migrated to eastern Idaho from Oregon (Murphy and Murphy 1960:315; Steward 1970a:200). While the two tribes coexisted together amiably, they spoke different languages of the Uto-Aztecian linguistic stock (Murphy and Murphy 1960:293; Steward 1970a:625).

Ethnographers refer to those Shoshone occupying the northern Great Basin as the Northern Shoshone, while the Wyoming Shoshone are often referred to as the Eastern Shoshone. In the late 1860s and early 1870s, the Northern and Eastern Shoshone were established on three reservations: Fort Hall on the Snake River in eastern Idaho, Lemhi in central Idaho, and the Wind River in western Wyoming (Figure 2).

According to Julian Steward, these people were nomadic hunter-gatherers characterized by a fluid and shifting socio-political organization. To the Northern Shoshone, the unit of “habitual association and cooperation” was the winter village, a unit usually composed of two to fifteen families (Steward 1970a:232). No higher level of political organization, such as a formal band structure, existed (Steward 1970a:247; Steward 1970b:135–8). Instead, the mechanism that served to connect

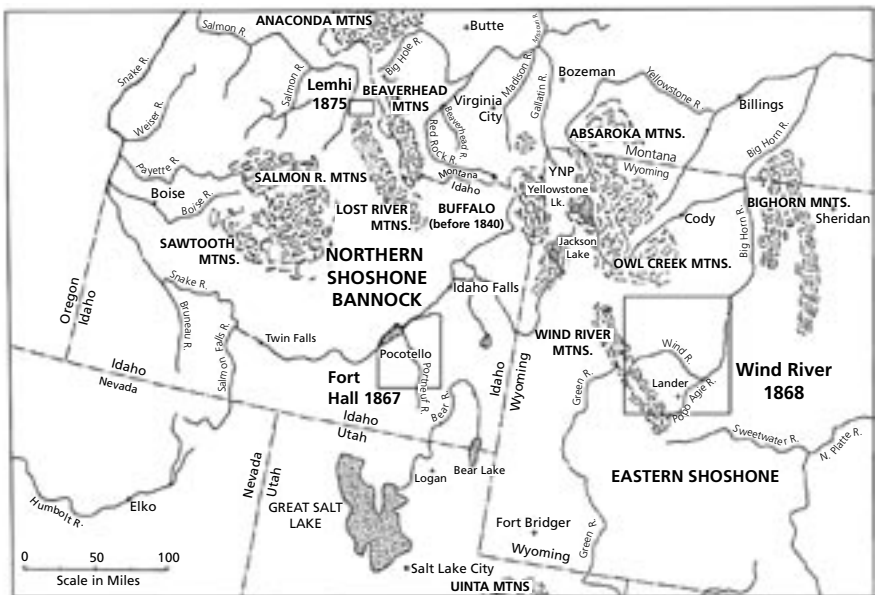


Figure 2. Map of Northern and Eastern Shoshone territory with locations of Shoshone reservations (adapted from Murphy and Murphy 1960: facing page 293).

the Shoshone was a network of temporary and shifting inter-village alliances that extended netlike throughout the entire area (Steward 1970a:248). During the warmer seasons of the year, villages would coalesce into larger groups for communal bison hunting and social functions, or split apart for other economic pursuits. Families could shift their alliance from one village to another or choose to participate in any number of economic pursuits led by temporary leaders (Steward 1970a:248; Liljeblad 1957:16–17; Murphy and Murphy 1960:307–8, 332; Shimkin 1947: 279–80; and Fox 1976:3–4).

In the nineteenth century, a hint of band structure began to develop, especially among the Eastern Shoshone, in response to communal bison hunting, predation by marauding Indians, and the need for leadership when negotiating treaties. The political unrest during this period caused by Euro-American expansion required that Indians travel and cohabit in larger groups for protection, and these larger groups required more formalized leadership. In addition, government officials elevated respected group leaders to greater status as spokesmen and representatives in treaty and other government negotiations. While government officials frequently referred to these groups as bands, the leadership roles were only temporary, and chiefly status was more a non-Indian phenomenon than an Indian one (Steward 1970a:248–9, Steward 1970b:114–6; Murphy and Murphy 1960:313, 332–5).

It was a Shoshone custom to apply food names to people living in certain regions (Steward 1970a:248; Liljeblad 1957:54). According to Steward (1970a:248) and others (Liljeblad 1957:56; Murphy and Murphy 1960:309, 315; Murphy and Murphy 1986:287; Hultkrantz 1970:247), food names did not represent cohesive political units. Sheepeater was one of these food name identifiers, and as Murphy and Murphy (1986:287) note, it is the only food name that passed into English nomenclature. Sheepeater is the English translation of a Northern Shoshone word, *Tūkudeka* or *Tukuarika*, meaning “flesh or meat eater” (‘tuku’, flesh, + ‘deka’, eater; Liljeblad 1957:55; see also Hultkrantz 1970:247; Steward 1970a:186). Those Indians occupying the mountains of central Idaho were loosely referred to as *Tūkudeka*. Because bighorn sheep was the most common meat source in this area, the term has come to mean “mountain sheep eater” (Liljeblad 1957:55; according to Shimkin 1947:277, the Shoshone word for ram was *duk*).

The significance of these food names has caused considerable misunderstanding and confusion among anthropologists, government officials, and explorers (Fowler 1965:64; Hultkrantz 1966–7:160; Murphy and Murphy 1986:287). As both historical records and ethnographic accounts attest, many non-natives have treated these food names as formal socio-political units, i.e., bands (Murphy and Murphy 1986:287; Steward 1970b:135–40). Steward (1970b:135) suspects that this stems from a traditional anthropological belief that bands existed among all hunting and gathering peoples. Because food name designators do not represent formal bands, considerable variation exists in the number and names of those identified among the Northern Shoshone. For example, Hoebel (1938) recognizes 15 bands and Lowie (1909) 10, of which only 8 bands overlap (Table 1). Other ethnographers, such as Steward, recognizing the loose organizational nature of food name groups, avoided their use altogether, referring instead to geographic location as an organizational

*Sheepeater Myth*

Table 1. A comparison of the Shoshone “bands” identified by Lowie and Hoebel.

Lowie 1909: 206	Hoebel 1938: 410–413
Salmon eaters	Salmon eaters (Agaidika)
Sheepeaters	Mountain Sheepeaters (Tukurika), Lemhi R.
Squirrel eaters	Squirrel eaters (Siptika)
Groundhog eaters	Ground hog eaters (Yahandika)
Pine nut eaters	Pine nut eaters (Tubudika)
Sagebrush people (Pohogwe)	Sagebrush Butte (Pohogoi; also Bannock)
Wind River Shoshone (Gut eaters)	Wind River Shoshone (Pohogoi, sagebrush home, and Kukundika, buffalo eaters)
Seed eaters	Seed eaters (Hekandika)
White knives	
Bannock	Minnow eaters (Pirpengwidika) Rabbit eaters (Kanurika) Big salmon eaters (Piagaidika) Yampa eaters Mountain Dwellers (Doyia), YNP Elk eaters (Parahiadika) Row of Willows (Sehewoki)
<b>n = 10 bands</b>	<b>n = 15 bands</b>

system for the Shoshone (Steward 1970a; Murphy and Murphy 1960; Fowler 1965; Shimkin 1947).

According to Liljeblad (1957:56) and Steward (1970a:248), Shoshone food names loosely identify people who were either living in an area associated with a particular food resource, or who were temporarily participating in the acquisition of that resource. Shoshone informants support this meaning. For example, the Nevada Shoshone might call the Idaho Shoshone “groundhog eaters,” and the Idaho Shoshone might call the Nevada Shoshone “pine nut eaters.” Neither considered themselves members of bands with these names, and only rarely did they use these names to identify themselves (Steward 1970a:172; Shimkin 1947:246). When “groundhog eaters” traveled south to Nevada to collect pine nuts, they would be called “pine nut eaters” (Steward 1970a:172). In a similar way, the Buffalo Eaters of the Wind River Reservation could turn seasonally into either “elk eaters” when hunting elk in the Teton country or “sheep-eaters” when hunting bighorn sheep (Hultkrantz 1970:260, fn 3; Liljeblad 1957:55–6).

Today, Western literatures portrays an entirely different meaning for the word sheep eater. It represents both a formal political unit as discussed above and a cultural-ecological adaptation (Hultkrantz 1970:247; Murphy and Murphy 1960:310). Hultkrantz (1970:247), for instance, tells us that,

The Sheep eaters represented a particular way of living, the ecologically determined way of a primitive, well-adapted hunting people in the mountainous and wooded ranges of the Rocky Mountains.

This new meaning is attached to the word when it first appears in historical writings of the mid-nineteenth century, and exists today.

Several factors may have contributed to the adoption of this new meaning. First, early non-Indian explorers, settlers, and government officials may have misinterpreted the political significance of the term, as most early ethnographers did. If, as Steward suggests, there was an underlying assumption that all Indians formed bands, then in the absence of Shoshone band names, it is easy to see how Sheep eater and other food names were elevated to this status.

Second, another word exists in the Shoshone vocabulary that identifies people with an adaptation similar to that presently associated with Sheep eater. This term is *Dóyani'* or *Tóyani'*, meaning mountaineer, mountain dweller, or mountain settler (Hultkrantz n.d.:152, 1966-7:158; see Steward 1970a:277 for its root, *tóya*, or "mountain" in the Lemhi lexicon).

Hultkrantz's informants on the Wind River Reservation identified certain Shoshone as "Mountain Settlers," or *Tóyani'*. To the Eastern Shoshone, it was a derogatory term referring to impoverished Indians who lived in the mountains away from the encampments of the mounted Shoshone. A mountain settler or mountaineer could be a Bannock (*Pánaiti tóyani'*), a Shoshone, or any other Indian evincing this adaptation (Hultkrantz n.d.:152, 1966-7:158). To non-natives, Sheep eater may have seemed synonymous with mountaineer, and thus, Sheep eater took on the cultural-ecological meaning of mountaineer. In his monograph on Shoshone socio-political organization, Steward refers to those Indians of central Idaho with a mountain adaptation as "mountain villagers" (Steward 1970a:186). Yet later, he refers to them as *Túkudeka* because both Lowie and Kroeber use that identifier (Steward 1970a:187, fn 22). Shimkin notes that the mountain Sheep eaters were also called mountaineers (Shimkin 1986:335). Both references indicate confusion between the two words.

The Indians themselves may have contributed to this change in meaning. According to Liljeblad (1957:56), food names became associated with status in the mid-nineteenth century when band organization and class distinction began to appear. Sheep eaters, as hunters of big game, were highly respected among other Shoshone (Liljeblad 1957:56). If mountaineer was a derogatory term as Hultkrantz notes, then Shoshone mountaineers may have preferred to be identified as Sheep eaters. This misapplication of Sheep eater likely took place in central Idaho through contact with the documented Shoshone mountaineers of that area (Steward 1970a:186-7). Once Sheep eater became attached to this mountain adaptation, it stuck.

## Evolution of the Sheepeater Image

ELEMENTS OF THE SHEEPEATER IMAGE were present in early depictions of the Native American long before Sheepeater was identified with that image. An examination of colonial perceptions of the American Indian reveals that the Sheepeater image is a replay of previous images variously called savage, Indian, and Digger. These images are rooted in the wild man image of medieval Europe.

**Template for the Image.** The template for the Sheepeater image derives from the wild man, a pervasive character in medieval folklore and art (Bartra 1994:2–3; Bernheimer 1970:20; see Figure 3). As described by Berkhofer,

The wild man was a hairy, naked, club-wielding child of nature who existed halfway between humanity and animality. Lacking civilized knowledge or will, he lived a life of bestial self-fulfillment, directed by instinct, and ignorant of God and morality. Isolated from other humans in woods, caves, and clefts, he hunted animals or gathered plants for his food. He was strong of physique, lustful of women, and degraded of origin (Berkhofer 1978:13).

The wild man was more than a passive image in medieval society; he embodied deeply ingrained beliefs. He was loathed and feared, because he was a metaphor



*Figure 3. The Fight in the Forest, by Hans Burgkmair I (German), ca. 1500/1503, pen and black ink on laid paper, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund (B-30554).*

for the uncivilized, wild, and animalistic part of every human being, that part that must be controlled and tamed (Bartra 1994:7; Bernheimer 1970:20; Thorslev 1972: 281–2; White 1972:28).

As the antithesis of civilized life and the established order of Christian society, the wild man became the universal template to understand all uncivilized peoples encountered during European colonization (Bartra 1994:85–6; Berkhofer 1978: 13; Bernheimer 1970:20; Burke 1972:263–4). The direct association of the Indian stereotype with the wild man image is evident in the interchangeable use of the term “savage” for “Indian” (Berkhofer 1978:13). The sixteenth century French, Italian, and English spellings of savage (*saulvage*, *salvatico*, and *salvage*, respectively) were derived from the Latin word *silvaticus* meaning “a forest inhabitant” or “man of the woods.” The image behind this terminology probably derives from the ancient image associated with the “wild man” or “wilder mann” of Germany (Berkhofer 1978:13).

Over time the wild man template evolved in western culture (Figure 4). The Enlightenment brought an increased interest in antiquities and exotic peoples, and the loathsome, degraded savage was rehabilitated into the *Noble Savage*, a character to be admired. The Noble Savage was no longer a real character, but an ideal, romanticized figure who rose to high status in the refined literature of the latter seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Bartra 1994:167; White 1972:30).

The rise of the Noble Savage provided a second image to define Native Americans, and inspired the distinction between the *good Indian* and the *bad Indian*. The *good Indian*, the Noble Savage, was seen as calm, dignified, brave in combat, and a great hunter. The *bad Indian* was characterized as lecherous, indolent, timid, and thieving, the lowest order of human life (Berkhofer 1978:28).

Due to western expansion in the latter nineteenth century, the Indian was viewed less as an ideal and more as a creature to be despised, incapable of rehabilitation. This change developed in part to justify the extermination and subjugation of the Indian during colonial expansion (Bartra 1994:179; Berkhofer 1978:113; Silverberg 1989: 57–58). Indian stereotypes persist today in American movies, art, and literature, even though modern science has long dispelled these ethnocentric notions (Schullery 1997:22–23; White 1972:6).

In many ways the Sheepstealer image parallels the wild man image. The similarity

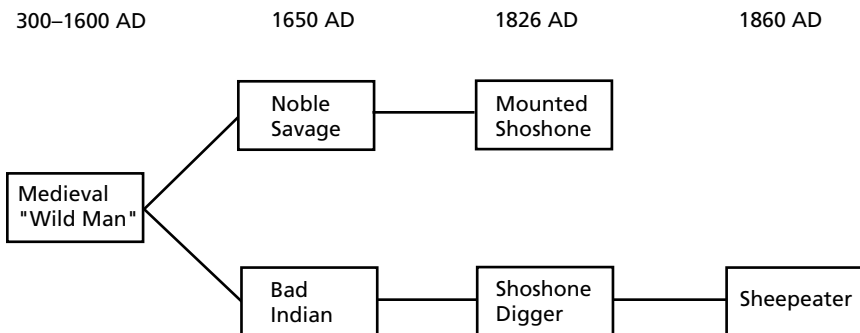


Figure 4. Evolution of the wild man image.

*Sheepeater Myth*

can be seen when comparing the basic elements of each (Table 2). Both characters were similar in appearance. The wild man was depicted either as a dwarf or giant, a giant when warlike and aggressive, and a dwarf when timid. The timid Sheepeater was depicted as a dwarf. This image was possibly reinforced by indigenous beliefs in the “Little People,” supernatural beings who figured prominently in Shoshone folklore. Unlike most other supernatural figures, the *ninimpi* or *nü'nümbi* were often malevolent. These invisible dwarfs, present everywhere in nature, brandished bows and arrows that caused sickness and death when shot at unsuspecting humans (Hultkrantz 1986:633; Liljeblad 1986:654; Lowie 1924:296).

Both the Sheepeater and the wild man lived in inhospitable and inaccessible regions, areas unfit for cultivation. Agriculture was then and continues to be a defining characteristic of civilized society. Both characters lived a solitary existence, cut off from contact with other human beings. Both lacked intelligence. Both used primitive technology: the wild man is often depicted with a wooden club (Figure 3); the Sheepeater with tools of stone, wood, and horn. Both creatures subsisted on wild

Table 2. Shared elements of the wild man and Sheepeater images (see Bartra 1994, Bernheimer 1970, and White 1972 for elements of the wild man image).

Elements	Wild Man	Sheepeater
Appearance:	Dwarf or giant <sup>1</sup> ; Semi-bestial; Naked and covered with hair.	Dwarf; Semi-bestial; Dressed in fur.
Habitat:	Lived in inhospitable and inaccessible parts of forests and mountains.	Lived in inhospitable and inaccessible parts of forests and mountains; Permanent residents of Yellowstone Park.
Behavior:	Solitary; Isolated from society; Lacking intellectual capacity; Warlike or timid.	Solitary (single family groups); Isolated from society; Lacking intellectual capacity; Timid.
Habitations:	Lived in the open, caves, or trees.	Lived in caves and rude shelters of brush and fallen timber.
Language:	None or communicated by sensations.	Bannock/Shoshone speakers.
Economy:	Subsisted on plants and animals of the forest.	Subsisted on plants and animals of the forest.
Technology:	Wooden club; Lacked horse transportation; Lacked articles of civilized society.	Primitive tools; Lacked horse transportation; Lacked articles of White trade.

<sup>1</sup> The wild man was often depicted as a giant when warlike and aggressive, a dwarf when timid.

plants and animals, the natural products of the forest. The appellation of Sheepeater implies that these Indians focused their subsistence efforts on the hunting of wild sheep.

In medieval times, isolation was a condition to be feared and avoided because it was linked to insanity and/or ignorance of God. According to Augustinian doctrine, knowledge of God was the prerequisite for further mental activity. Without this knowledge, the wild man was portrayed as insane or mentally deficient (Bernheimer 1970:12; Barra 1994:113). Lunatics in the Middle Ages were rarely institutionalized, often hiding in the woods. Wildness, then, became a synonym for madness (Bernheimer 1970:12; White 1972:4).

The attribution of feeble-mindedness to Sheepeaters may be a carryover of this idea, though Topping (1883:7) attributes feeble-mindedness to winter cold. That climate influenced physical appearance and mental capacity was a common theme in the nineteenth century (Hallowell 1960:59). Climatically induced food privations and other hardships were thought to contribute to a degenerate mental state (Jordan 1965:63,215; Semple 1911:36). Under this premise, the Sheepeaters, who endured high-altitude winters in and around Yellowstone Park, were excellent candidates for feeble-mindedness.

The Sheepeater is always described as a pedestrian Indian. Because the horse was an important symbol of status to both Europeans and Indians, the lack of horses demonstrated the impoverished and degraded state of the Sheepeater. The mounted Indian is often seen as the good Indian, the pedestrian Indian as the bad Indian.

## **Evolution of the Myth**

THE SHEEPEATER IMAGE is not the first application of the wild man template to the Shoshone Indians. Prior to Sheepeater, there existed the contrast between the equestrian Shoshone and the Digger, the good and bad Indian reified. To trace the evolution of the image in Euro-American perceptions of the Shoshone Indians, I examined the historical literature for the terms and images used to identify Shoshone groups. The terms fall into five chronological stages that demonstrate increasing Indian and Euro-American interaction and knowledge of the Shoshone (see Table 3). This research reveals that Sheepeater does not appear in Euro-American literature until 1859, and when it does appear, the Digger image is attached.

The year 1804 marks the beginning of the Lewis and Clark expedition to explore the uncharted territory west of the Mississippi River. Up to this point, Euro-Americans knew little about the Indians within and west of the Rocky Mountains. During this era (1804–1814), the first information on indigenous populations was acquired from a small number of trappers and explorers who either encountered these Indians or heard about them from neighboring Indians. Transmission of accurate information was difficult because non-Indians did not know Indian languages, and interpretations were based on personal perceptions molded by the cultural attitudes of the early nineteenth century. The earliest explorers were aware that a group of Indians called Shoshones or Snakes lived west and within the middle Rocky Mountains. At this early date, references to Mountain Snakes appear in the literature,

but these Indians were not referred to as Sheepeaters.

After initial contact, fur traders invaded the Rocky Mountains. Greater diversity in Shoshone culture was observed, but little consistency existed in the identification of these groups, nor were distinct images present. In the Early Fur Trader phase (1812–1826), the Bannocks were introduced into English nomenclature (Elliot 1909:354–6; Bonner 1965:101, 136). Plains Snake replaces Mountain Snake as a subdivision of the Shoshone group. Ross appears to be the first to use a Shoshone food name to identify a Shoshone band (Table 3).

After 1826, the literature reflects a consensus in the identifiers applied to the Shoshone. The Shoshone were divided into three groups: the Bannock, the ‘true’ Shoshone, and the Digger. The latter two carried strong images (Quaife 1934:80; Irving 1910:237–8; Thompson 1855:490; Humfreville 1903:213). The ‘true’ Shoshone were the equestrians who hunted bison while the Digger was the quintessential bad Indian. The lowly Digger is described by Humfreville (1903: 213)

Table 3. Terms used by Whites to identify Shoshone and Bannock Indians since first contact.

Phase	Terms	Year Applied	Sources
V.	CONTINUATION OF PREVIOUS TERMS	1913	Allen (1913)
		1895	Chittenden (1940:8)
		1883	Topping (1883:6–7)
		1881	Sheridan (1882:12)
		1879	Norris (1879:11,26; 1881:35)
		1875	Dunraven (Kephart 1917:246)
IV.	N.W. SHOSHONE	1879	Gatschet (1879:409)
	BANNOCKS	1875	Ludlow (1875); Strong (1875)
	LEMHI R. SHOSHONE (includes Sheepeaters)	1873	Jones (1875:275)
	W. SHOSHONE	1870	Langford (1905:8,25)
	E. SHOSHONE	1869	Folsom-Cook (Haines 1966:17, 21)
	GOSIUTES	1866	Henderson (1866:9/4, 9/11)
	WEBER-UTES	1861	Stuart (Phillips 1957:192)
	UTAHS	1860	Lander (1860:137)

	PAH-UTES	1862–	<i>RCIA</i> (Berry 1871:539–40; Brunot 1872:
	PAH-EDES	1883	127; Danilson 1870:188; Dodds 1868:
			148–151; Doty 1864:173, 175; Fleming
			1870:178-9; Fuller 1874:264; Harries 1881:
			64, 1882:51, 1883:55; Hatton 1880:176,
			1881:183; Head 1866:122; Hough 1868:
			200; Irish 1865:142-8; Irwin 1874:270–1,
			1883:313; Jones 1870:183; Lander 1860:
			137; Mann 1862:204, 1864:62, 1868:
			156–7; Patten 1878:148, 1879:166; Powell
			1868:201; Rainsford 1872:282; Stone 1880:
			64; Viall 1871:411; Walker 1872:47–51;
			Wright 1879:54)
1860			
III.	SNAKES (SHOSHONE)	1859– 60	Raynolds (1868:79, 86)
	DIGGERS	1860	<i>RCIA</i> (Greenwood 1860:22)
	BANNACKS	1854	<i>RCIA</i> (Thompson 1855:490)
		1853	Schoolcraft (1853:198–203)
		1903	Humfreville (1903:213–215)
		1842–3	Fremont (1853:183, 234–5)
		1841	De Smet (Thwaites 1906:163, 244)
		1841	Wilkes (1845:471–2)
		1836	Bonneville (Irving 1910:237–8)
		1835	Russell (Haines 1965:143–144)
		1834	Anderson (Morgan and Harris 1967:31, 155)
		1832	Leonard (Quaife 1934:79–80)
1826		1830	Ferris (1940:83,107, 241, 248–9)
II.	SHOSHONE (SNAKES)	1826	Ogden (Elliot 1909:354, 356)
	PLAINS SNAKES	1823	Beckwourth (Bonner 1965:101, 136)
	BANNACKS		
	(Dogeaters, Fisheaters, Bannocks) -----F	1819	Ross (Spaulding 1956:166)
1812			
I.	SHOSHONES (SNAKES, CHOCHONIS)	1811	Stuart (Rollins 1935:278, 290–99)
	MOUNTAIN SNAKES	1804–6	Lewis and Clark (Thwaites 1959)
1804	ALIATANS <sup>1</sup>	1904	La Raye (Cutler 1812:194, 198)

<sup>1</sup> Another term for Northern Shoshone (Swanton 1952:403).

### *Sheepeater Myth*

as: "...the most repulsive of all Indians...Faces devoid of intellectual expression as if lower animals; indeed, one could not but notice a strong similarity to wild beasts in their appearance and actions." He adds that Diggers were known to devour horses, grasshoppers, and insects, cavort naked, and live in brush shelters and caves. Bonneville's depiction of a group of Diggers that he encountered in the 1830s mirrors many later Sheepeater depictions:

These are a shy, secret, solitary race, who keep in the most retired parts of the mountains, lurking like gnomes in caverns and clefts of the rocks, and subsisting in a great measure on the roots of the earth (Irving 1910:237-8).

The Shoshone-Digger contrast was universal in the historical accounts of this period, and Digger (also Shoshoko) was applied universally to any Shoshone group without horses and practicing a non-bison hunting economy, whether encountered in the desert or the mountains (Ferris 1940:83; Fremont 1853:183; Haines 1965: 144; Irving 1910:224; Morgan and Harris 1967: 154, fn; Quaipe 1934:80; Wilkes 1845:472; Murphy and Murphy 1960:298-9; Steward 1970a:263-4). As late as 1854, R. R. Thompson, Indian Agent for Oregon Territory which included Idaho, identified the Mountain Snakes as a branch of the Root Diggers occupying the country north and east of Fort Hall and south into Bear Valley (Thompson 1855: 490).

After the discovery of gold in California, colonization of the western frontiers initiated conflict over land. To protect the lives and the indisputable rights of non-native settlers to Indian lands, the government became involved in Indian affairs (Clemmer and Stewart 1986:530; Schoolcraft 1853:199). Utah Territory was established in 1850 to protect California gold seekers and Mormon settlers (Trenholm and Carley 1981:116). In the 1860s, the United States government began negotiating treaties with the Northern Shoshone for safe passage to the Idaho and Montana gold mines. For management purposes, government officials needed new ways to identify and categorize Indians.

The year 1859 marks the appearance of the first Sheepeater reference in the historic literature. In a message from the president of the United States to the Senate, F. W. Lander, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, identifies six bands of Shoshone Indians within Utah Territory: the Eastern Snakes under Washakie, the Salmon River Snakes (including Bannocks and Sheep-Eaters), the Western Snakes, the Bannocks, the Bannocks of Fort Boise, and lastly the Salt Lake Diggers (Lander 1860:137).

Many historians assume that Sheepeaters were identified by early explorers prior to 1859, but a close examination of this literature reveals that this attribution is given by the editor in a footnote long after the Sheepeater myth was developed. For example, Osborne Russell writes:

Here we found a few Snake Indians<sup>57</sup> 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 (Haines 1965:26).

In footnote 57, Haines, the editor of Russell's journal, writes,

Probably nomadic Sheep eater Indians, the only aborigines inhabiting the Yellowstone Plateau. They were a branch of the Shoshonean people, small, timid and impoverished. . . (Haines 1965:160).

Note the contrast between Russell's description of neatly clothed, contented Indians, and Haines's description of the impoverished Sheep eater.

In 1863, several small Sheep eater "bands" signed the Treaty at Box Elder, Utah, giving protection to travelers on the road to the Beaverhead and Boise River gold mines (Doty 1864:175; Trenholm and Carley 1981:203–4). The Shoshone who signed this treaty were collectively referred to as the Northwest Shoshone and/or the Boise and Bruneau Shoshone residing in west central Idaho. Sheep eater "bands" appear as a subset of these Indians in the 1864 and 1868 *RCA* reports (*Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*; Doty 1864:175; Hough 1868:200; Powell 1868: 203). In 1869, the Boise and Bruneau Shoshone, under the jurisdiction of the Boise City Agency, were moved to the Fort Hall Reservation and the term sheep eater disappears from the record (Jones 1870:183), only to reappear three years later as a subset of the Lemhi Shoshone.

The Lemhi Shoshone evaded government notice until 1871 when J. A. Viall, Montana Superintendent of Indian Affairs, encountered a large party hunting bison in the Yellowstone River Valley (Viall 1871:415). Destitute and starving because most of the buffalo and other game were gone, these Indians were eager to receive government annuities. Toward this end, Viall removed them to their homeland on the Lemhi Fork of the Salmon River (central Idaho) where a reservation was established in 1875 (Trenholm and Carley 1981:224; Viall 1871:415). Fuller describes them as:

...of mixed blood, it being difficult to ascertain to which tribe they originally belonged. These Indians formed a confederacy many years ago, and have since been separated from other tribes, making their headquarters in this valley (Lemhi), subsisting mainly on salmon fish and mountain sheep, sometimes venturing on buffalo-hunting expeditions in the countries claimed by the Sioux and Crow (Fuller 1874:264).

From this time on, the term sheep eater appears in government census records and other documents as part of the Shoshone and Bannock mix occupying this reservation (Table 4). The reservation population grew from 500 to 1000 individuals in three years as unattached Shoshone groups trickled in (Fuller 1874:264; Rainsford 1872:282). By 1874, Fuller estimated the population to include 200 Bannocks, 500 Shoshones, and 300 Sheep eaters (Fuller 1874:264).

In contrast to the Lemhi Reservation, government census records from Fort Hall and Wind River do not indicate that Sheep eaters were residents of either of these reservations. In addition, ethnographers who have studied the Wind River Shoshone note the difficulty in finding living descendants of the Wyoming Sheep eaters (Murphy and Murphy 1960:309; Dominick 1964:142). Hultkrantz suggests that this may be due to the absorption of these Indians into the Wind River Shoshone prior to 1872

Table 4. The 1872 BIA census record for the Northern Shoshone (from Walker 1872:47–51).

Fort Hall Agency:	Bannocks (516), Shoshones (521)
Lemhi Fork of the Salmon River:	Shoshones, Bannocks, and Sheep-Eaters (677)
Wind River Agency:	Shoshones (1000)

when the reservation was established. Like other ethnographers and historians, he finds the lack of information on the Wyoming Sheepeaters to be as much a mystery as the mysterious Sheepeaters themselves (Hultkrantz 1970:251)!

In the latter 1860s as the Shoshone were being placed on reservations, the Yellowstone Plateau remained unexplored. Rumors circulated of spouting geysers and wonders beyond comprehension. In 1870, the Washburn expedition was organized to investigate these rumors. The fantastic sights observed by this group led to the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, and brought one of the last bastions of American wilderness under government control. During early explorations, numerous Indian traces were observed in Yellowstone Park and were attributed to the Sheepeater Indians. Shortly thereafter, the Sheepeater myth appears in Norris's 1879 report as superintendent of Yellowstone Park. Whether the myth took form with him or he merely put to paper a developed and circulating image is not known.

An interesting sidelight to Norris's role in popularizing the Sheepeater myth, is that he was familiar with the medieval wild man. In his writings, he compares the Sheepeater to the wild man on two occasions. In his 1880 report, he writes, "it is evident that these harmless hermits, these *wild men of the mountains* were...destitute of horses and fire-arms" (Norris 1881:35; see also Norris 1880:11). Norris (1884) was also a romantic as revealed in *The Calumet of the Coteau*, a book of poetry filled with romanticized images describing the wonders of Yellowstone National Park. As his repeated use of the terms "Wonderland," "Mystic Lake," "Goblin Land," and "Sheepeater haunt" attest, he seemed to view the park as a magical, mystical place, homeland to a vanished race of pygmies.

The myth grew in the popular literature of the late 1800s (Topping 1883; Chittenden 1940), culminating with W. F. Allen's book, *The Sheepeaters* (1913). In this book, Doc Allen, a Billings, Montana, dentist claims to have found the last surviving Sheepeater, a 115-year-old woman living among the Crow Indians. In sign language, this woman tells Allen the history of her people, a story that Hultkrantz and others claim is pure fiction (see Hultkrantz 1970:253–56). The romanticized and fantastic stories revealed in this book have done much to perpetuate the Sheepeater myth (Hultkrantz 1970:255).

Although no longer described as pygmies or feebleminded, most of the basic elements of the Sheepeater myth persist today in local folklore and historical writings. Hultkrantz even implies that the myth has influenced the traditional lore of the Wind River Shoshone. He writes that the Wind River Shoshone including the descendants of the ancient Sheepeaters:

...believe in the former existence of a now vanished race of Indians which once lived among the mountains. It seems plausible that the common Shoshoni folkloristic conceptions of the little people, the dangerous, pygmy-like *ninimbi* spirits, have coloured these ideas. Nevertheless, ultimately they probably represent a 'learned' tradition—the tradition of the mysterious Sheepeaters as formed in the white man's literature (Hultkrantz 1970:253; see also Hultkrantz 1981:181, 1966–7:155).

The Sheepeater image is a reincarnation of the old Digger image (Hultkrantz n.d.:152). The historical accounts reveal an evolution of this image, first applied to the mountain Shoshone and later to the Sheepeater when it became synonymous with the Shoshone mountaineer (Figure 4). While Digger continued as the stereotype for the desert dwelling Shoshone, the mountain dwelling Digger was given a new name, Sheepeater (Phillips 1957:192). Any Indian encountered in the mountains and evincing a more primitive Digger lifestyle was identified as a Sheepeater. Unlike the Digger myth, the Sheepeater myth took on a romantic quality, perhaps due to its association with the magical wonders of Yellowstone Park. While the Digger was a vile, disgusting, creature, the vanished Sheepeater was mysterious and ghostly.

### Factual Basis for the Sheepeater Myth

AS INDICATED ABOVE, the historical and ethnographic literature consistently place Sheepeaters in central Idaho and the Lemhi Indian Reservation. In contrast, the historical evidence placing them in western Wyoming, especially as permanent residents of Yellowstone National Park, is scant. This latter is surprising since most of the popular Sheepeater literature focuses on the Wyoming Sheepeaters.

In this section, I explore the factual basis of the myth in Wyoming by examining two kinds of information. First, I examine the historical and archaeological evidence of Sheepeaters or Shoshone mountaineers as permanent residents of Yellowstone Park. Because the wood structures encountered in Yellowstone Park and the mountainous areas of Wyoming are attributed to the Sheepeaters, I will explore whether other Indian tribes could have constructed these types of structures.

### Sheepeaters in Yellowstone National Park

LITTLE INFORMATION EXISTS to place Shoshone mountaineers in Yellowstone National Park.

One of the earliest references to Shoshone Indians in the park is Osborne Russell's encounter with a small group of unmounted Snake Indians in the Lamar Valley of Yellowstone Park on July 29, 1835 (Haines 1965:26; Hultkrantz 1970:250). Because these Indians were unmounted Shoshone lacking Euro-American trade items, this reference is considered one of the best pieces of documentary evidence for the mythical Sheepeaters of Yellowstone Park (Hultkrantz 1970:250). In his journal, Russell fails to identify these Indians as mountaineers, mountain Snakes, or Sheepeaters, nor does he indicate they specialized in hunting bighorn sheep. Further, he encounters them in the middle of summer when any group of

pedestrian Shoshone might visit the Yellowstone Plateau. This reference reveals only that unmounted Shoshone were encountered in the park in July, not that a band of Sheepeaters lived permanently in the park.

The first reference to Sheepeaters in northwestern Wyoming appears in 1866. Bart Henderson, leading an expedition exploring mining possibilities, encountered a group of 60 unmounted Bannock-speaking “Sheepeaters” in the Absaroka Mountains (Henderson 1866:9/4, 9/11). These Indians were returning from a hunting expedition and Henderson traded with them for sheep and marten furs. In 1869, the Cook-Folsom party, sent to explore the geological wonders of the Yellowstone region, encountered a large party of equestrian, Bannock-speaking “Sheepeaters” in Yellowstone Park (Haines 1966:17, 20–21). As Bannock-speaking Indians and horsemen, neither group is convincing evidence of the mythical Sheepeaters. Further, like those Russell met, these Indians were encountered during the summer when the park was accessible. Given the depth and consistency of winter snow (Martner 1986: 107–8) and the impenetrability of snow-covered mountain passes as demonstrated by the Reynolds expedition (Reynolds 1868), permanent occupation of the Yellowstone Plateau would have been nearly impossible for any Indian group (Hoffman 1961:15). The above references reveal that early explorers were prone to identify any Shoshone or Bannock Indians encountered in the park and the mountains of northwestern Wyoming as Sheepeaters.

After the Cook-Folsom expedition, no other explorer, hunter, or visitor to northwestern Wyoming who left memoirs ever encountered a Sheepeater there. The subsequent Washburn expedition did not encounter Sheepeaters or Shoshone mountaineers, although this group observed abandoned Indian structures on the shores of Yellowstone Lake. In 1875, the Earl of Dunraven after conducting a hunting trip in the park, writes “all indians now carefully avoid the uncanny precincts of ‘Wonderland’. A few wretched sheep-eaters are said to linger in the fastnesses of the mountains about Clarke’s Fork; but their existence is very doubtful...” (Kephart 1917:246).

Lastly, Norris never encountered Sheepeaters in his travels through the park (Hultkrantz 1970:252; Norris 1879:842; Norris 1881:35). In 1879, Norris officially removed the Indians from Yellowstone Park, but his report indicates that this action stemmed from the 1878 and 1879 raids of Bannock and Nez Perce Indians (Norris 1879:26; 1881:33).

Most historians and anthropologists assume that the Yellowstone Park Sheepeaters went to live on the Wind River reservation, but government documentation of this is meager. In 1864, Luther Mann, Indian agent of the Wind River Reservation, wrote:

...about the first of June a party of Loo-coo-rekah or Sheep-Eater Indians stole and brought into camp nineteen head of horses belonging to miners at Beaver head, Montana Territory. Washakie, the chief, informed them that a treaty had been made with the whites. They surrendered the horses to him, and he sent them to Fort Bridger and turned them over to the military authority of the post (Mann 1864:172).

From this reference, it is unclear where these Sheepeaters resided, but the

Beaverhead Mines are located in central Idaho near the Lemhi Shoshone (see also Hultkrantz 1970:251). Some evidence suggests that Indians who called themselves Sheepeaters or Shoshone mountaineers did settle on the Wind River Reservation. In 1870, Agent G. W. Fleming wrote (1870:179):

They (the Shoshones)...allowed the Bannocks and Toorooreka, or Sheep Eaters, a band of Shoshones inhabiting the mountains entirely, to participate in the [annuity] distribution, each receiving share and share alike.

This, and a letter in the archives at the Wind River Indian Reservation written by R. P. Haas in 1929 (Haines 1977:333, fn 29) indicate that a group of Sheepeaters or mountaineers arrived on the Wind River Reservation around 1870. Unfortunately, neither account reveals where these Indians resided before joining the reservation (see also Hultkrantz 1970:251).

The later accounts of the exploring expeditions by Jones and Sheridan shed some light on this. Both Jones and Sheridan enlisted “Sheepeater” guides from the Wind River Reservation for their respective expeditions through Yellowstone National Park. In 1873, Capt. William A. Jones enlisted ten Wind River Indians to accompany his troops on a reconnaissance of northwestern Wyoming. One of these guides, Togatee, was identified as a Sheepeater, but Togatee, along with the other Shoshone guides, was unfamiliar with the Yellowstone Park area (Jones 1875:11, 34–36, 39–40). Only when the expedition reached the southern park boundary did Togatee recognize his surroundings.

Sheridan had a similar experience in 1881. He enlisted the help of five Sheepeater guides from the Wind River Agency, and not one was familiar with the park area until the party reached the southern boundary (Chittenden 1940:11; Janetski 1987: 80; Sheridan 1882:11). Sheridan noted that these Indians had lived for years around Mounts Sheridan and Hancock near the southern park border (Sheridan 1882:11).

The ethnographic evidence on this subject is somewhat contradictory and appears influenced by the already established Sheepeater myth. While Murphy and Murphy never spoke to a Sheepeater informant, these ethnographers were told by the Wind River Shoshone that Sheepeaters settled in the Trout Creek section of the Wind River Reservation (Murphy and Murphy 1960:309). Trout Creek is in the southwestern part of the reservation adjacent to the Wind River Mountains. Shimkin’s Sheepeater informants indicated they resided in the Wind River Mountains (Shimkin 1938: 415), yet Shimkin later describes them as forming a semi-autonomous enclave within all the mountains of northwestern Wyoming (Shimkin 1947:242). Hultkrantz’s Sheepeater informants indicated to him that they resided in all the mountain areas of northwestern Wyoming (Hultkrantz 1974b:15; Hultkrantz n.d.:152), but by the time Hultkrantz interviewed the Wind River Shoshone in the late 1940s and early 1950s, legends of the mysterious mountain Sheepeaters as depicted in the Sheepeater myth were part of Shoshone lore (Hultkrantz 1966–7:155).

None of these accounts provide definitive evidence for an enclave of Sheepeaters in Yellowstone National Park. This does not preclude the possibility that the Shoshone mountaineers of Yellowstone Park settled on the Lemhi Reservation as Hultkrantz

(1970:259) suggests, although there is no record of this. While no documentation exists for an influx of Yellowstone Park Shoshone or Sheepeaters to the Lemhi or Fort Hall reservations, abundant ethnographic and historical information demonstrates that Shoshone and Bannock Indians from Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana, mounted and unmounted, hunted in or near the headwaters of the Yellowstone River during the warmer seasons of the year (Berry 1871:540; Hultkrantz 1970:260, fn 3; Janetski 1987:46; Jones 1870:183; Schullery 1997:25–6; Shimkin 1947:248; Viall 1871:415).

As an example, J. G., one of Hultkrantz's informants, indicated that his grandfather, Tavonasia, would occasionally hunt in Yellowstone Park. Tavonasia was a well-known Eastern Shoshone chief and warrior during the 1860s and 1870s. His equestrian band of Shoshone wintered in the vicinity of Bull Lake in the Wind River valley and sometimes summered in Yellowstone Park. According to J. G., Tavonasia and his group, who were at one time identified as Sheepeaters, were the only ones under Washakie who hunted in Yellowstone Park (Hultkrantz 1979:37).

In addition to the Shoshone and Bannock, a number of other Indian tribes visited Yellowstone Park and the Yellowstone Plateau during the nineteenth century and perhaps before. These groups included the Crow, Blackfoot, Flathead, and Nez Perce Indians (Haines 1977:21–25; Hultkrantz 1974b:22–8; Topping 1883:7). The Bannock Trail through the northern part of the park was a corridor for western Indians traversing the Rocky Mountains to hunt bison on the eastern Plains. The Blackfoot of western Montana journeyed southward across the Yellowstone Plateau to raid the Crow and Shoshone. The Nez Perce traversed the park in their historic flight toward Canada in 1877 (Haines 1977:221). All these groups occasionally visited the park for economic reasons or to quarry obsidian, but none were permanent residents.

**Who Made the Wood Structures in Yellowstone Park?** Norris and others have attributed most of the timber structures in Yellowstone Park and the surrounding mountains to the vanished Sheepeaters (Dominick 1964:158–9; Frost 1941; Norris 1880:11; Norris 1881:35–6). Norris variously described the structures he observed as decaying lodge poles, wickiups, cliff-sheltered bush-houses, bush screens for arrow shooting, and pole drive lines (Norris 1880:11; 1881:35). Archaeological surveys conducted in the mid-twentieth century located only a few of the structures described by Norris. Two conical timber lodge sites were recorded in the 1961 and 1966 surveys of Yellowstone Park, the Lava Creek and Wigwam Creek wickiups (Arthur 1966:61; Hoffman 1961:39; Shippee 1971:74). Hoffman (1961:40) noted other pole and brush structures in his survey, but closer examination revealed these to be recent leantos and brush piles. Many more structures probably existed in the 1870s, but the ravages of fire, decay, and recreational use over the years have likely destroyed them (Arthur 1966:61).

Similar types of structures are occasionally encountered outside the park boundaries (Arthur 1966:57, 65–6; Ewers 1968:118; Frison et al. 1990; Kidwell 1969:26–9; Voget 1977:7). These structures fall into four basic categories: conical timber lodges, wickiups, cribbed structures, and sheep traps (Ewers 1968:119–21; Frison et al 1990; Hughes 1994:7–8; Voget 1977:3).

Conical timber lodges consist of 40–60 poles stacked in a conical shape with an exterior covering of sagebrush, grass, woven willow branches, or bark slabs (Figure 1). Lodge interior diameters range from 3.5 to 7 feet. An interior firepit may or may not be present, and artifacts are rare (Arthur 1966:57; Ewers 1968:119–20; Hughes 1994:6–7; Kidwell 1969:23,30, and Voget 1977:7). While most were free-standing, others were built around a tree, or with poles leaning against a tree branch to form a lean-to (Arthur 1966:59; Ewers 1968:21; Hughes 1994:16). Although most historical and ethnographic accounts indicate that these lodges were covered with grass, branches, or bark, by the time they were observed in the twentieth century, all that remained was the pole framework.

While many conical timber lodges are referred to as wickiups (Arthur 1966: 56; Hoffman 1961:35; Lowie 1924:220), wickiups are a different type of structure. These are domed grass huts constructed by bending a circle of four saplings inward in a dome-shape and then covering this framework with grass, rushes, or scrub (Nabokov and Easton 1989:338–9). This type of structure was commonly used as a habitation by western Apache and Great Basin Indian tribes or as a sweatlodge by Plains tribes (Kidwell 1969:2–3; Lowie 1924:184; Murphy and Murphy 1986:295; Nabokov and Easton 1989:338–9).

Cribbed structures are square or pentagonal shelters created by laying fallen timber horizontally. At a height of three to four feet, the timbers were cribbed inwards leaving a smoke hole in the center. The cribbed framework was then covered with grass, stripped bark, or hide (Arthur 1966:57; Ewers 1968:121; Voget 1977:3; Hughes 1994:16).

Sheep traps consist of drive lines leading to a small rectangular catch pen entered by a log ramp. The catch pens are made of high, horizontally laid log courses with inward slanting walls to prevent the sheep from jumping out (Frison 1991:248–252). Frison (1991:257) notes that catch pens bear a close resemblance to cribbed structures. The drive line, a fence of fallen timber and rocks, was used to funnel sheep into the catch pen (Frison et al. 1990; Frison 1991:249). Natural topographic features and nets were occasionally used in lieu of catch pens to trap sheep, leaving only the remains of drive lines on the landscape.

Three of these structures, conical timber lodges, cribbed log structures, and sheep traps, are generally attributed to the Sheepeaters when encountered in the mountains of western Wyoming. Because the lodges, like the mythical Sheepeater, are hidden, isolated, solitary, and primitive, they are easily linked to them. The sheep traps have an even closer link to the Sheepeater because sheep were the focus of their economy.

With the exception of sheep traps, the ethnographic literature reveals that the above structures and their variants were built by most northern Plains Indians as temporary shelters while conducting temporary economic activities and warfare (in Arthur 1966:58; Ewers 1968:128; Hughes 1994:15–17; Kidwell 1969:7). When used by war parties, the structures were referred to as war lodges (Ewers 1968: 117). Lewis and Clark observed similar structures among the Hidatsa (Thwaites 1959, vol. 2:343). Ewers (1968:128) attributes conical timber lodge and cribbed structures to the Cree, Crow, Sioux, Gros Ventres, and Assinboine, while Voget

(1977:8) adds Arapaho, Cheyenne, Flathead and Nez Perce to this list. Voget (1977:8) notes that the Blackfeet preferred cribbed structures rather than conical timber lodges, but according to Ewers (1968:121), the Blackfeet constructed both. The Mandan and Hidatsa constructed conical timber lodges in conjunction with eagle trapping activities (Allen 1982:3). The Shoshone and Bannock were also known to build conical timber lodges and wickiups (Lowie 1909:183–4; Murphy and Murphy 1986:295). Any one of the tribes listed above that visited or traveled through western Wyoming and southern Montana may have constructed the structures attributed to the Sheepeaters.

The ethnographic literature provides little information on which tribes built communal sheep traps in the mountains of western Wyoming, southern Montana, and central Idaho, however, it is known that both the Shoshone and Bannock hunted sheep in these areas (Lowie 1909:185; Shimkin 1947:268). If the Shoshone did build these high altitude traps, then they were built by the *Túkudeka* or Sheepeaters in keeping with the traditional Shoshone use of the term.

While Norris attributed most timber structures in the park to the Sheepeaters, later historians were not so quick to make this association. Haines (1977:25) notes that George Bird Grinnell identified the Yellowstone wickiups as Crow hunting lodges. Dr. Malouf, through archaeological excavations, came to the same conclusion based on the scarcity of artifactual material which he interpreted as indicating transitory use (see also Kidwell 1969:23). Haines (1977:25) attributes the cribbed structures to Flathead occupation. Norris even notes that some recent timber “breastworks” in the park were made by the Nez Perce and Bannocks during their Indian raids (Norris 1881:35).

Evidence is lacking to attribute the campsites and wooden structures in Yellowstone Park and the surrounding areas exclusively to a vanished tribe of Sheepeaters or Shoshone mountaineers. A better explanation is that the timber structures encountered by Norris were temporary shelters and hunting devices constructed by a variety of Indian tribes who visited or traversed the park during the warmer seasons of the year.

## Summary and Conclusions

IN SUMMARY, the evidence presented here strongly suggests that the Sheepeater, as portrayed in most historical writings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is more mythical than real. There is no definitive evidence to support the existence of a permanent “band” of Shoshone mountaineers in Yellowstone Park or to indicate that the conical timber lodges and other timber structures in the park were constructed exclusively by these individuals. A better explanation for these structures is that a variety of Indian tribes constructed them during temporary visits to the park during the warmer seasons of the year.

The Sheepeater myth appears to be a Euro-American creation. A Shoshone food name, Sheepeater, was borrowed and misapplied to an existing stereotypical and ethnocentric image of the Native American. This stereotype has roots in the wild man image of medieval Europe. It evolved throughout the history of American

colonization as the good and the bad Indian. The image of the bad Indian became the template to understand and depict the Digger Shoshone in the early nineteenth century. Sheep eater arose as a subdivision of Digger, the mountain Digger with a new name. Once Sheep eater became associated with the impoverished, unmounted Digger of the mountains, the name was applied to any Shoshone or Bannock Indian evincing these characteristics. Like Digger before it, Sheep eater reflected a negative, degraded image to most who applied it until it evolved into the mysterious, romanticized character described by Norris. Once created, the myth took on a life of its own, becoming firmly entrenched in both Indian and non-Indian folklore of northwestern Wyoming. That the Sheep eater myth still stimulates our imagination is testimony to the tenacity of this image.

## Acknowledgments

MY RESEARCH ON SHEEP EATERS began with a project funded by the Wyoming Council for the Humanities for the Worland Washakie Museum, Worland, Wyoming. This project, the vision of the Friends of the Museum, culminated in possibly the only exhibit of an authentic conical timber lodge in the United States. Further research was conducted in conjunction with the 1989 excavations of the Soapy Dale Lodge by the Worland District Bureau of Land Management. I thank both Pam Gaulke, past Museum director, and Mike Bies, BLM archaeologist, for their support and assistance in this early research. For this paper, I thank Dr. Bud Winans, University of Washington, who directed me toward the pertinent anthropological literature, and Åke Hultkrantz who sent me his manuscripts and shared insights from his field experiences at the Wind River Indian Reservation. Lastly, I want to thank Dr. Donald K. Grayson, Dr. Alice B. Kehoe, Dr. Eugene Hunn, Dr. Åke Hultkrantz, and an anonymous reviewer who read and commented on drafts of this paper. All opinions, errors, and omissions are my own.

## References Cited

(*RCLA: Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*)

- Allen, W. A., D.D.S. 1913. *The Sheep Eaters*. The Shakespeare Press, New York.
- Allen, W. E. 1982. Eagle Trapping in the Little Missouri Badlands. *Journal of the North Dakota Archaeological Association* 1:3–8.
- Arthur, G. W. 1966. An *Archaeological Survey of the Upper Yellowstone River Drainage, Montana*. Agricultural Economics Research Report No. 26. Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, Bozeman.
- Bartra, R. 1994. *Wild Men in the Looking Glass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
- Berkhofer, R. F., Jr. 1978. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- Bernheimer, R. 1970. *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*. Octagon Book, New York.
- Berry, M. P. 1871. Office of the Bannack and Shoshone Agency, Idaho. *RCLA* 1871 (No. 99):539–544.
- Bonner, T. D. (editor). 1965. *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth, Mountaineer, Scout, and Pioneer, and*

- Chief of the Crow nation of Indians.* Ross and Haines, Inc, Minneapolis.
- Brunot, F. R. 1872. Papers Accompanying the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. *RCLIA* 1872 (D): 124–127.
- Burke, J. G. 1972. The Wild Man's Pedigree: Scientific Method and Racial Anthropology. In: *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, edited by E. Dudley and M. E. Novak, 259–280. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh.
- Chittenden, H. M. 1940. *Yellowstone National Park*. Stanford University Press, California.
- Clemmer, R. O. and O. C. Stewart. 1986. Treaties, Reservations, and Claims. In *Great Basin, vol. 11, Handbook of North American Indians*, 525–557. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Cutler, Col. J. 1812. A Topographical Description of the State of Ohio, Indiana Territory and Louisiana—By a Later Officer in the U.S. Army. *South Dakota Historical Society Collections* 4: 150–180. Charles Williams, Boston.
- Danilson, W. H. 1870. Office of the Bannock and Shoshone Agency. *RCLIA* (No. 60):187–189.
- Dodds, P. 1868. Utah Superintendency. *RCLIA* 1868 (No. 28):148–156.
- Dominick, D. 1964. The Sheepeaters. *Annals of Wyoming* 36 (2):131–168.
- Doty, J. D. 1864. Territory of Utah, Superintendency of Indian Affairs. *RCLIA* 1864 (No. 65):174–176.
- Elliot, T. C. (editor). 1909. The Peter Skene Ogden Journals; Snake Expedition 1825–1826. *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly* 10:(4).
- Ewers, J. C. (editor). 1968. The Blackfoot War Lodge: Its Construction and Use. In *Indian Life on the Upper Missouri*, edited by J. C. Ewers, 117–130. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.
- Ferris, W. A. 1940. *Life in the Rocky Mountains, 1830–1835*. Rocky Mountain Book Shop, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Fleming, G. W. 1870. Fort Bridger, Wyoming Territory. *RCLIA* 1870 (No. 54):178–180.
- Fowler, D. D. 1965. *Cultural Ecology and Culture History of the Eastern Shoshone Indians*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh.
- Fox, S. J. 1976. Cultural Ecological Patterns of the Eastern Shoshone. *Tebiwa* 19(2): 1–8.
- Fremont, J. C. 1853. *The Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, Oregon and California*. Derby, Orton, and Mulligan, Buffalo, New York.
- Frison, G. C. 1991. *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains*. Academic Press Inc., San Diego, California.
- Frison, G. C., C. A. Reher, and D. N. Walker. 1990. Prehistoric Mountain Sheep Hunting in the Central Rocky Mountains of North America. In *Hunters of the Recent Past*, edited by L. B. Davis and B. O. K. Reeves, 208–240. Unwin-Hyman, London.
- Frost, N. M. 1941. The Sheep Eaters. *Wyoming Wildlife* VI (8) August.
- Fuller, H. 1874. Lemhi Special Agency, Utah Territory. *RCLIA* 1874:264–5.
- Gatschet, A. S. 1879. Classification Into Seven Linguistic Stocks of Western Indian Dialects Contained in 40 Vocabularies, Linguistics Appendix. In *The United States Geological Survey west of the One Hundredth Meridian*, edited by F. W. Putnam, 408–413.
- Greenwood, A. B. 1860. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. *RCLIA* 1860:11–27.
- Haines, A. L., (editor). 1965. *Osborne Russell's Journal of a Trapper*. Oregon Historical Society.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1966. *The Valley of the Upper Yellowstone: An Exploration of the Headwaters of the Yellowstone River in the Year 1869*. University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.
- Haines, A. L. 1977. *The Yellowstone Story*,

- vol. 1. Yellowstone Library and Museum Association, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming.
- Hallowell, A. I. 1960. The Beginnings of Anthropology in America. In *Selected Papers From the American Anthropologist 1888–1920*, edited by F. De Laguna, 1–90. Row, Peterson and Company, Evanston, Illinois.
- Harries, J. 1881. Lemhi Indian Agency, Idaho. *RCIA* 1881:64–65.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1882. Lemhi Indian Agency, Idaho. *RCIA* 1882:51–52.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1883. Lemhi Indian Agency, Idaho. *RCIA* 1883:55–56.
- Hatton, C. 1880. Shoshone and Bannack Agency, Wyoming. *RCIA* 1880:176–7.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1881. Shoshone and Bannack Agency, Wyoming. *RCIA* 1881:182–4.
- Head, F. H. 1866. Utah Superintendency. *RCIA* 1866 (No. 34):122–126.
- Henderson, A. B. 1866. *Journal of the Yellowstone Expedition of 1866 under Captain Jeff Standifer*. Manuscript on file at the Yellowstone Research Library, Mammoth, Yellowstone National Park.
- Hoebel, E. A. 1938. Bands and Distributions of the Eastern Shoshone. In *Tribal Distribution in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions*, edited by V. Ray et al. American Anthropologist 40:410–413.
- Hoffman, J. J. 1961. *A Preliminary Archaeological Survey of Yellowstone National Park*. Masters thesis, Montana State University, Missoula, Montana.
- Hough, G. C. 1868. Idaho City, Idaho Territory. *RCIA* 1868 (No. 46): 200–201.
- Hughes, S. S. 1994. *Test Excavations at Soapy Dale Lodge (48HO107)*. Report prepared for the Worland District Bureau of Land Management, Wyoming.
- Hultkrantz, Å. n.d. *Tribal Divisions Within the Eastern Shoshone of Wyoming*. Manuscript in possession of the author.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1966–7. The Ethnological Position of the Sheepstealer Indians in Wyoming. *Folk* 8–9:156–163.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1970. The Source Literature on the “Tukudika” Indians in Wyoming: Facts and Fancies. In *Languages and Cultures of Western North America: Essays in Honor of Sven S. Liljeblad*, ed. by E. H. Swanson, Jr., 246–264. Idaho State University Press, Pocatello.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1974a. The Shoshones in the Rocky Mt. Area. In *Shoshone Indians*, edited by C. I. Malouf, 175–214. Garland Publishing, New York.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1974b. The Indians of the Yellowstone Park. In *Shoshone Indians*, edited by C. I. Malouf, 217–256. Garland Publishing, New York.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1979. The Fear of Geysers among Indians of the Yellowstone Park Area. In *Lifeways of Intermontane and Plains Montana Indians*, edited by L. B. Davis, 33–42. Occasional papers of the Museum of the Rockies No. 1. Montana State University, Bozeman.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1981. *Belief and Worship in Native North America*. Syracuse University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1986. Mythology and Religious Concepts. In *Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 11: Great Basin*, edited by W. L. D’Azevedo, 630–640. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Humfreville, J. L. 1903. *Twenty Years Among Our Hostile Indians*, 2nd edition. Hunter and Co. Publishers, New York.
- Irish, O. H. 1865. Utah Territory. *RCIA* 1865 (No. 28):142–148.
- Irving, W. 1910. *Astoria*. The Century Company, New York.
- Irwin, J. 1874. Shoshone and Bannack Agency, Wyoming Territory. *RCIA* 1874:270–271.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1876. Shoshone and Bannack Agency, Wyoming Territory. *RCIA* 1876:152–153.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1883. Shoshone Agency, Wyoming Territory. *RCIA* 1883:313–4.
- Jackson, W. H. 1877. Descriptive Catalogue of Photographs of North American Indians. *USGS Dept. of the Interior, Miscellaneous Publications* 9:70–75.
- Janetski, J. C. 1987. *The Indians of Yellowstone Park*. Bonneville Books,

- University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Jones, D. L. F. 1870. Office Superintendent Indian Affairs, Boise City, Idaho. *RCIA* 1870 (No. 56):181–183.
- Jones, W. A. 1875. *Report Upon the Reconnaissance of Northwestern Wyoming, including Yellowstone National Park, made in the Summer of 1873*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C..
- Jordan, W. D. (editor). 1965. *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Kephart, H. (editor). 1917. *Hunting in the Yellowstone by the Earl of Dunraven*. Outing Publishing Company, New York.
- Kidwell, A. S., Jr. 1969. The Conical Timbered Lodge on the Northwestern Plains: Historical, Ethnological and Archaeological Evidence. *Archaeology in Montana* 10(4):1–49.
- Lander, F. W. 1860. Report. In: *Message of the President of the United States, communicating in compliance with a resolution of the Senate, information in relation to the massacre at Mountain Meadows, and other massacres in Utah Territory*. 36th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Executive Document No. 42, 121–138.
- Langford, N. P. 1905. *The Discovery of Yellowstone Park 1870*, 2nd edition. J. E. Haynes, Publisher, St. Paul, Minnesota.
- Liljebblad, S. 1957. *Indian Peoples in Idaho*. Idaho State College.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1986. Oral Tradition: Context and Style of Verbal Arts. In, *Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 11: Great Basin*, edited by W. L. D’Azevedo, 641–659. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Lowie, R. H. 1909. The Northern Shoshone. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 2(2):165–306.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1924. Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 20(3):187–314.
- Ludlow, W. 1875. *Report of a Reconnaissance from Carroll, Montana Territory, on the Upper Missouri of the Yellowstone National Park and Return, Made in the Summer of 1875*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Mann, L., Jr. 1862. Fort Bridger Agency. *RCIA* 1862 (No. 40):204–5.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1864. Fort Bridger Agency, Utah Territory. *RCIA* 1864 (No. 62): 172–173.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1865. Fort Bridger Agency, Utah Territory. *RCIA* 1865:327.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1866. Fort Bridge Agency. *RCIA* 1866 (No. 35):126–7.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1868. Fort Bridger Agency. *RCIA* 1868 (No. 30):156–159.
- Martner, B. E. 1986. *Wyoming Climate Atlas*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska.
- Morgan, D. L. and E. T. Harris. 1967. *Rocky Mountain Journals of William Marshall Anderson: the West in 1834*. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
- Murphy, R. and Y. Murphy. 1960. Shoshone-Bannock Subsistence and Society. *University of California Anthropological Records* 16(7). University of California, Berkeley, California.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1986. Northern Shoshone and Bannock. In *Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 11: Great Basin*, 284–307. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Nabokov, P. and R. Easton. 1989. *Native American Architecture*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York.
- Norris, P. W. 1879. *Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1880. *Report Upon the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1881. *Report Upon the Yellowstone*

- National Park to the Secretary of the Interior*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1884. *The Calumet of the Coteau*. J. B. Lippencott and Co., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- Patten, J. I. 1878. Shoshone and Bannock Agency. *RCIA* 1878:148–151.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1879. Shoshone and Bannock Agency. *RCIA* 1879:166–168.
- Phillips, P. C. (editor). 1957. *Forty Years on the Frontier*. Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California.
- Powell, C. F. 1868. Office Special Agency, Boise City, Idaho Territory. *RCIA* 1868 (No. 47):201–203.
- Quaife, M. M. (editor). 1934. *Narrative of the Adventures of Zenas Leonard*. The Lakeside Press, Chicago, Illinois.
- Rainsford, J. C. 1872. Lemhi Farm, Montana Territory. *RCIA* 1872 (No. 43):282–3.
- Raynolds, W. F. 1868. *Report on the Exploration of the Yellowstone River*. Report of the Secretary of War, 40<sup>th</sup> Congress, Session 1, Executive Document No. 77.
- Rollins, P. A. (editor). 1935. *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail: Robert Stuart's Narratives of His Overland Trip Eastward From Astoria in 1812–13*. Edward Eberstadt and Sons, New York.
- Schoolcraft, H. R. 1853. *Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*. Lippincott, Grambo, and Company, Philadelphia.
- Schullery, P. 1997. *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.
- Semple, E. C. 1911. *Influences of Geographic Environment: on the basis of Ratzel's System of Anthro-geography*. Henry Holt and Company, New York.
- Sheridan, P. H., Lt. Gen. 1882. *Report of An Exploration of Parts of Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana in August and September, 1882*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Shimkin, D. B. 1938. Wind River Shoshone Geography. In *Tribal Distributions in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions*, edited by V. Ray et al. *American Anthropologist* 40:413–415.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1947. Wind River Shoshone Ethnogeography. *University of California Anthropological Records* 5(4):245–288.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1986. Eastern Shoshone. In *Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 11: Great Basin*, 284–307. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Shippee, J. M. 1971. Wickiups of Yellowstone Park. *Plains Anthropologist* 16:74–75.
- Silverberg, R. 1989. *Moundbuilders of Ancient America: The Archaeology of a Myth*. New York Graphic Society Ltd., Greenwich, Connecticut.
- Smith, A. I. 1871. Lemhi Valley, Montana Territory. *RCIA* (No. 48):432.
- Spaulding, K. A. (editor). 1956. *The Fur Hunters of the Far West*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.
- Steward, J. H. 1970a. *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1970b. The Foundations of Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Society. In *Languages and Cultures of Western North America: Essays in Honor of Sven S. Liljebblad*, edited by E. H. Swanson, Jr., 113–151. Idaho State University Press, Pocatello, Idaho.
- Stone, A. 1880. Lemhi Agency, Idaho. *RCIA* 1880:63–64.
- Strong, W. E. 1875. *A Trip to the Yellowstone National Park in July, August, and September 1875*. Washington.
- Stuart, G. 1865. *Montana As It Is*. C. S. Westcott and Company, New York.
- Swanton, J. R. 1952. *The Indian Tribes of North America*. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145.
- Tholson, W. 1966. Sheepeater Indians were a Strange Tribe. *Casper Star-Tribune* (September 4).
- Thompson, J. C. 1941. In Old Wyoming. *Wyoming State Tribune* (October 2).

### Sheepeater Myth

- Thompson, R. R. 1855. *RCLA* 1855 (No. 93):489–493.
- Thorslev, P. J., Jr. 1972. The Wild Man's Revenge. In *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, edited by E. Dudley and M. E. Novak, 281–308. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
- Thwaites, R. G. 1906. *Early Western Travels 1748–1846*, vol. 27. Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio.
- . 1959. *The Original Journals of Captains Meriweather Lewis and William Clark, 1804–1806*, 8 vols. Antiquarian Press Ltd.
- Topping, E. S. 1883. *The Chronicles of the Yellowstone*. Pioneer Press Company, St. Paul, Minnesota.
- Trenholm, V. C. and M. Carley. 1981. *The Shoshonis: Sentinels of the Rockies*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.
- Viall, J. A. 1871. Montana Territory. *RCLA* 1872 (No. 42):409–417.
- Voget, F. W. 1977. Timber Shelters of the Crow Indians. *Archaeology in Montana* 18 (2, 3):1–18.
- Walker, Hon. F. A. 1872. Report. *RCLA* 1872:47–51.
- White, H. 1972. The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea. In: *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, edited by E. Dudley and M. Novak, 3–38. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
- Wilkes, C. 1845. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838–1842*, vol. IV. Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- Wright, J. A. 1879. Lemhi Indian Agency, Idaho. *RCLA* 1879:54–55.

Susan S. Hughes, Department of Anthropology, University of Washington, Box 353100, Seattle, WA 98110

