

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name Nez Perce Traditional Site, Wallowa Lake
other names/site number Chief Joseph Cemetery/Joseph National Indian Cemetery

2. Location

street & number Section 5, T3S, R45 E not for publication
city, town Joseph vicinity
state Oregon code OR county Wallowa code 063 zip code 97846

3. Classification

Ownership of Property	Category of Property	Number of Resources within Property	
<input type="checkbox"/> private	<input type="checkbox"/> building(s)	Contributing	Noncontributing
<input type="checkbox"/> public-local	<input type="checkbox"/> district	_____	_____ buildings
<input type="checkbox"/> public-State	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> site	<u>1</u>	_____ sites
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> public-Federal	<input type="checkbox"/> structure	_____	_____ structures
	<input type="checkbox"/> object	_____	_____ objects
		<u>1</u>	_____ Total

Name of related multiple property listing: Nez Perce 1877 Campaign
Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. See continuation sheet.

Signature of certifying official _____ Date _____
State or Federal agency and bureau _____

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. See continuation sheet.

Signature of commenting or other official _____ Date _____
State or Federal agency and bureau _____

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

entered in the National Register.
 See continuation sheet.

determined eligible for the National Register. See continuation sheet.

determined not eligible for the National Register.

removed from the National Register.

other, (explain:)

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Domestic camp

Current Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Landscape park

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(enter categories from instructions)

Materials (enter categories from instructions)

foundation _____
walls _____
roof _____
other _____

Describe present and historic physical appearance.

Occupying a spectacular location on a large moraine north of Wallowa Lake, this five-acre site commands an excellent view of a high, glaciated lake and mountain country. On a gentle slope with native grass and vegetation fringed with conifers, this parkland preserves a traditional Nez Perce ancestral camp-ground associated with religious and cultural values that have persisted for more than the century that has elapsed since Joseph's band was driven out. A Monument to Joseph's father--Old Joseph (c 1810-1871) does not intrude, and a tombstone or two of later settlers are reasonably unobtrusive. When Old Joseph brought Henry Harmon Spalding (a prominent Presbyterian missionary to Nez Perce bands around Lapwai) on an exploratory trip to this site, July 26, 1840, he reported that its magnificent view (better than any he had seen) repaid him for his long hard journey to Old Joseph's country. Whites who followed have been equally impressed, but its primary significance has been for its original Nez Perce inhabitants. Now retained as a small park, with little change in appearance from aboriginal times, it is a BIA property held in trust for its Nez Perce owners.

Chief Joseph Cemetery/Joseph National Indian Cemetery lies at the northernmost end of Wallowa Lake, between the lake shore and the Joseph-Wallowa Lake Highway, which bends south to extend the full length of the lake on the east side. The dominant improvements were carried out in 1926 and under the New Deal in the 1930s. The focal point is the mortared bouldered column, or shaft with its rock-faced granite base and capital. It was erected in 1926 in memory of Old Joseph, who died in 1871, and was embellished with a bronze plaque incorporating a bas-relief bust of the Nez Perce chief.

It was in the 1930s that the drive encircling the rise of land supporting the Chief Old Joseph cenotaph was lined with a low rock retaining wall. At this time also a low wall of coursed boulders in mortar was erected along the edge of the highway. At one point, the opposing walls rise in a slight upward curve to form a gateway, or entrance on axis with the focal monument. The wall and gateway pylons were finished with a coping of stone. The pylons appear to have terminated originally with small-scale electric lamp standards. The masonry work was done by tribal members working under auspices of the WPA.

A substantial flagstaff was mounted at the north edge of the cenotaph mound. As of 1970, a flagstaff was a prominent feature of the preserved area.

8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

nationally statewide locally

Applicable National Register Criteria A B C D Applicable National Historic Landmark Criteria
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions) A B C D E F G N/A 1 and 2

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions)

Period of Significance

Significant Dates

X-C-5 -Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States
-Military-Aboriginal American Contact and Conflict
-The Western Mountains

1860-1904

1877

Cultural Affiliation

XXX-E American Ways of Life
Ethnic Communities

Architect/Builder

Significant Person
Chief Joseph

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas and periods of significance noted above.

I. SIGNIFICANCE

In common with many other Native American peoples (and their Idaho and Washington associates), Joseph's Oregon Nez Perce band had a number of traditional sites of exceptional importance. Lake Wallowa retains unusual national significance because of its relationship with Brig. Gen. Oliver Otis Howard's Nez Perce Campaign of 1877 (see multiple property documentation form) as well as its association with Chief Joseph, a notable Indian leader. Because of their overwhelming affinity for this site, Joseph and his people spent more than a decade resisting local cattle ranchers who wanted to drive them out to an adjacent Idaho Nez Perce reservation. President U. S. Grant recognized their special needs to stay at Wallowa by establishing a reservation for them, June 16, 1873. This action was compromised by a boundary confusion, however, that would have assigned them to settlers' lands instead of their primary territory. That arrangement lasted only two years. So in 1876, General Howard insisted that Joseph's people withdraw to North Idaho--a move that created tensions that erupted into a major war involving several Idaho Nez Perce bands as well. Joseph's outstanding national reputation derived from his campaign to return with his people to the Wallowa Lake site. Some of his people were allowed to settle in adjacent North Idaho, while others (including Joseph) were exiled to the Colville site in Washington. More than a century later, this site continues to represent, better than any other, Joseph's ceaseless campaign to preserve his people's traditional values and homeland allegiance.

See continuation sheet

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography

Beal, Merrill D. "I Will Fight No More Forever": Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War. New York, 1967.

Brown, Mark H. The Flight of the Nez Perce: A History of the Nez Perce War. New York, 1967.

Gulick, Bill. Chief Joseph Country: Land of the Nez Perce. Caldwell, Ida. 1981.

Joseph, Alvin M., Jr. The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest. New Haven, 1965.

See continuation sheet

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- State historic preservation office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Specify repository:

Idaho State Historical Society

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property 5

UTM References

A

1	1	4	8	2	6	5	0	5	0	2	0	1	5	0
Zone				Easting				Northing						

C

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

B

Zone				Easting				Northing						

D

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

Part of Lot 4, Sec. 5, T3S, R45E, beginning at a point 195 feet S 80°5'E of Lot 4's NW corner; thence 163.6 feet N 87°9E; thence 128.5 feet S 48°7'E; thence 341 feet S 67°17'E; thence 227.7 feet S56°53'E; thence 378.5 feet S 66°44'W; thence 400 feet N 72° 27'W; thence 400 feet N 2° 27'W.

See continuation sheet

Boundary Justification

This boundary includes all of a small park which has been preserved as a significant traditional site. Adjacent properties do not qualify for National Register recognition.

See continuation sheet

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Merle Wells, Historian, as revised by Edwin C. Bearss

organization Idaho State Historical Society date August 26, 1988

street & number 601 North Julia Davis Drive telephone 208 334-3428

city or town Boise state Idaho zip code 83702

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There is a granite grave marker (a truncated obelisk) of Wallowa County pioneer settler Frank David McCuly (1859-1939), who elected to be buried in the Indian Cemetery because of his friendship with the Nez Perce, according to the monument's inscription. A roadside marker was erected by the Oregon State Highway Department to commemorate the cemetery some years ago. It occupies the highway right-of-way and is not a part of the nominated property.

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II. HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

1. The Wallowa Country

Present-day Wallowa County, as historian Alvin Josephy has written:

encompassing the northeastern corner of Oregon, coincides ... with the territory once regarded as home by the Joseph...band of Nez Perces. It covers 3,145 square miles, almost three times the size of Rhode Island, yet little of it is good for farming. A large part of it is mountainous, and another large part is knifed by a network of lava-rimmed canyons that are among the deepest and most rugged in the world. Even its most habitable portion, the relatively flat valley drained by the meandering Wallowa River and its feeder streams, has an altitude ranging from approximately 2,500 feet to above 4,000 feet, limiting the growth of crops to a short season. But the grasses in the canyons and along the great expanse of plateau that borders them are rich, and nowhere in the United States...is there better natural grazing country.

Originally, many small Indian groups and families, each one independent had occupied the region; but gradually they had drawn together, and by 1860 all of them, totaling about 60 men and possibly twice that number of women and children, looked upon [Old] Joseph as their headman. In the spring of each year the Indians came up from their scattered camps in the warm canyons, gathered kouse in the...high meadowed regions in the northern part of the district, and then moved south to the Wallowa Valley, with its sparkling lake and river, where they laid in a store of salmon and spent the summer in the hills and on the prairie beneath the Wallowa Mountains. In the fall they returned to the...northern wooded areas to hunt deer and bear and, as cold set in, descended again to the shelter of the deep canyons. Winter grass in the canyons, spring and fall grass on the plateau, and summer grass in the valley provided their large herds of horses and cattle with year-round feed, while the beauty of the region and the lushness of its bounty satisfied the Indians' spiritual and material needs. Occasionally, some of the Indians traveled to the Umatilla Valley in the west to visit friends and relatives among the Cayuses and Umatillas, or went in the opposite direction to hunt buffalo in Montana and to stop along the way at villages of treaty and nontreaty Nez Perces in Idaho. But no

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place seemed so good to Joseph's people as the Wallowa, and on occasions when the agents at Lapwai tried to argue them into moving onto the reservation, in accordance with the treaty of 1863, they reported that they loved the land in which they lived and would never give it up.¹

2. The Nontreaty Nez Perces

The "nontreaty" Nez Perces had acquired this designation by refusing to accept the Treaty of 1863. This treaty, foisted on the Nez Perces, when parts of their mountainous homeland were discovered to contain gold and silver lodes, materially reduced the reservation set aside for them in 1855. Most of the nation settled within the reduced reservation principally along Idaho's Clearwater River. But the nontreaty Nez Perces refused. Among these bands were those led by White Bird and Toohoolhoolzote, on the lower Salmon River to the south. Across the Snake River to the west, in Oregon, another band led by the venerated Chief Joseph--Old Joseph--roamed the Wallowa country.²

3. Death, Burial, and Reburial of Old Joseph

Old Joseph died in August 1871 in his camp at the forks of the Wallowa and Lostine rivers some 15 miles northwest of Lake Wallowa. He was buried on a Hilltop above the camp, but the same night was reinterred at the foot of the hill. The Indians built a pole fence around the grave, and inside the fence positioned another pole, with a crossarm, and painted it red. From the arm they hung a bell that sang in the wind. A headman's horse was killed and slung by a crosspole above the grave. About 1874 a white man stole the bell, and in 1886, ten years after the Nez Perces had been exiled from the Wallowa Country, L. Pfefferle, an itinerant dentist from Boise City, Idaho, his wife, A. V. McAlexander and his wife, and McAlexander's father-in-law visited the gravesite. Digging into the grave, Pfefferle and his wife removed and cleaned the skull. Pfefferle then displayed Old Joseph's skull "in his dental office, at Baker City, which he had marked Chief Joseph's skull."

In 1926, J. H. Horner, Enterprise, Oregon, historian, having secured permission from the Nez Perces, removed Old Joseph's remains and reinterred them in a new grave at the foot of Lake Wallowa.³

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4. Young Joseph's Love of Country

Old Joseph was blind at his death, and the older of his two sons, 31 year-old Hin-mah-too-yah-lat-kekht, known to history as Chief Joseph, had assumed most of the responsibilities of leadership from his ailing father. Before his death, the old chief had exhorted his sons never to abandon their ancestral homes. In 1879, two years after the Nez Perce War, Chief Joseph recounted his father's last words in an interview, he gave a correspondent for the North American Review. "My son," said Old Joseph:

my body is returning to my mother earth, and my spirit is going very soon to see the Great Spirit Chief. When I am gone, think of your country. You are the chief of these people. They look to you to guide them. Always remember that your father never sold his country. You must stop your ears whenever you are asked to sign a treaty selling your home. A few years more, and white men will be all around you. They have their eyes on this land. My son, never forget my dying words. This country holds your father's body. Never sell the bones of your father and your mother.

Whereupon, Chief Joseph added, "I buried him in that beautiful valley of winding waters. I love that land more than all of the world. A man who would not love his father's grave is worse than a wild animal." 4

5. The June 16, 1873, Executive Order

As the Wallowa country began to attract white settlers from western Oregon in the early 1870s, pressure built-up for the removal of Joseph and his people to the Idaho reservation. Joseph argued eloquently that Old Joseph and other nontreaty leaders had refused to sign the Treaty of 1863, and thus had never sold the Wallowa country. Acknowledging the truth of their stance, President Ulysses S. Grant on June 16, 1873, signed an executive order setting aside a part of the Wallowa Valley as a hunting reserve. The land in this reserve, however, was not the same area recommended by Indian Agent J. B. Monteith. This error resulted from the lack of accurate maps of the region, but, whatever the reason, the reserve proved unsatisfactory. Joseph's people were given the northern half of the land they claimed, while the committee had recommended he be given the southern half, which included higher ground, Wallowa Lake, and the head waters of the Wallowa and Imnaha rivers. The new reserve included the lower Wallowa, the right bank of the lower Grande Ronde and the plateau between the Grande Ronde and Snake rivers. The result was to give Joseph and his band a large area covered mostly with pine forests. Very little of this area could be cultivated. Almost all the farm land along the Wallowa River was outside the reserve boundaries and still open to white settlement with the only practical routes to the outside crossing the new reserve.

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Since Joseph and his band claimed the entire Wallowa area, the return of half of it did not satisfy them. They continued to ask for the removal of the white settlers and the return of the rest of their land. Oregon officials and the area newspapers were dissatisfied too. They claimed that the future of Oregon was imperiled by this new reservation and asked that their state be freed from this obstacle to progress by the removal of the Wallowa Nez Perces to the Lapwai Reservation, as provided in the treaty of 1863.

Meanwhile, Agent Monteith sought to prevail on Joseph and his people to settle permanently near Wallowa Lake. Possibly, he did not realize that this was outside the reserve, but it is difficult to understand why the Indians were not allowed to choose their own location. Monteith had also stated that the upper Wallowa Valley was too high and cold for stock in the winter, yet he opposed the use of the lower canyons and valleys on the reserve for winter range.

By this time, relations between the agent and the chief had deteriorated. Joseph decided that he could get no satisfaction from Monteith on the reservation dispute and asked permission to go to Washington to present his case in person to senior Indian Bureau officials. Although it was customary to allow several delegations of Indians from the various tribes to visit the capital, Monteith arbitrarily denied Joseph's request.⁵

Protests by Oregon Governor Leonard F. Grover, newspapers, and citizens led to reconsideration of the subject, and in 1875 President Grant rescinded his executive order and the Wallowa Country was opened to settlement. This breach of faith angered all nontreaty Nez Perces. White Bird, Looking Glass, Eagle from the Light, Toohoolhoolzote, and other chiefs conferred with Joseph and, after heated arguments about whether to take up arms, determined to attempt to live in amity with the whites. Despite good intentions, coexistence, considering the temper of the times was certain to be shattered sooner or later by an aggressive, Indian hating settler or an angry young warrior.⁶

6. Enter General Howard

Brig. Gen. Oliver O. Howard, with a deserved reputation as a christian-soldier and humanitarian, had assumed command of the Department of the Columbia in September 1874. General Howard first began to concern himself with the Wallowa question the next year.

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General Howard met Chief Joseph at the Umatilla Agency while on a tour of inspection during the summer of 1875. In company with ten Nez Perce warriors, including his brother--Ollokot--Joseph had sought for an interview with the general in hopes that Howard could explain why President Grant had changed his mind about establishing a reservation in the Wallowa Country. General Howard wrote of this meeting:

Joseph put his large black eyes on my face, and maintained a fixed look for some time. It did not appear to me as an audacious stare; but I thought he was trying to open the windows of his heart to me, and at the same time endeavoring to read my disposition and character.... I think that Joseph and I became then quite good friends.⁷

Howard's sympathies, influenced by reports from officers posted at Forts Lapwai and Walla Walla, were with Chief Joseph. An 1876 investigation by Maj. H. Clay Wood, Howard's adjutant, strengthened the general's conviction that the Nez Percés had been wronged. His solution, however, was not to confirm the Indians in the possession of their traditional homeland but to compensate them for it and persuade them -- if necessary, force them--to relocate to the Idaho reservation. Although the lead agency in adjusting conflicts between the Indians and whites was the Department of the Interior and its Indian Bureau, Howard took the initiative in promoting this approach. The murder of an Indian by a settler in the Wallowa Valley helped Howard secure establishment of a commission to settle the problems.

In October 1876 Secretary of the Interior Zachariah Chandler appointed General Howard one of five commissioners to treat with the Nez Percés. Also named to the commission were Major Wood and three easterners--D. H. Jerome of Michigan, A.C. Barstow of Rhode Island, and William Stickney of the District of Columbia--who knew little or nothing about the Nez Percés and their difficulties. Although Jerome was named chairman, Howard led and the others followed.⁸

The commission's purpose as defined in its charter was "to visit these Indians, with a view to secure their permanent settlement on the reservation, their early entrance on a civilized life, and to adjust the difficulties then existing between them and the settlers."

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7. The First Lapwai Council

The two-day council with Chief Joseph and other nontreaty leaders began on November 13, 1876, in the church at the Lapwai Agency. The commissioners sought to convince Joseph that the Wallowa Country was not suitable as a permanent home for his band because of a number of reasons: "The coldness of the climate. . . .It is embraced within the limits of the State of Oregon, which could not be induced to cede jurisdiction. . . .In case of conflict between Joseph and the white settlers the President might not be able to defend him. . . ."

To these arguments, Joseph replied: "The earth was his mother. . . .He asked nothing of the President. He was able to take care of himself."

As other councils between whites and Indians had done, this one broke up with no meeting of minds, for neither side listened to the other. Satisfied that his band still owned the Wallowa Country, that no government edict could take the country from them, and that the white man's word was not to be depended upon, Chief Joseph left Lapwai and returned to his home.⁹

The commissioners had been impressed with the sincerity and conviction of the Indians, but they were also irritated by their stubborn refusal to yield to the wishes of the United States government. The religious ties that bound the Nez Perces to the Wallowa Country escaped General Howard. Joseph's repeated references to the earth as his mother struck the general as nonsense; moreover, he confused Joseph's spiritual attachment to the land of his father with the unsettling "Dreamer" Cult then sweeping the Columbia River tribes. This religion, the dogma of Smahalla, a prophet, was understood to call for destruction of all white people and was accordingly causing governmental authorities serious concern. Joseph became the innocent victim of a growing tendency of the whites to equate all forms of Indian dissent with this incendiary new doctrine.

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The Lapwai conference ended in a stalemate, and the commission recommended that:

1. the Dreamer Medicine men be confined to their agencies, since their influence on the nontreaty Indians was pernicious;
2. a military post be established in the Wallowa Valley at once;
3. unless in a reasonable time Joseph consented to be removed, he should be forcibly taken with his people and given lands on the reservation; and
4. if members of his band overran property belonging to the whites, or committed depredations, or disturbed the peace by threats of, then sufficient force should be employed to bring them into subjection." 10

8. The Interior Department Calls Out the Army

The commission's report won quick approval in Washington, and early in January, 1877, the Department of the Interior determined to remove Joseph's people onto the Lapwai Reservation by compulsion, if necessary. An order to this effect was issued to Agent Monteith. Granted the authority he long had desired, Monteith sent a delegation of reservation Nez Perces to Joseph's winter village in the lower Grande Ronde Valley, asking him to move willingly and soon--or suffer the consequences. Despite these blood ties and the well-reasoned arguments of his relatives, Joseph refused to move to the reservation. The interpreters at the mid-November council must not have translated accurately, he said, and the commissioners misunderstood him. But the misunderstandings were rooted far deeper than inadequate translations. When the delegation returned to Lapwai and reported to Monteith, the agent grimly wrote:

I think from Joseph's actions, he will not come on the reserve until compelled to. He has said so [as] much to the Indians who have moved on the reserve, calling them coward, etc., that he would be lowering himself in his own estimation, as well as in that of his immediate followers, did he not make some show of resistance. By making such resistance, he could say to the other Indians, "I was overpowered, and did not come of my own choice," in case he is forced on the reserve.

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After making the sensible recommendation that the Joseph band be permitted to spend four to six weeks each summer fishing in the Imnaha country, where there were no roads or settlers, Monteith then threw caution to the winds, writing J. Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on February 9, 1877, "I have given Joseph until April 1, 1877, to come on the reserve peaceably. They can come one time just as well as another, having nothing to hinder them in moving."¹¹

Force meant the Army, and, on March 7, 1877, the Interior Department requested troops to effect Joseph's removal. Secretary of War James D. Cameron, General-of-the-Army William T. Sherman, and Maj. Gen Irwin McDowell, Howard's immediate superior in San Francisco, all went out of their way to stress that the Army's role was to aid the Indian Bureau. As with the Sioux in 1876, the Indian Bureau, not the Army, must be responsible to the public if war erupted with the Nez Perces. McDowell accordingly cautioned Howard, of "the paramount importance that none of the responsibility of any step which may lead to hostilities shall be initiated by the military authorities."

Howard's role in the negotiations with Chief Joseph had already in some degree compromised this goal. On May 3, 1877, General Howard again met with Joseph at Lapwai. This time the council took place in a tent on the fort's parade ground instead of at the agency. Other leaders of the nontreaty Nez Perces were there in support of Joseph. During three days of heated debate, Howard rejected the Indians' explanations and arguments and insisted that they move onto the reservation. His intransigence, coupled with news that cavalry from Fort Walla Walla had arrived in the Wallowa Valley, convinced the chiefs that they had only two options: war or acquiescence. They acquiesced.¹²

9. War!

Howard gave the nontreaty Indians 30 days to move. Joseph's people hurriedly rounded up their livestock and began their journey, suffering great hardship and property losses in crossing the Snake River during the spring runoff. They joined the Salmon River bands of Toohoolhoolzote and White Bird on the Camas

Prairie south of the reservation. While they paused to dig camas roots, the decision when to move onto the reservation became academic. On June 13-14 three young men of White Bird's village got drunk and killed four whites, well known for their harsh treatment of Indians. This was the spark that ignited the Nez Perce War.¹³

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NOTES

1. Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest (New Haven, 1965), pp. 445-46.
2. Robert M. Utley, Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian 1861-1891 (New York, 1973), p. 306.
3. Josephy, The Nez Perce Indians, pp. 449-50.
4. Ibid., 450.
5. Utley, Frontier Regulars, p. 306; Francis Haines, The Nez Percés: Tribesmen of the Columbia Plateau (Norman, 1956), pp. 189-90.
6. Utley, Frontier Regulars, pp. 306-07,
7. Bill Gulick, Chief Joseph Country: Land of the Nez Perce (Caldwell, 1981), p.187.
8. Ibid., 187-88, Utley, Frontier Regulars, p. 307.
9. Gulick, Chief Joseph Country p. 188.
10. Ibid., 188-89.
11. Ibid.; Utley, Frontier Regulars, pp. 307-08.
12. Gulick, Chief Joseph Country, p. 189.
13. Ibid., 192-94; Utley, Frontier Regulars, p. 308.
14. Utley, Frontier Regulars, pp. 308-09.

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Haines, Francis. The Nez Perce: Tribesman of the Columbia Plateau. Norman, 1956.

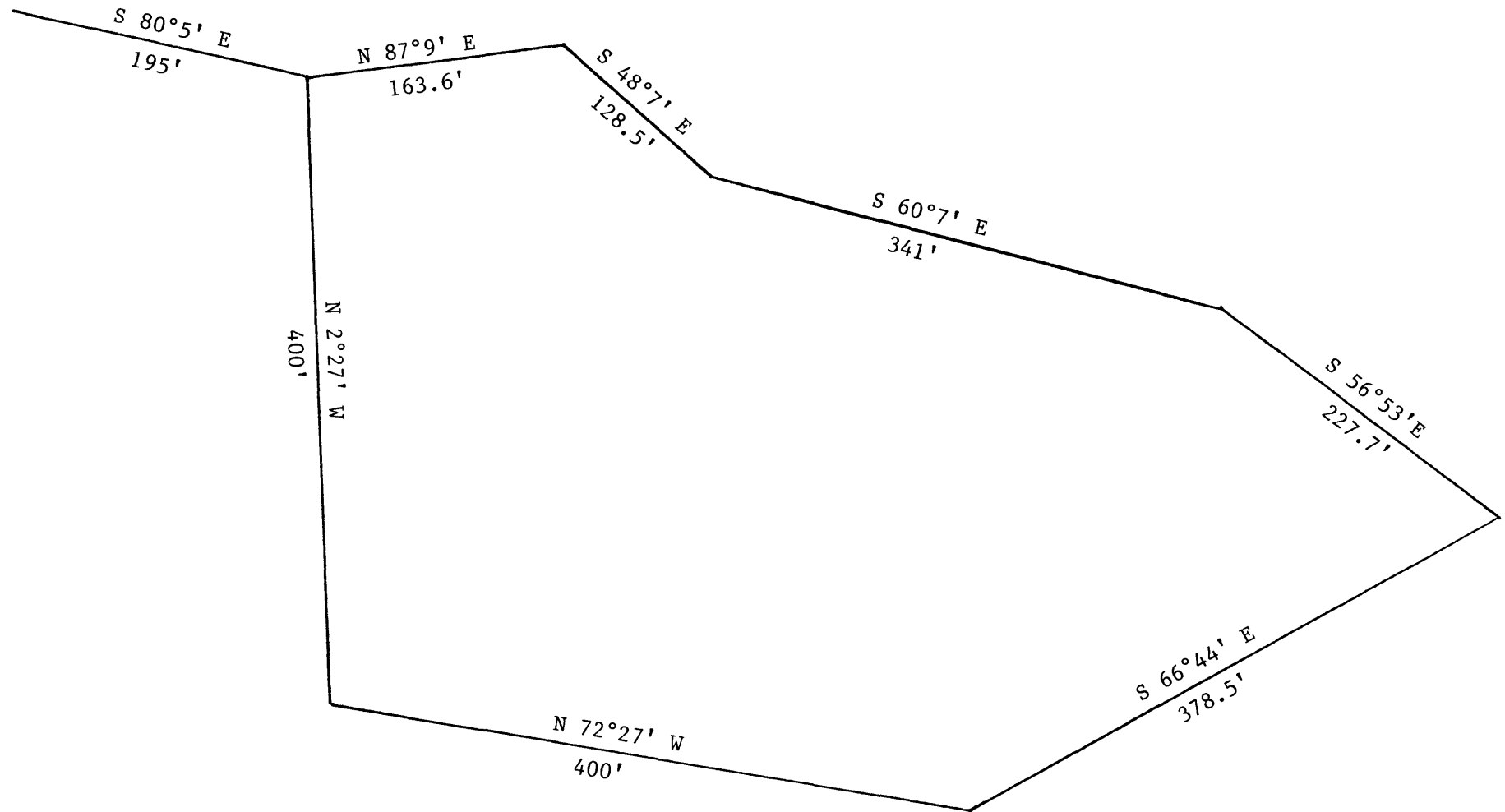
McWhorter, Lucullus V. Hear Me, My Chiefs! Caldwell, Ida. 1952.

McWhorter, Lucullus V. Yellow Wolf: His Own Story. Caldwell, Ida., 1948.

United States Secretary of War's Annual Report, (1877), House Executive Document.

No. 1. 45th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 2 (Serial 1794).

NW corner, Lot 4



Not to scale