

# THE WYOMING ARCHAEOLOGIST



**VOLUME 45(2)**

**FALL 2001**

**ISSN: 0043-9665**

# **THE WYOMING ARCHAEOLOGIST**

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*THE WYOMING ARCHAEOLOGIST* is published quarterly by the Wyoming Archaeological Society, Inc, with the financial assistance of the Wyoming Department of Parks and Cultural Resources. Address manuscripts and news items for publication to: Dewey Baars, Editor, *The Wyoming Archaeologist*, 1000 W 19<sup>th</sup> St, Wheatland WY 82201.

Please send a minimum of two (2) hard copies of each manuscript submitted. A third copy would speed the review process. Please contact the Managing Editor for instructions if the manuscript is available in electronic format. Readers should consult the articles in this issue for style and format. Deadline for submission of copy for spring issues is January 1 and for fall

issues July 1. Reports and articles received by the Managing Editor after those dates will be held for the following issue.

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Individual Associate Member - \$20.00  
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# THE WYOMING ARCHAEOLOGIST

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Please make your check payable to THE WYOMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY  
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## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### OBITUARY

#### Tumacacori National Historical Park (AZ) Death of NPS Archeologist Houston Rogers

Elvin Houston Rogers was killed in a motorcycle accident on Sunday, December 22, near Tubac, Arizona. He was the son of Peggy Thompson of Amarillo, Texas, and Jerry Rogers of Santa Fe, New Mexico. Houston was born on December 10, 1968, in Arlington, Virginia. He was a 1987 graduate of McLean High School and a cum laude graduate in 1995 from Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU). Early childhood experience in West Texas on the Bridwell Ranch, which was managed by his grandfather, and a particularly inspiring professor at VCU motivated him to study archeology and to obtain a master's degree in anthropology from the University of Wyoming in 2000. Houston's master's thesis was titled "Overwintering strategies during the Late Prehistoric Period: An example from the Big Goose creek Longbone Assemblage."

An innovative and energetic thinker, Houston was in the early stages of a promising career with the National Park Service, from which his father retired in 2000. He had participated in an archeological study of the diet of 19th century enlisted men at Fort Laramie NHS, worked for the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, and participated in the archeological survey at Pecos NHP. At the time of his death, he was an archeologist in the "Vanishing Treasures" program at Tumacacori NHP, where he was developing a method for documenting preservation work done on adobe ruins and also monitored the effects of new construction on archeological resources. In addition to his parents, he is survived by their spouses, Nancy Burgas of Santa Fe and David Thompson of Amarillo, a sister and brother-in law, Tiana and Dale Conklin of Leesburg, Virginia, a brother, Jeffrey Rogers and companion Lesley Arnott of Ashburn, Virginia, a grandmother, Hazel Sifford of Amarillo, and five nephews and a niece in northern Virginia.

Donations in Houston's memory may be addressed to the New Mexico Heritage Preservation Alliance, P.O. Box 2490, Santa Fe, NM 87504-2490. A funeral service is tentatively scheduled for Saturday, December 28, in Vega, Texas. Messages of condolence may be sent to Jerry Rogers at 29 Bosque Loop, Santa Fe, NM 87508, and to Peggy Thompson at 2216 Gypsyman Lane, Amarillo, TX 79108

one of the beneficiaries of Henry E. Jensen's trust. The Foundation received \$35,000 in early October and will also receive a share of mineral interests (and therefore revenue) in Washakie, Fremont, and Natrona counties. Henry also left funds in another trust, some of which will come to the Foundation after the current beneficiary dies. As additional information becomes available, the Foundation Board will pass it on to the membership of The Wyoming Archaeological Society.

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#### WYOMING ARCHAEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION BOARD MEETING, MINUTES

Sunday April 21, 2002 - Riverton, Wyoming

The spring meeting of the Wyoming Archeological Foundation Board of Directors was held in conjunction with the Annual Wyoming Archaeological Society Meetings (April 19-20, 2002). Janice Baars (President) called the meeting to order at 6:58 a.m., Sunday, April 21, 2002, at the Holiday Inn, Riverton, Wyoming. Board members in attendance included Janice Baars, Mary Lou Larson (Secretary), George C. Frison, John Greer, Mark Miller, and Eva Peden (President of the WAS), Barbara Nahas-Keiry (Treasurer), Gail Gossett (Past-President-WAS), and our newly elected member, Chris Lippincott. Dewey Baars, Hell Gap site steward was also in attendance. The terms of members are listed at the end of these minutes. Other WAS members present were George Brox, Ray Gossett, Marcel Kornfeld, Nick Palmer, and Tom Young.

**Minutes of Last Meeting:** Minutes from the May 6, 2001 WAF Board meeting held in Laramie, Wyoming were discussed. Marcel Kornfeld, Janice Baars, and Mary Lou Larson had questions and corrections on the minutes. Barb Nahas-Kiery moved and John Greer seconded that the minutes from the 2002 meeting be accepted as corrected. Motion passed unanimously by a voice vote.

**TREASURER'S REPORT:** Barb presented the treasurer's report for the 2001-2002 fiscal year. As of May 6, 2002 the Wyoming Archaeological Foundation had the following assets.

Balance on hand 4/25/01		\$5,447.15
Income		
(WAS dues)	\$ 222.50	
Closeout Sunlight Federal Account	\$ 23.70	

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#### HENRY JENSEN TRUST:

In the last edition of *The Wyoming Archaeologist*, the obituary for Henry Jensen was published. The Wyoming Archaeological Foundation is pleased to announce that it is

	\$ 246.40	
		\$ 5,693.30
Expenditures:		
Insurance on Hell Gap property	\$ 964.00	
Secretary of State	\$ 25.00	
Safe Deposit Box	\$ 13.50	
New Checks	\$ 12.25	
Taxes	\$ 111.60	
P. O. Box rental	\$ 32.50	
Total	(\$1158.80)	(\$ 1158.80)
Balance in Checking as of 4/25/01	\$ 4534.50	
Interest paid on Certificate of Deposit (2/2002)	\$ 809.73	
Certificate of Deposit value (5/6/02)	\$11,789.50	
<b>Total Assets</b>		<b>\$16,324.00</b>

Barb expressed concern over the continuing increase in insurance rates for the Hell Gap property. The rates just keep going up every year. Last year's insurance was \$860.00; this year's is \$964.00. Marcel had a question about whether or not the buildings out there were insured, but no one knew for sure what the insurance covered. Marcel commented that the main concern was that we have liability insurance and not so much coverage of the buildings at the site. A question came up about the pole barn located over Locality I and its insurance. Marcel noted that the Foundation does not own the building – it was erected by UW for temporary coverage of Locality I, so the Foundation wouldn't have any coverage on the building. Barb was going to check with the insurance agent and on the bill to get the exact breakdown of what is covered and what is not. Insurance comes up for renewal on May 11, 2002. Gail Gossett and Eva Peden both thought that the insurance rate was excessive. Gail suggested that we should inquire with other insurance companies about their rates. Dewey suggested that we continue with this insurance company for this year, as they have never inspected the roof and he thinks we may be due for some hail related damages (if we are covered for it). Eva moved and John seconded that we accept the motion to accept the Treasurer's Report. Motion carried unanimously by voice vote.

**OLD BUSINESS**

**By-Laws:** Janice asked if there were any corrections to the By-Laws. Janice noted one spelling error (singing rather than signing - Article V, Section 5C, arrangements for singing of all checks). Mark Miller moved and John seconded that we accept the motion to approve the corrections in the By-Laws. Janice noted that the By-Laws had been approved at last year's meeting. All we did today was correct any errors that existed in the final copy. Mark's motion was

passed unanimously by voice vote. Mark suggested that we submit the By-Laws to *The Wyoming Archaeologist* for publication. [EDITOR'S NOTE: see Volume 45(1) 2001]

**Articles of Incorporation:** The Treasurer (Barb) signed the Articles of Incorporation so it could be sent to the State of Wyoming for filing.

**Appraisal:** Dewey and Janice are in the process of getting an appraisal on the Hell Gap property (house and land).

**USDA Forest Service Report.** Janice reported the Forest Service came in November of last year to do a survey of the trees and their age and condition. They found the condition to be very good. They also set out datums as a baseline for the tree condition and growth. The original report went to the secretary's files.

**Hell Gap Condition and Needs.** Report from Dewey Baars, Hell Gap Site caretaker. Dewey reported the following:

Last year we decided we needed to track improvements, donations, and costs. Dewey passed around a sheet that listed the donor, what was done, and what the value was estimated to be. Last summer we had \$2015.00 worth of maintenance, improvements, etc. to the property. The estimate is based on labor and monetary donations.

John Greer questioned how the estimates were obtained. For example rewired kitchen stove for \$12.00/hour is a too low (\$20.00 would be more reasonable), and the time estimates are too low as well. Janice noted that she and Dewey were trying to establish a baseline. John and Marcel discussed the amounts, and Marcel noted that it was dependent on the qualifications of the worker. Barb said that she would send an NRCS and Forest Service pay break-out scale to Dewey, Janice, and Marcel regarding the various functions. Mark noted that the amounts were based on in-kind matching, but maybe we want to establish the rates so they can be applied at a higher level whenever the services are done. Marcel noted that the material was in-cash matching as it was bought by the Frison Institute. However, the actual cost of material for building the porches and painting on the house was only estimated – and might be low. John said that he would notify Carlsbad Caverns to get a copy of their list of matching amounts.

Janice noted that this sort of record keeping is critical to our knowing how much we need to maintain the Hell Gap site and buildings. Janice asked John to get those figures for the Board. Barb volunteered to set up the Hell Gap donation records on an Excel spread sheet so we could track them in future years.

**Water Well:** Dewey went out last week, Thursday, to turn on the water at the Hell Gap house. He discovered a small leak in the pit, so he will try to weld it shut, if not he'll have to buy pipe fittings in town. Albert, the lessee, will

move in his cows in about two weeks.

Maintenance requirements: Fence around the house just needs stretched and restapled. However, the fence along the county road needs repair. Dewey listed the items required based on prices at the lumber yard in Guernsey and does not include labor.

Exterior of the house: Robin Hill primed and painted the house wood trim in June 2001. However, the whole house needs to be renailed, scraped, primed, and repainted. Dewey estimated 8 gallons of primer, 10 gallons of paint.

Interior of house: Still haven't gotten the electrical drops that hang from the ceiling in the main dining room area boxed in. Material cost estimated at \$90-100 junction boxes and covers. Two ceiling fixtures need to be reattached to the ceiling. Again – costs include materials only, no labor. Barb reminded Dewey that even if the labor is volunteer labor, he still needs to track it as volunteer time.

Suggested Improvements to the Building. Dewey presented these as items for consideration to the Board.

Finish room on north end of the house at Hell Gap. This room will need to have a window put into it so it could be used as a bedroom. Eva asked what size window would be needed.

Get an electrician in to the house to investigate why the furnace in the house doesn't work anymore.

Mary Lou suggested that the board get an insurance appraiser over and get an estimate on getting the roof fixed.

Mine. Todd Surrovell was hiking in and around an old mine on the property, which we discussed somewhat last year. Dewey passed around his report on the mine work that was done last June 2001. Did preliminary survey around the mine. John Greer asked about the condition of the mine shaft and whether or not a gate had been put over the shaft yet. Dewey reported that there was some dry rot in the timbers. The shaft goes in about 40' with a T at the end going off to each side following a rock quartzite vein. The timber inside is all native pine that wasn't treated before use.

Fence. Barb asked about when the work was done at the ranch – Dewey said he did it when he got time or whenever Marcel brought over volunteers. Dewey commented that the fencing needed to be caught up with soon – and the Albert (the lessee) would probably help some with that. Barb said that she and Stuart could come up and do some work on the fence. Marcel noted that the Ord Ranch project would run for 10 days and that they might be able to spend some time working on the fence. George noted that Albert had been concerned about students speeding on the road in front of his house. He also noted that the board had better keep an eye on grazing on the land to make sure that it isn't overgrazed – Frison thought it had begun to be somewhat overgrazed. Marcel noted that Albert had buffalo – but none on the Hell Gap property. John Greer noted that according to the by-laws Dewey could go ahead and make the repairs. The board doesn't need to vote on the repairs individually.

## NEW BUSINESS

### Foundation Money.

Janice announced that the June Frison chapter (Laramie) had made a \$500.00 donation to the Foundation as part of their proceeds from the WAS convention they ran in Laramie. Janice suggested that we contact other chapters and let them know that the Foundation was available for funding projects in other parts of the state.

A general discussion on this topic followed. John Greer noted that we should send letters out to all of the chapters encouraging them to send money into the Foundation on a yearly basis. Even a small donation would be useful to the Foundation and wouldn't hurt the individual chapters. Mark Miller noted that some % of the chapters dues already go to the Foundation – we need to acknowledge that but see if there is more they can do. Janice noted that this year's amount from the WAS was only \$250.00, and last year's was only \$222.00. Mark noted that the membership numbers dropped last year after the Society raised its dues and now it has started to go back up again. George Brox noted that the Rawlins chapter sends in \$17 of its \$20 chapter dues, and the Foundation gets some percentage of the state WAS amount. Janice thought the Board should acknowledge the money the chapters already give, but if we have a specific thing that we want done (such as finishing the room in the house at Hell Gap), that the Foundation could send out a letter requesting funds for a specific identified project. John Greer commented that we already have some specifics that we've discussed today. And Janice noted that we don't know for sure whether or not the insurance company would pay for all of the roof on the Hell Gap house, and we need to paint. The board discussed whether or not we should send out a letter. Mark noted that the reason the June Frison chapter was able to donate the \$500 was because that chapter hosted the WAS Spring meeting in Laramie last year. Excess funds might be available every year for the chapter that ran the meeting, but in other years, the money would not be available. Mark also noted that the WAS is not going to be able to solve the problems of funding of the WAF at the rate we are spending it. He worried that we had only 3 years left on the amount in the checking account and slightly more in the CD. He suggested the Board needs over \$1500/year in donations and he really doesn't think it would be the society. Barb noted that there are grants for non-profits to get for maintenance of buildings. Mary Lou noted that the Frison Institute has some obligations towards maintenance – and that the \$1500/yr. should become a charge paid by whoever is doing the research out at the site. Marcel stated that it is much easier for the Institute to buy materials (such as shingles for the roof) rather than transferring funds to the Foundation – as the Institute has an obligation to maintain the property. It is also easier to explain to donors to the Institute that the money they have given went to "putting on a new roof" or what-

ever. Ray Gossett suggested that the insurance companies refer to specific dates for payments, not an event that happened 4 years ago.

**Auditing the Books.** Janice and Gail will audit the treasurer's books immediately after the meeting.

Janice then stated that she is going off the board – her three years are up. She thanked everyone for serving and for doing their duties.

**Hell Gap Peabody Museum Loan.** George Frison noted that the Peabody Museum had just notified the University of Wyoming that their loan period was expired. UW applied for and received a five-year extension on the long-term loan. The Peabody was concerned that UW not remove any residues, etc. from any tools as that was not the condition of the loan. He is working on a permanent transfer of ownership to the University of Wyoming. Marcel noted that the Peabody does not know if they own the collection – and they haven't been able to find any paper work on this. It appears that the Frederick family never donated it to the Peabody Museum. Mark noted that in terms of precedent that the ownership of the material would probably be the original land owners, as is the case for many excavations done in the 1950s and 1960s. John Greer noted that TARL (Texas Archaeological Research Laboratory) is currently dealing with this exact situation right now, and he recommends that UW should start negotiating this issue now.

**Hell Gap 2001 Draft Preliminary Report.** Marcel asked who the members of the Foundation are and passed out a draft of the preliminary report of work done at the Hell Gap site last year (2001), and he noted that several UW students gave reports at yesterday's meeting about UW's on-going research and about their research on the 1960s collections.

**Election of Officers.** Janice called for nominations for president. Janice suggested Chris Lippincott as president because she could serve for three years and provide some continuity. Barb moved that Chris be nominated as president and Mary Lou seconded the motion. The motion passed with a unanimous voice vote. Barb Nahas-Keiry has agreed to serve as Treasurer till the end of her term on the board, and Mary Lou Larson will remain as secretary until someone else wants the job

**Other New Business.**

Barb wondered if the June Frison chapter had specified what they wanted the \$500 they donated spent on. Mark noted that the chapter hadn't discussed the issue and that they would leave the decision up to Barb. Barb was going to look into finding an interest bearing checking account to put the money into.

Marcel noted that Bob Kelly from the UW Department of Anthropology has offered to do a regular undergraduate field school on alternate years from the Advance Archaeological Field School at Hell Gap. Janice asked where the material collected in that field school would go and Marcel said it would go to the Frison Institute. John Greer expressed a concern that one person be in charge and be responsible for all that UW does at Hell Gap. Marcel assured him and the board that the 10-year agreement between the board and the Institute specifies that obligation.

Janice recommended that the board and UW need to uncover information about the Hell Gap purchase – what occurred, that was involved, etc. This information would be particularly useful to the UW Department of Anthropology in their attempt to acquire the 1960s Hell Gap material permanently.

**Next year's meeting.** Will be held in conjunction with the Spring WAS meeting in Sheridan or Jackson.

Finally, George Frison commented on the valuable nature of the Hell Gap site, and that Milford Hansen was someone who deserves a tremendous amount of credit for his work with WAS and with the Foundation Board as their treasurer. The board suggested that Mary Lou send Imogene Hansen a letter of gratitude for Milford's contributions to the work at the Hell Gap site.

**Board members and officers (year term expires)**

- Chris Lippincott, President (2005)
- Barbara Nahas-Keiry, Treasurer (2004)
- Mary Lou Larson, Secretary (ex-officio UW Anthropology)
- John Greer (2003)
- George Frison, lifetime member
- Mark Miller, (ex-officio State Archaeologist)
- Eva Peden WAS President
- Gail Gossett, WAS Past-President



# HUNTER-GATHERER CANID PETROGLYPHS IN THE WIND RIVER AND BIGHORN BASINS OF WYOMING

by  
James J. Stewart

## INTRODUCTION

Big game, large bird, and canid (dog/wolf/coyote) figures are the most obvious zoomorph petroglyph motifs in the Bighorn and Wind River Basins. Canid petroglyph motifs, with many apparently dating 2000-6000 B.P., or possibly older, tend to prevail in specific areas of the southern Bighorn and northeastern Wind River Basins. The geographic distribution of these canid motifs appears to be more than coincidental.

Examination of known/recorded Wind River and Bighorn Basin canid motif petroglyph figures is attempted in this paper. Some references to canid motifs occurring in other art forms, oral tradition, and historic accounts are also made. There is an endeavor to demonstrate many of the Wind River and Bighorn Basin canid petroglyph motifs appear to have a deliberate spatial relationship with other petroglyphs. These often include select anthropomorph motifs, thus creating possible "combined" or "shared" human/canid motifs.

The Wyoming canid petroglyph motifs raise several questions. First, do the canid petroglyph motifs represent domesticated dog, wolf, or coyote? Second, as dog, wolf, or coyote motifs, do the canid petroglyphs represent some sort of tribal or clan geographic behavior, marker or symbol, somewhat in the fashion of a tribal totem or guard dog symbol? Third, why do the Wyoming canid motifs not appear to represent portraits of domesticated dog as beasts of burden or participating in big and small game hunting activities? Fourth, are the canid petroglyph motifs graphic demonstrations of prehistoric animals being used as shamanistic familiars or spiritual allies as part of ancient man's religious world?

## PREHISTORIC NORTH AMERICAN CANIDS

The oldest noted domesticated dog find worldwide is an Israeli burial site of an old woman with a puppy, dating 13,500 B.P. (Liljegren 1993:68). The common bond of man and domesticated dog is so ancient in North America, the two might have traversed the Bering Land Bridge together (Nordenskiöld 1929:495). In Wyoming, the maxilla and post cranial fragments of domesticated dog (*Canis familiaris*) were excavated in a Folsom component at Agate Basin, dating 10,500-10,800 B.P., which has been interpreted to represent domesticated dog existed during Folsom times in Wyoming. The Agate Basin Site, as of 1982, was considered the oldest identifiable domesticated dog location for the North America continent (Walker and Frison 1982:125; Frison 1991:57).

Early in the 20th Century, Victor Vashdayev found Gilyak People, of the Siberian Far East, still living a paleo-lifestyle. He noted the Gilyaks shared common lifestyle characteristic with the New World, including the use of large wolf-like sled dogs visually resembling their counterparts of the New World Eskimos

(Vashdayev 1934:20, 226-227). At Namu, British Columbia, Paleo-Arctic tools dating between 6,000-7,000 B.C. have been found associated with bones of dogs, deer, beaver, bears, seals, sea otters, and porpoise, leading Jennings (1978:80-81) to conclude those peoples hunted both on land and at sea, and used dogs and boats.

Domesticated dogs (*Canis familiaris*); grey wolves (*Canis lupus*); coyotes (also called the prairie wolf) (*Canis latrans*); grey foxes (*Urocyon cinereoargenteus*); red foxes (*Vulpes vulpes*); and swift foxes (*Vulpes velox*) lived in prehistoric North America. In Wyoming, three subspecies of prehistoric wolf were found: *Canis lupus youngi* and *C. l. nubilus* were more wide ranging, with *C. l. irremotus* associated specifically with the Big Horn Mountains. The three subspecies lived during the time span as Wyoming's prehistoric domesticated dog (*C. familiaris*), a wolf/dog hybrid. Prehistoric Wyoming Amerindian dogs (*C. familiaris*) found in the Big Horns, though wolf-like, were closer in appearance to dogs than wolves due to the domestication process (Walker and Frison 1982:131-133, 141, 154).

As late as 1961, Wedel (1961:249) noted no evidence of domesticated dog had been excavated while studying the prehistory of the North American Great Plains. However, the view might in part have been due to a reluctance on the part of Wedel and other archaeologists to classify excavated canid bones as domesticated dog (*C. familiaris*), rather than as *Canis* sp. This led to archaeologists often making their listings during those earlier years as "wolf or dog," or "dog or coyote" (Wedel 1986:74-75). There also was a tendency for dog/wolf studies to use European dog descendants rather than descendants of Amerindian dogs as comparison examples. This also mislead researchers to interpret Amerindian dogs as wolves (Walker and Frison 1982:128). Following Walker and Frison's research, Wedel (1986:66, 74-75, 136, 142, 149) had come to list many findings of early dates identifying North American Great Plains prehistoric man and domesticated dog (*C. familiaris*) living together.

In 1983, Stanford found dog size canid bones in association with bison bones and Hell Gap points dating 10,000 B.P. at the Jones-Miller Site (5YM08) of Yuma County, Colorado (Wedel 1986:66). Remains of Clovis period domesticated dog were found in conjunction with the remains of 268 prehistoric mountain sheep, carbon dating 9580 B.C. +/- 250 to 8320 BC +/- 350, at Jaguar Cave, in the Upper Snake/Salmon River area, with evidence the ancient domesticated dogs were possibly used to hunt mountain sheep as early as 9,000 B.C. (Butler 1986:128). Even though there is no collected evidence of domesticated dog assisting man in hunting mammoths, Dennis J. Stanford has unearthed mammoth bone collagen samples from northeastern Colorado radiocarbon dated to 11,710 to 7,880 B.P. +/- 150 (Wedel 1986:50). This is a

time span well within prehistoric North American man's capabilities to have used domesticated dogs in such hunting activities.

Canid gnawed big game bones were found on the periphery of the Wind River Basin Wagon Bed Springs Site (48FR676); dating 2500-1500 B.P. This lead researchers to postulate the site represented an anticipated typical hunter-gatherer/domesticated dog relationship, where the dogs were thrown big game bones which the dogs subsequently hauled to the edge of camp to eat (Sanders and Seeger 1980:56). In the northern end of the Bighorn Basin, the upper jaw bone (maxilla) and a canine tooth of a domesticated dog (*C. familiaris*) were found at the Mangus Site, Montana (24CB221), with Avonlea-like side notched projectile points (ca. 200-700 AD.) (Husted 1969:40).

The earliest written account of North Amerindian dog goes to Spanish Conquistador Don Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, who in the summer of 1541, noted the Llano Estacado Indians (Apachean peoples) "used large numbers of dogs to transport their camp gear and supplies by means of pack saddles, with the tent poles dragged along behind from camp to camp" (Wedel 1986:136).

Considering the historic evidence of North American Indians cross breeding wolves with their dogs to produce a large working animal, it is evident the question of identifying prehistoric domesticated dog presents some problems. However, Walker and Frison (1982), working with a group of canid skulls from Box Elder Creek, Wyoming, were able to establish a set of characteristics consistent with Wyoming wolves (*Canis lupus*) and the somewhat similar prehistoric Wyoming Amerindian dogs – which are wolf/dog hybrids, but still clearly (*Canis familiaris*). The Box Elder Creek domesticated dogs' canine teeth had been deliberately broken and modified, and those modifications consequently led to very worn molar teeth as the dogs compensated their gnawing and chewing habits. It was the combination of deliberately broken canines and worn molars that was not expected with wolves – where full canine teeth and less wear on the molars was expected. Supporting their findings, Walker and Frison discovered current Eskimo ethnohistoric evidence supported this practice of the breaking and the grinding of canine teeth of Eskimo wolf/dog hybrids to accommodate the animal's domestication, particularly the reduction of the bite threat to the dog handlers and their families, and dependence on the handler for the dogs' food. Walker and Frison (1982:128-133) were able to find more specific differences between the skulls of prehistoric wolves and wolf/dog hybrids.

Some of the same question, "what is dog, as to what is wolf," has been addressed by wolf handler/biologist Pat Tucker. While recognizing the North American domesticated dog is the direct descendant of the wolf, Tucker differentiates the dog from the wolf through select breed characteristics, all made for the dog to be amiable living with humans. One physical and visual trait representing select breeding is domesticated dog "flags" its tail. That is, the dog holds its tail up in the air for all, or most of the time, rather than down as seen with foxes, coyotes, and wolves. Tucker states the tail flagging trait is seen in wolves only when they are excited, such as with playing, sex, and into a kill. However, the trait is easily recognizable with nearly all domesticated dogs worldwide (Pat Tucker, Personal Communication, 1994).

It is this one visual trait (domesticated dog flagging its tail) that empowers the Wind River and Bighorn Basin petroglyph

researcher to distinguish domesticated dog motifs from quadruped motifs, and more specifically possible other canid motifs. However, it could be argued the canid petroglyph motifs with flagging tail represents wolf during those times of play, sex, or during a kill.

Historic Plains Indian domesticated dogs, before breeding with smaller Euroamerican dogs, correspond with Tucker's descriptions, particularly the near kinship to looking like the wolf. Wolf-Chief, a Hidatsa Indian born about 1849, related his childhood memories of tribal dogs, stating:

"Our old breed of dogs all had straight wide faces, heavy, but not short legs, and ears that stood erect like those of a coyote. The dogs were about the size of a wolf. Their hair was not very long and lay smooth and silky over the body. Our old Indian dogs had tails in general rather shorter and not so bushy as those I now (1913) see on the Reservation; and their tails curved upward somewhat at the end, not like a coyote's which lies straight" (Wilson 1924:204).

H.M. Brackenridge in 1811 noted:

"(Indian dogs are) ... nothing more than domesticated wolf. In wanderings through the prairies, I have often mistaken wolves for Indian dogs. The larger kind has long curly hair, and resembles the shepherd dog. There is the same diversity amongst the wolves of this country. They may be more properly said to howl, than bark" (Wilson 1924:197).

Prince Maximilian in his 1830's western adventures, stated:

"The Mandans and Manitares have not, by any means, so many dogs as the Assiniboines, Crows, and Blackfeet. Among the nations further to the northwest they more nearly resemble the wolf, but here they are more like the prairie wolf (coyote -- *C. latrans*). We likewise found, among these animals, a brown race, descended from European points, hence the genuine bark of the dog is more frequently heard (among the Hidatsa), whereas among the western nations they only howl" (Maximilian; Wilson 1924:197).

#### WIND RIVER AND BIGHORN BASIN CANID PETROGLYPHS MOTIFS

Pecked Wind River/Bighorn Basin canid petroglyph motifs tend to follow the stylistic changes proposed by David Gebhard in his 1949-69 research (Gebhard 1951, 1966, 1969). The Wind River Basin pecked anthropomorphic motifs, passing back through time, start with the oldest being small and solid pecked, to getting larger and changing to interior line pecked. They go from lacking specific bodily and facial details to having specific details such as eyes, ears, tongue, pads, etc., and having supporting artistic embellishments such as lead lines. During that time span, there appear to be several select types of anthropomorphic motifs accompanying the canids, possibly persons specifically designated as dog/wolf handlers.

1) The older anthropomorphic and canid motifs, dating 6,000 B.P. or more, are small, less than a hand span wide or high, and solid pecked. The frontal anthropomorphs of this style tend to lack fingers, toes, facial and sex gender features. The anthropomorphs hold no instruments or items such as spears, etc., and do not have



Figure 1: Pavillion (48FR1907). Note human foot print to left.

danglers hanging down from their bodies or arms, nor do they have associated external lines -- even though at times they are associated with dots above the head or near the arms. This style fits Gebhard's Old Hunting Style No. 1, with canid examples found in both basins, including: Coal Draw 48HO692, Legend Rock 48HO04, Beaver Creek 48FR2459, Pavillion 48FR1907 (Figure 1) and Twin Creek 48FR93. In a similar fashion, the canids are very small solid pecked and profile, with simple legs and ears, but no eyes, no sex gender, and no foot pads.

The Pavillion (48FR1907) anthropomorph (Figure 1) is solid pecked, in a frontal position, and of small size (10" high by 6" wide), with one out-stretched arm (the other being eroded away), and two fingers on the hand. The sex gender is not indicated, and there is no head (also eroded away). There are no dots on the panel, and the right leg is obscure. The figure is separated from the canid by an obscure pecked area, possibly an anthropomorph at one time. The anthropomorph's body posture is a standing stance. There is a no head piece on the figure. The anthropomorph petroglyph does not touch the canid (dog) petroglyph. There are no danglers associated with the figure, and there are no small protruding vertical lines. However, there is a well defined "human" foot print to the right of the figure, measuring 2" high by 1" wide.

The Pavillion (48FR1907) canid (Figure 1) is a fully pecked figure, with parts of the figure eroded away. It is in a profile position facing toward an obscure pecked area and the anthropomorph listed above. The canid has four legs, and an up pointing tail. It is a small petroglyph (6" high by 8" inches wide), fitting Gebhard's Old Hunting Style No. 1 Category. There are no specific features to the canid, such as eyes, sex gender, foot pads, mouth, etc. The canid does not touch the anthropomorph. There is no lead line connecting figures. There are pecked dots associated with the canid.

The Big Horn Basin 48HO692-F site has 13 small solid pecked canid petroglyphs, including the only panel found so far with canids lined up in a row (five) (Figure 2), as if possibly representing some sort of dog team, such as with sled dogs, as opposed to what one might expect as representational of a dog pack. The Coal Draw 48FR692-F panel does not have any anthropomorphic figures. The Coal Draw 48HO692-F canid (dog) motifs are all solid pecked, and

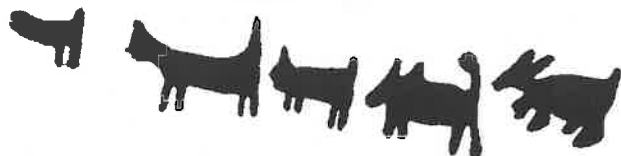


Figure 2: Coal Draw (48HO692-F). Five small solid pecked canids.

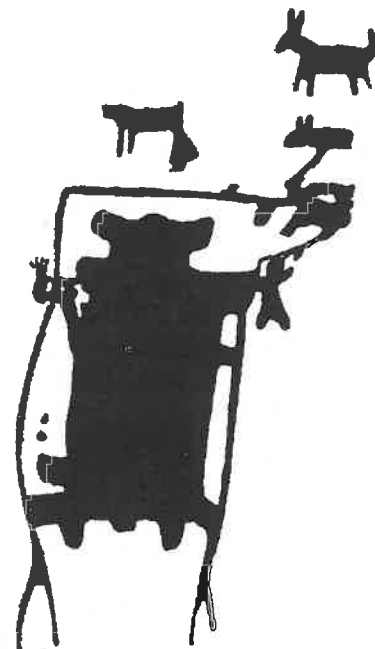


Figure 3: Twin Creek (48FR93).

in profile positions facing toward the west. Four canids have four legs, with one obscured for the front end. All five have upward pointing tails. The canid petroglyph are all small sized. (Figure 2, right to left: 29.5 cm wide by 18.0 cm high; 27.5 cm wide by 24.5 cm high; 20.5 cm wide by 16.5 cm high; 34.5 cm wide by 28.0 cm high; and 17.5 cm wide by 11.0 cm high, fitting Gebhard's Hunting Style No. 1 Category. There are limited features to the canid including the ears, however there are no eyes, sex gender, foot pads, mouth, etc. The canids do not touch any anthropomorph and there is no lead line connecting any of the figures. There are no pecked dots associated with the canids

As the solid pecked motif style progressed time wise, the anthropomorph figures tended to increase in size while remaining solid pecked, however, the figures begin to have external lines and danglers, some facial features such as eyes and mouth, and simple hands and feet. The smaller solid pecked canid motifs, however, remain identical in size and shape to the older style. There are only a few of these substyle, larger total pecked anthropomorph examples, however, they are found at Beaver Creek 48FR2459, Twin Creek 48FR93 (Figure 3), and Whiskey Basin 48FR311. Beaver Creek and Twin Creek are however, the only locations with canids associated with this style noted at this time. Beaver Creek 48FR2459 also has small solid pecked anthropomorphs with small solid pecked canids -- the mountain sheep are located separately on another rock surface several hundred feet away.

The Beaver Creek 48FR2459 anthropomorphs are solid pecked petroglyphs, of frontal humanoids, with one large anthropomorph (32" high by 14" wide), and one small humanoid (7" high by 4" wide). Both figures have symmetrical out-stretched arms, with the small figure without hands and feet, but the larger figure having two fingers on each hand. The sex gender is not indicated, and there are no facial features, with the facial areas solid pecked. There is a small dot above the right hand of the larger figure, and another at the

bottom of a dangler from the left hand. On both figures, the legs are vertical in a standing position, but with very little articulation. There are two toes on each foot of the larger figure, but none with the smaller anthropomorph. There is no head piece on the smaller figure, but there is a possible one with the larger figure, as a beak like extension to the left, giving the total figure a bird like head appearance. The large anthropomorph has a profile canid dog petroglyph to its immediate mid level left. The face has a possible mouth and the body is elongated vertically. There is one exterior dangler from the left hand with a large dot at the bottom end. There does not appear to be any protruding vertical line associated with the figure.

The Beaver Creek 48FR2459 canids are solid pecked, in a profile position, with the small anthropomorph facing toward it, and with the large anthropomorph facing away. Both canids have four legs, with the larger one having an up pointing tail. Both canids are small size petroglyphs with the smaller anthropomorph one (4" wide by 2" high), and the larger anthropomorph one 7" wide by approximately 3" high), fitting Gebhard's Hunting Style No. 1 Category. There are limited features to the canid including the ears, however there are no eyes, sex gender, foot pads, mouth, etc. Neither canid touches the anthropomorph and there are no lead lines connecting the figures. There are possibly three pecked dots directly in front of the larger anthropomorph's canid, each a vertical line from it to a central point in a "v" type design.

The Twin Creek 48FR93-1 anthropomorph is a solid pecked petroglyph, of a large frontal rectilinear anthropomorph accompanied by a small anthropomorph attached to its body on each side. The large figure has reasonably symmetrical stubby out-stretched arms, with no hands and fingers, but the smaller figures of placed where one would expect the hands, and the right side one does have a hand and fingers. The large figure's sex gender appears to be male, but there are no facial features, and the facial area is solid pecked. There are two small dots directly above the large figure's penis. Both legs are vertical, as if standing, with some articulation of split feet with two toes per foot. The head is shaped somewhat like a hammerhead sharks, and is without danglers, segments, etc. The petroglyph has four profile canid (dog) petroglyphs accompanying it. The face has no features and the body is rectilinear. There is possibly an exterior dangler associated with the left arm. There does appear to be several small protruding vertical lines associated with the figure bottom of the large figure.

The Twin Creek 48FR93 canid motif are solid pecked, in a profile position facing toward the large anthropomorph, with most having four legs, and an up pointing tail. The canids are all small size petroglyphs, fitting Gebhard's Hunting Style No. 2 Category. There are limited features to the canids including the ears, however there are no eyes, sex gender, foot pads, mouth, etc. The front foot of one canid, on the figure's left side, does touch the anthropomorph, and the canid on the figure's right comes very close to touching the small anthropomorph on that side. The other two canids do not touch the anthropomorph. There is no lead line connecting any of the figures. There is one pecked dot associated with the canid directly above the figure's head.

As time progresses, the anthropomorph's external lines and danglers tend to become internalized, but still with some of the anthropomorphs maintaining a lot of solid pecked areas, particularly the arms and legs, and in the facial areas. Hands and feet become more articulated, with distinct fingers and toes. Examples of this sort of anthropomorph motif are found at Legend Rock (48HO04) and

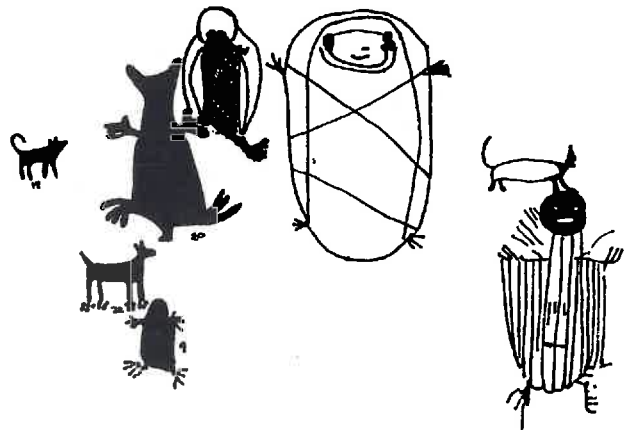


Figure 4: Boysen Reservoir (48FR202) (after Richard Wheeler drawing).

Boysen Reservoir (48FR202) (Figure 4). These anthropomorphs appear to be early forms of what will become Gebhard's Interior Line style No. 2.

Next, the internal line style motifs take over the figure's internal space with very little solid pecking still occurring, fitting Gebhard's Interior Line Style No. 2. This is the style associated with larger canids on lead lines held by anthropomorphs, such as with the Muddy Creek 48FR372 (Figure 5) and Boysen Reservoir 48FR43 (Figure 6) sites, and not on a lead line at the Coal Draw 48HO692B site. Two of these canid motifs (48FR43 & 372) have padded paw prints at the base of their legs, very blatantly indicating they are canids. The Interior Line Style canid motif at 48HO692B has very defined ears, mouth, and tail.

The Muddy Creek 48FR372 anthropomorph is an interior line pecked petroglyph, of a large incomplete frontal humanoid. The figure has symmetrical out-stretched arms, with six fingers for the hand touching the canid, and five fingers for the opposing hand. The sex gender is not indicated, and there are no facial features. There is a pecked circle above the unfinished torso, which is without legs, head, etc. A near total solid pecked anthropomorph with a curvilinear fan shaped head piece, similar to ones found with the Legend Rock and Boysen Reservoir examples above, is located on the further side of the primary anthropomorph. This secondary anthropomorph has three legs, with two horizontal and a third extending below the buttocks. The secondary anthropomorph has four toes on two feet, and five on the other. The figure's body posture is a spread-legged seated position creating a flat horizontal buttocks.



Figure 5: Muddy Creek (48FR372). Note canid paw pads.



Figure 6: Boysen Reservoir (48FR43). Large canid on lead line, with articulated mouth and paw prints for feet.

The curvilinear fan head piece on the head is comprised of five vertical spaces. The primary anthropomorph touches the tail of an interior line pecked profile canid (dog) petroglyph. There are no danglers or protruding vertical lines associated with the closest anthropomorph. However, the anthropomorph with the fan head piece does have danglers hanging from each elbow.

The Muddy Creek 48FR372 canid is interior line pecked, in a profile position facing away from the anthropomorph, with four legs, and an up pointing tail. It is a large petroglyph, fitting Gebhard's Interior Line Style No. 2 Category. There are several specific features to the canid, including eyes, pointed nose, and foot pads. The body of the canid is segmented into rectilinear sections. The canid's tail touches the anthropomorph but there is no lead line connecting the two figures. There are no dots associated with the canid.

Canid (dog/wolf) petroglyph motifs in the Wind River and Bighorn Basins are found primarily from the Grass Creek/Hamilton Dome area southward to the Big Bend in the River area, and then up Beaver Creek toward South Pass. The area includes what is now Boysen Reservoir and its tributaries and sub-tributaries, such as Muddy, Five Mile, and Badwater/Bridger creeks. Even though there are select canid petroglyph examples found elsewhere, the further one gets from this core area of the Wind/Big Horn River, the fewer canid motifs one tends to find. This statement needs to be noted as qualified somewhat, due to lack of access to sites on the Wind River Indian Reservation, and exactly how the rate of diminish occurs in the area. Conversely, those other areas lacking canids tend to have zoomorphs which are more dominant to their own territories, such as, deer and elk in the overall South Pass Area, or winged anthropomorphs and birds in the Dinwoody/Whiskey Basin areas. Dividing the South Pass area into smaller locales, quadrupeds, such as mountain sheep, elk, and deer, are more dominant in the Twin Creek, Beaver Creek, and Sinks Canyon areas. Buffalo, bears, and bear print motifs tend to be more isolated to the Red Canyon/Derby Dome area.

Common sense would suggest canid motifs were possibly not originally intended as territorial indicators, but were ceremonial in nature. By their patterned geographic placement, they may represent where select groups camped. Thus as territorial indicators, the canid motifs follow a specific riparian/geographic pattern consistent with the flow of the Wind/Bighorn River, and its tributary Beaver Creek, as they wind from the Grass Creek area in a north southward fashion toward South Pass. Coincidentally, this is the only major north/south and east/west intermountain passage through the Rocky Mountain chain. South Pass has been postulated as a focal point for north/south migrating prehistoric peoples through the area. For example, the

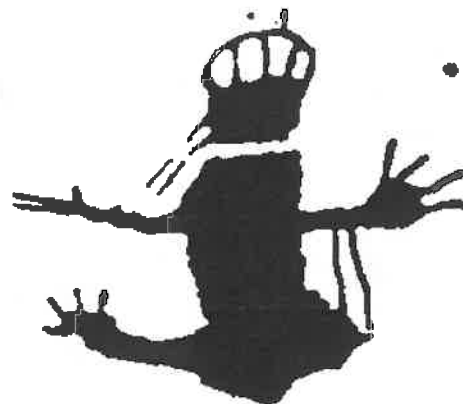


Figure 7: Legend Rock (48H04) test unit glyph. Note "dot" above right hand and arms and face danglers.

Apache and Navaho (Athapaskan speaking peoples) in their southward migrations from Northern Canada through the South Pass area to the Southwest (Walker and Francis 1989) beginning about 700-1000 AD., and continuing on through circa 1600 AD. came through the area.

At the Legend Rock Petroglyph Complex (48H04), in the Grass Creek area of the Bighorn Basin, the close proximity of a fully pecked profile dog petroglyph associated with an anthropomorph with a fan shaped headdress (Figure 7) is more than coincidence. Excavations during 1988 at the Legend Rock Site (48H04) produced carbon materials dating 1920 B.P. +/- 140 (Beta 27383) in the ground strata coinciding with the base of the partially buried anthropomorph petroglyph. The carbon dating indicated the anthropomorph figure was manufactured at least 1900-2000 years or more ago, a date associated with the Late Archaic Period (Walker and Francis 1989:14). Since then, an Early Archaic small solid pecked canid figure (Panel 74), located about 20 feet from the 1989 studied anthropomorph has been dated at 5,200 B.P. (Figure 8) using Cation-Ratio dating techniques (Francis 1994:45, 47). Even though still in the experimental stage, Ronald Dorn, using rock varnish microlamination dating techniques, has concluded the origination date for a large outlined elk/deer at Legend Rock to be 10,660 +/- 50

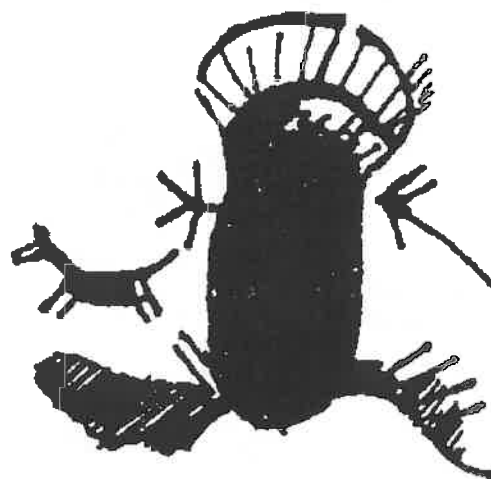


Figure 8: Legend Rock (48H04). Dated at 5200 years B.P.

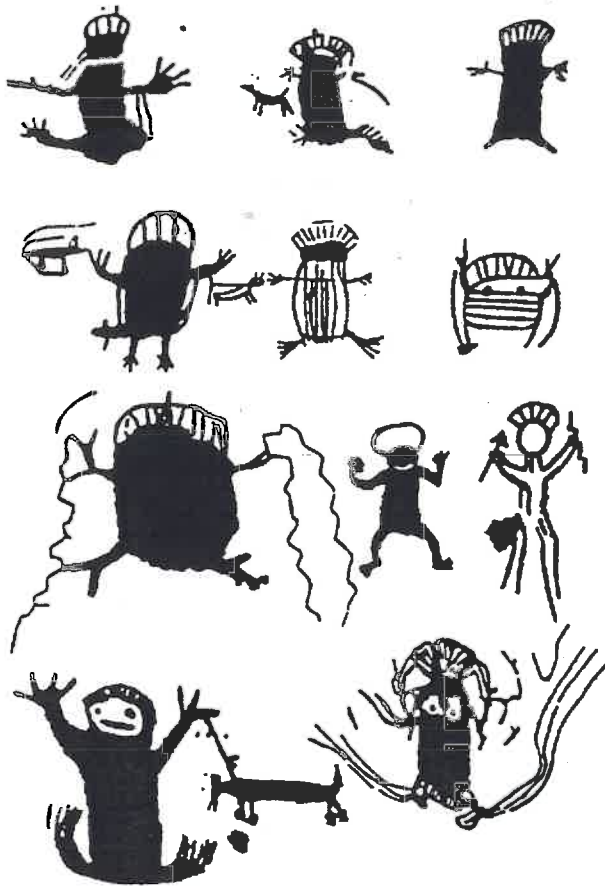


Figure 9: Comparison pecked petroglyphs with 48HO4 fan headdress anthropomorph dated at 2,000 years B.P. in upper left. Third row, right hand glyph is incised.

B.P. In the Coso Range, another area noted for dog petroglyphs, Dorn has dated a spiral figure using the same techniques at 14,760+/-90 B.P. (Dorn and Liu 1996:205).

Seven of ten pecked petroglyphs (located in the Wind River and Bighorn Basins) used as comparison petroglyphs in a 1989 study depicting pecked anthropomorphs with fan shaped headdresses, had a direct relationship with canid motifs (Figure 9) (Stewart 1989). The

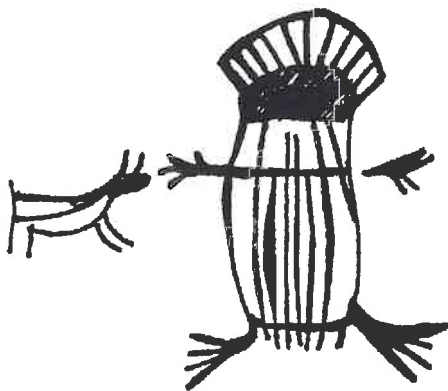


Figure 10: Legend Rock (48H04).



Figure 11: Legend Rock (48H04).

high incident ratio of canid motifs as to fan headdress anthropomorph motifs also tends to apply to horned anthropomorphs, with horn motifs akin to what one would expect with a buffalo headdress. The horned headdress motif tends to have a higher occurrence rate with canid motifs in the southern end of the Big Horn Basin, with the Cottonwood Creek (Legend Rock) and Coal Draw complexes being good examples. The small total pecked and profile canids are presented in a naturalistic or representational way. All of the anthropomorph figures are frontal, with the canid facing either toward and/or away from the humanoid figures, but nearly always in a position considered reasonably natural, i.e., the canid located about leg level to the humanoid.

The Legend Rock fan headdress petroglyph, dating circa 2,000 B.P., is further accompanied by canid designs, in the sense at least seven canid motifs are located within a 22 foot radius of it, including the canid Cation-Ration dated at 5,200 B.P. Also in the Legend Rock Complex is an Interior Line Style humanoid and canid with the canid nearly touching the right hand of the humanoid figure (Figure 10). Located about one mile to the west, is a canid petroglyph overlapping or joined to the lower right torso of the humanoid figure, with a second facing canid touching the anthropomorph's right hand (Figure 11) (Stewart 1989).

The total, or near total, repatination of nearly all small humanoid/canid petroglyphs studied most likely signifies they are much older than many of the surrounding petroglyphs, particularly the Interior Line Style No. 2. Possibly the oldest of these small humanoid/canid shared motifs in the two basins are found at the Legend Rock (48HO4-1A) and Beaver Creek (48FR2459) sites. At these two sites, the humanoid and canid petroglyph motifs are very small, totally repatinated, and generally lack detail -- especially when compared to the large Boysen Reservoir (48FR43) and Muddy Creek (48FR372) more detailed examples.

The older petroglyphs, in general, are without details such as facial features and danglers, with the oldest lacking fingers and toes. Not surprising is the existence of mountain sheep motifs at the Beaver Creek (48FR2459) (Figure 12) and Legend Rock sites -- a basic big game animal utilized by Wind River/Bighorn Basin prehistoric man. What is surprising though, is the mountain sheep are typically depicted separately, often not even on the same rock surface as the canids, and sometimes isolated from anthropomorphs



Figure 12: Beaver Creek (48FR2459).

on the same panel. There are examples of canid, mountain sheep, and humanoid figures on the same panels at Beaver Creek (48FR2461) and Coal Draw (48HO692-A) (Figure 13), however, again the components appear to have been created separately without artistic consideration for each other. The exception, and there is only one example at this time, is Coal Draw Site (48HO693-C) (Figure 14) where anthropomorphs, canids, and a mountain sheep motif are relatively all the same size and deliberately connected by looping lines. This panel is not a hunt scene, and the various figures may be viewed as connected by spirit lines.

The Coal Draw 48FR692-A anthropomorphs are a mixture of solid pecked and linear pecked figures, with the larger anthropomorph being a frontal, and the long necked figure being somewhat both frontal and profile. The two are medium to large



Figure 13: Coal Draw (48HO362-A)

petroglyphs, with the anthropomorph being 39.0 cm high by 51.0 cm wide, and the long necked composition being 99.0 cm high by 24.0 cm wide. The large figure has symmetrical out-stretched arms, with five fingers on the left hand, and six on the right. The sex gender is not indicated, but there are eyes for facial features, with the rest of the facial area solid pecked. There are several small dots associated with the figures and panel. The long necked figure has a column of dots on either side, with two specifically making the eyes. The legs on the large anthropomorph are vertical and obscure at the bottom, while the long necked figure uses the feet of an older mountain sheep petroglyph for its base. There are no feet or toes indicated. The large figure's body posture is a standing stance, with no head piece, but the right side of the head does have four small lines extending upward and outward from what is associated with an ear area (there are no ears). The petroglyph has a profile canid (dog) petroglyph to the right of the large figure's right hand, and touching the neck of the long necked figure. The face has only minimal features with the eyes. The body is vertical and elongated, and there are exterior dangles extending downward and outward from left elbow, and from the index and a sixth finger on the right hand. The long necked figure has two small protruding lines extending horizontally from the figure, creating the effect of horns, and leaving the question, is the head a human or mountain sheep.

The Coal Draw 48HO692-A canid is solid pecked, in a profile position facing away from the large anthropomorph, but into the long necked figure. The canid has four legs, and an up pointing tail. It is a small size petroglyph (11.0 cm wide by 8.0 cm wide), fitting Gebhard's Hunting Style No. 1 Category. There are limited features to the canid including the ears, however there are no eyes, sex gender, foot pads, mouth, etc. The canid does not touch the anthropomorph, but does touch the long necked figure. There is no lead line connecting the two figures. There are pecked dots associated with the canid, including one from the left column (newer) of the long necked figure superimposed over the canid (older).

The 48HO693-C panel is a combination of fully pecked and interior line pecked figures all connected by horizontal loop lines. The four anthropomorphs are all solid pecked, frontal, and small size (panel's right to left: 13.0 cm high by 9.5 cm wide; 21.0 cm high by 14.0 cm wide; 18.0 cm high by 15.0 cm wide; 13.5 cm high by 9.5 cm wide). All four anthropomorphs have symmetrical out-stretched arms, with A and D possibly having simple hands. No sex gender is indicated, and only D has facial features of eyes and mouth. There is one dot on an extended line from the donut shape at the right end of the panel. All four anthropomorphs are in a spread legged standing stance, with simple legs and no toes. The figures do not have head pieces. Figures B and C have connecting lines to canid (dog) petroglyphs, which may be interpreted as possibly spirit lines. There

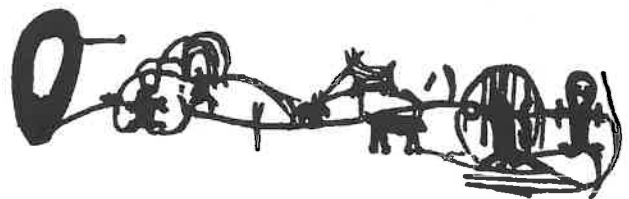


Figure 14: Coal Draw (48HO392-C). Note linear canid above mountain sheep.

are no danglers hanging from the figure's faces.

The 48HO693-C canids are small fully pecked, profile figures facing away from the anthropomorphs, with four legs, and up pointing tails. The solid pecked canid is 7.5 cm high by 10.0 cm wide, fitting Gebhard's Old Hunting Style No. 1 Category. The interior line canid is 7.0 cm high by 12.5 cm wide, fitting Gebhard's Interior Line Style No. 2 Category. There are no specific features to the solid pecked canid, such as eyes, sex gender, foot pads, mouth, etc.; however, the interior line canid has round dots for feet. The canids do not touch the anthropomorph, but are linked by connecting lines from the anthropomorph's hands. These do not appear to be lead line. There are four pecked dots for the interior line canid's feet.

Of the petroglyphs viewed for this paper, the clearest and easiest differentiated domesticated dog motifs are larger/later canids with pads on their feet at Boysen Reservoir (48FR43), Boysen Reservoir (48FR202; Wheeler 1950b), and Muddy Creek (48FR372; Wheeler 1950a; Smith 1984). The Boysen canids fit Tucker's concept of a domesticated dog "flagging" its tail, but even more fitting, the amiable breed characteristics are confirmed by the dog being on a "lead line" held by the accompanying anthropomorphic figure. Besides the lead line and upward pointing tail, the Boysen canid exhibits: short legs as to body length, four distinct pads to each foot, upward pointing ears, and some times a split tongue (Stewart 1989). A somewhat similar solid pecked domesticated dog motif on a leash line facing a solid pecked larger horned anthropomorph is found in the Bighorn Basin. Immediately to the canid's right is an Interior Line Style anthropomorph with a bow and arrow, and continuing along the panel is an Interior Line Style canid. This petroglyph panel was not viewed by the author, but found in Hendry (1983:86). Several Bighorn Basin examples of humanoid/canid motifs, with the canid on a leash line, are depicted by Hendry, however, she consistently misidentifies them as horses (Hendry 1983:69, 74, 78, 86). On the other hand, some Wind River Basin canid motifs I classify as canids have been noted as similar in characteristics to large rodents (Tipps and Schroedl 1985:28,29), and felines (Zeimens and Walker 1977:147-49). The greatest number of rock art researchers, though, go for the easy statement and classify the canid motifs as quadrupeds, and indiscriminately throw them in with ungulates.

At Boysen Reservoir/Badwater Creek site 48FR202, the canid panel was recorded by R. P. Wheeler (1950d) for the Smithsonian Institution River Basins Survey. Wheeler listed a group of 22 or more solid and outline pecked petroglyphs at the site with at least 10 anthropomorphs, five zoomorphs, and seven uncertain. The larger outline figures they list as superimposed over the smaller solid pecked figures. The canid with the long curved tail at left of the illustration is listed as superimposed over an outline anthropomorph, which I do not show for clarity of the canid. Transcribing their graph, the canid is about 8 inches wide, the short tailed canid with padded feet is about 10 inches wide, and the curved tail outline canid is about 14 inches wide. The researchers place the site as south facing on yellow sandstone on the north side of Badwater Creek, which has since been decimated by the reservoir (Walker 1994).

Pecked petroglyphs depicting the bow and arrow are relatively scarce in both basins, and tend to be associated with the Interior Line Style. The bow and arrow were introduced into the Northwestern Plains circa 500 AD. at the last of the Archaic Period and the beginning of the Late Prehistoric Period (Frison 1991:111). That time span reinforces the idea of the gradual changing of the solid pecked petroglyphs, none of which have bow and arrow

accouterments, to becoming large interior line style petroglyphs, which do have the motif during the time frame beginning circa 1500 BP. It also allows us to view most of the solid pecked domesticated Indian dog motifs as being produced before the introduction of the bow and arrow into the area, i.e., before 2,000 B.P., and to view the larger Interior Line canids as being from circa 500 A.D. to the protohistoric period.

If naturalism were the only consideration for prehistoric man placing of canid and big bird petroglyphs in the Wind River/Bighorn Basins, then we would expect relatively even distribution for large birds of prey for both basins, and a correlation with habitat for other animals. We should expect the habitat to become the primary determining factor as to which zoomorphs might dominate a site, i.e., mountain sheep should dominate mountain sheep habitats, buffalo, buffalo habitats, bears to bear habitats, etc. In many ways this is what appears to have happened. Once in a while there is a smaller distribution area than expected, such as, with burnished bison hoof prints in the Red Canyon area of South Pass, which possibly represents a small visiting group of prehistoric man with a specific art style passing through the area.

Sally Cole agrees bear petroglyphs tend to be located at bear habitats. Cole states bear paw and bear imagery are very common all along the Rocky Mountains in Western Colorado, with examples found in association with Fremont and Anasazi rock art styles. She also notes the bear is a prominent clan symbol among the Hopi, in northeastern Arizona (Sally Cole personal communication, 1995). In the western part of the Great Basin, bear caves are considered the entrance to the supernatural world, and the bear is considered one of the most powerful shamanistic guides. When paired with the rattlesnake, the bear however, changes from guide to guardian of the supernatural world (Whitley and Loendorf 1994:83-84). James Keyser has stated prehistoric shaman revered the bear as a guide to the spirit world, and the shaman would have gone deliberately to a bear habitat to carry out spiritual questing requirements. These possibly included creating a petroglyph to account for the encounter (James Keyser, personal communication, 1995)

The uneven geographic distribution pattern with large bird and canid motifs in the Big Horn and Wind River Basins, however does not fit the habitat selectiveness associated with the bear. This leads one to speculate those motifs could possibly represent something else, including a totem or clan geographic area domination symbol.

If the canid and large bird do represent some sort of geographic clan domination, one needs to question the significance of those other sparsely distributed zoomorph petroglyph motifs (turtles, snakes, lizards, insects, antelope, mountain lions, rabbits, bison, bats, and ground rodents) within the same specific areas. Do the motifs represent very different periods of time, where other groups used zoomorphs, other than dogs and large birds, as territorial markers? Or, are some of the sparser zoomorph motifs representational only, while others clan related? It also leads to questioning why some expected representational animal motifs do not appear at all. Why do some zoomorph designs readily found as petroglyphs or pictographs in other areas, or in conjunction with other art forms, such as pottery, hide paintings, etc., not appear at the Wind River and Bighorn Basin sites. The moose (*Alces alces*) motif also has not been recorded in the Wind River Basin rock art, however, this is understandable since the animal is a relatively newcomer to the area -- since 1872 (Dorn 1986:88). That time is coincidental to the disappearance of the wolf (*C. lupus*) which disappeared from the area as the buffalo diminished. The wolf was



totally gone from the Wind River Basin area (Fremont County) by 1920, which along with the loss of the buffalo, opened up the habitat for the moose (Eakin 1987:Vol. 1:27; Dorn 1986:84-87).

There is no question the Legend Rock and Wind River Basin pecked petroglyph motifs have many similar characteristics to pecked petroglyphs originating in the Great Basin. They are similar particularly in the choice and artistic treatment of mountain sheep and canids. There are similar canid motif examples as far southwest as the Coso Mountain Range of Southern California, which have been noted as comparable in subject matter to those in the Black Hills of southwest South Dakota and northeast Wyoming (Sundstrom 1984:100-101). The Coso Range petroglyphs include canids attacking mountain sheep along with sun related designs and humanoids presumed to be carrying atlatls and wearing elaborate headdresses (Grant et al. 1987:29). Closer to Wyoming, Mulloy (1958:124, 132) noted the motif of a wolf attacking a buffalo's throat at Pictograph Cave, (24YL01), Montana, however the motif has very different artistic characteristics. There is an incised wolf motif in the Buffalo Creek area east of the Big Horn Mountains, stylistically different than the pecked canids of the Wind and Big Horn Basins. And, even though I have viewed a good number of canid/Amerindian dog petroglyphs, I am aware of only one wolf petroglyph in the Wind River Basin at this time. It is burnished, and was probably created during the protohistoric period.

Directly south of Wyoming, similar pecked canid/anthropomorph petroglyph motifs are found:

- Along the Colorado (5ME94) and Dolores (5MN72) rivers of western Colorado, created in a Barrier Canyon Style, dating ?500 B.C. to 500 A.D. (Cole 1987:47,50).
- In the Vermillion Canyon area (5MF492), mixed with Vernal Style and San Rafael Fremont Style anthropomorphs, dating 450-1250 AD., (Cole 1987:312,327,339).
- And, at the Irish Canyon Site (5MF353), a tributary to the Green River, with taper-waist Fremont Style humanoids, dating 400 to 1500 AD. (Cole 1987:318,337).

Besides being solid pecked, some of the Colorado canids share the same sort of realistic spatial relationship to anthropomorphs as found with the Bighorn and Wind River Basin motifs, with the canids facing the humanoid at about knee level. However, the naturalistic knee level positioning is what one would expect for depicting realism, and not necessarily what one would expect for depicting a spiritual or other type relationship. With the spiritual relationship, one might expect the canid motif to be floating somewhere above the humanoid, particularly in a position akin to the clan and gentile designations in historic winter counts and ledger books. There the zoomorph motifs are often seen floating above a human figure's head, sometimes attached by a line, and depicting the bearer's name. For example, Red Cloud's Dakota Sioux Census indicating 1793-94 depicts a bear head on a line above a human with an arrow in his back, which translates as: "Bear's-Ears was killed in a fight with the Rees" (Mallery 1893:389-90).

An interesting ancillary art form depicting canid motifs is body tattooing. Like many Native American art practices though, tattooing was considered pagan by the Euroamerican Christians and heavily discouraged, making the practice disappear quickly with limited chronicling. Of those designs saved, one male Alaskan Haida Indian was recorded in 1884 as marked with his family totem design of the **Wasko** (wolf). The **Wasko** design was split symmetrically into opposing halves and located between the shoulders of the man. The Haida informed the recorder the **Wasko** was related to the wolf, but

an antediluvian demon who lived in the mountains -- similar to the **Chu-chu-hmexl** of the Makah Indians (Mallery 1893:391-407).

#### WIND RIVER/BIGHORN BASIN HUNTER-GATHERERS

Historically the petroglyph motifs and subject matter have been identified with the Great Basin and Shoshonean speaking peoples. However, similar motifs and subject matter have been found in the Black Hills of northeastern Wyoming and southwestern South Dakota, an area not believed to have been inhabited by Shoshonean speaking peoples. Linea Sundstrom states the petroglyphs were created during a period predating the arrival of any peoples currently identifiable by language or tribe, indicating the rock art motifs involve more than just the work of Shoshonean speaking peoples traditionally associated with the area. Consequently Sundstrom classifies the petroglyphs as part of a Great Basin Macro Style (Linea Sundstrom, personal communication, 1988). Cole, taking a conventional view of Shoshonean (Uto-Aztecan) involvement in the Great Basin and Wyoming, states about 1150-1300 A.D., tools associated with Shoshonean/Numic origins began showing up in western Colorado, with Shoshonean peoples arriving in the mountains and basins of Western Wyoming about 1500 A.D. (Cole 1990:10, 24). In spite of the 14th Century A.D. Numic/Shoshonean migrations into the Wind River/Bighorn Basins, the pecked petroglyph technique and small solid pecked zoomorph style, such as mountain sheep, deer, elk, and dogs, appears to have existed reasonably consistent from 6,000 B.P. to the protohistoric period (Francis 1994:43-45).

Currently, the pecked petroglyph sites in the Wind River and Bighorn Basin, appear to represent pre-tribal level cultural periods, possibly as far back as 10,000 B.P., and more provable from 6,000 to 300 B.P., when the area was inhabited by presumably band-level minimal population hunter-gatherer groups. During most of the time span prehistoric peoples appear to have existed at subsistence levels of survival, particularly during the Altithermal period of higher temperatures creating semiarid and arid habitat conditions (Jennings 1989:150; Wedel 1986:39-48). The wide time range predates the arrival of any peoples currently identifiable by language or tribe, however, the Bighorn and Wind River Basin petroglyphs do have visual characteristics consistent with those attributes normally associated with the Uto-Aztecan (Proto-Shoshonean) peoples of the Great Basin who migrated into the area in about 1300 A.D.

Current carbon-ratio (CR) and AMS radiocarbon dating of Wind River/Bighorn Basin petroglyphs indicate some small solid pecked canids were created as early as 5200 B.P. (Francis 1994:45, 47) during the last of the Atlantic Episode when warmer temperatures had quickly melted the Continental Ice Sheet. The Atlantic Episode (Altithermal Period) ranged from 7,900-5,000 B.P. with marked heating of the atmosphere and a lack of precipitation. On the Plains, the Altithermal drought conditions were evidenced by the drying up of many small streams, lakes, and ponds, and a wide spread reduction in floral habitat. Those conditions actualized the relocation of big game animal herds away from previous grasslands toward larger river valleys and canyons. Consequently Plains hunter-gatherer peoples relocated to those same river habitats (Wedel 1986:43, 78-80). Those harsh conditions probably diminished most native peoples' abilities to sustain larger band/tribal level groupings, and created subsistence level living conditions where only small nuclear families even had a chance to survive. Even though Amerindian dogs existed in the Wind River/Bighorn Basin area before then, the small solid pecked petroglyphs

of canids appear in the basins during this drier climate and sparser habitat period. The appearance of Amerindian dog motifs possibly denotes the reduction of available big game, making hunting more difficult. This then possibly led to a rise in the importance of the dog, both as a hunting companion, and as an emergency food source. Important status then led to canid petroglyphs, whether as a type of historical record, or as a ceremonial entity to insure the dogs and humans' survival.

Nearly all pecked petroglyph sites in the Wind River Basin, and the southern end of the Bighorn Basin, occur near water sources, at lower non-alpine elevations, and on south facing rock walls. The south facing walls usually are also rock shelters which act as natural solar heat collectors and provide wind protection -- all denoting cold weather use. With only a few exceptions, the Wind River/Bighorn Basin petroglyph sites are usually small in area consisting of small groupings of petroglyphs, with at times even singular petroglyphs per location. This lends credence to the petroglyph sites having been inhabited by nomadic nuclear family, or small band level groups of people, living probably at subsistence levels of survival and practicing their rock art ceremonies at the same place where they temporarily lived. This concept of inhabiting a petroglyph site is furthered by the number of the petroglyph sites in the Wind River/Bighorn Basin having surface lithic scatters, some with diagnostic projectile points dating 6,000-2,000 B.P. Even though many of these Wyoming sites have petroglyphs stylistically similar to those found in the Great Basin, the Wyoming sites contrast with some archaeologists perceptions of Great Basin hunter-gatherer petroglyph sites being created at distinctly separate locations from where the people lived (Baumhoff and Heizer 1962:232; Whitley and Loendorf 1994:88-90). The Wind River Basin small/minimal hunter gatherer basic economic and camp group size is consistent with Ebert's (1992:124) findings of Great Basin non-horse peoples tending to focus on small groups meeting their maximum size at about 40-50 persons, with those larger camps existing for only a very limited time, which usually would be to accommodate a seasonal communal food gathering event. Most often though, those peoples would have operated as a minimal family unit averaging, 6-10 persons. Kelly (1964) found the small hunter gatherer groups tended to winter where they had readily available concentrations of water and wood resources, also consistent with many Wind River Basin sites (Ebert 1992:117). Considering the emphasis on mountain sheep, elk, and deer petroglyph motifs at larger sites such as Sinks Canyon (48FR2498), Twin Creek (48FR93), and Beaver Creek (48FR2459, FR2461), those sites were possibly the sites visited by somewhat larger groups of people during select late fall, winter, and early spring. This visitation schedule is still consistent with big game migrating down from the higher elevations to feed at the canyon mouths and adjacent grasslands and river bottoms.

There are indications Bighorn/Wind River Basin nuclear family hunter-gatherer groups moved seasonally from the interior basins and canyons to the surrounding mountains and exploited the higher elevations during the warmer weather of late spring, summer, and early fall. Kelly (1964:54, 77) viewed the summer as a gathering period for foods such as seeds, crickets, etc., and a period for caching surplus foods for winter use (Ebert 1992:115). Conversely, hunter gatherer peoples in the Wind River Basin appear to have exploited the warmer lower elevations and canyon entrances, where most of the pecked petroglyph sites are located, during the cold weather of late fall, winter, and early spring (Stewart 1989:249; Francis 1982:74). How long some primitive groups would stay at a site

would depend on the group's size, the habitat's abilities to sustain the group, and the season. Ebert refers to the overall process as an "annual round" and a consistent characteristic of the distribution patterns of the Great Basin peoples. Of the archaeological annual round models, Kelly's model parallels the locations of many Wind River Basin petroglyph sites, where sites typically are at canyon mouths. Kelly views these canyon mouth habitats as the prime wintering areas for the Northern Paiute due to the availability of two major food source areas; the upper canyon/mountains as one source, and the grassland/river bottoms below the canyon mouths (Ebert 1992:115; Kelly 1964:54, 77). Somewhat supporting that view, the severity of winters forced the Shoshone Sheep Eaters into small groups at elevations below 7,000 feet, according to Alex Hultkrantz (Ebert 1992:116; Hultkrantz 1970). Interestingly coincidental to the petroglyph sites' cold weather use time by hunter-gatherers, the traditional Shoshone time for telling Coyote stories was during the "snowy moons," of December, January, and February. For a Shoshone storyteller to divulge those canid related stories out of the winter season time span was to risk the displeasure of Coyote. (Trenholm and Carley 1964:36).

Osborne Russell (1955:26) encountered 23-25 Shoshone Indians in the area of Lamar Valley, Yellowstone Park, who have since been perceived as Sheepeaters, between 1834-35, and possibly one of the best descriptions of a nuclear family for the geographic area. The Shoshone group was comprised of six men, seven women, and eight to ten children who were neatly clothed in sheep skins, and had a pack of 30 dogs "on which they carried their skins, clothing, provisions etc. on their hunting excursions. They were armed with bows and arrows pointed with obsidian" (Russell 1955:26). Russell's description gives the ratio of dogs to the members of a band level group of hunter-gatherer at three dogs to two persons, which raises the question as to just how far back in time such a ratio might have existed. Russell's description of the Shoshones has a near even adult male to adult female relationship. Even though Russell's description fits well within Ebert's findings concerning the sizes of Great Basin nuclear families and economic camp groups, one should remember the first part of the 19th Century was a historic transition period for western tribal peoples. Euroamerican diseases such as smallpox, measles, influenza, etc., had decimated large populations of Native peoples, creating bands and tribal organizations not reflective of the real ratios of males, females, children, and dogs before the influences of the Euroamerican. A large drop in human population in any select habitat area such as western Wyoming, without a drop in dog populations or food resources might create a false long range image of an abundance of food per person and a large ratio of dogs per band level organization. If Russell's information is representative of hunter-gatherer band level groups, then the feeding of the band and its canid companions appears to reflect an abundant food supply -- not quite the subsistence level of survival speculated for many nuclear family hunter-gatherers in much of Wyoming and the Great Basin.

#### SHEEPEATERS AND EXPLORERS

The last of the Wind River and Bighorn Basin hunter-gatherer peoples known to have readily associated themselves with domesticated dogs were the Shoshone Sheepeaters. One of the notable traits of the Sheepeaters was their use of the dog as a work animal, while avoiding the horse. This subsequently led to their being referred to as "walkers," a term also associated with the "Root Diggers," non-horse Shoshonean peoples of the Great Basin. Of

course, the question can be raised whether later Shoshone Sheepeaters avoided the horse deliberately due to traditional values, were just too poor to purchase them, or had had them taken from them by other Native Americans or the Euroamerican authorities.

Dogs inhabiting a Shoshone village along the Green River during a fur trading Rendezvous were described as resembling the wolf, according to F.A. Wislizenus' 1839 account (Shimkin 1947:270). A probable Shoshone Sheepeater descendent told turn-of-the-century researchers the Sheepeaters used big dogs, much like a Russian hound, and the dogs could either pull a travois or be packed with loads depending on the dog's size. Another Shoshonean source told researchers her father had two dogs that would run mountain sheep in a circle back to her father, but she also pointed out those specific dogs were not used as pack animals (Dominick 1968:101).

The mountain sheep required strenuous and dangerous rock climbing abilities on the part of Sheepeater hunters during the summer, but the dexterous animals could be successfully trapped in deep snow by Sheepeaters wearing snowshoes during the winter (Shimkin 1947:268). To compensate for the mountain sheep's surefootedness, the Sheepeaters reportedly used drive line type animal traps and hunting blinds, with related archaeological sites still existing in the Wind River, Owl Creek, and Bighorn mountains (Frison et al. 1990). The hunting blinds were located along cliff edges at advantageous points to allow the Sheepeaters to wait for passing game, and to give them an upper hand over the more nimble footed mountain sheep. The drive line game traps, however, would have required several nuclear families operating together, whereas a hunting blind could be efficiently used by a single hunter (Dominick 1968:108-09). Trained dogs could have been used very successfully with either method of hunting.

Explorer-trader Alexander Ross, after his 1820 encounters with Shoshones, stated they were classified into three tribal groups, the **Sherry-dikas** or Dogeaters, **War-are-ree-kas** or Fisheaters, and **Ban-at-tee** (Bannocks) or robbers -- "the **Sherry-dikas** were the real Shoshones," the buffalo hunting Plains Indians (Madsen 1958:44-46). The current Wind River Shoshone language handles: **Saadi'** for Dog, **Saadi' teka** for Dogeaters, **Siipuku** for Mountain Sheep, **Siipuku teka** for Sheepeater, **Izapah** for Coyote, and **Piyah Izapah** for Wolf (Mary Harris, personal communication, 1995). Shimkin lists: **du'kurkani** for Sheep-eating-people, **i'zap:e** for coyote, **pi'ai'zap:e** for wolf, **sari** for dog, and **sa'idika** for He-Eats-Dog, but currently the term is used by Shoshones to denote the Arapaho (Shimkin 1947:251,277,278).

The first reported sighting of the Shoshone Sheepeaters in the Wind River Mountain Range goes to Captain Benjamin Bonneville encountered three Native Americans speaking a Shoshone dialect in the summer of 1835. Bonneville had forded the Wind River above its mouth and proceeded southerly to the Popo Agie River where he encountered a hot springs of considerable magnitude (Ethete, Wyoming). There he proceeded to follow a branch of the Popo Agie River (either North Fork or Sinks Canyon) into the nearby mountains to a point where they lost sight of the Wind River Basin. At that point (Mt. Bonneville), he could see the Green River Basin, and the Sweetwater River, and he saw three Indians running across the valley below. Bonneville found the Indians to be horseless, of a "hermit race," scanty in number, very poor, using only bow and arrow for hunting, and inhabiting the "most inaccessible fastness." (Irving 1837:192).

Of course not all prehistoric human/canid relationships were with domesticated dog as the hunt helper. Frison (1991:265)

suggests several predatory animals, including dogs, wolves, coyotes, badgers, and bears were eaten by prehistoric man. The tooth of a *Canis* sp. (dog/coyote) and a portion of a fox (*V. vulpes*) skull were found in two of the Split Rock Ranch pit house features, dating circa 5,730-5,630 +/-180 B.P. (Eakin 1987:288-299), which led Craig Bromley to postulate the fox was probably eaten, but not necessarily the dog/coyote (Craig Bromley, personal communication, 1995). Articulated coyote (*C. latrans*) mandibles, dating 3,630 +/- 70 years B.P., were excavated along with pronghorn antelope bone fragments from a fire pit (48FR1468) in the Sweetwater Valley near Jeffrey City (Brechtel 1984:83, 147). Here Bromley analyses the fire pit placement as indicating both animals were readily used as food sources for hunter-gatherer peoples inhabiting west-central Wyoming 3,500 years ago (Craig Bromley, personal communication, 1995).

A composite view of Shoshone descendants, explorers, mountain men, and archaeologists statements suggest just how important the dog was to the survival of Wind River/Bighorn Basin prehistoric man. Such a composite image also allows for speculation as to just how much the dog fit into everyday life situations, including hunting small and big game, especially mountain sheep. In spite of the fact domesticated dog, wolf, and coyote might have been food for prehistoric man in the Wind River and Bighorn Basins, the petroglyph motifs of the canid nearly touching the hand of an anthropomorph does not project that relationship image. Rather it projects a more amicable association, along the lines of a hunt helper, partner, and maybe even a pet.

The Shoshone Sheepeater informant's father's two dogs, (the ones that circled the mountain sheep) does not describe the fashion a coyote chases a rabbit, with the fleeing animal setting the circular course. The mountain sheep, unlike group oriented domesticated sheep, would have broken up as a group and separately sought the best protective cover they could (Robert Boedeker, personal communication, 1995). Thus the informant creates an image similar to a Basque shepherd's dog that actively turns and manages the sheep. This changes the image of the Sheepeater and his companion dog from hunting the mountain sheep, to managing them. If such is true, then when the mountain sheep herd went to the high country during the summer time, the Sheepeater and his dog were there protecting them from predators, insuring the survival of the best animals, and culling out the weaker ones. The dog's responsibility would be guard, not attacker -- a truly different image of prehistoric North American man and dog's relationship to each other and particularly the mountain sheep. Such an image is not inconsistent with prehistoric man and dog's working relationship in other parts of the world. However, if such a working relationship between man, dog, and mountain sheep did exist in the Wind River Basin, then we should expect to find petroglyphs of the three prehistoric shepherd components working together in a herding scene. However, the shepherding image, while maybe feasible, does not coincide with the treatment of humanoid/canid/mountain sheep rock art images found in the Wind River and Bighorn Basins.

#### REALISM AS TO SHAMANISM

The word "shaman" when used to describe Native American spiritual elders and their abilities is not without problems. An Arapaho Traditional Elder unmasks it as having racist overtones, and typically used by "Whites" to describe the spiritual habits of non-whites. He states "Whitemen" ignore using the term "shaman" to describe the acts of the religious leaders of the Euroamerican culture,

including the deeds of the Pope, Protestant ministers, or even television evangelists who seek guidance in discerning good from evil, assisting believers, baptizing, anointing, blessing, marrying, and burying members of their culture. Such "White" spiritual participation also includes praying for spiritual salvation, securing food, improved health, financial stability, materialistic gain, and assistance in military endeavors -- and, of course, the weather. Praying for rain or sunshine has a long standing in the Bible Belt, and protecting people from being taken possession of by spirits is no more removed than a "God Bless You," when someone sneezes, or bidding "good bye (God be with you) when someone leaves on a trip.

Why did prehistoric man, in the Wind River and Bighorn Basins, consistently render most canids and big game animals very realistically, while rendering associated anthropomorphs more abstractly or non-realistic attributes? Why are many of the large Interior Line Style anthropomorphs accompanied by dots and zigzag lines, normally associated with spiritual beings and power lines (Keyser 1992:52), but not the canid and big game animals? Were the canids and zoomorphic images (other than birds) less spiritual in nature? Or would artistically rendering them otherwise have jeopardized the animal's true nature, function, or relationship with man?

In the Coso Range of Inyo County, California, Grant found thousands of mountain sheep petroglyphs and pictographs, depicted as being hunted, impaled by spears, atlatls, and arrows, and attacked by dogs and accompanying prehistoric hunters. Grant noted nearly all of the glyphs occurred along animal migratory trails or near watering holes where the mountain sheep could be ambushed, and un-surprisingly he also found many rock art sites also had hunting blinds. From such evidence, Grant concluded the mountain sheep and dog hunting scenes were closely associated with the taking of big game, and visually represented part of the ceremonies normally associated with "hunting magic" (Grant et al. 1987:29-30, 112-115). Some of Grant's observations of the Coso Range mountain sheep, except for dogs attacking mountain sheep, could easily have been written about the Wind River and Bighorn Basins. The similarities exist particularly with his noting the mountain sheep, dogs (with the exception of some having exceptionally long tails), and other big game animals being rendered in a naturalistic or realistic fashion, even though other portions of the same rock art panels were often highly stylized or abstract (Grant 1967:60; Grant et al. 1987:16-24).

The older and smaller realistic solid pecked depictions of zoomorphs may have been viewed as a necessity by prehistoric man. It appears prehistoric man may have felt obligated to portray his big game food sources and his hunting associate, the dog, accurately to insure successful communication before and during the hunt, or a means of ensuring man's own survival. Of course, the answer may not address the later non-realistic interior line pecked dog motifs also evident in the Bighorn and Wind River Basins.

It is evident the anthropomorphic motifs indicating humans depicted with horns and wings, were not artistically held to the same realistic "earthly" restrictions as the dog/canids. The anthropomorphs were the leaders of the hunt, however, their artistic motifs often are less realistically developed. So why realism with dogs/canids? It is obvious with Grants' evidence, and historic accounts, dogs were part of the hunting parties, and that should have endowed the canids with some special privileges, but those qualities cannot be discerned by us in the petroglyphs. Could it be to misrender the canid in a non-realistic manner would be interpreted

by the Spirit Coyote or Spirit Wolf as an insult and consequently bring on penalties? Or could it be humans, through ceremonial ritual, could temporarily borrow or assume animal characteristics making for fanciful petroglyphs, but real life animals, such as mountain sheep, deer, elk, and dogs, in a reverse manner, were not allowed to assume human characteristics?

The hunting emphasis of elk, deer, and mountain sheep at some Wind River Basin petroglyph sites, including Twin Creek, Beaver Creek, and Sinks Canyon, support the contention some petroglyph sites were possibly used in conjunction with "the magical or ritual aspect of taking large game" (Stewart 1989:250). Such a contention is supported by the historic recording of small family level Western Shoshone hunter-gatherer groups, with their dogs, periodically assembling from their scattered dwelling areas, to conduct major rabbit or antelope drives, and salmon fishing. At those select village times, their social organization changed to accommodate the larger group's needs, including a village headman, antelope shaman, dance director, etc., and probably a hunt or special shaman in charge of the placement and style of the petroglyphs (Baumhoff and Heizer 1962:12,13).

Even though Wind River/Bighorn Basin large game animals motifs may be representative of hunting, most of the humanoid/canid motifs, including the Boysen Reservoir and Legend Rock examples, do not appear in hunt scenes, and may be solely shamanistic in nature. Also, the Boysen Reservoir dog motif connected by a line to the anthropomorph may represent a shamanistic familiar (canid) helping guide the believer (anthropomorph) into the spirit world. One can postulate the possibility of a prehistoric person bringing a dog on a leash to the petroglyph site and keeping the dog physically tied to him as they spiritually venture forth with the dog as a guide. As a physical interpretation, the line/leash easily could be the depiction of the domestication of the dog, however, it is obvious the line can also be viewed as representational of a spiritual connection between the two. Pushing this idea further, the humanoid could be taking on canid spiritual aspects. In the Dinwoody/Whiskey Basin area, large anthropomorphs with wings are possible evidence of the

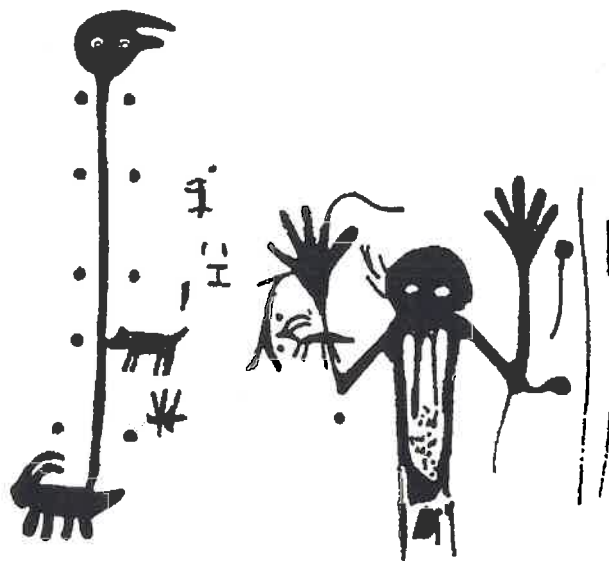


Figure 15: Coal Draw (48HO392-A). Note long neck ascending from mountain sheep back, with canid facing it.

shaman transforming himself into a bird and flying off into the spirit world in the form of a human ghost bird. At this time, I have only encountered one canid/human motif joined in a parallel fashion equivalent to the birdmen: Coal Draw (48H0692-B) (Figure 15). Instead, both the humanoids and canids retain separate motif characteristics as distinct figures, leaving speculation the spiritual union, if it exists, is not in the same manner as the birdmen. The metamorphosing of a mountain sheep motif into a possible long necked anthropomorph or other zoomorph also happens at the Coal Draw site (48H0692-A) which has a canid with its nose touching the elongated neck of the "spirit animal." The attached and free floating dots, and danglers, associated with some of the other canid/anthropomorph sites in the two basins are also very evident at this site.

The two Coal Draw petroglyph panels definitely support the contention by Julie Francis that all petroglyphs as extensions of the spiritual world. "Currently rock art fits into the world of the spirits for the Shoshone, and the likelihood of it representing real world events is small" (Julie Francis, personal communication, 1995). Francis has stated the theories of realism and hunting magic associated in the past with Great Basin petroglyph motifs are not viable except with Late Plains biographical glyphs. Instead, Francis proposes petroglyph motifs are ceremonial in nature, and visual representatives of shamanistic familiars.

Enthologist Alex Hultkrantz's studies of the Shoshone showed their religious beliefs and rituals centered around the supreme being *Tan Apo*, and multiple spirits *puha* giving the believer supernatural powers in medicine, hunting, and war. The spiritual animals who give *puha* usually take on the form of animals, such as coyote and wolf, whose stories are told during the winter time. Hultkrantz states the Shoshone seeking *puha* must visit a prehistoric petroglyph site and fast, pray, and seek guidance through dreams. (Stamm 1994:184-186).

The intertwined association of the real, shaman, spiritual, and glyptic worlds appear to be wide spread among traditional Native Americans. Lawrence Loendorf, in a 1995 public presentation at Riverton, Wyoming, noted the traditional Paiutes believed spirits lived in rocks and water and could traverse to and fro as they wished. Referencing a 1940's Wind River Basin Eastern Shoshone spiritual leader, Loendorf pointed out the Shoshone traditionally fasted and sought power at rock art sites, because they believed spirits dwelled there (Larry Loendorf, personal communication, 1995). Contemporary Eastern Shoshone Spiritual Leader and rock art authority John Tameese has stated people vandalizing rock art and other traditional sites bring bad luck upon themselves from spirits inhabiting and protecting those sites (John Tameese, personal communication, 1990). These Shoshonean concepts strongly support the notion of the pre-existence, or implanting, of permanent spirits or "living qualities" at rock art sites, and cause for some archaeologists to view all or near all rock art sites as shamanistic.

Even though we were not talking about petroglyphs, a Native American spiritual leader (who did not wish to be identified by tribe or name) told me objects used in sacred ceremonies are living things, and are subsequently treated with respect. Presuming the respect concept existed with the origins of the canid petroglyphs, then the differences between the real canid and the petroglyph canid would be minimal on a spiritual level. In a somewhat related fashion, the real canid would assume some of the powers accredited to the spiritual canid. E. A. Hoebel states the Comanches (a Shoshonean Tribe once inhabiting the Wind River Basin) probably do not eat dog meat,

because the dog is Coyote's cousin, and Coyote is taboo, which is also the reason the Comanches did not kill coyotes (Hoebel 1972:69). Even though Shoshones today are very much against eating dog meat, an opposing historic view on the subject was made by explorer-trader Alexander Ross, from his circa 1820 encounters with Shoshones, when he called the "real Shoshones" the *Sherry-dikas*, or *Dogeaters* (Madsen 1958:45).

Canids tend to be endowed with spiritual aspects by traditional Native American peoples of the Western United States, with different peoples viewing them and those spiritual traits as acceptable or non-acceptable for use as a sacrifice or a food source. There appears to be a geographic distinction between those peoples who traditionally ate dogs as those who were non-dog eaters. With some exceptions, the dog eating/non-dog eating traditions appear to maintain distinct geographic areas, which also tend to correlate to the language groupings of the peoples. The Shoshonean peoples originating in the Great Basin, which includes the Shoshones, Bannocks, Utes, Comanches, etc., tended to shun eating dogs, coyotes, etc., while the Plains Culture peoples to the east, including the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho tended to eat dog meat. Both groupings of peoples, however, appear to revere the dog -- just differently. The notable exception to Great Basin peoples not eating dogs were the Southern Yokuts of Northern California, who raised dogs just for that purpose (Jorgensen 1980:124; Wallace 1978:450). The Winnebagos, a Siouan speaking peoples in the Wisconsin area, used dog names in their clans, practiced dog sacrifice, and ate dog meat, all relating in some way to spiritual reverence of the dog. In the Winter or War-Bundle Feast of the Winnebago Thunderbird Clan, before strangling the dog for sacrifice and attaching a tobacco pouch to each of its limbs, the dog was apologized to and assured it would be going to a far better place to live than with man (Radin 1923:281, 379-384, 390).

The dog was so revered by the Yurok peoples of northwestern California, those people would not talk to a dog, for concern it might speak back, thus leading to the person's death. In Yurok prehuman creation oral tradition, the dog did converse. After the creation of man, the dog lost its speech abilities, however, "... the taboo on talking to dogs persisted." Heizer states the reverence for dogs by the Yurok led them to not drink from the Klamath River's, not because of the river's sanctity, but because someone might have thrown a dead dog into the river upstream (Heizer 1993:245). A. L. Kroeber noted the northern California Coast Yuki and Huchnom did not name their dogs, but they ceremoniously buried them, sometimes with accompanying grave goods (Kroeber 1925, reprint 1976:216, 340) Kroeber states the Yuroks would not drink from many water sources due to the fear a dead dog or an aborted human fetus might have contaminated it (Kroeber 1925, reprint 1976:69). The Western Woods Crees sacrificed dogs to Great-Great-Spirit (*Kihci-Kihci-Manito*), but only on a rare occasion (Smith 1981:263).

The earliest United States explorer recording northwestern Amerindian dogs was Captain Meriweather Lewis, who after finding a burial scaffold with a sacrificed dog at its foot, wrote on Saturday, April 20, 1805: "It is customary with the Assiniboines, Mandans, and Minatares, etc., who scaffold their dead, to sacrifice the favorite horses or dogs, of their deceased relations, with a view of their being serviceable to them in the land of spirits," (Lewis and Clark 1977:55). In Oregon, the Wildcat Canyon Site, spanning a time period of 8,500 B.P. to the historic period, contained pithouses, a large cemetery of 50 human burials, and scattered burials including those of six dogs (Jennings 1989:181-82). Even though there is

limited historical record, one can deduct in general, some, if not many, American Indian ceremonial rituals recorded by Euroamerican historians concerning horses, had earlier origins in the spiritual bonds between man and dog.

Archeologist John Brumley noted the historic Blackfeet claimed to have built stone alignment spoked medicine wheels around the teepee of their dead war chiefs, and sacrificed the chief's favorite horse(s), or dog(s) in pre-horse times, to accompany the dead in the after world. Information of dog sacrificial practices with Assiniboine women were recorded by Edwin Denig in 1930 (Brumley 1985:220-223). Brumley lists two such burial/medicine wheels in the Bighorn Basin just above the Wyoming border, with the Fort Smith Medicine Wheel Site (24BH220), and the Grassy Knoll Medicine Wheel Site (24BH797) (Brumley 1988:45-46, 59). Even though the famed Bighorn Medicine Wheel (48BH302) is closer to the petroglyph area this paper addresses, Brumley did not list it in the burial/medicine wheel category as he did the other two (Brumley 1988:70-72).

Of the limited recorded dog burials, the most useful information to this paper comes from the Box Elder Creek Site, near Tensleep in the Bighorn Basin, where six Amerindian dog skulls were found ceremoniously buried "in a row at the bottom of a pit with two bison thoracic vertebrae crossed over the tops of the skulls." The skulls carbon dated 990 +/- 130 years, and interestingly, the canine teeth of the dogs had been deliberately broken and modified (Walker and Frison 1982:128-129). The discovery corresponds well with the concept of Amerindian dogs fitting more than coincidentally into the spiritual life style of prehistoric Big Horn Basin man.

Wearing a wolf's skin to get close enough to prehistoric big game to use the bow and arrow was a hunting tactic possibility for the Plains Woodlands peoples (Wedel 1986:92). It appears such possibilities also existed with the borrowing of wolf or dog characteristics during the hunt to enhance man's other hunting abilities. For instance, the ritual eating of a dog by the shaman of the Attawapiskat Band, of the Western Main Cree, was a type of hunting magic practiced with the purpose of borrowing the dog's capabilities to locate caribou (Honigsmann 1981:220). Not all researchers view hunting magic as the reason for man to spiritually or shamanistically bind with an animal. Whitley and Loendorf (1994:83-84), claiming Shoshonean ethnohistoric evidence as his source, states the Coso Range mountain sheep motifs of the Great Basin were solely shamanistic to assist the spiritual quester into an altered state of consciousness for purposes other than hunting. Whitley states in the Great Basin and Wyoming Bighorn Basin, male shamans only went to rock art sites for vision quests -- not in preparation to hunt (Whitley and Loendorf 1994:83-84).

Whitley view of the Coso Range mountain sheep motifs deliberately side steps Campbell Grants' information concerning hunting blinds, migratory game trails, and watering holes at the Coso Range rock art sites. Whitley even side steps Grant's comments about the Shoshonean ethnohistoric information on the rock art sites being relatively recent and up to 1,000 years removed from the rock art. Instead, Whitley, proposes the hunt scenes, some with dogs assisting the hunters and others with bighorn mountain sheep being killed with arrow and atlatl, are visual metaphors for exercising the shaman's control over the weather (Whitley and Loendorf 1994:83-94). In spite of Whitley's narrow vision in proclaiming Coso Range zoomorphs are shaman familiars for weather forecasting only, there is merit in his overall approach of viewing ethnohistoric evidence as being important.



Figure 16: Coal Draw (48HO392-B). Interior line canid and solid and sparse pecked anthropomorph.

In the Wind River and Big Horn Basins, nearly all of the canid petroglyph motifs do not appear to fit Whitley's hypothesis, however, two canid petroglyphs at the Coal Draw site 48HO692 do. The Interior Line canid and solid and sparse pecked anthropomorph at 48HO692-B has the canid's tail touching an accompanying anthropomorph's head (Figure 16). Below the canid, its hind legs descend to help form an anthropomorphic figure staring out at the viewer. The torso of this figure is comprised of a three pronged motif with dots at each end, which is also at the Beaver Creek 48FR2461 site with an older solid pecked style canid that nearly touches it with its nose. There the three pronged motif with dot ends does not configure into an anthropomorph, but stands clearly by itself, configuring possibly as a plant with flowers or fruit. If this motif does truly represent a floral species, then I speculate the chances are it has hallucinogenic properties. The accompanying Beaver Creek anthropomorph has a dot associated with its left hand and one floating above its right hand. Somewhat similar dots accompany anthropomorphs at several of the canid related Coal Draw sites, particularly other 48HO692 panels, and at the Twin Creek (48FR93) and Boysen Reservoir (48FR202 and 48FR43) canid panels.

The Northern Shoshone religious practices emphasized a shamanistic belief, the use of visions, and the art of manipulation with individual guardian spirits which were acquired by a Shoshone youth from a spiritual/vision quest. During the transmigration, the youth received an individualized guardian spirit in the form of a natural phenomenon. Thus the wolf, along with the eagle, buffalo, bear, and rattlesnake received high status as Shoshone guardian spirits, with the youth obtaining a personal life long song during the spiritual passage, for invoking the guardian spirit's help in the future. This is an involved process which has been misinterpreted by Euroamericans viewing only the end result as death songs (Madsen 1980:20-21).

In somewhat similar devotion, the Western Shoshone believed the wolf, coyote, rabbit, bear, and chickadee created the world (Trenholm and Carley 1964:9). The view of the canid being a spiritual guide and of importance to the believer appears to be connected to the Western Shoshone oral tradition and belief in the *Mugua* (guide spirit, familiar) and *tsoap* (ghost). The Western

Shoshone believed in the transmigration of the soul after death, where the soul went to the land of Father Coyote. Halfway there, the Shoshone soul would meet an escort spirit to guide it to its destination. However, not until Coyote's brother, Wolf, had washed the soul could it be revived, and then it could only be seen by the medicine man (Trenholm and Carley 1964:8). Such ethnohistoric information leads to questioning if some of the Wind River/Bighorn Basin canids, whether on a leash or not, depict wolves or coyotes as guides.

What if the Wind River/Bighorn Basin canid motifs represent none other than Wolf, the creator of the Shoshone world, brother to Coyote who is noted for his role as Trickster? If the Wind River and Bighorn Basin canid represents Wolf or Coyote, then accurate depictions might be important in terms of not insulting such a powerful being. To insult such a great spiritual being, could bring a multitude of penalties for one and his family.

What if prehistoric man put a wolf or coyote on a leash while projecting into the spirit world? Or, would a wolf-like domesticated canid (dog) on a leash motif allow the seeker the same benefits without the inconvenient problems of catching and handling a wolf, etc.? It would seem the physical and petroglyph wolves, as guides, would certainly have some positive kinship to the *Mugua*/Wolf. A wild wolf or coyote guide could possibly explain why many recorded Wind River and Bighorn Basin canid petroglyphs just barely miss touching the anthropomorph. The near miss could also be speculated to represent the seeker getting very close to the *Mugua*/Wolf, but deliberately not quite touching him.

A Native American spiritual leader explained to me several years ago that going into the spirit world is a delicate balance. One must go far enough, but not too far. To not go far enough is laziness or fear, or lack of faith and character. But, to go too far, to get too close, or to touch God, is to be penalized with not finding one's way back, i.e., insanity and/or death. To appropriately face and communicate with God is the objective, as opposed to a confrontation with God. The fasting (vision quest) is a required spiritual visit, not an intrusion into God's privacy. In viewing this questing parameter, the Wind River and Bighorn Basin humanoid/canid motif may be viewed either as representing a record of what the spiritual seeker anticipated would happen, or as a record of his spiritual performance. Thus for the canid and humanoid to not quite touch might be an appropriate prescription as to just how far the seeker wished to go, and/or it might be his record of just how far he went. Of course, there is the option the petroglyph was required of the spiritual quester by Wolf, to glorify his powers, which is not contrary with the spirit canid also being designated as the hunter-gatherer group's geographic area symbol.

#### COYOTE EVIDENCE AT SITES

At the Montana Sorenson Site (24CB202), in the Bighorn Basin, the shoulder bone (distal humerus) of a coyote (*C. latrans*) was found at Occupation Level VI where materials dated 640 +/- 100, along with McKean, side-and-corner notched projectile points. Interestingly two pieces cut of elk hide and one piece of cut coyote skin were also found at this level, and thought to probably be discarded trimmings from clothes manufacturing. (Husted 1969:24-25). A coyote (*C. latrans*) tooth was found by George Frison at the Casper Bison Kill Site, along with bison bones and Hell Gap points, in bone beds carbon dated between 9,830 +/- 350 and 10,060 +/- 170 B.P. (Wilson 1974:126, 130)

In the Bighorn Basin, a *Canis* sp. (listed as coyote) thighbone

(femur) was found at the Bottleneck Cave site (48BH206), in the same level, corner and side notched projectiles were found (Husted 1969:67). At the site, a *Canis* sp. tooth, also presumed to be coyote, was found in the IV Occupation Level, as well, with several McKean (ca. 5000-2500 B.P.) lanceolate projectile points (Husted 1969:59). At the V Occupation Level (48BH206), the back of a skull (occiput), shoulder blade (scapula), a lumber vertebra, and a leg bone (tibia) of a coyote (*C. latrans*) were found, as well as Duncan, corner notched, and side notched projectile points. The shoulder blade (scapula) of a fox (*V. vulpes*) was also found at the V Occupation Level. The most fox related materials, however, were found in the sand above V Occupation Level, with 22 Northern Red Fox (*V. vulpes*) faunal remains identified -- a level where corner notched projectile points were also found (Husted 1969:62-64).

#### CONCLUSION

It is evident the canid motif petroglyphs in the Wind River and Bighorn Basins have 1) a deliberate spatial relationship with some fan headdress and horned anthropomorph motifs; 2) are located at late fall/winter/early spring camp habitats; and 3) have a geographic distribution between Legend Rock and South Pass, while being absent or sparse in the western end of the Wind River Basin, which appears to be more than just coincidental.

The involvement of prehistoric man is obvious in joint human/zoomorphic endeavors. The involvement leads one to speculate prehistoric man used animal motifs as an important part of his physical and spiritual self image -- and possibly the use of such joint images to define his geographic/territorial boundaries. At the same time, it leads one to an expectation the human/zoomorph interlocking relationship also extended into other lifestyle areas. These would include such applications as animal sacrifice, animal burials, body tattoos, and somewhat similarly decorated artifacts, as well as, the petroglyphs. However, of those applications, only the pecked petroglyphs and burial remains, such as the six Amerindian dogs found buried in a row at Boxelder Creek, have survived in the Wind River and Bighorn Basins. The other human/zoomorph applications require reviewing Native American oral traditions and looking for insights from historic and protohistoric clothing, artifacts, and life styles -- insights well removed from the petroglyph applications by up to 2,000-6,000 years.

More specifically, the Wind River and Bighorn Basin canid zoomorph motifs raise questions, including whether or not they represent domesticated dog, wolf, or coyote. However, the contention they represent domesticated Amerindian dog is quite strong, and leads to questioning as to how the canids and canid motifs served as shamanistic familiars or guides to the spirit world, or as a hunting magic cadre/assistant in taking big game animals in the physical world. There appear to be examples leading to the summation either application could be an appropriate answer.

The problem of such multiple questions and answers most likely lies with our being too far removed from prehistoric Wind River and Bighorn Basin peoples to accurately establish their motives. That leaves us with apparent viable, but also contradictory conclusions. Toward that end, Archeologist Sally Cole states it well, with: "Man's images can be used in more than just one way, with cultural, social, and spiritual significances easily intertwined." (Sally Cole, personal communication, 1995).

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# THE SA PETROGLYPHS, HISTORIC PERIOD ROCK ART IN NORTHEASTERN WYOMING

by  
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## ABSTRACT

A small petroglyph panel is in the scoria uplands of northeastern Wyoming. A set of vertical parallel lines and individual horse tracks represent two motif classes typical of equestrian period Native American biographic rock art in the Powder River Basin. The lack of associated human (including faces only), horse, and weapon figures seems unusual. Modern inscriptions on an adjacent panel display stylistic trends of Euroamerican rock art and contrast in technology, content, and message from earlier figures.

## INTRODUCTION

The SA Petroglyphs (48CA4121) were recorded as an off-survey site during a nearby cultural survey for a coalbed methane expansion project in late 2001. The site is near SA Creek in the northwestern corner of Campbell County, just east of the Powder River (Figure 1), an area not known for its rock art (Francis 1991:399). Sandstone bluffs and overhangs do occur along this part of the creek and its tributaries. During a check for rock art on these bluffs, several examples of historic names and dates, most presumably representing various kinds of herder or ranch activity, were noted within a relatively small area of about 200 acres. The SA Petroglyphs presently are the only confirmed example of Native American rock art in this immediate vicinity, although there is potential for additional aboriginal rock art sites in the area.

## SITE LOCATION, SETTING, AND DESCRIPTION

The site is in a scoria uplands area northwest of Spotted Horse and near SA Creek, a tributary to the Powder River to the northwest. In this portion of the extended Powder River Breaks, drainages are broad and open and bordered by juniper and pine covered sandstone hills. Many of these hills are capped with prominent scoria deposits. Throughout this parkland zone are exposed sandstone ledges with prominent vertical exposures, overhangs, and shallow rockshelters. Most of the local sandstone is relatively soft and friable, but there are numerous faces of denser, finer, and more solid stone with somewhat darker patinated surfaces ideal for painting or engraving. A few of these faces have been scratched with modern names, dates, and a few brands, all from the twentieth century. Although a few shelters and terrace areas contain cultural deposits, most surface evidence for prehistoric use consists of relatively sparse surface scatters of lithic debitage.

The site is in a protected alcove-like area at the head of a short draw. This alcove is surrounded by steep slopes covered with junipers and pines. The sloping bottom of the alcove supports grass and scattered sage while gently descending into the main tributary drainage and on to SA Creek. Sandstone bluffs line the alcove. The outer point of the upper bluff with the site overlooks lower open country to the north and east, with an excellent extended view from the point and the petroglyph panel. The main occupied shelters here mostly face south and east into various parts of the alcove and are more protected from winds and inclement weather. Petroglyphs and modern inscriptions are on open vertical faces. No wall alterations were noted in shelters or on adjacent protected walls within the alcove.

## PETROGLYPHS

Prehistoric petroglyphs at this site only occur on a single, discrete panel about five feet wide and three feet tall (Figure 2). The figures are at about chest to face height and are easily reachable. There is a series of at least 22 mostly vertical and somewhat parallel, incised lines, ranging about 15–45 cm long. Integrated with these grooves are three horse tracks; the upper two being the clearest (Figure 3). These are vertically elongated ovals with dots at the lower ends representing metal horseshoes or mule shoes with heels (Figures 4 and 5). The lower, and largest, track is a wider, more circular oval, like a horse, without obvious dots at the end, or perhaps the dots have simply worn off (Figure 6). To the right of the lower track are several pecked small dots. Most grooves are fairly rounded at the bottom, and others are more V-shaped in cross section. All appear to have been made with a stick rubbed into the fairly coarse, yellowish to gray sandstone.

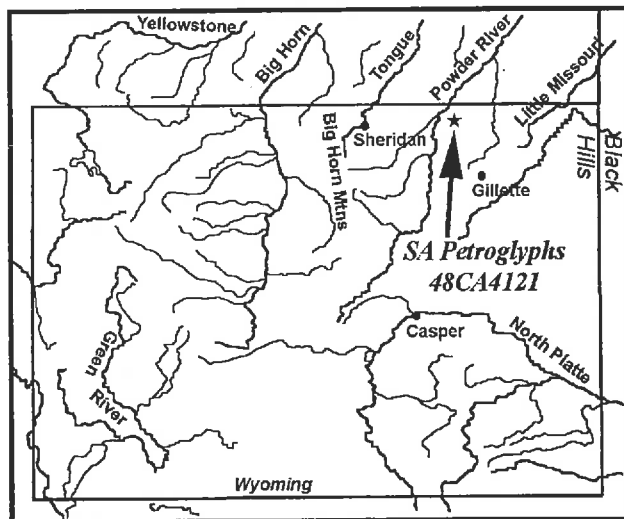


Figure 1. Location of the SA Petroglyphs.

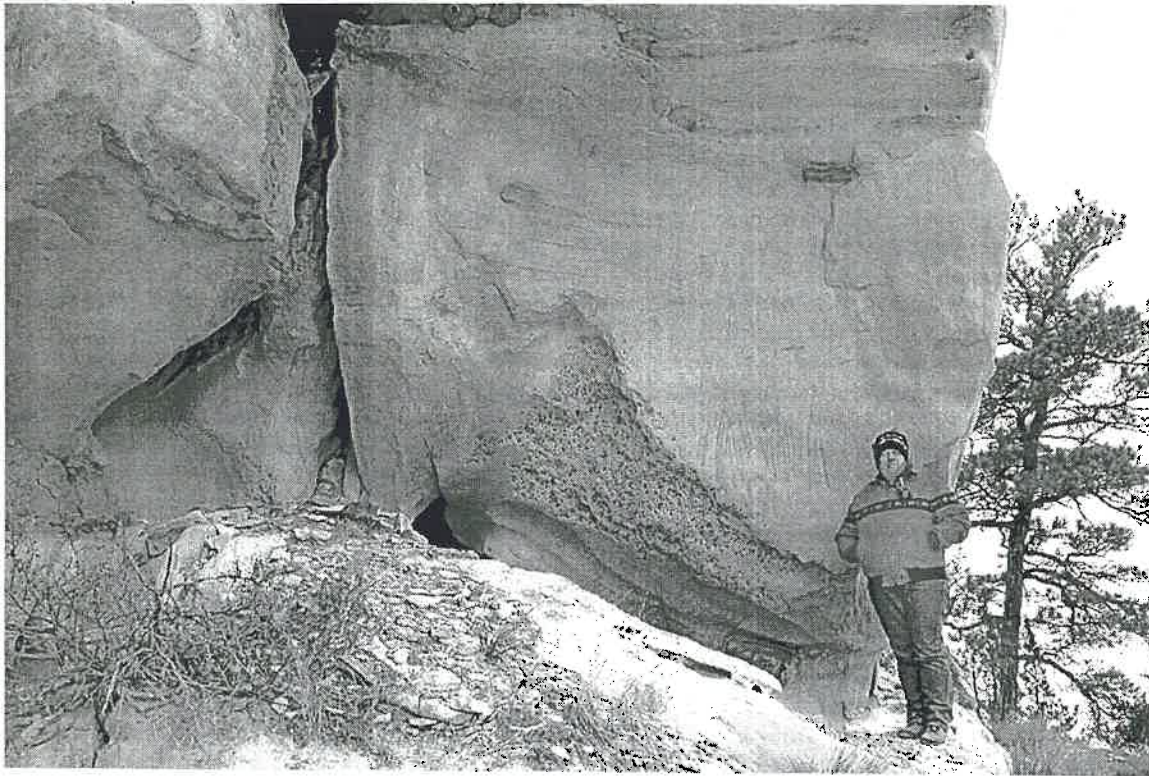


Figure 2. General view of the petroglyph panel.

**MODERN INSCRIPTIONS**

Modern names and dates are on a north-facing panel, with a more extensive view, just around the corner from the prehistoric panel (Figures 7 and 8). Inscriptions were done with a sharp implement, presumably a knife or other metal object. The only dates relate to high school kids from the class of 1980, with inscriptions dated 1979. Also here is the inscription, *Gives Head*, apparently referring to sexual activity. Initials across the rock surface are believed to relate to other students during the same, single visit.



Figure 3. Petroglyph panel.

**DISCUSSION**

The prehistoric inscriptions are tightly clustered into a single panel and are not spread out across the cliff, or in other areas across this much more extensive exposure. Such tight integration of figures is unusual. Their production method resulting in relatively wide, rounded grooves seems fairly common for early historic petroglyphs, while later inscriptions are often done with sharp implements, such as arrow points or knives. The set of elongated vertical parallel lines is a common motif not only in early historic art of the Northwestern Plains (Feyhl 1980), but also of prehistoric painted rock art of central Montana (Greer and Greer 1996). This motif is also sometimes produced as individually painted lines and sometimes as paint-soaked hands dragged down the wall. Although the function of parallel lines is unknown, it seems most likely the related meaning was not the same through time or between regions. Certainly Late Prehistoric painted lines did not likely function the same as Historic Period inscribed lines. Although petroglyphs of this type are often lumped under the explanation of tool grooves, they did not all function in this manner. Those at SA Creek do not appear to have functioned as such at all.

Horse or mule prints are rare, and were reported at only twelve sites on the Northwestern Plains at the time of Keyser and Klassen's research for their recent book (2001:183). Animal tracks are usually found in clusters of three to twenty-five prints (Keyser and Klassen 2001:182). Horse tracks are usually depicted as small C-shaped tracks, not as large individual horseshoes with obvious heels as found at the SA Petroglyphs. When horse tracks are shown in rock art, they are usually not individual tracks unless mixed with



Figure 4. Horseshoe print.



Figure 5. Horseshoe print.



Figure 6. Horseshoe print.

other kinds of animals, such as bison (Johnson 1975). More common are “trails” of multiple, much smaller horse tracks often placed sideways, presumably indicating a trip or a route (Keyser and Klassen 2001:251-252, 262). The individual horse tracks at the SA site expand the morphological range of the horse hoofprint motif. The meaning of the panel, or the intent of the drawer, obviously, is not known, but the overall form certainly is within the general pattern of Plains Indian historic period Biographic Tradition. The site also is within the regional distribution, and at the end of the time frame, for the Hoofprint Tradition as defined primarily from animal tracks. Functional explanations, however, for both the Hoofprint Tradition (“symbols of fertility and hunting magic,” Keyser and Klassen 2001:188) and the Biographic Tradition (“a record of a warrior’s personal accomplishments and important life events,” Keyser and Klassen 2001:244) do not appear to be satisfactory explanations for the individual SA horse tracks, although they certainly could be associated with either scenario.

The more recent additions also are noteworthy in their own right. Interestingly, no modern inscriptions were placed on the face with the prehistoric petroglyphs, although those earlier inscriptions were obvious. From this, it would appear (though unusual and seemingly unlikely) the modern visitors recognized the age of the earlier figures and specifically chose not to deface them. Alternatively, the students may simply have chosen a more

suitable surface of darker, harder sandstone without previous markings, and one that faced more outward toward the open country beyond (seemingly the more parsimonious explanation).

These recent inscriptions are typical of types beginning, or becoming more prominent, in the late 1950s of identifying people with high school classes or high school graduation dates. Personal identification is represented by names or initials related to, or regionally identified with, a particular social age set. In some cases, though not at this site, the identification is not just with the high school or the class graduation date, which refers not so much to the date as to the social group it represents, but some sites equate this social reference more closely with the sports team of that institution, such as *Smithville Bears*. Equally common in such context, though not present here, is the recognition of a competing school or team, often with reference to the competition, such as *Beat the Bears*, or the more derogatory *Laurel Sucks* (such as found spray painted over aboriginal figures at the Ryegate Petroglyphs, 24GV406, in Montana). This as an expression of intended personal or group power or superiority over an opposing force or group, a kind of reference, also can be seen, of course, in similar form, in some late period aboriginal biographic art.

Other kinds of name-date inscriptions are present in nearly all areas, as well as the extended SA Creek zone. Most common, of course, are names with associated dates reflecting the time of visitation. Thus, *Bob Smith 1929*, would most likely refer



Figure 7. Recent inscriptions.



Figure 8. Recent inscriptions.

to Bob's 1929 visit to the particular site. Earlier recordings, however, often identify the visitor with his birth date, such as *Suzy Yellow Tail 1842* at site 48CA58 north of Gillette. One should be careful to evaluate which system is represented at a particular site, and how the date may relate to the person identified in the inscription.

The SA panel also displays the increased sexual orientation of the most recent inscriptions, a trend noted across the nation and beyond. This very late introduction presents sexual themes in degree and manner not represented in earlier art in quite the same way, although sexual pictorial representations occur aboriginally throughout the world. While sexual or interpersonal themes occur in some early sheepherder art, especially aspen art or dendroglyphs, where people were sitting around thinking or dreaming about girlfriends and related activities, such herder pictorial inscriptions are distinctively different from the stronger and more derogatory sexual portrayal of cruder "bathroom art" (both verbal and pictorial), which probably became more prevalent in the 1950s and continued through the end of the century. This general trend is represented at this panel with the simple content, *Gives Head*, although art of this general form is often more graphic and detailed.

Although our main interest in the SA Petroglyphs is with the aboriginal petroglyphs rather than the modern written inscriptions, even the limited modern additions display general trends in rock art styles noted at other sites and in other regions. Like the modern inscriptions, with their orientation toward personal or group identification, the Indian petroglyphs probably

represent an earlier form of biographic art with similar intended reference to, or recording of, individual and group identity and actions.

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# HISTORIC JAPANESE SITES OF SOUTHWESTERN WYOMING REVISED AND REVISITED: JAPANESE ROCK ART AND TOMBSTONES: IMMIGRATION PATTERNS ON THE NORTHERN PLAINS AND IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

by

A. Dudley Gardner and David E. Johnson

## ABSTRACT

Between 1891 and 1899 Japanese immigrants began to arrive in Alberta, Montana, and Wyoming. Little is provided in the historic documentation about where these immigrants came from in Japan. The archaeological record, however, provides reliable information about the origins of these "sojourners." Using Japanese tombstones, rock art, and inscriptions on stone we have been able to piece together where the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Japanese immigrants came from within Japan. In addition, we have also learned more about the nature of Japanese women's immigration into the interior west at the turn of the century. Based on the archaeological data, this paper will summarize what our investigations in Alberta, Montana, and Wyoming have uncovered during the last ten years.

## WHY DO WE ANALYZE TOMBSTONES?

Wise anthropologists once contended that to do a good ethnography on a group of people, you need multiple researchers working toward describing the culture. The contention is no one woman or man will ever observe all the nuances of a culture and its functions--instead the contention was, and rightly so, a group of people need to observe, evaluate, describe, critique, and return to observation before ever reaching the conclusion of how a society functions, and even then there needs to be a realization after all the years of research you only know certain aspects about any given culture.

Historic archaeology faces the same problems. Simply enumerating, describing, and summarizing the number of nails found at a site does not tell us much about the site's occupants' hopes, dreams, and daily life. But the same study of nails, combined with faunal, floral, ceramic, glass, iron fragments, and feature analysis takes us closer to understanding that society and thus its people. And when you combine archival research, oral histories, tombstones and, if possible, photographs to the tools used to learn more about the culture, the picture of the people who lived at the site or in a community becomes clearer. Gravestones provided more than just temporal markers; they are indicators of cultural change and social life ways. They are erected by the living to indicate something important about their group. This all too obvious fact is often overlooked. It is the family, friends, or community whose efforts work the resting place of the departed. Thus the gravestone reflects much about a culture and group and is but one reason why we analyze tombstones. Clearly, we can look

at grave markers as cultural and socially diagnostic, but are they always? What indeed is the cultural function of a gravestone? Keeping in mind a gravestone is one piece in a great cultural jigsaw puzzle, the analysis presented here today will help better explain the importance of analyzing gravestones in order to understand historic societies.

## JAPANESE TOMBSTONES

By 1890, the affects of anti-Chinese legislation in both Canada and the United States led to an end of readily available cheap labor from Asia. Mining, railroad, and service industries had grown dependent on this source of workers and many companies began to look to new regions to recruit employees from. Both southern Europe and Japan held possibilities. Beginning in the late 1890s, railroad and coal companies in Montana and Wyoming began to actively recruit immigrants from Japan to fill vacancies. Meanwhile, shortly after the turn of the century, laborers from Japan began to work in the fields and in a variety of industries in southwestern Canada.

In many ways the Japanese immigration of the late-nineteenth, early-twentieth century paralleled the Chinese immigration to Alberta, Montana, and Wyoming a few decades earlier. For example, in Wyoming the Japanese workers, like their Chinese predecessors, came from a few provinces. But unlike their Chinese predecessors, the Japanese immigrants were allowed to arrange marriages and bring their wives to the New World. This would have a profound affect on community structures and household formations. The net result being as children arrived, many Japanese families settled in with the idea of providing a stable home. Paraphrasing Edith Sunada, born to just such a family, mom and dad wanted to leave Wyoming but as more kids arrived, they wanted to stay put until the kids were out of school. Then, of course, they had kids and pretty soon they found themselves unable to move and less willing to return to Japan.

For many immigrants, the cycle of life played itself out in remote Wyoming and Alberta towns. At places like Rock Springs, Superior, and Hanna, Wyoming, and in Raymond, Alberta, Japanese immigrants became settlers and pioneers who left a distinct mark on the land. Specifically on tombstones, Japanese marked the passing and even wrote of their hopes.

As to where Japanese immigrants came from in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, there is no single province with a clear majority, but there are those that stand out. Specifically

in Wyoming coal towns, most of the Japanese immigrants came from two provinces (Figure 1). How we know this is based on analyzing and translating the known Japanese tombstones and rock out in these towns. We will discuss this in more detail below, but in general it can be said a large number of the Japanese in the coal and railroad towns of southern Wyoming came from Fukuoka and Hiroshima county while the farming town of Raymond, Alberta, contained immigrants from Kagoshima and Ehime. The reason they came from this district to live in Raymond, Alberta, then to Rock Springs, Superior, and Hanna, Wyoming, is based in part on conditions in Japan and opportunities present in Alberta and Wyoming. Most of these tombstones date from 1900 to 1941.

In general, Japanese tombstones or gravestones (Figure 2) contain four to five distinct elements (Tables 1-4, with footnotes).

First is the person's name, next the place and date of birth, then the time of death, and commonly the person's heavenly name. The final, but not always present inscription, records who made the memorial or grave marker for the deceased. While all markers contain the person's name, two words in Japanese, *Ko* (dead) and *Haka* (gravestone) are generally along with the person's "earthly" name. Earthly names in this case mean the given at birth and is the name by which most people know the deceased.

The exceptions are those tombstones dating to the 1960s in Raymond. In many cases tombstones were erected by fellow countrymen or by family members. Two examples illustrate this: in one case the residents from Fukuoka erected a Haka stating memorialized by fellow countrymen and in another case a person's son placed the stone and inscribed it in memory of my father, or in



Figure 1: Map of Japan, showing location of districts and prefectures. Most Rock Springs area Japanese tombstones show people came from the shaded prefectures.



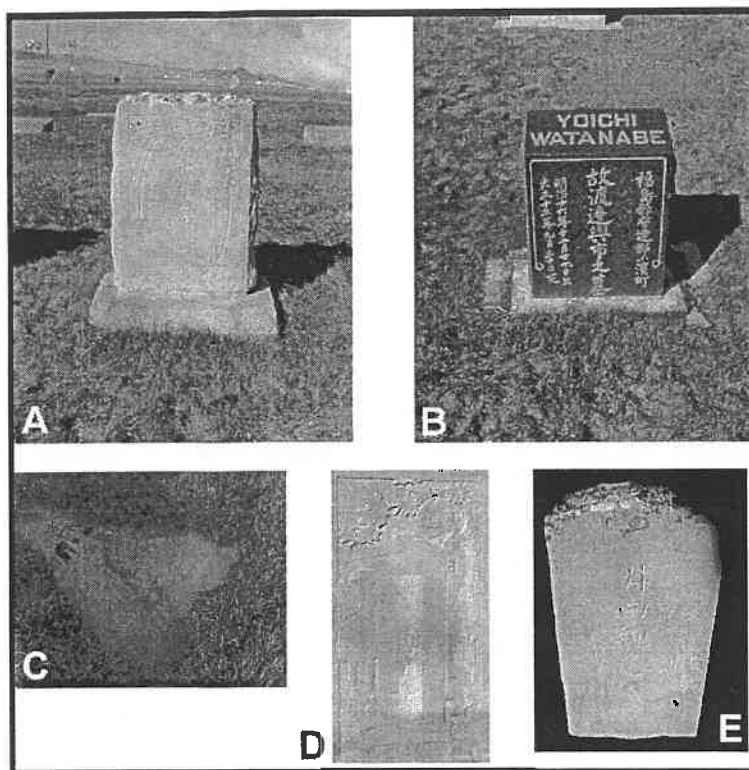


Figure 2: Examples of Japanese tombstones in Diamondville Cemetery. A: Carved sandstone with family name "Imaichi." B: Yoichi Watanabe is from Fukushima Prefecture (province), Adaci (county), Kokama (town). The grave stone reads "[This is] the late Yochi Watanabe's grave." C: Flat triangular stone from Kemmerer Cemetery. Not enough characters preserved to translate accurately, but shows a distinctive style. D: From Diamondville cemetery, carved into sandstone. Archangel Michael and a cherubim on the side of the stone, with a heavenly name (see text) following Buddhist tradition. Great example of synchronization of two faiths, Buddhism and Christianity. E: Another sandstone tombstone from Diamondville.

other words, erected to honor my father. What is intriguing is tombstones commonly provide information about persons.

In Raymond, Alberta, the heavenly name inscribed on tombstones provided critical data about both the person and their homeland. Generally, in traditional Japanese society, there was a belief held by *Jodo-Shinshu* Buddhists a person receives another name after they die (giving heavenly names was common among Buddhists and not just the *Jodo Shinshu* Buddhists.). In the case of tombstones, this name is often on the backside of the tablet or stone, but it can also be placed on the front of the marker. The heavenly name, in Japanese, indicates several things. For women the name *skaku-ni* precedes the name and for men it is *Skaku*. In the heavenly name then, the person's life and future are summarized in a phrase or single word such as: "a respectable person." This simple phrase implies much, such as they accomplished much in life and should be remembered and revered in this world and the next.

At Raymond, the heavenly name clearly indicated a person played a significant role in the local Japanese community. Of the thirteen tombstones found at Raymond, five stood above women's graves. Hisa Fujita provides a good example of one woman's life briefly summarized on stone. Hisa's home province and village are unknown. Born in 1883, she married Shintaro Fujita, a man four years her junior. She lived for 80 years. She was not alone in

Raymond. Hutsuna, Toubou, and Sono lived along with their families in Raymond. Shiymto Toubou came to Alberta from Kagoshima province. Toubou died at 35, and her grieving husband erected a memorial to this young woman from Manjyo city, Kawbe district, Kagoshima province. It happens, based on the women's heavenly names at Raymond, upon death the Japanese women were accorded not only respect but reverence.

Alberta, like Kagoshima, was an agricultural province, from farming rice and wheat required different techniques. Alberta's environment dictated farming practice, one much different from Japan, but very similar to those in eastern Wyoming. Western Wyoming was a completely different story.

In western Wyoming Japanese immigrants were actively recruited to work in the coal mines. Beginning in 1899, coal mines and railroads, both owned by Union Pacific, hired men from the Land of the Rising Sun. At Rock Springs, Wyoming, the largest Japanese population lived. Here the tombstones indicate Hiroshima provided the largest number of immigrants. The 74 tombstones, of which 53 indicated home of origin, point to 32 percent of the population coming from Hiroshima, 22 percent from Fukuoka, 11 percent from Okayama, nearly ten percent from Kumamoto, four percent from Yamaguchi and Oita, and two percent from Kanagawa, Shiga, Ehime, Wakayama, Niigata, Kochi, and Miyagi.

Many miners and railroad workers would choose to bring their wives at a later time. Others had relative arranged marriages to women in their home villages. The mail order brides, as Americans called them, arrived to find a cold winter desert far different from their homes. Edith Sunada relates her mother told her she cried for days wanting to see her family and trees. Indeed, the barren landscape, the distinct mining society, combined with the language barriers, led to disarming cultural shock affecting many for years. Yet, many of these women and men shared something in common with other families in town, children. Unfortunately, in cemeteries the contradiction of life and death collide.

Women and children's lives are inextricably linked and on the tombstones of Rock Springs a very intriguing insight into the life of Japanese immigrant women's position comes to light. Like other groups, infant mortality was high among Japanese children in the early part of the twentieth century. Like adults, children's names and times of death, and at times place of birth, and at times a heavenly name appears. The reference to place of birth, however, presents problems. More often than not, the place of birth is listed as the parent's home province, not Rock Springs. In addition, the child's relationship to the father is given, such as the case of Wataru Kaiguki who is listed as the "eldest daughter of Wataru Kaigaki." In the case of the second son of Nikichi Hamada Meiji, who died at birth, the heavenly name implies a most revered status awaits him in the next life (here the term "*Shaka-En (not in) Shinji*" is the heavenly name. *En* implies a revered position). None of the tombs in Rock Springs list who the infant's mother was. The same is the case of Superior and Hanna, other coal towns in Wyoming.

Superior, like Hanna, Wyoming, and Raymond, consists of a tightly clustered series of graves in the southeastern corner of the cemetery. There is one child's grave at this site. The tombstone reads as "Eldest daughter 1913-1916." Then on the back a term one translator renders as "Praise to Buddha" appears. This, and the grave of "Rizzo" are the best preserved in the cemetery. Wooden markers and broken grave stones are present, but the child burial and Rizzo's grave with two offering bowls in front of the marker represent two distinct features in the Superior Cemetery. Indeed, offering bowls are not uncommon, but in this case it is known on some occasions the local Japanese community will leave flowers, rice, or other gifts in the bowls. Edith Sunada notes her family, until they grew too old, would leave things at the cemetery for the deceased graves who no longer had relatives in the region. This practice is confirmed in an interview with Ms. Agnes Tabachi, but there is some ambiguity into the Japanese communities' present obligation to the *Hakas*, or graves.

Outside of Superior and at the nearby town of Gunn, three rock art panels exhibit elements worthy of consideration. The first is an art piece by Paul Horiuchi that reads "World watch my Future." The second is a grave memorial that reads "The tomb of Nakasaga Kenichi, March 25, 1922." This rock art panel notes Nakasaga died and on this rock this friend wants to memorialize his life. The last is distinctive in reading "Shozo Hura Ohashi-mura Mii gun Fukuoka" prefecture (*Mura* means village, and *gun* means county). Translators do not feel this is a grave marker, and like Paul Horiuchi's work, this is more an artistic expression or a message to readers that Shozo Hura visited the old town of Gunn between Superior and Rock Springs.

The Hanna cemetery, over a hundred miles east of Superior, marks a small Japanese community's efforts to remember those

who died far from home. This is a coal mining camp and 61 percent of the graves listing place of birth list Fukuoka. Here, like in Raymond, Rock Springs, and Superior, children's and mother's graves are noted in reference to husbands and fathers. They too appear to be from Fukuoka. Less is known about the Japanese women in Hanna than in Rock Springs and Superior, but it is known in one case a Japanese man named Okano moved to Rock Springs in part to get out of the coal mines and in part because his wife preferred the company of the Japanese community in Rock Springs. Many of the Japanese men whose names are inscribed on the Hanna tombstones died in the coal mines, and Okano told his son George he moved to avoid a similar fate.

In sum, it appears in Raymond, Hanna, Superior, and Rock Springs, the Japanese immigrants arrived from several different provinces with Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Kagoshima providing the greatest number of immigrants. In the smaller towns of Raymond, Gunn, and Hanna, the immigrants came primarily from two areas, but Rock Springs exhibits more diverse sources of origins. Nonetheless, Fukuoka and Hiroshima provide the primary source of immigration. Japanese women came from similar regions and almost always immigrated from the same provinces as their husbands.

The 74 tombstones recorded during this study, of which 60 indicated home of origin, point to 28 percent of the population coming from Hiroshima, 20 percent from Fukuoka, 10 percent from Okayama, 10 percent from Kumamoto, 3 percent from Yamaguchi and Oita, and 1.6 percent from Kanagawa, Shiga, Ehime, Wakayama, Niigata, Kochi, and Miyagi (Table 2).

The Japanese children and women's gravestones did point to what was believed a better world beyond this world according to all Buddhist beliefs. They also pointed back to a life where things were measured in relation to their families. To say the gravestones illustrate the traditional patriarchal nature of Japanese society is true. Yet their graves do point the way to asking more probing questions about Japanese women's lives in Wyoming. Edith Sunada's life points out changes were in the future.

Edith Sunada cares about her Japanese heritage. A proud survivor of the prejudice she witnessed against her family in Rock Springs during World War II, she still cares about the condition of the gravestones in the cemetery. But she departed from the tradition of marrying who her father selected for her. Possibly remembering her mother's stories of crying for days when her father brought an older man to her, she refused to marry him. Telling her mother and father he was "old and ugly," she refused to marry him. Embarrassed, her father said "then you'll never marry." Edith's response was "fine," and she never did marry, not because of what her father said but because she could choose, Edith refused to marry. Edith tells it this way, "and you know I'm very happy being single."

What needs to be looked at in detail is the lives of women like Edith Sunada and the material culture of Japanese women inside their homes and communities. The tombstones discussed here reflect tradition and change, what is important is what the gravestones state. "This is a memorial to their life." Studying the *Hakaishis* or tombstones is not intended as an effort to focus on death but instead on lives and communities. The gravestones mark both continuity and change, not only in an individual's life but to the community as a whole.

TABLE 1: Translated tombstones from Rock Springs; Principle Translator Hidemichi Fujisawa

NO. NAME	GENDER	DATE OF BIRTH	DATE OF DEATH	HAKA (2) KO (3) DEATH	HOME PROVINCE OR PREFECTURE (KEN)	HEAVENLY NAME (4)	GRAVE STONE LOCATION
1 Sueo Ota <sup>A</sup> (see ft. 4)	m	1928	Mar 22, 1929 <sup>1</sup>	x <sup>2</sup>		note <sup>3</sup>	Rock Springs
2 Suketchi Uetaki	m			x <sup>B</sup>			Rock Springs
3 <sup>4</sup> Eikichi Hashimoto	m			x			Rock Springs
4 Taichi [Daiwa] Yamoto <sup>5</sup>	m			x			Rock Springs <sup>6</sup>
5 Kuniji Takata	m		Oct 17, 1906 <sup>c</sup>	x			Rock Springs
6 Shigeru <sup>7</sup> Tanaka	m			x			Rock Springs
7 Shigeru <sup>8</sup> Tanaka	m	Jan. 1921	Jan 1921 <sup>10</sup>	x			Rock Springs
8 Momoko Tanaka <sup>9</sup> (8)	f	Jan 15, 1927	Apr. 15, 1927	x			Rock Springs
8 Shintaro Miyake (7)	m	1873	Dec 2, 1900	x	Okada-mura, Kibi-gun, Okayama Prefecture		Rock Springs
8 Yoshio <sup>11</sup> Fukuda	m	June 22, 1928	June 24, 1928	x			Rock Springs
9 Eiji Yoneda	m	1878	died at 64	x	Fukuoka, Yatsuda-mura, Chikujō-gun	Shaku-Ryuei	Rock Springs
10 Martha J. Yoneda	f	Dec. 22, 1882 <sup>12</sup>	Feb 12, 1941	x	Fukuoka		Rock Springs
10 Haruko <sup>13</sup> Ota	f	Mar. 7, 1925	Mar 10, 1925	x			Rock Springs
11 Shinyu [Gunji] Kato	m	1881	Nov 7, 1928	x	Wakuya-mura, Toda-gun, Miyagi Prefecture		Rock Springs
12 Eiko Kamigaki <sup>14</sup>	f	1935	1936	x <sup>15</sup>			Rock Springs
13 Komoto Gunichi	m	Aug. 25, 1889	Apr 13, 1970			Shaku-Seijo	Rock Springs
14 Ito Komoto [wife]	f	Jan. 2, 1895	Apr 18, 1984			Shaku ni-Myoju	Rock Springs
14 Takeo Kimura <sup>16</sup>	m	1907	Oct 3, 1908	x	Ichikanda, Kaidaiichi, Aki, Hiroshima		Rock Springs
15 Masao <sup>17</sup> Kimura	m	1908	Nov 30, 1909	x	Ichikanda, Kaidaiichi, Aki, Hiroshima		Rock Springs
15 Akiko Hattori (woman)	f	Nov. 23, 1928	Oct. 9, 1936	x			Rock Springs
16 K. . . H. . . Han <sup>18</sup>		1882	Dec 10, 1928	x	Kaijo-gun, Chosen (Japanese way of reading) (Kaesong Korea)		Rock Springs
17 [Moichi] Nakasako	m	1888	Jan 25, 1925		Oya-mura, Aki-gun, Hiroshima Prefecture	Shaku-Zenkai	Rock Springs
18 [Ugenji] Aga	m	38 years old	Nov. 18, 1918;		Gojo-mura, Akaiwa-gun, Okayama Prefecture	note <sup>19</sup>	Rock Springs
19 Unknown						Tokuseim-	
20 Suekichi Uetaki	m	1867	Nov.30,1907	x	Jin-ya, Kitano-mura, Mii-gun, Fukuoka Prefecture <sup>20</sup>	Zuihogisei-koji	Rock Springs
21 Zengaro Kadota	m	Mar. 19, 1876	Mar 27, 1907	x			Rock Springs
22 Hashimoto Eikichi				x			Rock Springs
23 Hashimoto <sup>3</sup> First name illegible				x			Rock Springs
24 Taichi Yamato (or Daiwa) <sup>22</sup>	m	Oct. 17, 1906	Jul 15, 1908	x	Shimane		Rock Springs
25 Kuniji Takada	m	1880	Oct 12, 1900		Kiyone-son-[mura], Tsukubo-gun Okayama Prefecture		Rock Springs
26 Kobayashi S.I. Yoemon <sup>23</sup>	m	1880	Dec 18, 1909	x	Moroke, Morata-cho, Mitsugi-gun, Hiroshima, prefecture	Shakumyo-koji	Rock Springs
27 Majiro Tajiri	m	1867	Jul 14, 1919		Yoshino-mura, Hontaku-gun, Kumamoto Prefecture	"Shaku-Ryuju-shinshi"	Rock Springs



60	Shoju Kitano	m	1874	June 28, 1911 <sup>39</sup>	x	Idera, Rokka-mura, Kami-mashiki-gun, Kumamoto Prefecture <sup>41</sup>	Rock Springs
61	Keizo Fukawa <sup>42</sup>	m	1874	Feb 18, 1901	x	Sakata, Ashigarakami, Kanagawa, Prefecture	Tenkaijukoizen-Koji
62	Sumi Hirata <sup>43</sup>	f	1874	Oct 2, 1918	x	Takada, Hiroshima	Rock Springs
63	Tomokichi Ueno	m	Apr 6, 1878	Feb 25, 1902	x		Rock Springs
64	Matsuoka Hyakutaro	m	1886	May 10, 1912	x	Kochi	Rock Springs
	unknown					Takada, Hiroshima	
65	Wakamatsu Kanada	m	1868	Jul 12, 1921	x	Saezaki, Toyota, Hiroshima	Rock Springs
66	Hideko Shirashi <sup>44</sup>	f		Feb 2, 1918		Fukuoka Prefecture	Rock Springs
67	Toshimi Yamawaki	m		Jul 12, 1923		Asafukagawa, Hiroshima	Rock Springs
68	Hattori Nobuko and Katsuyo	f					Rock Springs
	Nobuko (these are sisters)	f	1924	Oct 9, 1924	x		
	Katsuyo Hattori	f	1926	Mar 2, 1926	x		
69	Mosuke Hirahara	m	1879	Jul 30, 1919	x	Hiroshima	Rock Springs
70	Einosuke Kobayashi	m	1883	Oct 15, 1922	x	Hokotwa, Kaji-mura, Kitakambara-gun, Niigata Prefecture	Rock Springs
71	Yoshie Fukumori <sup>45</sup>	f	1920	Apr 24, 1921 <sup>46</sup>	x	Kawashita, Iwakuni, Yamaguchi Prefecture	Rock Springs
72	Komoto Yukino <sup>47</sup>	f	1896	Apr 17, 1923	x	Takasho Hiroshima	Rock Springs
						Fujiya, Kitano-mura, Mii-gun, Fukuoka Prefecture	Shaku Myoko Shimmyo
73	Juutarō [also spelled Shigetaro] Matsukuma <sup>48</sup>	m	1870	July 5, 1919			Rock Springs
74	Masako Takeda <sup>49</sup>	f		Oct [9], 1921	x	Hiroshima	Rock Springs

TABLE 2: Summary of home perfectuaries from Rock Springs Cemetary

<b>PREFECTURE OKAYAMA</b>	<b>HIROSHIMA</b>	<b>FUKUOKA</b>	<b>OKAYAMA</b>	<b>MIYAGI</b>	<b>KOCHI</b>	<b>NIIGATA</b>
2 (3.0%)	17 (28%)	12 (20%)	6 (10%)	1 (1.8%)	1 (1.9%)	1 (1.9%)
<b>PREFECTURE YAMAGUCHI</b>	<b>KANAGAWA</b>	<b>SHIGA</b>	<b>KUMAMOTO</b>	<b>EHIME</b>	<b>WAKAYAMA</b>	<b>OITA</b>
2 (3.0%)	1 (1.6%)	1 (1.6%)	6 (10%)	1 (1.6%)	1 (1.6%)	2 (3.0%)
<b>PREFECTURE KAGOSHIMA</b>	<b>NIIGATA</b>	<b>KAIJO-GAW</b>	<b>KOCHI</b>	<b>SHIMANE</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
2 (3.0%)	1 (1.6%)	1 (1.6%)	1 (1.6%)	1 (1.6%)	60 (99.5%)	60 (99.5%)

TABLE 3: Translated tombstones from Raymond, Wyoming; Principle Translator Hidemichi Fujisawa

NAME *	DATE OF BIRTH	DATE OF DEATH	HAKA(2)	KO(3)	HOME PROVINCE OR PREFECTURE (KEN)	HEAVENLY NAME(4)	TOMBSTONE LOCATION
Yac Maruyama <sup>60</sup>		Nov 14, 1940					Raymond
Shintaro <sup>61</sup> Fujita	1887 <sup>62</sup>	Apr 21, 1965				<i>Shaku</i> Tsutatsu	Raymond
Hisa Fujita "Shintaro's wife"	1883 <sup>63</sup>	Apr 27, 1963				<i>Shaku-ni</i> Jakunin	Raymond
						<i>Shaku</i> Chishun <sup>64</sup>	Raymond
George Shimbashi <sup>66</sup>	Feb 27, 1920	Jul 27, 1939			Kagoshima <sup>65</sup>	<i>Shaku</i> Sokusho	Raymond
	Jul 2, 1892	Aug <sup>67</sup> 15, 1927		x		Fhime <sup>68</sup>	Raymond
Hatsuna Matsuyama	1907 <sup>69</sup>	Jan 15, 1928		x	This may be the tomb of "the unknown persons"	<i>Shaku-ni</i> Gyouzen Shin-nyo	Raymond
						Shaku Myoushin	Raymond
Nishimanazuru (female)	Dec 30	Jan 3		x	She lived "five days."	Kimiko	Raymond
"the wife of Shotchi Toubou"		May 5, 1937 <sup>60</sup>				<i>Shaku</i> -Kouzon	Raymond
Sono <sup>62</sup> Tanaka	1898	Note <sup>61</sup> Jul 20, 1964			Kagoshima	" <i>Shaku-ni</i> Douken"	Raymond

\* Principle Translator Hidemichi Fujisawa

TABLE 4: Translated tombstones from Superior, Wyoming; Principle Translator Hidemichi Fujisawa

NAME	DATE OF BIRTH	DATE OF DEATH	HAKA(2)	KO(3)	HOME PROVINCE OR PREFECTURE (KEN)	HEAVENLY NAME(4)	TOMBSTONE LOCATION
Mr. Tajima's "Eldest daughter" <sup>63</sup>	1913	1916		x <sup>64</sup>	born in US.		Superior
"The tomb of <i>Kenichi Nakasako</i> " <sup>66</sup>		Mar 25, 1924 <sup>67</sup>		x <sup>68</sup>			Horse Thief Canyon <sup>69</sup>
"People of the world - watch my future" <sup>70</sup>					"Ohashi Mura [village] Mii gun [province or county] Fukuoka Ken [Prefecture]"		Horse Thief Canyon <sup>71</sup>
"Shozo <sup>72</sup> Hara"							Gunn <sup>73</sup>

CAPTION NOTE 1: The *Meiji* ruled from 1868-1912 (45 dynastic years), the *Taisho* 1912-1926 (15 dynastic years), the *Showa* 1926-1989 (64 dynastic years) and from 1989 to the present the *Heisei* reign.

CAPTION NOTE 2: *HaKa* means "grave" and this column will be blank if the letter *HaKa* does not appear on the tombstone.

CAPTION NOTE 3: *Ko* literally means "dead" or "late" and in English the term would most commonly be died. This column will be blank if *Ko* does not appear on the tombstone.

CAPTION NOTE 4: Generally, in traditional Japanese society, a person gets another name after they die. Usually this is on the backside of the tablet or stone. For men the name *Shaku* and for women the name *Shaku-ni* are attached to the posthumous names for the believers of *Jodo-Shimshu* (a sect of Buddhism). *Shaku-ni* and *Shaku* can also mean nun or priest. In the case of Shintaro and Hisa they may have been Christians.

FOOTNOTE 1: "Sueo Ota Son of Naboru Ota, he died when he was 16 years old, March 22, 1929." Primary translator for this work is Mr. Hidemichi Fujisawa. Other translators included Naomi Uchida and Yan Zhaoxiang. This tombstone reads: "died 1 years old" "born in 1928 or 1929." Ms Sunada's translator states the word "infant" is on the tomb.

FOOTNOTE 2: The x in the column signifies this word or *Haka* is on the tomb. *Ko* literally means "dead" or "the late" and in English the term would most commonly be died. *HaKa* means "grave" and the column entitled *HaKa* will be blank if *HaKa* does not appear on the tombstone. The column entitled *Ko* will be blank if *Ko* does not appear on the tombstone.

FOOTNOTE 3: Generally, in traditional Japanese society, a person gets another name after they die. Usually this is on the right side of the tablet or stone. For men the name *Shaku* and for women the name *Shaku-ni* are attached to the posthumous names for the believers of *Jodo-Shinshu* (a sect of Buddhism). *Shaku-ni* and *Shaku* can also mean nun or priest. In the case of Shintaro and Hisa they may have been Christians.

FOOTNOTE 4: Tombstones 3, 4, and 5 are identical to 23, 24, and 25 below. We are following our field numbers in this table.

FOOTNOTE 5: In 1986 Susan Sunada in her work "Japanese Buried in the Rock Springs Cemetery" (Logan, Utah: Personal Publication, March 1986), Ms on file Western Wyoming College, gives this name as Yamoto. Mr. Hidemichi Fujisawa initially translated this as Daiwa, but feels Ms Sunada's rendition of the name is more correct. Nonetheless Mr. Hidemichi Fujisawa contends that both Daiwa and Yomoto are possible, but Yomoto is more probable. Hereafter this Sunada's work is referred to as "Sunada's information" to reflect the translators views she used in preparing her work. If there is a conflicting date in the translation. Sunada's date is given in brackets.

FOOTNOTE 6: This is related to Rock Springs #25.

FOOTNOTE 7: "Sunada's information" has this as Shigeyuki Tanaka.

FOOTNOTE 8: More than likely this is related to tombstone No

FOOTNOTE 9: Two people are in this tomb. "Sunada's infor-

mation" states that this was the first son Momiko. Fujisawa renders the name Momoko. The tombstone has two names Shigeichi and Momiko according to "Sunada's information."

FOOTNOTE 10: This tombstone reads, "died at birth."

FOOTNOTE 11: There is a duplication in the field number here and this could refer to tombstone No. 2.

FOOTNOTE 12: "Sunada's information" puts this date at 1881.

FOOTNOTE 13: "Sunada's information" gives the first name.

FOOTNOTE 14: There is some conflicting translations associated with this tomb. "Sunada's information" notes that She was 9 months old when she died. Sunada's information seems to be the most accurate. Eiko, in "Sunada's information," is translated as Hideko.

FOOTNOTE 15: "The eldest daughter of Wataru Kamigaki, the tomb of Kamigaki, Eiko, Died March 2, Showa 11, when she died she was one year old.

FOOTNOTE 16: The fifth son of Matsujiro [Shoujiro] Kimura. Premature death on October 3, 1907.

FOOTNOTE 17: The fourth son of . . . Kimura. The kimura's may be cousins. Stillborn and died on November 30, 1908.

FOOTNOTE 18: This is a Japanese style tombstone with a Korean name on the gravestone.

FOOTNOTE 19: One translator wrote: "Aga's heavenly name is difficult to pronounce. I think he was rich or he did something respectable, because his name in heaven is very long and includes the word 'In.' 'In' is given only for 'the respectable people'" or when you contribute a lot of money to the temple.

FOOTNOTE 20: "Built by volunteers from the same province," i.e. Fukuoka, is inscribed on the tomb in Japanese.

FOOTNOTE 21: Hashimoto (maybe the same as above in the field identified as two separate tombs).

FOOTNOTE 22: Gotaro Ueda who built this tomb of Taichi Yamato (or same as Daiwa) was from the same prefecture, i.e. Shimane. This is the same or similar to Rock Springs 4.

FOOTNOTE 23: It states that he died at "Suitowata." This is a Japanese term for Sweetwater.

FOOTNOTE 24: Hiratsku Tam[n]ji was 29 when she died.

FOOTNOTE 25: *Machi* or *Muri* is close to meaning village.

FOOTNOTE 26: *Gun* does mean county.

FOOTNOTE 27: Another source says he was 38. Susan Sunada, "Japanese Buried in the Rock Springs Cemetery" (Logan, Utah: Personal Publication, March 1986)

FOOTNOTE 28: He died when he was 73, so he would have been one of the oldest men.

FOOTNOTE 29: Fujisawa contends these were twins that died at birth, with only one name given

FOOTNOTE 30: Toru and Susumu lie side by side and it states that: "Susumu is the second son of Kinzo Fujisaki and Toru the eldest."

FOOTNOTE 31: The numbering reflects in field numbers if a tomb was simply the front and back of the same grave, the numbering sequence was retained.

FOOTNOTE 32: "The tomb of the eldest daughter of Seigei, Gondo." She was "one year old" when she died. Susan Sunada, "Japanese Buried in the Rock Springs Cemetery" (Logan, Utah: Personal Publication, March 1986) states that she was two, but she could be one or younger in 'the western way of counting.'

FOOTNOTE 33: Susan Sunada, "Japanese Buried in the Rock

- Springs Cemetery" (Logan, Utah: Personal Publication, March 1986) states the date is 1913.
- FOOTNOTE 34: "The fourth son of Jinpei . . . Tadayoshi."
- FOOTNOTE 35: "The second daughter of Seigin Gonda."
- FOOTNOTE 36: "The second son of Nikichi Hamada."
- FOOTNOTE 37: Susan Sunada, "Japanese Buried in the Rock Springs Cemetery" (Logan, Utah: Personal Publication, March 1986).
- FOOTNOTE 38: This tomb has a lamb on it, but no other data was recorded.
- FOOTNOTE 39: Susan Sunada, "Japanese Buried in the Rock Springs Cemetery" (Logan, Utah: Personal Publication, March 1986).
- FOOTNOTE 40: Susan Sunada, "Japanese Buried in the Rock Springs Cemetery" (Logan, Utah: Personal Publication, March 1986).
- FOOTNOTE 41: "This tomb was built by people who came from **Kumamoto Prefecture**."
- FOOTNOTE 42: The tomb was "built by his eldest son Masao Fukawa,, and his second son, Moriyuki Fukawa, and Tota Nakamura."
- FOOTNOTE 43: This is a woman's name. "The tomb was built by Yoichi Hirata."
- FOOTNOTE 44: The tombstone reads: "The wife of Siraishi Isota."
- FOOTNOTE 45: " The second daughter of Morinosuke Fukumori."
- FOOTNOTE 46: According to Susan Sunada, "Japanese Buried in the Rock Springs Cemetery" (Logan, Utah: Personal Publication, March 1986), she was fourteen months old when she died.
- FOOTNOTE 47: The tomb reads: "The wife of Gunichi Komoto."
- FOOTNOTE 48: The tomb reads: "This head stone was built by Kisuke Hiratsuka, Totaro Tsuji, and Hyakichi [sic] Hasegawa.
- FOOTNOTE 49: The tomb reads:"the wife of Takeda. There should be a first name with this family name, but it is not known.
- FOOTNOTE 50: In Japanese only.
- FOOTNOTE 51: This tombstone is both in English and Japanese the posthumous name is in Japanese.
- FOOTNOTE 52: The tombstone says he is 78 years old at death.
- FOOTNOTE 53: The tombstone says she was 80 when she died. She was older than her husband.
- FOOTNOTE 54: Like other tombstones this grave maker has toppled. No grave stone was touched or moved, so in some cases translation was only possible for one side. This

- tombstone is entirely in Japanese and reads: "Respectable Priest *Shaku* Chishun."
- FOOTNOTE 55: He or she is from "[Tomari], *Nishiminamikata-mura* village, *Kawanabe-gum* county, *Kagoshima* Prefecture.
- FOOTNOTE 56: One translator feels that this may not be a Japanese name. The heavenly name, however, is in Japanese.
- FOOTNOTE 57: Literally this reads born July 2, 25<sup>th</sup> year of *Meiji* (1892), died 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Showa (1927) at 2:30 AM.
- FOOTNOTE 58: This reads: " *Syubei* district, *Hikawa* village, *Aichi* or *Ehime* prefecture."
- FOOTNOTE 59: The tombstone notes that when she died she was 21 years old. She died in the the third year of the *Showa* Dynasty.
- FOOTNOTE 60: He died May 5, *Showa* 12 (1937).
- FOOTNOTE 61: This tombstone is in Japanese and states that she was 36 years old when she died. She is from *Manjyo* City, *Kawanabe* district, *Kagoshima* prefecture.
- FOOTNOTE 62: This is always a woman's name.
- FOOTNOTE 63: This is a fairly gripping inscription, it reads: "Died on May 21rst, [the] Fifth Year of Taisho [1916], the eldest daughter of Mr. Tajima, died age three." On the back side of the stone it reads roughly "praise be to Buddha."
- FOOTNOTE 64: In Japanese only.
- FOOTNOTE 64: In Japanese and English.
- FOOTNOTE 65: *Kenichi* is the first name.
- FOOTNOTE 66: In this case the tombstone is a flat rock under an overhang and the carving gives the implication that the characters were carved as a memorial on March 25<sup>th</sup>.
- FOOTNOTE 67: In Japanese only.
- FOOTNOTE 68: This was carved by Yamawaki, Kenichi's friend.
- FOOTNOTE 69: In Japanese only.
- FOOTNOTE 70: This panel with two adult figures was made by Paul Horiuchi in the 1930's.
- FOOTNOTE 71: This is his first name.
- FOOTNOTE 72: In Japanese only.

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# THE HILIGHT PETROGLYPH BOULDER, HISTORIC PERIOD ROCK ART IN NORTHEASTERN WYOMING

by

Mavis Greer and John Greer

## ABSTRACT

A small petroglyph boulder is in the open prairie country of northeastern Wyoming. On the upper flat surface are incised dim lines appearing to interact with an alignment of three animal tracks. The rock is believed to relate to a Late Prehistoric or early Historic Period of Native American rock art in the Powder River Basin.

## INTRODUCTION

The Hilight Petroglyph Boulder (48CA3844) was recorded during a cultural survey for a coalbed methane expansion project in June 2001 (Greer and Greer 2001). The site is in the open rolling grassland plains in southern Campbell County, just east of the Hilight Gas Plant (Figure 1), an area not known for its rock art (Francis 1991:399). Scoria hills, some with a few huge concretions of exposed sandstone in crestral blowouts, form a distinctive zone just south of the boulder location. Tipi rings, lithic scatters, and various kinds of historic sites are common through the scoria hills, but no rock art sites are known anywhere within this extended zone. The nearest recorded rock art sites are the Daly Petroglyphs (48CA58), in a piney area northwest of Gillette, and two petroglyph sites in the pine-covered sandstone exposure zone in the common corner between Campbell and Niobrara counties, about 20-40 miles southeast of the Hilight boulder.

## SITE LOCATION, SETTING, AND DESCRIPTION

The small boulder is in a relatively featureless grassy area at the base of a low scoria hill and overlooks plowed fields and an open wide grassy basin to the north (Figure 2). No major drainages are in the area. Sandy soil has a minimal pebble gravel content of

sandstone and shale gravels, but with very little around the boulder itself. The surrounding area is covered mostly with grass and sod, with some prickly pear but essentially no sage immediately around the rock. The boulder is a large scoria chunk undoubtedly rolled down the hillside from the main scoria deposits to the southeast. It appears the rock was carved in-place at this location.

The small angular boulder is embedded in the sandy soil but appears to be approximately 25 cm thick, with the exposed surface 65 x 45 cm (or about 1-1/2 by 2 feet in surface area and a foot thick; Figure 3). The upper surface is fairly smooth and is mostly covered with a thin lichen layer. Petroglyphs appear on the upper surface only (Figures 4-6).

## PETROGLYPHS

Carved on the upper surface is an alignment of three double indentations appearing to represent three pairs of hoofprints, possibly deer or antelope. The small indentations are evenly paired and are gouged deeply into the scoria surface (Figures 4-6). The prints are evenly spaced across the boulder, and subsequent continued erosion has rounded the edges of the figures.

Several linear grooves are on the same surface and appear to be related to the tracks. The lower ends of the marks seem to converge upward toward a point from a fairly wide base, and additional marks have the same converging pattern toward the left-hand double indentation or track. The middle track also has some very faint converging lines leading up to it, and there is a suggestion the right-hand track also had the same kinds of lines leading up to it, although they are now mostly eroded and difficult to discern.

## DISCUSSION

The alignment of three pairs of animal tracks indicates this is

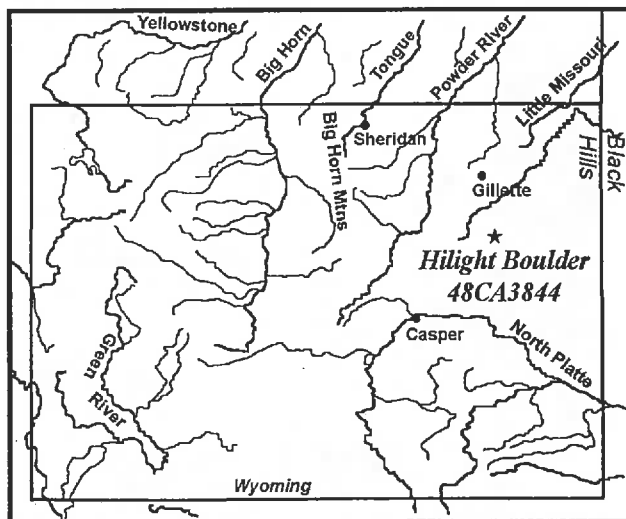


Figure 1. Location of the Hilight Petroglyph Boulder.

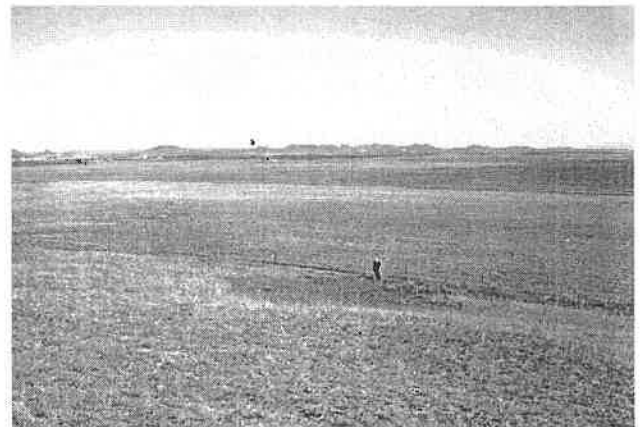


Figure 2. Boulder setting, looking northwest.



Figure 3. Boulder, looking northwest.

a prehistoric carved rock probably dating sometime from the Late Prehistoric through the early Historic Period. Alignments of hoofprints, especially in pairs, are common in Northern Plains rock art to portray an animal trail or route, especially in the later Biographic Tradition when story scenes were being portrayed (Keyser and Klassen 2001:251-252). Historic Period animal track alignments are most commonly bison or horse, and since these appear to represent deer or antelope, it is possible they were made somewhat earlier. Their form and location expand the data base for the Hoofprint Tradition of rock art, characterized by animal prints that dominate rock art at many sites from the Eastern Woodlands west through northern Wyoming and north into southern Alberta and Saskatchewan (Keyser and Klassen 2001:177-189). Hoofprint Tradition sites are generally thought to have functioned as fertility

or hunting magic locations, but neither explanation can be attributed definitely to the Hilgert Petroglyph Boulder.

It was at first thought the incised lines could be plow marks since the area just north of the rock has been plowed. However, patterns of these lines, and their apparent interaction with the tracks, suggests they are instead intentional additions to the surface. Additionally, there is no evidence the rock was moved



Figure 4. Boulder surface, looking north.



Figure 5. Boulder surface, looking west.

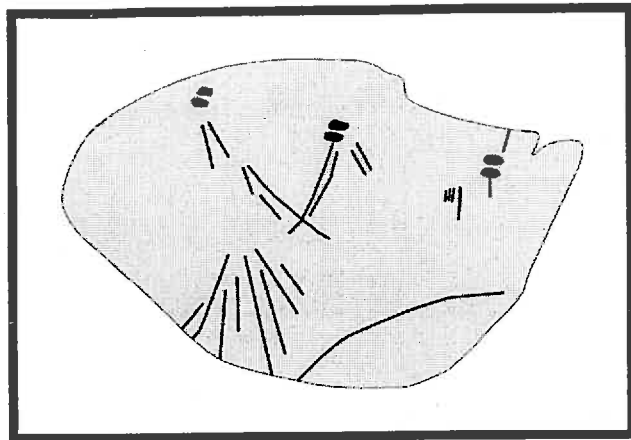


Figure 6. Field sketch of boulder surface.

from the adjacent field, and instead it appears to be in primary position, particularly relative to the petroglyphs on the upper flat surface.

The rock, although small, is unusually large for this area, and it is also relatively soft scoria material, thus facilitating the gouging and linear inscriptions. Scoria is common on hillsides and the hilltop to the south, but rocks of this size are rare here. It is therefore assumed the rock was specifically selected because of its pink color, its large size, and its fairly flat surface. There is no clear evidence the rock was shaped, although it could have been considered the profile of a buffalo head, with the face toward the west. We did not move the rock from its original embedded position to look for additional markings or shaping. Such movement would change its positional context and ruin any chance for research relative to possible shadow or sunlight interaction. Some previously recorded solar interactions, at other sites, are exceedingly minute and impossible to predict, such as tiny surface projections casting long shadows across or through inscribed figures.

Boulder rock art sites are not common in the Powder River Basin, and this site should be analyzed and compared with similar

features in surrounding regions of the Northern Plains including northeastern Montana, North and South Dakota, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. There is a good potential for buried cultural deposits or materials associated with and surrounding the boulder. Rock art boulders are known throughout the Northern Plains to be the locations of offerings by cultures throughout prehistory and history (Steinbring and Buchner 1997). Excavation of the site could perhaps reveal artifacts and features associated with ritual functions.

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**1000 West 19th Street**  
**Wheatland, WY 82201**

Non-Profit Org.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
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Laramie, WY 82070  
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