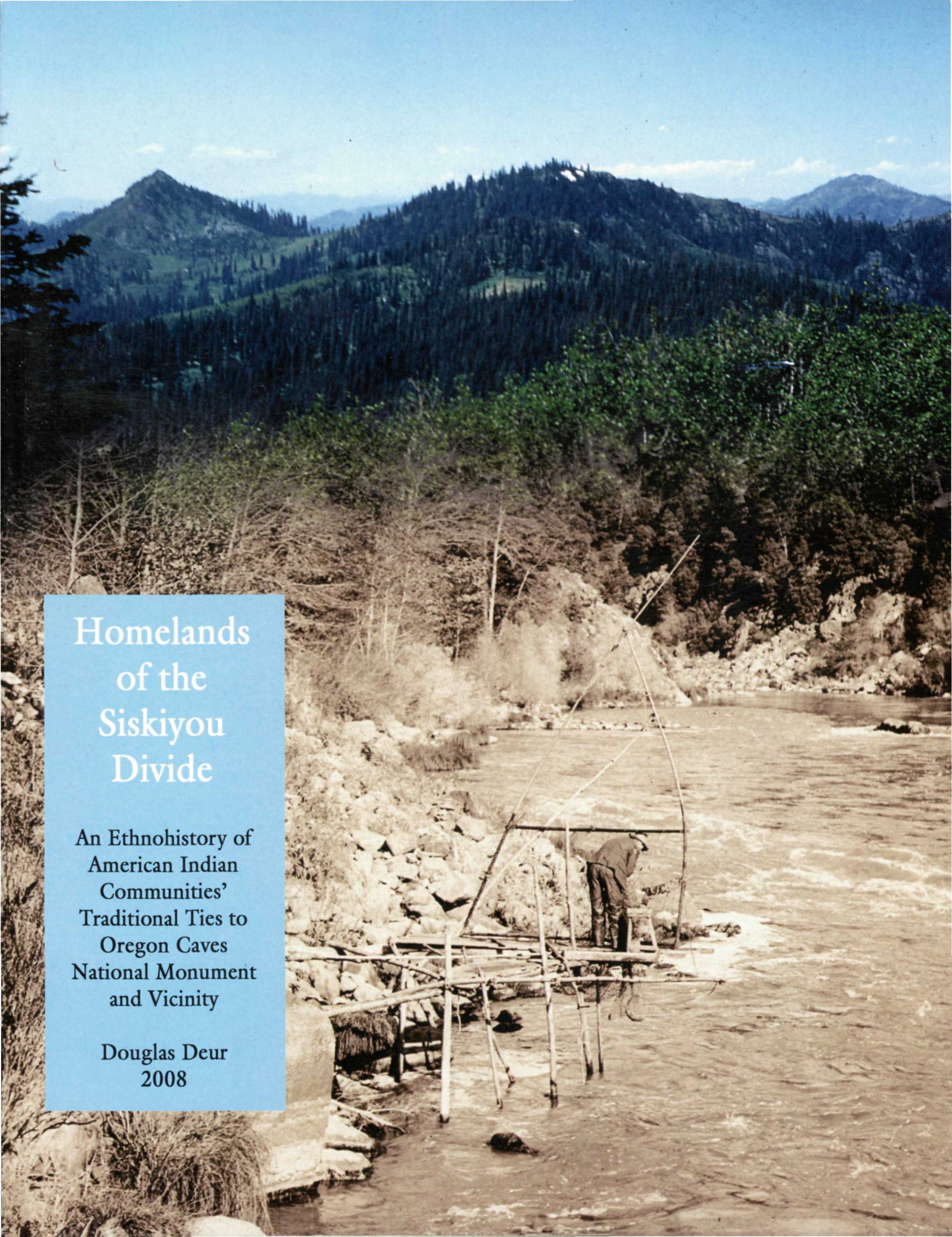


Homelands of the Siskiyou Divide

An Ethnohistory of American Indian Communities' Traditional Ties to Oregon Caves National Monument and Vicinity

Douglas Deur

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Frederick F. York, Managing Editor

This study is dedicated to Aggie Pilgrim and Ruben Sanders,
two elders who have contributed greatly to
our understanding of the Native American legacy
of southwestern Oregon.

Cover (top): The skyline of the Siskiyou Mountains,
in the vicinity of Oregon Caves National Monument. *National Park Service*
(bottom): Fishing from a scaffold structure in the Siskiyou region.
Siskiyou County Museum

Cover and graphic design by Mary Williams Hyde

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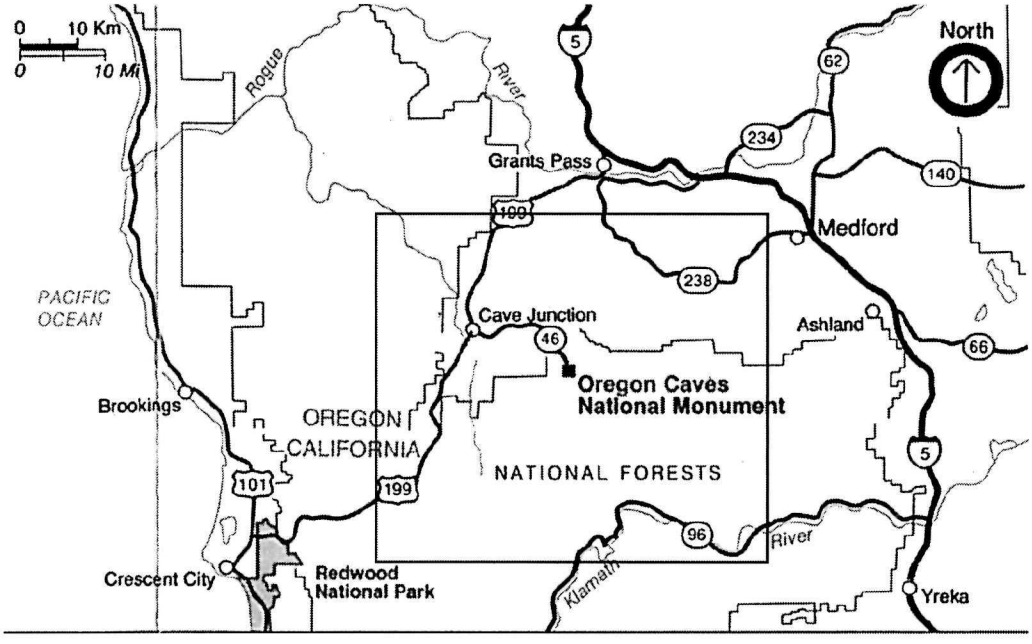
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Introduction

Oregon Caves National Monument (ORCA) represents a challenging environment for the investigation of American Indian history and culture. At first blush, the identification and documentation of park-associated populations seems simple. The Takelma and middle Rogue River Basin Athabaskans, the populations most commonly depicted as being associated with the Oregon Caves area, were decimated by the Rogue Indian Wars of the 1850s. Survivors of these communities were relocated to the Siletz and Grand Ronde Reservations in the decades that followed. Ethnographic fieldwork among descendents of these groups by Edward Sapir (1907b: 256), almost a century ago, led this prominent anthropologist to conclude that "they have entirely disappeared as a unity" in these two multi-tribal reservations, and had retained little knowledge of, or sense of attachment to, their traditional homeland in southwestern Oregon. To the extent that the descendents of these tribes participate in cultural and consultation activities in southwest Oregon, they have been represented by the executive and cultural resource staffs of the Siletz and Grand Ronde.

Yet even a cursory review of this region's history suggests a much more complex and interesting picture. Oregon Caves once sat at a cultural crossroads, in a mountainous border zone positioned between numerous ethnolinguistic groups, with homelands centered on both the Rogue and Klamath River Basins. Ethnographic sources indicate that the distinctive biota and landforms of the southwest Oregon highlands drew individuals, representing a number of historical American Indian populations, into the vicinity of Oregon Caves, for reasons both sacred and mundane. Today, the descendents of these populations reside – not only in the Siletz and Grand Ronde communities – but in a diverse range of American Indian populations, both recognized and unrecognized by the United States federal government. Moreover, in recent decades, a number of contemporary tribal members have sought to reassert their historical ties to their traditional lands as part of a larger process of cultural revival that now challenges Sapir's assertions made a century ago. The current research effort, then, has involved sorting out this rich and complex ethnohistorical record, from before the arrival of Euro-American explorers to the present day, in order to guide the National Park Service in future consultation and compliance efforts, as well as in the management and interpretation of park resources.

The current project represents, at its core, a National Park Service traditional affiliation study. The conventional goal of a traditional affiliation study is the documentation of American Indian populations who have demonstrable associations with a

National Park Service unit, as well as the identification of present-day descendents of these populations. Through the use of ethnohistorical methods, the NPS acquires information on past and present park-associated communities that will aid park units in achieving their mandates under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990. Under NAGPRA, the NPS and other federal land management agencies must inventory American Indian remains and associated funerary objects removed from their lands, as well as unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and other objects having enduring historical, religious, or cultural importance to contemporary American Indian populations (104 Stat. 3048, sec. 2).1

Historically, Oregon Caves has had few pressing compliance requirements relative to American Indian tribes. The Monument is simply so small, and so remote from historical American Indian population centers, that archaeological resources are scant and tribal communities have made no specific claims on resources within the park. Nonetheless, certain recent discoveries in the park clearly indicate a historical tribal presence in what is today Oregon Caves National Monument. For example, in 1997, park Resources Manager, John Roth, found a projectile point inside the park, in the vicinity of Sand Ridge. This point had been made from red chert, and two fragments of this point had been broken off prior to its discovery.

Likewise, a number of interviewees for the current project, while not able to recall specifics regarding Oregon Caves, indicated that the tribes of the area were aware of the existence of the caves due to their proximity to significant use areas in the vicinity of nearby Mount Elijah and Lake Mountain. One Karuk man noted:

"they passed the caves when elk hunting. They tracked elk and camped right there by the caves" (14)

Another interviewee spoke of the same area, on the west side of Mount Elijah and Lake Mountain:

"[Oregon] Caves, you know - the Indian people knew about it for hundreds of years, thousands of years before the white man came over here. Right above the caves there is a big plateau up there. And you find a lot of vision quest [sites] and mortar bowls there in the rocks. And that's not very far from Oregon Caves" (24).

The plateau "right above the caves," eastward and upslope from the Monument, was reportedly visited annually by people from the Illinois, Klamath, and probably the Applegate drainages, they suggest. A major campsite sat there, at the head of either Lake or Limestone Creek:

"Indians camped right above...there were mortar bowls where the Indians camped...up above where that cave entrance is that the miners' found. That isn't a half a mile from where the Caves are...They had to know it would be there...[the camp covers] a pretty big area. The campground area probably covered about five acres. Springs there, right above the caves... It would be walking distance from there" (24).



A view of Lake Mountain, immediately upslope from Oregon Caves. Native peoples ascended the long ridges of Lake Mountain to hunt and to participate in rituals. These treks frequently brought them into close proximity of Oregon Caves. Siskiyou National Forest.

The scarcity of archaeological materials in and around the caves is not entirely surprising. Not only is the area remote but, as shall be apparent in later sections of this document, traditional tribal uses of this high mountainous country tended to leave few archaeological traces. Moreover, if such materials were present in the Monument historically, it would be unlikely that they would persist into the present day. For decades prior to the formation of the modern National Monument and well into the mid-20th century, the floors of the caves were sometimes subject to unmonitored excavation, the use of explosives, and such disturbances as the intentional flooding of cave segments to "boost the rental of protective garments" (Wosky 1952). And, at the time of this writing, the caves have experienced over 130 years of regular recreational use, with episodes of vandalism and amateur collection of "curiosities" by visitors being documented prior to modern NPS management. In light of this historical span, it is clear that the National Park Service's concerted effort to identify and protect cultural resources within the Monument is a relatively recent development. In this light, it is perhaps remarkable that the Monument has recorded any archaeological discoveries within its small land base.

Despite the scarcity of sites or materials that might be regulated under NAGPRA, it is nonetheless in the best interest of Oregon Caves National Monument to complete a traditional affiliation study. Studies of this type have the potential to provide information that will aid the National Park Service in achieving goals that range well beyond NAGPRA compliance. As specified in the original scope of work, this study has maintained an expanded focus, seeking particular detail on the tribal history of the upper Illinois Valley, as well as other portions of the "Siskiyou region," including but not limited to the Applegate Valley, the middle Klamath River, and

intermediate mountain areas. With such a scope, this traditional affiliation study allows the NPS to identify modern populations that are historically tied to Monument, and to gain a glimpse of the knowledge and sentiments of these communities regarding this part of the Siskiyou region. Through this process, the National Park Service can encounter information and perspectives that may provide valuable guidance in the future management and interpretation of park lands and resources. This process also has revealed many items that will be of value in the public interpretation of park history. Moreover, through this study, the National Park Service has had the opportunity to document the presence of sites, resources, or activities on park lands that may be protected under the National Historic Preservation Act, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act and Executive Order 13007, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act, and other federal cultural resource laws and policies. Perhaps most importantly, through the traditional affiliation study, National Park Service staff might initiate a rapport with traditionally associated American Indian communities, fostering discussions regarding issues of mutual interest, which will endure long after the traditional affiliation study is complete. What follows is an ethnohistorical overview that has been designed to help achieve these multiple goals.

Methods

To achieve the multiple methods of this study, I conducted a literature review and a review of archival sources, as well as conducting a number of interviews with knowledgeable American Indian consultants. During this research, I have worked in direct consultation with NPS staff, including Dr. Frederick York, Regional Anthropologist in the Pacific West Regional Office, as well as NPS Historian, Steve Mark.

At the onset of the current study, I conducted a literature review of published materials addressing potentially park-associated tribes. This review involved a detailed overview of relevant ethnographic, archaeological, and historical sources. Specifically, this review involved the identification, documentation, and critical review of published references to traditional uses of, and beliefs and values regarding, Oregon Caves and adjacent or comparable landscape features among the American Indian communities of southwestern Oregon and northern California. Particular attention was directed toward the mountains immediately adjacent to Oregon Caves, such as Grayback Mountain and Mount Elijah, as well as the upper Illinois Valley, reflecting the interpretive mandates and goals of ORCA staff. In addition, I conducted a critical overview and assessment of geographical information regarding the tribes of southwest Oregon available in such sources as Gray (1987), Heizer and Hester (1970), Harrington (1926, 1932, 1933, 1940-42, 1981), and Drucker (1937). I also sought to identify, document, and critically review published references to the post-contact history of potentially park-associated tribes, including but not limited to their demographic history, involvement in the Rogue Indian War, migration, and incorporation into federally recognized and unrecognized American Indian populations. Finally, I sought to identify, document, and critically review published references to the contemporary identity and conditions of potentially park-associated tribes. Specifically, this review focused on those attributes of contemporary tribes that might prove relevant in the achievement of project goals, such as the contemporary political and administrative structures of these tribes, the geographical provenience of their membership, or their continued involvement in consultation and cultural activities in southwestern Oregon.

I also conducted a review of archival and other primary data, addressing the same general themes as those outlined above. This research was carried out within local and regional archival collections, including the materials of the Northwest Collection at the University of Washington, the Southern Oregon Historical

Society collections in Medford, the Oregon Historical Society archives in Portland, the Josephine County Historical Society in Grants Pass, Oregon, and the Oregon Caves National Monument Research Library. Potentially useful materials housed within national collections, such as the Smithsonian Institution, were consulted only through the use of microfilms and other remotely accessible media. I also consulted with Siskiyou and Rogue River National Forest cultural resource staff, including Cultural Resource Specialists, Janet Joyer and Jeff LaLande, to identify potentially relevant documentation of American Indian uses of, and consultations regarding, lands and resources on these adjacent lands.

Working alongside NPS staff, I engaged in initial consultation with potentially park-associated American Indian populations, including both federally recognized and federally unrecognized tribes. I contacted appropriate tribal representatives after tribes received original letters from the Monument regarding the project, in order to discuss the aims and scope of the current project. Through this process, I sought to identify the administrative structures of these groups, as well as the identity of key executive and cultural resources staff members, in order to guide future ORCA consultation efforts. In addition to contacting federally recognized tribes directly, this study involved efforts to contact local populations associated with these tribes, such as Takelma traditionalist Abigail Pilgrim, individuals involved with the American Indian Cultural Center in Selma and the American Indian Studies Program at Southern Oregon University.

After these initial communications, I had the opportunity to conduct interviews with certain knowledgeable tribal consultants. Knowledgeable individuals from park-associated tribal populations were identified in consultation with tribal representatives, NPS personnel, and local cultural and historical organizations. While the scope of interview research was quite limited under the original scope of work, this phase of the study arguably revealed some of the more interesting data contained within this report. Interviews allowed for the clarification of points that remain ambiguous within the written ethnohistorical record, and in some cases expanded considerably on the scant information on certain topics that is available in the written record. These interviews also allowed for the documentation of knowledge of, or concerns about, ORCA lands and resources among contemporary American Indian populations. Some 15 individuals provided specific information that is reflected in this report, while a number of others provided valuable guidance in the course of informal communications. The names of these individuals are provided in the "Sources" section at the end of this document. To protect the identity of interviewees, codes are used to represent each individual, though individuals are sometimes associated with specific quotations where appropriate. These codes are kept in the possession of the author and will be made available to the National Park Service. Interview content has been incorporated widely in the thematic overview of project findings that represents the bulk of this report.

Challenges to Ethnographic Documentation

It is clear that the Siskiyou Mountain region, in the vicinity of Oregon Caves, was an area of enduring occupation by American Indian peoples. Indeed, reviewing archaeological documentation for the upper reaches of the Applegate River basin, a few miles east of the Monument, Nicholls, Brauner, and Smith (1983) conclude that there is a clear 8,000 to 10,000 year chronology of human occupation in this area. Yet, there are considerable obstacles to the documentation of this long human history.

The pace and brutality of southwestern Oregon's 19th century history is especially problematic and continues to obscure our understanding of the human history of the region today. There were few written accounts of the region's tribal populations that preceded the violence of the 1850s and those that persist are at best cursory. As early as 1853, George Gibbs recorded basic ethnographic and linguistic information regarding the Klamath River tribes (e.g., Gibbs 1853a, 1853b). Yet even the earliest detailed accounts of area tribes were filtered through the lens of war, describing communities that were being pulled apart by violence, starvation, and geographical displacement. Formal ethnographic research, such as the ethnographic sketches of Owen Dorsey, did not begin until most survivors of these conflicts were residing at the distant Siletz and Grand Ronde Reservations 30 years after the Rogue War had concluded. The work of trained anthropologists such as Sapir and Dixon did not begin until the early 20th century, almost 50 years after the War's end. By the time these trained anthropologists made inquiries into the traditions of area tribes at the turn of the century, very few tribal members could personally remember a time preceding the conflicts, and most survivors lived in communities made up of individuals from diverse tribal backgrounds.

The implications of these disruptions on the current study are considerable. Some community groups appear to have become extinct by the late 19th century, as a result of disease and famine, integration into other tribal groups, the Rogue River War and other factors. Tribal elders speaking with Dorsey (1890: 236), for example, mentioned the " 'A'-a-ne'-tûn, an extinct people" of Athabaskan origin formerly living in southwestern Oregon, of which there were no survivors. Closer to the study area, some sources suggest that certain upper Illinois River villages had already disbanded prior to or at the onset of the Rogue War, possibly due to the combined effect of epidemics and inter-ethnic violence. Tribal consultant, Hoxie Simmons reported to anthropologist Melville Jacobs that:

"On the Illinois there was a village at the mouth and another three or four miles up the Illinois, way up the Illinois were two more villages which were deserted, the survivors joining in with the [Athabaskan-speaking] Galice people" (Jacobs n.d.).

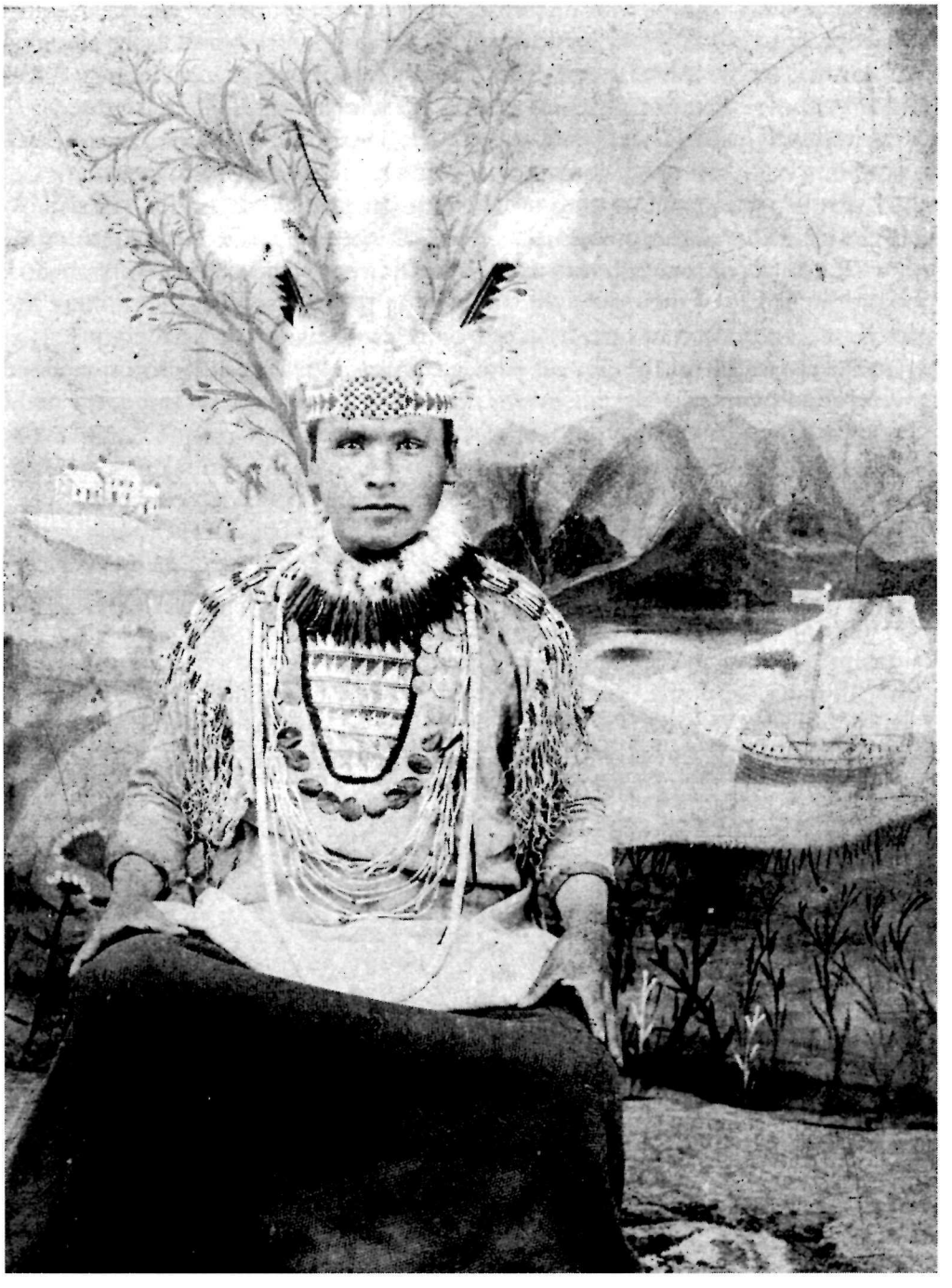
In light of the demographic contraction of this period, as well as the elapsed time before formal ethnographic research began, there were few elders with first-hand knowledge of the study area available to aid in anthropological research of the early 20th century. As a result, in a number of cases, anthropological documentation of a tribe's traditions within the study area is based on the accounts of only a handful of individuals. For example, Hoxie Simmons, mentioned above, was the principal source of information for all that has been documented of the language and culture of the Galice Creek and Applegate River Athabaskans. Simmons mother hailed from Galice Creek, while his stepfather Thomas Simmons was an Athabaskan from the Applegate River and his great-grandmother was from Agness, at the confluence of the Illinois and Rogue Rivers (Harrington 1981: 19, 42-45). As one of the only remaining elders with knowledge of the language and culture of these tribes to be found in the early 20th century, Simmons' information served as the basis for most depictions of these people, being the principal source of information for a succession of anthropologists, including Barnett, Jacobs, Harrington and probably Drucker. The same could be said of our knowledge of other area tribes. Dixon (1907) relied on one principal consultant, Sargent Sambo, a Rogue Basin Shasta, for much of what he recorded regarding Shasta cultural traditions. In his Takelma studies, Sapir (1907a, 1907b, 1909) relied almost exclusively on one woman, Gwisgwashan, or Frances Johnson, who he identified as a full-blood Takelma. In 1933, Drucker (1936: 294-96) relied primarily upon an Upper Takelma consultant, Molly Orton, when attempting to gather materials on Takelma culture; Harrington (1932, 1981) also relied upon the information of Molly Orton during his research of the same year.

The widespread reliance of anthropologists on individual consultants for the *post hoc* reconstruction of cultural traditions clearly limited the scope of material available on each tribe and likely "skews" our understanding of these people in myriad ways today. Recognizing this, Sapir (1907a) prefaced his writing on the "Religious Ideas of the Takelma Indians" by noting that he had limited data on the topic but that this was unavoidable in light of his reliance on a single principal interviewee, Frances Johnson:

> "It is, of course, very possible that the ceremonial life of the Takelmas was far richer than these few "blessings" and dances would indicate, and that Mrs. Johnson had either forgotten the existence of other ceremonies, or else, as a woman, was not in a position to speak of them" (Sapir 1907a: 30).

Among pre-contact tribes within the study area, perhaps only the Karuk persisted through the 19th century with sufficient numbers to avoid this dependence on a single interviewee, and the corpus of material on such topics as Karuk language, ceremonialism and plant use is thus comparatively detailed.

Many other obstacles to communication restricted anthropological understanding, perhaps more than was appreciated by Sapir and his contemporaries. Tribal interviewees,



Shasta man, Sargent Sambo, shown here as a young man, served as a source of ethnographic information to anthropologists for over a generation. The information that he provided to Roland Dixon is still widely considered to provide the definitive account of Shasta traditions. Siskiyou County Historical Society.

raised during or immediately after a period of violent conflict with non-Indians, were not always eager to trust non-Indians with cultural information, especially information that was perceived as sensitive. Moreover, communication between men and women was traditionally restricted on certain topics, while casual interactions were at best limited. Theodora Kroeber (1980: xxvi), for example, noted that Karuk prohibitions on everyday contact between white men and Indian women severely restricted the documentation of women's perspectives and roles in Karuk culture by professional anthropologists, who were largely male. To complicate matters, some (if not all) of the park-associated tribes formerly had prohibitions on mentioning the names of the dead.[2] In the wake of the Rogue War, mentioning the names of the recently dead to non-Indians would have been an especially grave offense and likely restricted the flow of detailed historical and cultural information to early anthropologists.

In addition, as will be apparent in the pages that follow, Indian Agents, missionaries, and a number of other individuals worked diligently to suppress, then eradicate, knowledge of traditional topics on reservations such as Siletz and Grand Ronde through the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. Those tribal members who were able to avoid relocation had different obstacles. As anti-Indian sentiment persisted in the wake of the Rogue War, both in the study area and the nation as a whole, many tribal members from communities of mixed ancestry "made a pact to not talk about Indian things" and often sought to "pass" as white or Latino if they could (21). This too served to restrict not only to transmission of information to anthropologists, but also the intergenerational transmission of knowledge within tribal



Phoebe Maddux and her daughter amidst a number of partially completed baskets. Maddux was a healer and served as an anthropological consultant to John Peabody Harrington in 1928, contributing significantly to the written record on the traditions of the Karuk and other area tribes. Siskiyou County Museum

communities regarding their own history and culture. Today, a number of tribal members with ties to the Siskiyou region know small pieces of their historical and cultural traditions, but the number of cultural specialists is understandably limited. For these reasons and others, authors such as Coquille elder and scholar George Wasson have referred to southwestern Oregon as an ethnographic "black hole," a poorly documented region sitting between the relatively well-documented tribal societies of California to the south and the Northwest Coast to the north. Add to this the considerable remoteness of Oregon Caves within the traditional territories of these tribes, and the "black hole" seems especially dark.

As an outcome of these factors, park interpretation at Oregon Caves often omits reference to tribal history its consideration of the region's past (Webber 1998). When the tribes are mentioned in interpretive media, details are typically and necessarily elusive. For example, Cantor (n.d.: 27) says of tribal occupation in the Monument:

"If the Indians of southwest Oregon knew of the Oregon Caves they left no evidence of the fact. Possibly its remote and rugged setting was too far away from their normal haunts near fertile valleys and salmon rich rivers. Or they may have known of the cave but superstitions forbade their entering it. To our knowledge, Elijah Davidson was the first person to penetrate its depths."

The idea that the tribes' history had little connection to Oregon Caves was given some superficial support by early cultural resource surveys at the Monument. Following an archaeological survey in and around Oregon Caves that yielded no new finds, Davis determined that the Oregon Caves area represented

"suboptimal habitat for aboriginal groups dependent upon hunting and gathering subsistence economies....the region was rarely visited, although of seasonal utility...The region is peripheral to the major population centers of the Takelma, even though it is reputedly a part of the territory claimed by them (Sapir 1907: 251-252; Berreman 1937). It is concluded that the region was rarely visited, although of seasonal utility" (Davis 1963: 1-3).

It may be important to note, though, that U.S. Forest Service Cultural Resource specialist, LaLande later countered Davis' findings, noting that while the study area lacks large concentrations of typical high-elevation resources such as huckleberries, camas, or cryptocrystalline rocks:

"It should be noted that casual reconnaissances of this same area (Grayback Ridge to Sucker Gap) by Forest Service personnel has revealed obsidian flake-scatters in a number of locations" (LaLande 1977: 8).

Even in the lowlands, where large settlements were well documented in 19th century writings, archaeological evidence has sometimes proved elusive. Wood structures quickly decomposed or were burned and cleared by early settlers. Indeed, tribal interviewees that I consulted for the current study noted that these structures were sometimes burned by their inhabitants at the time of removal in order to insure

"good luck" in the place to which they moved (07). More enduring artifacts, such as petroglyphs and pictographs were reportedly quite rare in the region aboriginally (Dixon 1907: 449). Settlers often established homesteads atop historical Indian villages or encampments in the region (Atwood 1978: 26). Ground disturbances from agriculture and hydraulic mining eliminated many opportunities for archaeological research in lower elevation portions of the Illinois and Applegate River basins.

Yet, the relative lack of anthropological information for this region served as a powerful incentive for some tribal members' participation in the current project. A number of individuals greeted the study with unexpected enthusiasm: "We want to know! We want to know what they did with those caves" (18). Interviewees that I consulted for the current study complained that, just as the Indians had been forced out of the region, the Indian history of the region had been effectively expunged from historical accounts of the area presented by local museums. Tribal members today seek to create a visible tribal presence in southern Oregon; in part, they seek to demonstrate that they have persisted, and that they still recall and practice some of their traditions despite considerable adversity. "We need that, so people will know. Do it for the old ones," some say, to honor those who kept these traditions alive (16). By participating in studies such as this one, in their view, tribal members may demonstrate their continued knowledge of, and attachments to southwestern Oregon, while also ensuring that these things persist among future generations:

> "I *want* to have my interview recorded...I want to interview because it is important that what I have been taught gets recorded and can be passed on" (03).

Still, interviewees that I consulted for the current study were often reluctant to provide detailed geographical information regarding specific sites, noting that such information, once codified in a report format, tends to diffuse to those who might do the site harm. "You mention where sites are to people, and pretty soon they're no longer sites" (05). Interviewees were also reluctant to discuss certain details regarding such sensitive topics as burials or ritual practices. These aspects of tribal oral tradition, it is hoped, will persist within the living communities of tribal members and do not require detailed recordation in this venue.

The Ethnohistorical Context of Oregon Caves: An Overview

Despite the scarcity of data on certain key anthropological themes, there have been an abundance of studies that have addressed general ethnographic patterns in the Siskiyou region. In fact, there are several overviews of regional tribal distribution in the Rogue River basin at the time of Euro-American contact. Efforts to establish tribal geographical distribution within the Rogue Basin has been a perennial topic of investigation, representing a significant focus of such early works as Dorsey (1890), Spier (1927), Drucker (1937), and Berreman (1937). Some more recent syntheses have revisited this theme, taking into account newly available archival materials in addressing the geographical distribution of tribal territories, including the works of Gray (1987), LaLande (1991), Pullen (1996) and others. These syntheses, coupled with ethnographic treatments of specific tribes or tribal groups, such as the published work of Sapir on the Takelma (1907a, 1907b, 1910) and Dixon (1907, 1910) on the Shasta, provide ample foundation for a general discussion of tribal lifeways and geographical distribution on the eve of Euro-American contact. For this reason, the current study does not seek to retrace these steps. Enough has been said of general patterns of tribal culture and geography that these themes need only be summarized here, along with encouragement to consult these existing sources when questions of tribal distribution arise. What sets this study apart is a thorough reexamination of the implications of existing published and archival materials specifically in reference to the study area, as well as the inclusion of original ethnographic interviews that fill in certain gaps in this ethnographic record.

To summarize the findings of these past studies, the conventional ethnographic literature suggests that Siskiyou divide upon which Oregon Caves sits - specifically, where the Applegate-Illinois divide (the Grayback Mountain massif) abuts the Siskiyou divide near Red Buttes - is an intersection between three or four principal tribal territories. Settlement areas were concentrated in the valleys below, while the uplands were seasonally visited multi-tribal use areas. The Applegate River drainage is widely depicted as the homeland of the Dakubetede or "Applegate Athabaskans." The Klamath River drainage upstream from the Indian Creek basin is conventionally designated as Shasta, and the Klamath River drainage from the Indian Creek basin westward is widely accepted as the homeland of the Karuk. The Illinois Valley is somewhat more contentious, with some sources (especially Gray 1986) depicting the entire Valley as Athabaskan, and other sources suggesting upper

Illinois was characterized by an Athabaskan lower reach and a Takelma zone from Deer Creek southward. These tribal territories will be discussed in considerably more detail in the pages that follow.

However, the discussion of tribal territories that follows must be prefaced by something akin to an extended disclaimer. Arguably, by attempting to delineate tribal territories, past authors have been posing the wrong sorts of questions. Indeed, the current study takes issue with the logic underlying some of these earlier studies, with their attention to discerning discrete and fixed boundaries between tribal territories in this region. The concept of sharply discernible "tribes" and "tribal territories" is more problematic than one might initially assume. Indeed, more than one consultant simply asserted that the issue of tribal distribution was unimportant: "They were all one people!" Several others elaborated on the same general point: "All of the tribes were related...they all interacted and had many places that we shared" (21).

Yet, some interviewees that I consulted for the current study disagreed with this perspective emphatically, claiming that all of the study area was uniformly and unambiguously "Shasta" or "Takelma," for example. Indeed, individuals with comparable knowledge of the tribes of the region make claims that the tribes were all unified or were entirely distinct. The source of the discrepancy rests in the fact that there are arguably no equivalent social structures within the modern, developed world and our modern vocabulary simply does not do the historical condition of Siskiyou region tribes justice.

Ethnographic sources generally agree that each village or small cluster of villages was politically autonomous. Thus, each village or small grouping of villages was effectively independent on matters of politics or trade, yet enmeshed in a complex web of kinship relationships that bound each community to the next. Thus, most sources agree that there was no overarching political authority uniting all peoples of the same ethnolinguistic group - there was not, for example, a unified governing body ruling the Takelma. "Bands" or "village groups," each with a principal winter village and claims to lands and resources within a loosely bounded territory, were the principal political unit traditionally. Different bands were unified by shared language, shared cultural traditions, kinship, and a host of social, economic, and ceremonial bonds. Often different bands appear to have cooperated in ceremonial and subsistence tasks, and there are some accounts suggesting that headmen could position their family in other villages so as to build powerful inter-village alliances. Nonetheless, all else being equal, each village group exercised autonomic control in matters of war, trade, and political alliances. As Kroeber (1925: 286) suggested of the Shasta:

"The people of each district were thrown by circumstances into closer internal association. Each group looked up to the richest man within its confines as the one most to be respected. There was little that could be called governmental unity within the groups."

Each band or village group was lead by a headman - Kroeber's "richest man" - who possessed suitable lineage, suitable wealth, and perhaps suitable achievements in other arenas to achieve a position of leadership. In 19th century accounts, these headmen were sometimes called the "Chief" or in other accounts by the Chinook Jargon term for chief, "Tyee" - in the study area, for example, there are many 19th century accounts of "Chief Limpy," a leader generally depicted as "Takelma" who was also known as "Limpy Tyee." These leaders nominally controlled affairs within the village as well as at a constellation of resource procurement sites surrounding the community. Much of the headman's duties centered on the equitable management and distribution of material goods, including food and manufactured items.[3] Thus, during the treaty negotiations, as well as during the Rogue Indian War of the mid-19th century, participating groups are identified rarely by their tribal designation (e.g., as "Takelma") but by the common name of their band's headman - "Sam's Band" of the Table Rock/ Sam's Valley area, "Limpy's Band" of Illinois Valley, "John's Band" of the Applegate Valley, "George's Band" and others were common usages in sources dating from this period. The social status of these male elites was reinforced and advertised through high-status marriages with multiple women, as well as the acquisition of prestigious trade and manufactured goods such as dentalium shells, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, canoes, and other items (Sapir 1907b: 266-67).

Conventionally designated "tribes" might therefore experience periods of ambivalence or even warfare between constituent villages. Therefore, to provide an example, at any one time a "Takelma" community could be at war or at peace with another Takelma village, just as they could with any other community in the region, "Shasta," "Athabaskan" or otherwise. The two combating villages would be termed "Takelma" principally on the basis of linguistic affiliation, and not because there was some overarching political authority that united the villages so named.[4] The term "Takelma" is more a linguistic term than a political one - it is most appropriately identified as a linguistic label, including all of those communities in which the principal language - specifically the principal language of the men - was Takelman. By referring to "Takelma" or "Shasta" or "Applegate Athabaskan" territory, then, most sources agree that scholars are noting the distribution of groupings of villages that speak the same language, rather than a territory unified under a singular political structure. Most of these groups would be more appropriately said to exist as a group of "bands" or geographically differentiated village groups administered by a headman, rather than formal "tribes" per se.[5]

To complicate this picture, these communities practiced a strict form of exogamy, whereby women from a community could only marry men from outside communities. As some interviewees for this study noted, simply marrying within your own village could be construed as "incest," and this was strictly forbidden:

"The one crime that could not be forgiven was incest...if you killed a person you could pay back his family and if they accepted you were forgiven. But if people committed incest they were killed - both the man and the woman...there were a lot of stories that reminded us of that rule" (03).[6]

Therefore, men and women sought marriage partners in other villages, and multi-village gatherings were a principal venue for meeting new marriage partners. Women moved to their husband's community after marriage and any children from the marriage effectively "belonged" to, and principally identified with, the husband's people.[7] These women commonly married across linguistic boundaries - between the groups of villages that we now term "Takelma," Applegate Athabaskans," "Shastas," and others. Clearly, in the study area, this contributed considerable ethnolinguistic diversity to individual villages or village groups. As Pullen noted, after completing a broad review of the ethnographic literature:

"The Illinois and Applegate people intermarried with all adjacent groups, including the Shasta Costa, Tolowa, Karok, Shasta, and Takelma" (Pullen 1996: IV-20).

Thus, most sources agree that a "Takelma" woman might find herself married into an Athabaskan village on the Applegate or lower Rogue River, for example, or in a Shasta or Karuk community on the Klamath River, perhaps just as easily as she would find herself married into a Takelma-speaking community. Therefore, prior to Euro-American contact, villages were presumably multi-lingual, with male kin speaking a single language as their primary language and their wives and mothers very commonly being native speakers of neighboring group's languages. These women's languages likely persisted in their use within certain social settings, such as in conversation between women hailing from the same linguistic areas. As well, these women's language skills were likely an asset when meeting with villagers from their home language group for social, ceremonial, and economic exchanges. This was perhaps one of several reasons why marriages from distant villages were considered an emblem, and perhaps a guarantor, of elevated status for men.

Thus, returning to the issue of "tribal territories," it appears that the language of the resident male kin group is the true focus of much of the considerable literature on differentiating intertribal boundaries. If the subject of tribal territorial boundaries has represented a cornerstone of anthropological assessments of this region, it is of unclear relevance to the understanding of many aspects of traditional culture. Indeed, speculation on the distribution of discrete territories has sometimes suggested a misunderstanding of traditional social structures and arguably has been an obstacle to the understanding of southwestern Oregon and northern California cultures. The subject of linguistic affiliation of the male kin group certainly has significant implications for understanding such themes as historical migrations and philology, but should rightfully represent a minor and specialized component of anthropological study in the region. Without an appreciation of the social and geographical realities of the traditional kinship structure, one cannot fully understand tradi-

tional uses of the uplands, let alone the complexities of 19th century tribal history. This point shall be revisited in the pages that follow.

The complex pattern emerging from these social patterns, with rigid exogamy but fluid inter-village alliances, complicates any simple claims regarding the relationships between tribes or tribal territorial claims. To cite one example from the study area, an entry in the notebooks of Melville Jacobs' asserts that his interviewees for this study indicated that the Applegate and Illinois Valley people frequently intermarried. However, these consultants also noted that the Applegate sometimes battled with the Illinois Valley people, and the Shasta were sometimes allies with the Applegates during conflicts with peoples living in the Illinois Valley. Illinois Valley captives were said to have been taken as slaves by the Applegate and/or Shasta during these conflicts. Illinois Valley women were taken captive were "made to do a lot of root digging" in addition to other subsistence tasks within Applegate and/or Shasta territory (Jacobs n.d.).

Therefore, speaking hypothetically, if an isolated burial was found today containing an adult woman's remains, and NAGPRA compliance was undertaken, it may well be inappropriate to interpret the individual as originally hailing from a particular linguistic group, such as "Applegate Athabaskan," "Shasta," or "Takelma" on the basis of geographical provenience alone, even if it is clear that the woman was likely "associated" with these populations. Perhaps it would be more fruitful to assess a burial's association with the geographical range of interest for particular villages and geographically-delimited treaty signatories, rather than attempting to associate the burial with a particular linguistic designation.

Certainly, NAGPRA compliance is simplified by another geographical delineation, more concrete than linguistic affiliation. Discrete boundaries are employed when assessing legal obligations to, and relationships with, modern tribes. Individual treaties, undertaken between U.S. negotiators and specific village headmen, identified specifically designated lands that were ceded - legally "given up" to the United States government - as part of the exchange of claims mediated through the treaty process. As will be discussed in subsequent sections of this document, the bands represented by these headmen were moved principally to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations, even if they had kin who escaped removal or were part of tribes south of the Oregon-California border such as the Klamath Basin Shasta and Karuk. Each of these tribes, Siletz and Grand Ronde, is represented by modern tribal governments that possess certain unique legal ties to the lands ceded in treaty. Oregon Caves sits within a much larger tract of ceded lands designated within an 1854 treaty with the "Chasta, Scoton and Grave Creek." The descendents of these communities are principally enrolled at Siletz and, to a lesser degree, Grand Ronde. Both modern tribes identify this area as part of their "ceded lands." This too, will be fully discussed in the pages that follow.

Placing Oregon Caves within the Context of Pre-Contact Tribal Territories

To be sure, conventional sources identify the Oregon Caves area as being in the hinterland of the "Takelma" people. Even a cursory review of the ethnographic record, however, suggests that the current study had to be conceptualized much more broadly than the relatively simple, though important, task of identifying contemporary descendents of the Takelma Indians. These same ethnographic accounts suggest that Oregon Caves once sat at a cultural crossroads, in an upland area that represented the indefinite territorial boundaries between diverse ethnolinguistic groups, including the Penutian-speaking Takelma, the Athabaskan-speaking "Applegate" and "Galice" Athabaskans along the Applegate River and middle and lower Rogue River, Hokan-speaking Karuks along the most proximate tributaries and middle reaches of the Klamath River, and Hokan-speaking Shastas along this river and in the headwaters of the Applegate Basin.

In addition to being a "border area," the dynamism of tribal populations, both before and after Euro-American contact, has contributed to considerable ambiguity in identifying populations traditionally associated with the mountains and valleys near Oregon Caves. Within the study area, anthropologists have reached a number of conclusions regarding the distribution of tribal territories and, though based on the same basic lines of evidence, their interpretations have not always been in agreement. Likewise, interviewees consulted for this study have understandings of the distribution of tribal territories that are often detailed, but not always in agreement.

If the distribution of tribal territories has been a recurring theme of investigation, it has also proven to be a point of continued ambiguity and debate. Synthesizing much of the available literature of his time, Spier (1927: 358) noted that

"Our knowledge of the ethnic geography of southern Oregon west of the Cascades is notoriously chaotic. This is due largely to the dislocation and rapid destruction of the Rogue River tribes in the wars of the 'fifties, but in part to the then prevalent habit of referring to these Indians indiscriminately as "Rogue Rivers." Add the absence of sharply defined physiographic provinces and the reason for confusion is obvious."

In a synthesis of considerable breadth undertaken 60 years later, Gray (1987) still referred to the study area as a "disputed area," where ethnographers have posited different tribal distributions that are mutually contradictory. Likewise, archaeologists such as Nichols, Brauner, and Smith (1983: 5-6) note the continuing ambiguity of tribal boundaries in the study area that complicate the analysis of archaeological sites.

Moreover, considerable evidence suggests that this geographical distribution of tribal territories was in flux prior to Euro-American contact, and was characterized by episodic migration and territorial reoccupation. Credible archaeological and lin-

guistic evidence indicates at least 8,000 years of Hokan (Shasta and Karuk) occupation on the middle Klamath River, but a comparatively recent arrival of Athabaskan-speaking populations. Corroborating this interpretation of archaeological and linguistic data, ethnolingustic "isolates" dot the map of known tribal distribution in southwestern Oregon, and tribal oral traditions indicate that migration, inter-tribal warfare, and intermarriage rearranged the geography of tribal land use considerably in the centuries preceding European contact.

Even if the tribal affiliation of certain core villages seemed apparent, the delineation of boundaries in sparsely inhabited hinterlands was especially vexing. Many borderlines were "fuzzy" and tribes had areas of overlapping territorial claims along their shared boundaries. After a thorough review of ethnographic and archaeological data pertaining to a site in Siskiyou County, California, Jensen and Farber (1982: 21-22) noted that winter settlements were concentrated in the riparian valleys, but

"probably the most important factor in producing contradictory tribal boundaries was that each of the Indian groups in northern California, especially those in high elevation areas, claimed a nuclear territory which constituted their national homeland and in which their permanent villages were located. These tribal homelands seemed to be universally recognized by the various Indian nations, and mainly consisted of river valleys, basins, and lake-shores. The intervening uplands were exploited only seasonally in the warmer months and almost invariably two or more groups exploited these same territories. It is these broad overlapping peripheral exploitation zones which are the cause of many discrepancies in the literature concerning tribal boundaries" (Jensen and Farber 1982: 22).

Jensen and Farber (1982: 22-23) go on to suggest that confusion regarding territorial claims in southwestern Oregon and northern California is a product of 'informant bias," anthropologists' tendency to draw sharp boundaries coinciding with natural features such as ridgelines, and historical changes in territorial boundaries due to Euro-American incursions prior to the onset of ethnographic research in the region.

The territorial ambiguity noted by Jensen and Farber is especially true of those upland sites in the region, including those in the Oregon Caves area, that possessed rich natural resources or areas of ceremonial significance. Though the basis of his claims remains ambiguous, Pullen (1996) reported that

"the Applegate Athapascans shared the use of the Dutchman Peak and Mt. Ashland area with the Hokan-speaking Shasta, the Wagner Butte area with the Takelma, and the Red Buttes with the Hokan-speaking Karok. The Illinois people likewise shared the Bolan Lake and Page Mountain area with the Karok and the Kalmiopsis Range with the Athapascan-speaking Tututni. The Grayback Mountain area was used by both the Illinois and Applegate" (Pullen 1996: IV-1-2).

Molly Orton, a Takelma speaker, informed John Peabody Harrington (1981: 647, 871) that a large mountain at the headwaters of Applegate Valley was used seasonally and that this was shared territory:

"they got Indian bullets [probably chert] and basketry grass [the bear grass, *Xerophyllum tenax*] at *'alke takh*. Everyone owned that mountain."[8]

Likewise, in the current study, tribal consultants noted that the vast mountainous areas at the boundaries between tribal territories commonly served as areas of overlapping territorial claims. Yet, some tribes of the area also traditionally had systems of site ownership that extended into the mountains, where families could hold usufruct rights on specific resource sites or ceremonial areas. Among the Karuk, this system is still recalled in some detail, with some families still claiming ownership rights of mountains within Karuk territory (14).[9] Still, to be sure, the notion of sharp territorial boundaries encompassing areas of exclusive tribal dominion should not be casually applied to this ethnographic context.

With remarkable consistency, the conventional ethnographic literature suggests that Oregon Caves sat within the high-elevation hinterland of the Takelma, a Penutian-speaking people who lived in largely riparian villages along the Illinois River, upper Rogue River, and Cow Creek (e.g. chapters in Suttles 1990). Some tribal interviewees for this study, most of them Siletz, concur with this interpretation, noting Takelma dominance coupled with a diversity of other tribal associations:

"The Grayback Mountain/Oregon Caves area is primarily Takelma country, but then bordering on it then is Shasta north, east and southeast and Applegate River Athabaskan northeast, probably some use even by the... Karuk people to the south" (07).

The term "Takelma" itself, deserves explanation here. Early accounts of the region suggest that the term Takelma was initiated as a geographical designation, applied freely to those people now widely known as Taelma, as well as other Athabaskan or Shastan peoples in the same general region. Later, the term took on significance in the ethnographic literature as an ethnographic and linguistic designation for speakers of dialects of a specific language, Takelman, who are reported to live on the upper Rogue River, including portions of the Bear Creek valley:

"The "Upper Rogue River Indians" call themselves Ta-kel'-ma, The meaning of which has not been learned. As they were first known to us as *Takilma*, the stock name is Takilman" (Dorsey 1890: 234).

Shortly after Dorsey's work, anthropologists inquired as to the meaning of the term and were told by tribal consultants that "The form "Takelma" of the word is practically identical with the native name of the tribe, *Da"gelma'n*, "Those Dwelling along the River" (Sapir 1922: 7). This translation - "people living by the river" - is provided by some interviewees for this study as well. Of the Takelma, Hodge (1910a: 673) notes that they were:

"A tribe which, together with the Upper Takelma (q. v.), or Lat'gawá, forms the Takilman linguistic family of Powell. They occupy the middle portion of the course of Rogue r. in s. w. Oregon from and perhaps including Illinois r. to about Table Rock, the northern tributaries of Rogue r. between these limits, and the upper course of Cow cr. Linguistically they are very sharply distinguished from their neighbors, their language showing little or no resemblance in even general morphologic and phonetic traits to either the Athapascan or the Klamath [Shasta and Karuk]; it was spoken in at least two



A family identified as "Takelma" in the late 19th century. Josephine County Historical Society

dialects. They seem to have been greatly reduced in numbers at the time of the Rogue River war; at the present day the few survivors, a half dozen or so, reside on the Siletz res., Oreg."

Contemporary members of the Shasta Tribe, Inc. suggest that the term "Dagélma" is specifically a Shasta term meaning "those dwelling by the river" and that the Takelma were just one of several geographically delimited subgroups of a fully integrated tribal entity that they term "Shasta." "Takelma," they suggest, is an ethnic identity that was institutionalized by anthropologists with a limited understanding of historical demographics, as is "Applegate Athabaskan." They have used genealogical information to argue that the middle and upper Rogue River Basins typically identified as "Takelma" were, in fact, Shasta territory at contact. The Shasta territory, by this interpretation, included the Applegate and upper Illinois drainages, and would extend east to the Cascade Range divide, north to the Wolf Creek area, and west to the Rogue River gorge downstream from Grant's Pass (15, 17, 11).[10] Interviewees from other tribes almost uniformly take issue with this characterization, though they do agree with much of the Shasta Nation's claims regarding strong kinship ties between the Shasta and the people of the lands typically identified as "Takelma" and "Applegate Athabaskan." [11] (Here too, efforts to define a singular tribal identity within discrete territories have arguably facilitated dissonant interpretations in light of the ethnographic realities of the region.) Clearly, the genealogical evidence amassed by the Shasta Nation does concur with some archival sources, supporting the contention that Klamath Basin Shastas were well integrated members of the communities within this portion of the Rogue

Basin, and individuals of Shasta ancestry sometimes held leadership positions in some of these communities during the contact period.

Likewise, conventional ethnographic sources commonly agree that there were two "islands" of Athabaskan speaking villages within the larger Takelma territory, living along Galice Creek and the Applegate River. The former group is sometimes called the "Taltushtuntede" and the latter group is sometimes called the "Dakubetede" in the ethnographic literature (Sapir 1907b: 253; Spier 1927: 361). The term Dakubetede literally meant "people of the mouth of the Applegate River" and appears to have originally been a reference to just the people in this locality (Jacobs n.d.; Dorsey 1890: 235). Hoxie Simmons reported to Melville Jacobs that the language of the Applegate, Galice and Illinois were similar and apparently Athabaskan, but "in the total dialect area of the Applegate, Galice and Illinois group, there were less than ten villages" (Jacobs n.d.). Reviewing the available data on these villages, Gray (1987: 25) concludes that

"the Applegate Athapascans appear to have occupied almost the entire course of the Applegate River from near its headwaters in the Siskiyou divide to its confluence with the Rogue River. There is some evidence of a Shasta presence along the Siskiyou divide, near the headwaters of the Applegate River."

A number of researchers have proposed that the Athabaskan peoples of the Applegate and portions of the Illinois Valley were recent arrivals, arriving en masse as part of an Athabaskan incursion:

"The environment of the Takelma, taken in connection with their language and the names of their villages...point to a remarkable condition of affairs. It is probably that the Takelma were once the occupants of a territory larger than that just described, and that later on there was an invasion by the Athapascans, who established villages on all sides of them, and imposed Athapascan names on the Takelma villages; though they never succeeded in forcing the Takelma to abandon their own language" (Dorsey 1890: 235).

On the basis of accounts from Siletz elders in 1884, Dorsey (1890: 237) concluded that it was likely the "Athapascans of Oregon were the dominant people" at the time of contact and had compressed the territories of adjacent and preexisting groups, including the Takelma. Sapir (1907a: 254) took issue with this claim, suggesting that Athabaskan had become increasingly dominant among the languages used at the Siletz Reservation at the time of Dorsey's work and that his consultants were using Athabaskan names to identify villages where the dominant language was Takelman. The appropriate outcome of this debate remains ambiguous to this day (Gray 1987). It is true, however, that different linguistic groups appear to have had different names for the same villages and other geographical features, a point that significantly complicates the differentiation of tribal territories or even the linguistic affiliation of individual villages.

More contentious than the "Takelma" designation for the upper Rogue and the "Applegate Athabaskan" designation for the Applegate Valley is the linguistic affiliation of the people once living in the Illinois Valley. Sapir (1907b), Berreman (1937) and others have depicted the Valley as being divided between a Penutian-speaking Takelma upland and Athabaskan lowland.

More recently Gray (1987) has depicted the entire Illinois Valley as being Athabaskan, a view that is gaining acceptance in some circles. In this revisionary study, Gray (1987: 21) noted "The area between the Applegate and Illinois valleys, south from the Rogue River to the Siskiyou divide, has been traditionally acknowledged as Lowland Takelma territory" in the accounts of Sapir (1907), Spier (1927) and Berreman (1937) and continues to be depicted in this manner within more recent delineations such as Suttles (1990). Gray contends that these accounts can all be traced back to errors of interpretation in an article by J. Owen Dorsey (1890). Whether Dorsey can be solely granted that responsibility is unclear, but Gray is correct in noting that there was a considerable Athabaskan presence in the upper and lower Illinois Valley. Here too, different linguistic groups appear to have used different names for the same villages, restricting the potential for linguistic analysis that might help clarify the otherwise ambiguous ethnographic record. On the basis of available archival and published sources by Harrington, Jacobs, Berreman, Goddard, and others, with their many contradictions on the point, Gray concludes that the entire Illinois Valley was Athabaskan, though with distinct Athabaskan populations living in the upper and lower valley and with heavy Takelma use of the upper basin:

> "taken in aggregate, the evidence weighs heavily in favor of an Athapascan nuclear and peripheral territory existing south of the Rogue River, from the Pacific Ocean to the eastern edge of the Applegate drainage...It is indeed possible that certain bands of Takelma may have seasonally exploited resources in portions of the area. However, I do not find it probable that this region was recognized by the Takelma, or their neighbors, as part of the Takelma nuclear homeland...Thus the Applegate and Galice Athapascans should no longer be viewed as isolated linguistic groups surrounded by the Takelma, but can, in fact, be seen as the easternmost extension of Athapascan speaking people whose combined territories extended from the Pacific Ocean to the upper Applegate River drainage" (Gray 1987: 24, 63)

Gray's review of the available archival literature was relatively thorough, and the current study does not provide much new data to bear on this particular point (even if sections that follow do provide new ethnographic documentation of specific communities in this valley). Most interviewees consulted for the current study take issue with Gray's interpretation on various grounds, suggesting that most of the consultants he cites were multi-lingual and that Gray's efforts to differentiate consultants and their homelands on the basis of linguistic differences is misguided. It is important to note that most interviewees that I consulted for the current study refer to Illinois Valley peoples by a geographic designation rather than a linguistic one. People from Illinois Valley are sometimes simply called "Illinois River people" or

alluded to in reference to their village - "Talsalsan" or "Deer Creek, for example, or "Salwaqa" - which, as suggested earlier in this document, may be a truer representation of the traditional social order than a linguistic designation. Several interviewees for this study used the term "Takelmas" to speak of the upper valley residents, but a majority of these individuals appeared to use this a general geographical term - effectively suggesting "people of the middle Rogue River" - to distinguish these people from the Klamath River peoples. Members of the Shasta Nation identified the residents of the Illinois Valley as Shasta, noting genealogical and social ties between documented residents of the upper Illinois and the Klamath River Shasta villages.

The distribution of Shasta territory is no less problematic. The Shasta's core territory was along the Klamath River and its tributaries, from the vicinity of the Klamath Canyon near Iron Gate and Happy Camp. Of the Shasta, Hodge (1910b: 673-74) reports:

"A group of small tribes or divisions forming the Shastan linguistic family of N. California and formerly extending into Oregon...There are fewer than a score now living, some on the Grand Ronde res. in Oregon, the others scattered about their former territory."

Hodge (1910b: 674) and others have noted that the Shasta were indiscriminately called "Rogue River" Indians in some early sources and not differentiated from other linguistic groups in this region.

Classic anthropological sources, such as Spier (1927: 364) and Kroeber (1925: 235) provide contradictory interpretations of the northern extent of Shasta territory. The former places the northern Shasta boundary south of the Siskiyou crest and the latter places it as far north as Mt. McLoughlin, near Crater Lake. Comparing their data, Berreman (1937:26) concludes:

"The northern extent of Shastan territory is a matter of uncertainty. It has sometimes been claimed to include considerable area on the Rogue River watershed, and at other times to extend only to the summit of the Siskiyous. Since the Shasta and Takelma were constantly at war, this may well have been disputed territory which changes hands at various times as the fortunes of war gave the raiding bands of one or the other the advantage."

Certainly, Shasta consultants of a century ago claimed to have territories in the Rogue Basin as far north as Mt. McLoughlin, a point contested by consultants from other area tribes. During Peter Skene Ogden's 1827 travels through the Rogue River basin, his Shasta guides indicated that their boundary with "the next tribe," was north of Ashland, a point tentatively confirmed by conflicts that broke out between tribal groups in the days that followed (Ogden 1961; LaLande 1987: 123).[12]

Less controversially, Shastas are described as having been intermittently present along the middle Rogue River during times of conflict or resource scarcity, a pattern that was well documented during the Rogue Indian Wars of the 1850s

(Kendall 1990; Silver 1978: 211-13; Heizer and Hester 1970; Beckham 1971). Perhaps for this reason, Harrington (1981: 395) mentions in his fieldnotes that "The Shasta Ind[ians] even came to Jacksonville or Ashland or Table Rock in the old times, at war time they came in." Indeed, Nichols, Brauner, and Smith (1983: 8) even speculate that the boundaries between Shasta, Takelma, and Dakubetede territories may have shifted seasonally.

In the current project, it is important to note that the Shasta claimed mountains along the Siskiyou crest at the head of the Applegate River, as well as south and west of the Applegate River (Dixon 1907: 386). Some non-Shasta consultants also noted that Deer Creek was also "claimed by the Shastas," reflecting in part the ties of Shasta headman Tyee John to this specific sub-basin of the Illinois Valley (07). Kroeber (1925: 185-86) accepted that " Shasta territory comprised a tract on the north side of the Siskiyous, in Oregon, on the affluents of Rogue River known as Stewart River and Little Butte Creek." The Shasta from this portion of Oregon were termed "Kaho'sadi" (Dixon 1907: 389; 1925: 185-86). A number of tribal interviewees that I consulted for the current study, even those who denied the Shasta Tribe's claims on the middle Rogue generally, also acknowledged Shasta ties to the upper Applegate and Illinois Valleys:

"People feel that the Shastas were residents here too - not just passing through for fleeting visits, but they came back year after year and had claims to certain places clear up here in the Illinois [and Applegate] Valley...they fished near Lithia Park and then brought it back south with them when they were done" (19).

The Shasta were divided into a number of independent "bands" or "geographical village groups." The groups included the "Rogue River Shasta Band," the "Klamath River Band," the "Scott Valley Band," the "Scott Valley Band," the "Salmon River Band," the "New River Shasta Band," the "Sacramento Band," the "Squaw Creek Band," the "Shasta Valley Band," and the band called "Ike's Band" (Hall 1990: 139).[13] Shasta interviewees reported that exogamy was practiced between these groups, insuring strong kinship ties linking each Shasta band as well as a number of surrounding tribes. Glyphic images were said to have been carved in wood to track marriages and insure that exogamous marriage rules were followed. By the interpretation of the Shasta Nation, as shown in Carpelan and Hall (2000), Oregon Caves sat in the western portion of the "Kahosadi" group of the Shasta, also known as the "Rogue River Shasta." This territory encompasses the entirety of the Applegate River valley and the Illinois Valley, as well as Bear Creek drainage and the middle and upper Rogue. Some interviews who I consulted from other tribes view this as a mischaracterization of traditional exogamy, which the contend was simply inter-village rather than inter-band and was reckoned only a couple of generations back. Other non-Shasta interviewees for this study suggested that the term Kahosadi was applied only to the Shasta populations in Bear Creek and the upper Applegate, but also conceded that the other non-Shasta speaking

communities of the Applegate and Illinois Valley may still have been viewed as "Kahosadi" by Shasta in Shasta application of exogamous marriage rules.[14]

Tribal Interrelationships Prior to Contact

While anthropological accounts have sometimes sought to center on the differences between the tribal communities of the region, the integration of these communities is a consistent sub-theme of anthropological research. The nature of these connections deserves further attention here, for it was the multi-tribal nature of the study area that seems to define modern tribal members' narratives regarding the region. Specifically, tribal interviewees that I consulted for this study consistently pointed out that, despite the apparent remoteness of the Illinois and upper Applegate Valleys, the region was in fact a "crossroads" of many tribal traditions.

"This whole area was a crossroads...with all the different tribes. There were people intermarrying between this side and Klamath River. They went back and forth, in both directions - people from here went down there for resources but there were resources up here that the Klamath River people wanted too" (19).

The intersections between the tribes of the region appear to be of considerable antiquity. The apparent interconnection of these tribes was confirmed from the earliest professional archaeological excavations in the Siskiyou region. Excavating burial sites at Gold Hill, Luther Cressman (1933) determined that artifacts in these sites, including numerous obsidian blades from the southeastern edge of the Klamath Basin, bore a strong resemblance to artifacts found in similar contexts along the Klamath River and suggested strong intra-regional associations between tribal cultural traditions on the middle Klamath and Rogue Rivers. Subsequent excavations largely supported this assertion. Klamath River Shasta archaeological sites, for example, commonly contained olivella shell beads brought up the rivers from the coast, charm crystals brought along tribal trails from the south, and obsidian obtained from the Medicine Lake Highlands (including Glass Mountain) on the southeastern Klamath Basin (Connolly 1986). Takelma archaeological sites likewise possessed olivella beads from the coast, obsidian from Medicine Lake Highlands to the east, and manufactured items that appear to have been obtained from the Shasta or Karuk (Connolly 1986; Beckham 1978; Cressman 1933).

After reviewing a number of different archaeological site reports and conducting additional archaeological research in the region, Connolly (1986) concluded that much of Oregon's southwestern interior exhibited two cultural phases, each characterized by connections with different groups outside of the Siskiyou region. Connolly established that the Glade Tradition, dating from roughly 9000 BC to 300 AD, is similar to archaeological traditions within the interior valleys of western Oregon. The Siskiyou pattern, developing post-400 AD, shows strong northern

Great Basin influences similar to groups to the immediate east in the Klamath Basin, such as the appearance of round pit houses and artifact assemblages from the interior Northwest; to Connolly, this suggested contacts with tribes of the upper Klamath Basin/northwestern Great Basin or direct migration of populations from these areas.[15]

Within the study area, Wilson (1979) investigated the Ritch Site at the confluence of the Applegate and Rogue Rivers. Here too, apparent archaeological sequences could be divided into two principal components. Component I, the most recent materials (post-460+/-90 RCYBP), exhibited features consistent with coastal tribes' tools and technologies. Component II, consisting of materials dating from roughly 1100 to 1400 BP, exhibited features consistent with interior tribes' tools and technologies. While these two well-known works point toward different external influences, both suggest increasing integration of southwestern Oregon's interior with larger social and trade networks over the last 1,500 years.

The degree of integration with outside social and trade networks varied, however. On the basis of archaeological evidence, Connolly (1986: 218) concluded that communities lining the major routes of movement, both along the coast and along the Klamath River were centers of trade and the exchange of ideas, while many of the smaller valleys of southwestern Oregon were isolated backwaters and became "refugia" for earlier cultural traits.

Nonetheless, while the upper Illinois and Applegate Valleys were "smaller valleys" they were by no means isolated. Ironically, places that were relatively "remote" within the Rogue River system, such as the headwaters of the Illinois and Applegate Valleys, were relatively proximate to the bustling trade centers of the Klamath River. As such, they became comparatively affluent and integrated into larger regional patterns of cultural diffusion connecting the coast, the Klamath River, and the upper Klamath Basin. Trade and intermarriage between interior valley populations and the communities of the coast and the Klamath system facilitated the introduction of new ideas and technologies. Oral traditions of these tribes also clearly overlapped, reflecting considerable interaction and the open exchange of ideas (Holt 1942). As was true of the general regional pattern, the integration of upper Applegate and Illinois Valley populations into the Klamath River trade networks appears to have increased over time prior to European contact. For example, archaeological evidence suggests that

"The Upper Applegate River folk became more cosmopolitan and began importing outside finished goods as well as lithic material. They continued manufacturing most of their lithic tools in a traditional manner but began importing such items as arrows or at least projectile points. Desert sidenotched points were imported from the east, Gunther-barbed points from the main stem of the Rogue River, and concave base points from the lower reaches of the Rogue River. What caused this move away from isolation is unknown" (Brauner and Lebow 1983: 89).

As this integration increased, so too did travel through upland areas between densely settled valleys, such as the mountains in the vicinity of Oregon Caves, and the use of upland resources may have increased proportionately.

The view of the Klamath River as a social and economic nexus for upper Rogue River Basin tribes runs counter to some popular interpretations of southwest Oregon cultural patterns, which focus on connections among Rogue River tribes without addressing linkages south of the modern Oregon-California border. The state boundary has arguably held considerable psychological weight. Yet as Hall (1990: 136) advises in considering tribal relationships prior to Euro-American contact, "Please take a moment to erase from your mind the Oregon and California state borderline, as it was non-existent at pre-contact time." Indeed, the navigability of the Klamath River, coupled with the large and powerful tribes at its mouth (Yurok and Hoopa) and headwaters (Klamath and Modoc) insured that the Applegate and Illinois Valley communities were well integrated into Klamath River social, ceremonial, and economic life.

The results of this integration were apparent in a number of general accounts of these tribes' cultures. One the basis of detailed comparative examination, Kroeber (1920: 156) claimed that the inland tribes of southwestern Oregon and northwestern California were "very closely related, so much so, in fact as to constitute a single [cultural] area." As Kroeber suggested,

"The Takelma give the impression of being not only on a level similar to that of the Shasta, but specifically like them in many features; and the Shasta obviously are culturally subsidiary to the Yurok and Karok. What holds for the Takelma, there is no reason to doubt held for the Athabascans who nearly surrounded them. The lower Klamath thus is the civilizational focus of the drainage of the Rogue and probably of most of the Umpqua" (Kroeber 1920: 157-59).

Elsewhere, Kroeber noted that "The Takelma give the impression of living not only on a level similar to that of the Shasta, but specifically like them in many features..." (Kroeber 1920: 162). Archaeologists too have been compelled to suggest that "Takelma culture closely resembled that of their southern neighbors, the Shasta, with whom they intermarried" (Davis 1963: 16). Pullen (1996: II-4) elaborates on this point, asserting that "Most researchers... feel that the Shasta were similar in culture to the Applegate, and that the Karok were analogous in culture to the Illinois peoples," though the basis for this more detailed pairing of cultural traits is unclear.[16]

Strong ceremonial similarities were also noted between these groups. Speaking of the girl's puberty ceremony among the Takelma, Kroeber was compelled to note a number of specific similarities with the Karuk and Shasta traditions:

"The Takelma ceremony is very similar to that of the Karok and Shasta: the girl may not look about,

wears a visor of bluejay feathers, sleeps with her head on a mortar hopper; for five days men and women dance in a circle" (Kroeber 1920: 161).

Athabaskan arrival in the region is reported by archaeologists and philologists to be recent, perhaps post-dating 900 AD. Modest discontinuities in artifact assemblages appear in the archaeological record that might reflect this arrival, but most evidence points toward the rapid cultural convergence of arriving Athabaskan populations and longstanding Penutian-speaking (Takelma) and Hokan-speaking (Shasta and Karuk) groups (Connolly 1986; Swadesh 1959).[17] For example, anthropologists have depicted the culture of the "Galice Creek" and Applegate Dakutebede Athabaskans as being fully integrated into the cultural traditions of the Takelma. The Athabaskan traditions were

"so permeated with Takelman elements as to be scarcely distinguishable from the culture of these alien people ...They, in turn, are part of a larger cultural province, which includes the Shasta and other north central California peoples" (Drucker 1937: 284).[18]

Supporting this argument, Drucker presents accounts of Galice Creek ceremonial and shamanic traditions that were almost identical to those presented in previous studies of the Shasta and Karuk (e.g., Kroeber and Gifford 1980; Harrington 1932; Dixon 1907). The Athabaskans of southern interior Oregon were, in Kroeber's view similar to the Shastas in many respects and part of the same "cultural province," which they shared with the Takelma (Kroeber 1920: 162). The constituent members of this "cultural province" are presented by Drucker as less hierarchical and complex cultural equivalents of adjacent coastal tribes, such as the Yurok, suggesting extensive borrowing between these communities.[19]

Dorsey (1890) famously hypothesized an antagonistic relationship between the Athabaskan and Takelman groups, suggesting that the former invaded the area and was still in the process of forcing their language upon the latter at the time of contact. Sapir (1907b) later discounted this view; he did not introduce an alternative hypothesis but did accept the notion of large-scale Athabaskan migrations into areas formerly claimed by Penutian- and Hokan-speaking groups. Certain modern Shasta interviewees for this study, in contrast, speculated that the Athabaskan communities found in the Applegate (Dakubetede), middle Rogue ("Galice" or Taltushtuntede), and possibly the upper Illinois basins were not present as a result of direct group migration into these areas. Instead, these communities, they claim, were formed by long-term patterns of exogamous marriage that brought a continuous immigration of Athabaskan speaking individuals - mostly women - from the Athabaskan speaking communities along the lower Rogue River and the coastline to the south. According to this view, over time, the aggregation of so many individuals from these communities effectively resulted in the default language of these areas shifting to Athabaskan, with heavy admixture of local Shastan or Takelman elements. For this reason, it is suggested, there were notable linguistic differences between these

communities and the surrounding communities, while they were almost identical on other cultural grounds. This effect was augmented, it is suggested, by the limited number of ethnolinguistic informants who provided information to anthropologists in the early 20th century (17, 15). Other interviewees for this study take issue with this characterization.

It is also important to note that the Shasta and Karuk were clearly integrated with one-another to varying degrees. Most ethnographic accounts attest to varying degrees of social integration between these communities, especially in the villages along their territorial border (which is, not inconsequentially, the portion of their territories closest to Oregon Caves). LaLande (1977) suggests that "a definite line of geographic division may never have actually existed" between the Shasta and Karuk. Indeed, a definite line of social or cultural division may have been difficult to detect between individual communities too, despite some noticeable cultural differences,

"such as the significance of social and ceremonial traditions associated with demonstrating wealth and rank, which are associated with the Karuk as well as their north coast neighbors such as the Yurok and Hoopa" (Kroeber 1922).

Dixon (1907: 495-96) reported interspersed Shasta populations within Karuk-dominated areas as far downstream on the Klamath River as the Salmon River confluence near Somes Bar. According to Dixon and others, this downriver Shasta population, the Konomi'hu had already been long absorbed into other Karuk and Scott Valley Shasta populations by the beginning of the 20th century, but were still recalled in Shasta oral traditions. Consultants also discussed the "Kamatwa" or "Gamutwa" band along the Shasta-Karuk divide with a language that was variously depicted as "being Shasta spoken with a Karuk access or vica-versa" (07). Likewise, Kroeber reported that the Karuk had exceedingly close ties to the Hoopa and Yurok and through the historical record "are rather numerously mixed among the Shasta" (Kroeber 1925: 100).[20]

The reasons for this pattern of extensive tribal integration were many. For example, ethnographic sources suggest a lively economic exchange between the different communities of the Siskiyou region, a point that will be addressed in subsequent sections. Consultants for the current study made frequent mention of long-distance travel between the villages of the Applegate, Illinois, and Klamath River Valleys for the purposes of trade. Often, they note, one might travel for a few days to a particular village and trade with people who had traveled a few days to arrive at that village from another direction, resulting in a considerable breadth of trade relationships within the region:

"They traded with numerous tribes from throughout the Pacific Northwest...The way it reads, we were all isolated, little pockets of people here and there, and didn't have knowledge of one-another. Well...it wasn't so!" (03).

Within the Siskiyou region, trade relationships along the Klamath River, and between these peoples and those of the Rogue Basin, are especially well documented. Kroeber (1925) notes that the "Rogue River Athabaskans" such as the Applegate and possibly the Illinois Valley peoples, were an important source of dentalium to the Shasta and other Klamath River tribes. On trade between the Klamath River and Rogue basin tribes, Kroeber (1925: 287) notes

"Dentalia, salt or seaweed, baskets of all kinds, tan-oak acorns, and canoes were the articles that came to the Shasta. In return they gave obsidian, deerskins, and sugar-pine nuts... They did, however, receive acorns, and gave for them the same goods which they traded to the Karok, plus some of the dentalia which they themselves purchased. There was considerable intercourse with their own kinsmen and the Athabascans on Rogue River. Oaks become scarce or cease near the northern line of California, and any surplus of acorn flour that the Shasta possessed found ready takers among these Oregonian people. In return a stream of dentalia-which came, of course, ultimately from the same source on the far northern coast as those which traveled up the Klamath-flowed up Rogue River into Shasta possession."

As Kroeber's account suggests, villages often specialized in those goods that were unique to their particular tribe or tribal territory. Expanding on this point, Silver notes of the Shasta,

"When visiting a different district, people took food typical of their own area to their host and brought home food typical of the host's area. For example, Klamath River people took pine nuts and salmon to the Scott and Shasta Valleys and to Oregon; they brought back antelope meat from Shasta Valley and varieties of bulbs from Oregon and Scott Valley" (Silver 1978: 213).

Carpelan and Hall (2000: 5) add that salt and obsidian as the sources of trade wealth among the Shasta, whose easternmost territories included the flanks of Medicine Lake and Glass Mountain - one of the most important obsidian sources in aboriginal California.[21] According to Molly Orton, who identified as upland Takelma, the Takelma and probably other Rogue Basin peoples traded to obtain baskets from the Karuk originating near Happy Camp as "they made the best ones" (Drucker 1937: 295) ; the Takelma also bought basket hats from the Shasta (Sapir 1907b: 263-64). In many cases, certain tribal groups were able to serve as "middlemen" due to their proximity to trade routes, such as in the trade of olivella or dentalia shell beads from the coast. Shasta consultants of the turn-of-the-century recalled a lively trade with Athabaskan speaking peoples on the Rogue River and reported receiving dentalia and abalone from Rogue River tribes through trade prior to European contact (Dixon 1907: 396).

Likewise, as discussed previously, intermarriage resulted in a considerable exchange of ideas and material culture between tribal communities. Both ethnographic writings, as well as the accounts of contemporary tribal members, suggest that inter-village trade was often secondary to, or ancillary to, the marriage. As marriages were, almost by definition, between village groups, and marriage involved the exchange



The Tututni people were often intermediaries in the trade between the coast and the interior valleys of southwestern Oregon. Shown here are Molly Catfish (left) and her mother, Mary Yanna in 1909. Mary wears necklaces of strung dentalium shells, while both women wear pine nut beads and basket hats. Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians

of goods between the families of the couple, marriages resulted in inter-village exchanges of goods that were superficially similar to economic exchanges. The amount of material exchanged during marriages was considerable at times, and powerful social incentives existed to dispense goods to the village of a new spouse. As Kroeber notes:

"Marriage was by payment or specified contract to pay, and people's social status depended upon the amounts paid by their fathers for their mothers" (Kroeber 1925: 297).

Thus, Sapir's Takelma interviewees reported on elaborate exchanges of wealth during marriages, which served to insure the status of future offspring, as well as to symbolically acknowledge and reinforce the enduring relationships between the home villages of both husband and wife:

"A girl was purchased, with dentalia she was purchased. Now the people liked each other, the father of the girl and the father of the youth, so for that reason they purchased the girl. That long ago people did to one another. Thereupon they went with her to see her married, the girl was taken to the youth.

Many things were carried [as presents to the husband's people] - dentalia, food, burden-baskets, basket-buckets, skirts, basket-caps, sifting basket-pans, cooking baskets, that sort of things was carried along; but at this season, summer, camass was taken along, manzanita berries mixed up with sugar-pine nuts - those were carried along, dried salmon was carried along. As many people as did go, all carried things along" (Sapir 1909: 177-79).

Likewise, Kroeber (1925: 297) reported of the Shasta that

"Not long after marriage the bride's relatives visited her in state at her new home, and the visit was then reciprocated by the husband's people. On each occasion the ornaments and clothing worn by the guests were presented to the hosts. This interchange of property seems to have been something in the nature of a matching of liberality, to have been conducted without bargaining or stipulation, and to have had, therefore, no direct relation to the marriage payment."

Elsewhere, Sapir notes of the Takelma that prestige goods such as basket hats were sought through marriage arrangements and could be "acquired from the Shasta by the purchase of wives" (Sapir 1907a: 264).

Some accounts suggest that patterns of exogamy were carefully structured to ensure intermarriage within the largest possible constellation of adjacent villages. For example, among the Shasta, some contemporary families report that marriages rotated between villages in predetermined circuits that were conceived as a "marriage wheel."

"The Shasta people had a marriage wheel, which took eight generations to complete. The people from the area called Kahosadi [Oregon's middle and upper Rogue Basin] marrying into the Kamatwa [of the Klamath River from Seiad Valley to Happy Camp]. The Kamatwa marrying into the Iruai, the Iruai marrying into the Konomihu, the Konomihu marrying into the New River Shasta people, the New River Shasta people marrying into the Okwanuchu people, the Okwanuchu people marrying into

the Ahitirai, the Ahotirai marrying into the Idakariwakaha [of the Klamath Canyon near Iron Gate], the Idakariwakaha marrying into the Kahosadi [of Oregon's middle and upper Rogue Basin]. They kept track of their marriages on wooden canes in which they carved the family glyphs on. One family still has their marriage cane, and it has 14 generations of family marriage glyphs carved on it" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 2).

On the basis of this information, one might conclude that many families designated as Kahosadi, reportedly in the Applegate and Illinois Valleys as well as the Bear Creek Valley, contained an abundance of spouses newly arrived from the Idakariwakaha of the upper Klamath River, near the Klamath Canyon and Iron Gate. Moreover, by such a system, there would be an exodus of young people from the Applegate and Illinois Valleys, who married into the Kamatwa villages of the middle Klamath River, including the communities of Seiad Valley and Happy Camp. Again, interviewees consulted for this study from other tribes take issue with this depiction of an ordered "marriage wheel," indicating that exogamy was more loosely structured to simply be a law of "marrying out" of one's home community and not marrying anyone who is understood to be a direct relative by the larger community. While the specifics of the "marriage wheel" system have received little specific attention outside of the work of the Shasta Nation, it is clear generally that the villages of the upper Illinois and Applegate drainages maintained strong kinship ties with the people of the Klamath River at the time of contact, and continued to intermarry between these communities over time.

Economic interactions between valley populations probably intensified during drought years, aided by kinship ties and reciprocal obligations between these communities. As archaeologist, Nan Hannon, reported

"Exchange relationships between Shasta Valley and Rogue Valley peoples were stronger, perhaps because Shasta Valley experienced good rainfall while the Rogue Valley experienced drought, and vice-versa, encouraging exchange as a method of coping with environmental stress" (Hannon 1990 in Pullen 1996).

Perhaps supporting this contention, some authors have noted that acorn production in the Applegate and Illinois drainages was highly variable while camas production was not; the reverse was true of the Shasta to the south, so that these groups developed trade in these two products (Dixon, 1907: 426; Pullen 1996: 2). Significantly, Karuk interviewees that I consulted for the current study mentioned their ancestors traveling to hunt elk or deer in the upper Illinois Valley during drought years when game was scarce in the Klamath River valley. Intermarriage, they note, was a foundation for this system of mutual support, and kinship across the Siskiyou crest was recognized as a way of insuring hunting, fishing, or gathering rights in the adjoining territories. Marriage thus appears to have allowed the *de facto* expansion of resource territories, so that a married person might utilize resources in their home territory or that of their in-laws, depending on the local

availability of resources. Such relationships are apparent in the immediate vicinity of Oregon Caves:

Long ago, a young Applegate Creek Indian man knew how to hunt well. "Lots of Camas" [upper Illinois Valley] people were his brothers-in-law there. Therefore he went back and forth (Jacobs n.d., notebook 126: 97).

Likewise, Jacobs consultants describe kinship relationships between the Klamath River Shasta and Applegate being a source of food security in times of scarcity:

"Once long ago at Applegate River in early spring everything was all gone. It got to be a famine. Long ago lots of people lived in Applegate River. Long ago they stored all the food away good in the summertime, all kinds of edibles. One time in early spring nearly everything was gone. In the wintertime there had been a big snow, ice. That's why in early spring snow lay a long time. There was no way for them to dig anything [like edible roots] that grew. That was a time salmon also was gone. The summer salmon begin to run a little while later, the first part of summertime. Then famine began to spread all over; there was nothing to eat; the people all had no strength. The Shasta people had bought one person's daughter not very long ago [and provided food] (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 126).

The resulting pattern of tribal interconnectedness, and arguably tribal interdependence, appears to have fostered social, economic, and dietary stability within these communities that would not have been possible otherwise. Moreover, this relationship fostered the extension of kinship ties into distant villages, facilitating an expansion of social, economic, and ceremonial networks, involving mutual obligations between families and communities, in good times and in bad. Perhaps as a result, a sense of generalized kinship was still apparent in the comments of many tribal interviewees consulted for this study today. Members of the Confederated Tribes of the Lower Rogue, for example, identifying themselves as Karuk and Applegate, described a sense of close and congenial ties to the Shasta that were probably rooted in these kinds of kinship ties from long ago: "I remember people talking about the Shasta people...as if they were talking about friends" (21). And, manifesting this generalized pattern of kinship, the term, k'wínax "kinsman" is used as a common form of address in Takelma tales and texts recorded by Sapir (1909) and comparable terms are found in the oral traditions of adjacent tribes. Within these stories, this term is used to demonstrate kinship and to connote mutual obligations between people hailing from different villages.

Paralleling this notion of kinship and social integration between separate "tribes" - a notion arguably alien to modern, Euro-American thinking - we find mythic narratives suggesting kinship between all of the tribes of the region despite their remarkable linguistic variegation. In a story recorded by Farrand (1915: 228) a Creator figure distributes people throughout the Rogue basin who speak different languages, but are fundamentally kin, of the same family:

"One day told the man that all the world had been made for him. Then he instructed him how to act at all times and under all conditions. He also admonished him to have more children, and the man

had sixteen children. The first one was a boy, then came a girl, then another boy, and so on. Half of his children went to live north of the Rogue River, while the other half settled down south of the river. Xowală'ci told the man that hereafter he would obtain everything by wishing. Then he straightened out the world, made it flat, and placed the waters. He also created all sorts of animals, and cautioned the man not to cut down more trees or kill more animals than he needed. And after all this had been done, he bade him farewell and went up to the sky, saying, "You and your wife and your children shall speak different languages. You shall be the progenitors of all the different tribes."

Clearly, as shall be discussed elsewhere in this document, this sense of kinship and of mutual obligation between related communities was pivotal in understanding the events of the Rogue War. As one village was pulled into the conflict, a constellation of villages - perhaps villages speaking a different language, Athabaskan, Takelman, Shastan - were pulled inexorably into the fray with their kin. The resulting multi-tribal forces, sometimes perceived as impromptu associations united by a common enemy, were in fact connected to a degree not appreciated by non-Indian combatants who marveled at the ferocity and heterogeneity of their tribal opponents. And, in the wake of the Rogue War, members of individual families became separated, so that their ancestors are sometimes distributed among multiple modern tribes that still often possess general and specific senses of kinship. One interviewee, for example, mentioned distant family members among the Siletz, Grand Ronde, Shasta, and Lower Rogue. Another interviewee mentioned family among the Siletz, Grand Ronde and Klamath Tribes. Yet another mentioned family among the Quart Valley, Shasta, Karuk, and Siletz. Members of the Shasta Tribe have been able to use the genealogical charts developed by distant relatives at Siletz to complete full genealogies of modern Shasta Tribe members (15, 17). These patterns do not necessarily represent a departure from the cultural diversity of the pre-contact Siskiyou region - instead, it is arguably a modern manifestation of inter-tribal kinship relationships that are of considerable antiquity.

Adjacent Valleys: Settlement, Subsistence, and Social Life

Settlement and subsistence practices in the valleys of the Siskiyou region have been perennial topics of investigation among researchers.[22] Ethnographic and archaeological accounts alike agree that the lowland valleys were the center of social life for area tribes, with large villages that were fully occupied in wintertime. Likewise, subsistence activities, such as fishing, hunting, and plant gathering were especially concentrated on the valley floors, while in the summertime, each valley population fanned out to a constellation of smaller settlements and specialized subsistence areas in the adjacent mountains. Pullen (1996) notes:

"Each of these groups occupied a nuclear territory along their respective river drainages, but had peripheral exploitation zones that extended into the uplands" (Pullen 1996: IV-1).

Likewise, Gray (1987) reported of the Applegate that

"the regional settlement pattern...alternated between upland economic pursuits and the exploitation of riverine resources" (Gray 1987: 56).

It is clear that there was considerable variability between individual populations as to the duration and extent of resource exploitation in different resources and different resource areas. Salmon fishing was especially important to the lives of the tribes on both the Rogue and Klamath River basins (Kroeber and Barrett 1960). On the basis of the analysis of 160 habitation sites on the middle Klamath River basin, Chartkoff and Chartkoff (1975) conclude that access to salmon resources was the single major determinant of village site location. Likewise, most major villages of the Illinois and Applegate Valleys were situated in close proximity to major fishing sites, especially sites used for salmon fishing, but also significantly steelhead and lamprey or "eel." Yet, some sources have suggested that the dietary centrality of salmon among the tribes in the Illinois, Applegate, and upper Rogue Valleys paled in comparison to their neighbors on the middle stems of the Rogue and Klamath Rivers, and that these communities had a greater dependence on game and other resources associated with upland environments (Hewes 1947).[23] Thus, among the Takelma, Sapir (1907b: 257-60) reported a mixed valley subsistence pattern based on salmon fishing and deer hunting as well as the procurement and processing of black oak acorns (*Quercus kelloggii*), camas, and the seeds of various low-elevation plants. A number of other species appear to have provided supplementary components of the diet, such as elk, yellowjacket larvae, and grasshoppers.

Yet it is also clear that the Takelma and other peoples of the middle Rogue also ascended into the mountains each year as part of the "seasonal round" to continue the subsistence tasks, as well as the social and ceremonial activities, that started each year in the valleys below. The seasonal round started at the valley floor as the snowmelted, and people worked their way upslope as snowmelt exposed new areas. Adults trekked to successively higher elevations, sometimes doubling back to riverine villages to deliver foods and other materials or caching materials along routes leading back to the lowlands. Seasonal communities appeared in the uplands, near predictable water sources. While a significant number of people participated in upland treks, riverine villages were typically occupied year-round by the elderly and their grandchildren, who were not yet prepared to make ascents into the high country. At the end of the season, the entire extended family participated in the processing of plant materials and game accumulated in the highlands, insuring that - in some manner - every member of the community was engaged in the annual utilization of the uplands surrounding their villages on the valley floor. Through this process, upland areas were an integral part of social life and "cultural geography" of the adjacent valley communities. In order to understand the traditional use of the Oregon Caves area, then, it is important to first understand the cultural geography of the adjacent valleys, including the distribution and identity of major settlements,



Salmon fishing was central to the subsistence practices of all of the tribes of the region. Especially in places without natural chutes or riffles that could be used for fishing, tribal members constructed small scaffolds from which they could spear or net salmon. Siskiyou County Historical Society.

as well as the subsistence activities and social events associated with each. It is to these topics that this report now turns.

Settlement and Activity Areas of the Southern Illinois Valley

The Illinois Valley appears to have been a densely settled valley prior to the 19th century, as part of a larger settlement network centered on the middle Rogue River system. The works of Dorsey (1890), for example, suggests that the middle Rogue River, including the Illinois River confluence, was an area of almost continuously distributed settlements and a major population center prior to European contact. Despite this, accounts of settlements, subsistence and social life in the valley is still elusive, outside of a smattering of archival accounts.

Pullen (1996: 2) has suggested that the Illinois Valley people may have had larger and more sedentary villages than the Applegate Valley due to a host of environmental factors, including a larger number of acorn-bearing oaks, the presence of large runs of salmon and lamprey, and a larger number of falls and riffles available for fishing stations in the Illinois basin. The area has also been noted as being historically rich in elk and deer, both by contemporary tribal interviewees consulted for this study and by archival accounts. Captain A.J. Smith of the U.S. Army, for example, found deer and elk in abundance along the lower Illinois River in 1856; leading a group of soldiers down river from Kirby towards present-day Agness, he "found quite a good trail with an abundance of game and water at intervals from three to ten miles" (A. J. Smith, 1856). Some of this patchy distribution may be associated with areas of concentrated "anthropogenic" burning (i.e., intentional burning for vegetation management), located in the vicinity of historical settlements and hunting camps.

The geographical character of the Illinois Valley was twofold. The lower reaches of this river, from Selma to its confluence with the Rogue River at Agness, is deeply incised canyon country, with relatively few level areas suitable for human settlement interspersed in the manner describe by Smith. The area continues to be treacherous for boat travel to this day. The upper reaches, upstream from Selma, consist of broad alluvial plains, largely encircled by mountains on all sides; there are two principal plains, one centered on the Deer Creek area near modern-day Selma and the other larger plain centered on the floodplains of the East Fork Illinois River, Sucker Creek and Althouse Creek, largely south and east of modern-day Cave Junction. Tribal interviewees consulted for this study noted that the upper Illinois Valley was well watered and characterized by broad wet floodplain prairies prior to river channelization and agricultural reoccupation. The character of this landscape contributed to the relative isolation of human communities on the upper and lower reaches of the Illinois system. Despite the trail linking the two areas, as described in Captain Smith's account, river travel was treacherous along the canyons of the

lower Illinois and upper Illinois River peoples arguably interacted as freely with people in valleys adjacent to the Illinois Valley as they did with people at the Rogue-Illinois confluence.

This geographical divide was paralleled by an apparent cultural divide. Specifically, the anthropological literature suggests a division between the people of the Illinois Valley, with the "Chasta Costa" on the lower reaches, and the "Gusladada" in the upper reaches of this valley from Selma upstream. Harrington's consultant, Wolverton Orton likewise noted that there were "2 tribes up the Illinois River" (Harrington 1981, Reel 26: 856). Most standard sources agree that the Chasta Costa were an Athabaskan group. As noted elsewhere in this document, sources disagree as to whether the Gusladada were a Takelma or an Athabaskan regional division. For example, Berreman (1937: 28-29) reported that the Takelma occupied the upper Illinois Valley, while Athabaskan "Chasta Costa" or "Shasta Costa" lived along the lower Illinois River and the Rogue River between Agness and Foster Bar.[24] Yet many sources concur on the point that the people of the upper Illinois Valley were partially or wholly Athabaskan. Melville Jacobs' notes indicate that

"The Gu-sla-dada were the people at the head of the Illinois River... These people talked a dialect intelligible to Galice-Applegate. Thus, the Illinois, Galice, and Applegate formed one dialect group" (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 128: 94).

The term "Gu-sla-dada," used for the residents of upper Illinois Valley, apparently means "lots of camas people" in Athabaskan (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 126: 97; Waterman 1921). Likewise, some contemporary interviewees consulted for this study used an English placename for the upper Illinois Valley, "valley of the blue waters," or "place with lots of camas," both of which were said to refer to the extensive camas fields that grew in this area. Interviewees consulted for this study sometimes pronounced the Athabaskan placename as Gusthlantun which appears to be a phonetic variant of Gu-sla-dada, and is said to translate literally as "camas" [gus] "lots of" [thlan] "place" [tun].[25] Camas was said to have been unusually abundant in the broad alluvial prairies of this area. Bulbs, they suggest, were gathered in these alluvial prairies by tribal members from both proximate and distant villages:

"The Athabaskan name for the Illinois Valley was Gusthlantun, which means "lots of camas place." So there was probably a recognized resource there for miles and miles around. People either came there and had permission from the local people to dig, or came there to trade for camas that was already dug and processed. Certainly they made use of that" (07).

Some interviewees that I consulted for this study suggested that these prairies were burned annually to remove competing vegetation and to enhance the abundance and geographical concentration of camas in the vicinity of village sites on the upper Illinois.

A number of interviewees for this study also recalled stories of large villages and multi-tribal gatherings for fishing and trade in the upper Illinois Valley. Families

from the Rogue Valley recalled oral traditions that mentioned traveling to a village in the upper Illinois River Valley to meet tribes traveling from the Klamath River area for trade:

"Our ancestors went up the upper Illinois...We had stories that people obtained cutting material from that direction, from the Shasta...probably obsidian. My family talked about that" (21).

Likewise, families on the south side of the Oregon-California border had similar stories. One consultant often heard stories of village life in the Selma area when he was a young man living in Happy Camp:

"The old people used to tell me...there was a village over there near where Selma is now. People came from all over to go there, from the Klamath, from down on the Rogue, all over...big gatherings. They came to trade and to gamble, to dance, to meet people...There in Selma, people used to gather. They come from Happy Camp, from all over...People went over to trade with the Takelma Indians...They went over and traded for different things...mostly the Karuk and Takelma" (24).

In other versions of this story, the tribal consultant placed the village closer to the modern town of Kirby; the individual indicated that the village was not located exactly in the same place as either modern town, but was at a major fishing station at the base of Eight-Dollar Mountain, which divides the two communities. Other Karuk families had similar stories:

"The Karuk went up to Illinois Valley to meet and trade with the Takelma and Athabaskans up there in the upper valley" (14).

The village described in these accounts is almost certainly the village called Talsalsan. A number of archival sources mention significant aboriginal settlements in the Illinois Valley, and the most prominent of these was "Talsalsan" (Harrington 1981: 525), also recorded as "Dalsalsan," "Dal-salsañ" (Sapir 1907b: 256) and "Tûl sûl'-sûn" (Dorsey 1890: 235). Dorsey identified Tul-sul-sun as being a Takelma community in Illinois Valley, but did not provide its exact location:

"In the Illinois Valley, a village that cannot be located... probably along eastern side of Illinois Creek" (Dorsey 1890:235).

Sapir indicated that Dorsey's Tul-sul-sun was in fact "Dalsalsan" or "Dal-salsañ" was the Takelman (i.e., the Takelma language) name for the Illinois River, but Sapir also depicted this term as a geographically referenced village or band name (Sapir 1907a: 254-56, 1909: 253). (As mentioned elsewhere, it was common for different linguistic groups in the region to possess different names for the same geographical feature; Harrington [1981: 524] reports the Athabaskan place name "Hathka-pusu-ta" for the Illinois River.)

Harrington's consultant, Frances Johnson, indicated that "Talsalsan" was a location on the Illinois River of much importance to tribal social life and subsistence, saying that it was a

"Place on Illinois River where Ti-wi-kh falls are, upriver. Takelmas used to go there to gamble and play shinny and to buy salmon...[Ti-wi-kh was] The waterfall in Illinois River at the place called Talsalsan. George Baker says this is surely the Anderson place waterfall" (Harrington 1981: 523-25).

On the basis of this account and other evidence, Gray (1987: 23) concluded that, most likely, "the Takelma designated a village in the upper Illinois Valley as Tul-sul-sun, but it was not a Takelma settlement."

The "Anderson Place" apparently alludes to one of several Anderson family homesteads found in the general vicinity of Selma; indeed, Selma, was originally known as "Anderson Station."[26] Frances Johnson noted that it was "a big fall...a falls in Illinois River" (Harrington 1981, Reel 28). Though there are a number of falls in the area, "Ti-wi-kh" is probably Little Illinois Falls. As with the accounts of interviewees for the current study, the archival accounts are ambiguous on the exact placement of Talsalsan; there is some suggestion that this community may have represented a cluster of homes or villages close on the Illinois River near the base of Eight-Dollar Butte; other sources suggest at least one outlying community in this group on the level Deer Creek valley floor in the vicinity of Selma, possibly used when the salmon season was through.

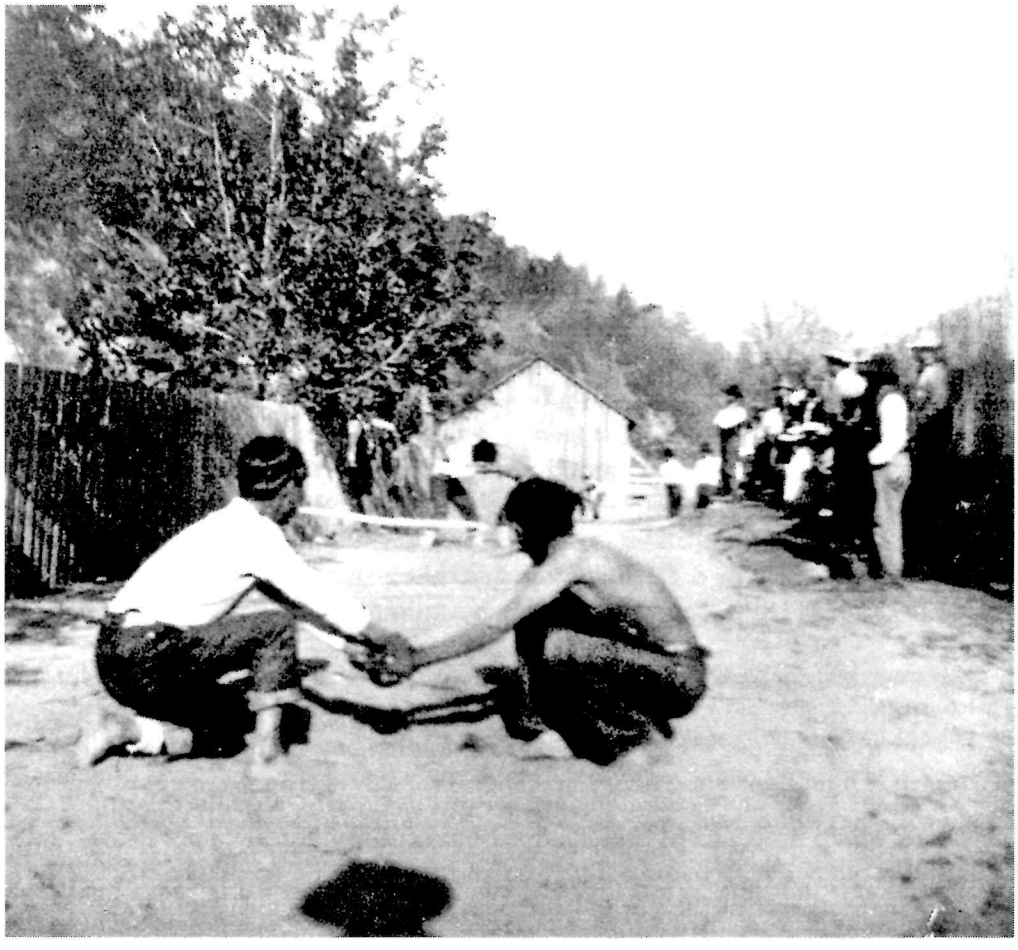
Fishing opportunities were said to be uniquely good at Ti-wi-kh. Melville Jacobs' notes suggest that Chinook salmon were available here: "The Gu-sla-dada had a type of very large Chinook salmon which turned and ran up the Illinois River, but did not go farther up the Rogue River" (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 128: 94). Harrington's notes suggest that when the Rogue River ran high and salmon fishing was not possible in the winter and early spring, the Takelma visited the falls at Talsalsan. Salmon fishing was said to be possible here even during very high river stages:

"Rogue River water in winter was high and no falls and no good for salmon fishing, so [people from elsewhere] went to fish salmon there" (Harrington, Reel 28).

At this place they used dipnets to catch fish passing over the falls (Harrington 1981, Reel 28). Thus, Pullen (1996: IV-8) described "the large falls on the Illinois River, next to the village of Talsalsan" as "one of the major fisheries in the region." Eels, also an important component of the traditional fishery in the Rogue basin generally, were said to be abundant at this falls.[27] Tribal consultant Wolverton

Orton reported to Harrington:

"My father said that when they had the run of eels in Illinois River, which was in June or July, Indians made fence and dipped eels out with dipnet" (Harrington 1981, Reel 25).



Young Shasta men gaming. Success in games of chance is traditionally viewed as the outcome of powers to influence supernatural phenomena as well as mundane skills. Games of chance were a common part of multi-tribal social events. Siskiyou County Historical Society.

Especially, though perhaps not exclusively, during the salmon harvest, the village became a hub of social and ceremonial life for area tribes. Harrington (1981: 523-25) notes that the "Takelmas used to go there to gamble and play shinny and to buy salmon." Frances Johnson indicated that the Takelma went to Talsalsan to trade for dried salmon and perhaps fish principally when water levels in the Rogue River were too high for salmon fishing. She further indicated that her mother had recalled seeing a shinny game played in Talsalsan village (Harrington 1981: 523-6). Gambling, an important part of both social and ritual life to these tribes, was an important part of interviewees' recollections of social gatherings at Talsalsan generally:

"Illinois Valley, all that country north of Indian Creek...we traded there...we played stick games and hand cards - "Indian cards." Those were our social events" (03)[28]

Some 19th century sources depict the community at "Deer Creek" as a home village of "Chief John," an important leader of consolidated tribal combatants during the Rogue War. The Deer Creek Valley, generally, receives frequent, if passing, mention as a place with Indian settlements and recurring conflicts between white and Indian forces in the literature of the period. It is clear that the village was attacked at least once during the War and that the community played some role in the battle at Eight-Dollar Butte (Walling 1884: 452). In 1856, during negotiations with U.S. representatives at the end of the War, Chief John refused to leave his country but offered to retreat to a proposed reserve centered on Deer Creek village: "If the white people are willing, I will go back to Deer Creek and live among them as I used to do" (Victor 1894: 407; Walling 1884: 28). This proposal was not accepted by U.S. negotiators.

Another village or band name that sometimes appears in archival and published sources is "Sal-wa'-qa." This group was also reported in the Illinois Valley and its relationship with the Gu-sla-dada is ambiguous; the term could represent a separate village in the upper valley or a Takelman term for the band termed Gu-sla-dada in Athabaskan. Dorsey (1890) reported of this community:

"In the Illinois Valley (and probably along the eastern side of Illinois Creek) were the Sal-wa'-qa, to whom belonged John Punzie and his father. John Punzie's mother belonged to a different village, Tûl sûl'-sûn, which cannot be located" (Dorsey 1890: 235).

Sapir (1907a: 254) also identified a village, Sal-wa-qu or Sal-wa-qa, in the upper Illinois Valley, which he depicted as Takelma. Some contemporary Siletz tribal members still recall the placename Sal-wa'-qa and trace their ancestry to this village, which is described as one of the "upper Illinois valley Takelma villages" (07).[29] Some interviewees for this study suggested that, at one time, there was a large village in the upper Illinois Valley that was as big as, if not larger than Talsalsan, though not of equal importance as a trade center; it is unclear but possible that this was Sal-wa'-qa:

"There was a big settlement by Selma [but] the *biggest* settlement was at Takilma...by Waldo. There was a *big* Indian settlement in there. I guess it would be the [East] fork of the...Illinois. Back up in there was where the Takelma were. They were 15-20 miles from Selma" (24).

Incidentally, the Punzie family, with their paternal ties to Sal-wa'-qa, played an important role in helping to document what little is known of Illinois Valley life prior to the Rogue War. John Punzie, of the Siletz Reservation, served as a consultant to early researchers such as Dorsey. Later, Hoxie Simmons reported to Harrington that the language of the Illinois Valley was extinct by the early 20th century: "Mrs. Punzie's language was the Illinois Valley Indian. Their language became extinct when old John Punzie died" (Harrington 1981: 25). Likewise, Melville Jacobs' notes day of the Gu-sla-dada that "John Poncy was the last one of

these people at Siletz," though the family has descendents there who intermarried with other tribal groups represented at Siletz (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 128: 94).

Other places were mentioned briefly in archival accounts, but few details were provided on these places. Harrington reports a village, called "Hathkapusu Ta," in the Illinois Valley a short distance downstream from Talsalsan, which Pullen (1996) tentatively places at Little Oak Flat (Harrington 1981, Reel 28); as Hathkapusu Ta was reported by Harrington elsewhere as an Athabaskan name for the Takelman "Talsalsan," the accuracy of this claim is suspect. During his 1921 fieldwork with northwest California Athabaskans at Smith River, T.T. Waterman collected various placenames for vaguely identified sites in the Illinois Valley. Placenames included a place called "Kamass much place" at a large bend in the Illinois river and a place called "hulled hazel nuts" consisting of a large flat prairie along the Illinois River; these terms were probably applied to the Deer Creek and East Fork Illinois prairies, though it is unclear which is which. Waterman (1921) also reported sites called "prairie" at the mouth of Lawson Creek, and "Alder place" at the mouth of Indigo Creek. Waterman's notes are not clear on whether these are village sites, resource procurement sites, or just generally descriptive geographical terms (Waterman 1921: 21).

Knowledge of the upper Illinois Valley by populations residing outside of the valley appears to have been considerable, based on both archival accounts and the accounts of contemporary tribal members. This appears to reflect not only the regional importance of this valley in trade, camas digging, and salmon fishing, but also in the procurement of other distinctive resources. Some interviewees for this study suggested that trade was not necessarily conducted to obtain food or other essential items, which were generally abundant in the region, but was often conducted to obtain objects associated with high status. Introduced goods has a particular prestige and were valued for their ability to enhance or advertise the status of the owner. Certainly practical items could be prestige items; such items as obsidian, for example, had clear and distinctive value for practical or ceremonial means, but were also emblems of social standing.

Interviewees that I consulted for this study from the Klamath River mentioned trade with Illinois Valley people in camas, smoked salmon, green and white dentalia, and obsidian, as well as ornamental seeds and other items used as beads. Interviewees that were consulted for the current study also note that coastal people such as the Tolowa sometimes ventured to this general area to trade for pitch, probably from pine trees, to be used as medicine; in exchange, they sometimes brought dried ocean fish and shellfish. Carved items and small amounts of camas were said to be especially sought in the Illinois Valley:

"They were mostly crafts. Because people said Illinois Indians, they built them there: "They were great carvers....they had great artistry to their carvings." They could carve perfect spheres - that was something we probably traded with them" (03).

A number of interviewees that I consulted for this study alluded to stories of skilled woodworkers in the Illinois Valley, but also noted that little if any knowledge had been obtained about their traditional carving styles:

"The problem is...wood decomposes so fast around here. We have a lot of young people who would like to learn how to carve in the traditional way, but we just don't have examples out there for them to see" (19).[30]

During the contact period, oral accounts suggest that the peoples of the upper Illinois Valley were able to acquire certain introduced trade goods, and perhaps domesticated fruits, before their removal. These were said to have been traded to the Klamath River people in the Illinois Valley settlements (03).

Yet, the similarity in resources north and south of the upper Illinois Valley insured that there was limited specialization in their trade relationships. A lot of trade between the Illinois Valley villages and those of the middle Klamath River, interviewees suggest, was carried out more to establish and reinforce social relationships than for any exclusively economic purpose. In light of the strict exogamy rules in these societies, many of these exchanges appear have been meant to bring individuals into contact with marriageable individuals from other bands or tribes, or to reaffirm kinship ties established through inter-village marriages. A remarkable proportion of interviewees that I consulted for this study suggested that the principal object of trade and travels to the upper Illinois valley was "women" or "wives." Other trade was said to be peripheral to these more central social goals. Karuk interviewees, for example, noted that exogamy rules, alone, insured that their ancestors made frequent visits to the upper Illinois Valley:

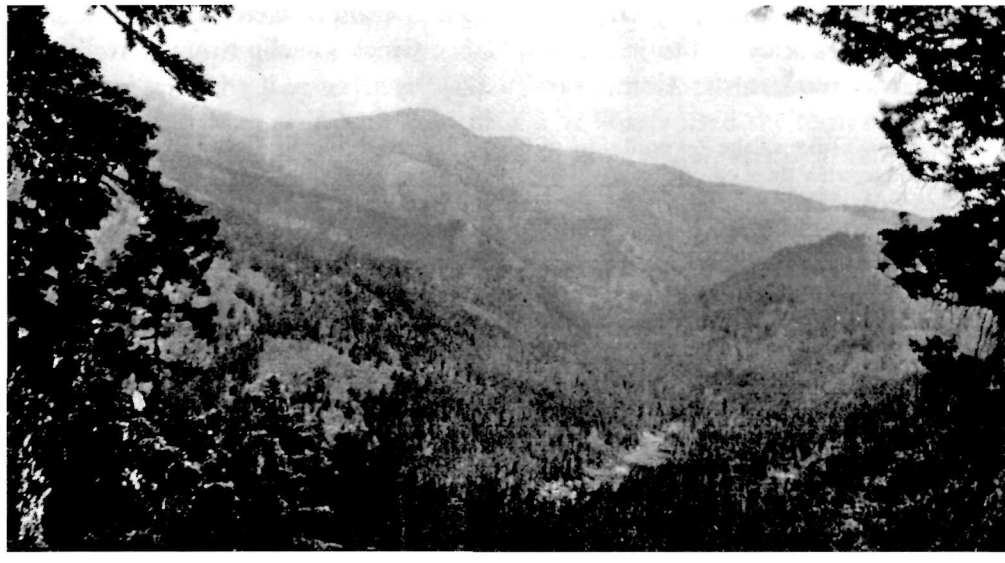
"We have everything over here that we need - we have the salmon and the acorns just like they do in the Illinois Valley...we had everything we needed but women" (14)[31]

Social gatherings for dances, gambling, trade, or the salmon and camas harvests were said to be especially important for the establishment and maintenance of inter-village ties. Supporting this view, Frances Johnson reported a story of her mother visiting a multi-tribal shinney game at Talsalsan:

"The Talsalsan's chief saw [her] mother with her brother and remarked: "That Takelma chief has a young wife. "No, that is my sister," and then at once the Talsalsans' chief wanted to buy my mother from her brother... That is the way Indians do" (Harrington 1981, Reel 28).

Interviewees that I consulted for this study note that these functions of large social gatherings were not always appreciated by anthropologists reconstructing tribal cultural traditions on the basis of post hoc interviews with single individuals

Certain sites in the upper valley, south and east of modern-day Cave Junction, were said to have been especially good for hunting and fishing. As mentioned elsewhere,



The Sucker Creek valley. The native peoples of the region fished Sucker Creek, while also using its valley as a transportation corridor. Siskiyou National Forest.

Karuk interviewees that I consulted for this study reported that their ancestors hunted this area in times of drought or other times when game were scarce in the Indian Creek drainage and vicinity. Some interviewees from the Rogue Basin noted that Sucker Creek was said to have been a good fishing site for a number of fishin- cluding "suckers," but it is unclear whether this was the source of the place name.[32] Some interviewees for the current study also mention oral traditions of people traveling from other areas to gather grasshoppers in the upper valley:

"People traveled up the Illinois Valley...they talked about going into those areas to get grasshoppers. They used to eat them, I guess...I'm not sure exactly where they went - maybe the southern end of the valley by Althouse?" (21).

As will be discussed later in this document, this familiarity with the upper Illinois Valley allowed tribes from a number of areas, especially the coast, to retreat here during the early phases of the Rogue War. As one consultant recalled:

"There was a lot of use of Illinois Valley, too, from Athabaskan peoples – upper Smith River and people coming through what's now the Kalmiopsis from Chetco and Pistol River. We were talking about, during the wartime especially, people fleeing the coast and up into those mountain retreats up there" (07).

By the time the Rogue War was well underway, and perhaps sooner, the two principal villages of the upper Illinois Valley appear to have largely disbanded. The reason for this relocation is unclear, but may have reflected demographic collapse in these communities, defensive relocation of extended families far from the depreda-

tion of mining camps of the early 1850s, or a combination of factors. Many members of these villages relocated to join kin at Galice Creek, on the Rogue River downstream from modern-day Grants Pass:

"There was only one Galice village, on both sides of Rogue River. On Illinois River, there was a village at the mouth, and another three or four miles upriver. Way up the Illinois River were two more villages which were deserted, the survivors joining in with the Galice people" (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 130).

Perhaps for this reason, combatant bands noted as being tied to the Illinois River Valley during the Rogue War may have consisted, in part, of outside populations as well as headmen displaced from other areas who possessed kin ties to Illinois Valley populations. This may explain, in part, why Illinois Valley military leaders identified during the Rogue War, including Chief John, have been represented by some sources as principally Shasta headmen, displaced by anti-Indian violence in the Klamath Basin immediately preceding the Rogue War (Carpelan and Hall 2000).

Settlement and Activity Areas of the Applegate Valley

The settlements and social landscape of the Applegate River Valley is even less accessible in published literatures than those of the Illinois Valley. The Applegate Athabaskans used the term "Da-ku-be-te-de" to Applegate Creek, and this term has been widely used in reference to these people (Dorsey 1890: 235). Hodge (1907: 380) describes the Dakubetede as

"A group of Athapascan villages formerly on Applegate cr., Oreg. The inhabitants spoke a dialect practically identical with that employed by the Taltushtuntede also lived on Gallice cr. not far from them. They were intermarried with the Shasta, who, with the Takilman, were their neighbors. With other insurgent bands they were removed to the Siletz res. in 1856."

Hodge noted that the people of the Applegate Valley were called by a number of names within the historical and anthropological literature of the 19th century. These include the "Applegate Creek" or "Etch-kah-taw-wah" (Joel Palmer's Indian Affairs reports), the Da'-ku-be te'-de or Ts'u-qus-li'-qwut-me' qunne (Applegate and Naltunnetunne names for the people in Dorsey's writings), the Do-dah-ho or Spena (in the 1850s correspondence of George Gibbs), and the NIck'itc hItclum (an Alsea term from Dorsey's Alsea research).[33]

The Takelma reported the name "Sbin-k' ...beaver place" for the Applegate Valley, itself, and there is some evidence of specialized beaver trapping in this valley during the mid-19th century (Sapir 1909: 253). One consultant noted that this place-name also took the form of "Sbin-ah" to refer to the people of that valley in Takleman (07). It is possible that the reference to "beaver" in the Applegate, coupled with the reference to camas in the upper Illinois, points toward tangible differences in the riparian wetlands of the two valleys.

Most sources suggest that the Applegate Athabaskans occupied "almost the entire course of the Applegate River from near its headwaters in the Siskiyou divide to its confluence with the Rogue River" (Gray 1987: 25). Yet there were clearly other tribal groups making claims on the valley. The Shasta used the term "Itskatawayeki" for the Applegate people and, as noted previously, made territorial claims on the upper end of the Applegate Valley. Dixon (1907: 386, 499) reported such claims by the Shasta, as did Harrington's consultant Frances Johnson, who referred to the Wagner Butte area as "Shasta Land" (Harrington 1981: 871). Moreover, Dorsey depicts the village at the mouth of the Applegate as being "Takelma":

"Hû-de-dût, the [Takelma] village of Evans Bill's mother, was at the forks of Rogue River and Applegate Creek; but Applegate Creek was claimed by an Athabaskan people, the Da'-ku-be te'-de (their own name)" (Dorsey 1890: 235).

While there were probably a number of large villages in the Applegate drainage prior to Euro-American contact, by the time of contact "Applegate and other villages consisted of only two to ten houses, but there were perhaps only three villages" (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 130). On the Applegate, major sedentary villages have been reported at the mouth of the Applegate, at the confluence of the Applegate and Little Applegate Rivers, and the upper Applegate near present-day Applegate reservoir, though it is unclear whether the second and third of these villages were the same places alluded to by Jacobs' tribal consultants. A constellation of seasonal encampments were found in these valleys, from the riparian zone to their subalpine headwaters (Pullen 1996).

The Applegate was reported to have a robust steelhead population and the largest village, at the confluence of this river with the Rogue River was a fishing village of regional importance. It may be the community recorded by the name "Tatmelmal" by Harrington's Applegate Athabaskan consultants, who mention that this "is an Indian winter town, a little below mouth of Applegate Creek on the bank of Rogue River" (Harrington 1981: Reel 28). This also may be the village called "Hû-de-dût" and identified as Takelma by Dorsey's consultants and some of Harrington's consultants (Harrington 1981, Reel 26: 813). Melville Jacobs' notes allude to this village site during the mid-19th century:

"a lot of people were right at that place at the mouth of the [Applegate] River. That is where they were dipnetting salmon. They lived there at that time" (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 126).

Cardwell, who visited this area during the Rogue War, noted "quite a large Indian village" at this site (Cardwell 1879: 5). This village may have represented, in fact, a cluster of functionally associated settlements comparable to Talsalsan on Illinois River. Two significant sites have been excavated at the mouth of the Applegate River, the Ritsch and Marthaller sites, and these may be part of this village complex (Aikens 1993: 242-243; Wilson 1979). Harrington's consultants noted that a "little



A sketch of the Karuk village at Somes Bar in 1851, by George Gibbs. The appearance of this village, with longhouses aligned along the riverfront by a fishable riffle, was similar to those throughout the region at the time. National Anthropological Archives

flat" called Salwaxkan fronting the Rogue River by the Applegate River ferry, and mentioned that this flat was adjacent to the Tatmelmal village site. A trail apparently led overland to the Illinois Valley from this site (Harrington 1981, Reel 28).

Another large village was located on the middle Applegate. Plank houses and intensive fishing is noted at this village in early accounts, complete with extensive racks for drying fish (LaLande 1995: 17). This village is mentioned in Rogue War accounts as the home of Chief John, who also had ties with the Deer Creek area on Illinois Valley. The village was attacked and burned during the Rogue War (Walling 1884: 216). Black and Black (1990: 114) describe this community as a large fishing village at the confluence of the Big and Little Applegate Rivers; the population of this village was large and "they left with reluctance" during the Rogue War. Likewise, LaLande (1995: 17) places this village close to the confluence between the Applegate and Little Applegate Rivers. Another settlement is mentioned anecdotally in the Williams Creek drainage and on Sterling Creek, which were involved in battles during the Rogue War (Walling 1884: 216).

A village was also reported in the upper Applegate Valley, just below the present-day Applegate Reservoir. As indicated elsewhere in this document, various authors have suggested that the upper Applegate was occupied, if seasonally, by Shasta or mixed Shasta-Athabaskan populations (Dixon 1907: 386). So too, the southernmost large village in the Applegate drainage is sometimes depicted as being comprised of Shasta or mixed Shasta and Applegate populations. Some sources have suggested that this may have been the home village of Shasta Chief, Tipsu Tyee, who played a prominent role in the Rogue War (Walling, 1884: 211; Pullen 1996). This village site has been partially excavated, revealing an 8,000 to 10,000 year chronology of occupation at this site (Brauner and Labow 1983, Nicholas et al. 1983).

Interviewees that I consulted for this study noted that a network of trails connected these villages, following the course of the major waterways. While the alluvial valleys of the Applegate were not as large as those of the Illinois, camas was still available in limited quantities on the floodplain and was maintained there through the use of fire. Hunting areas were mentioned in a number of locations along the Applegate River, including Round Mountain and the lower slopes of Grayback Mountain. Each village was said to utilize the resource gathering areas most proximate to their village, from the valley floor to the mountaintops, but there were certain areas, including major fishing stations and upland resource and ceremonial areas, that were visited by all villages of the Applegate.

Settlements and Activity Areas of the Klamath River Valley

The reach of the Klamath River basin that is most proximate to the Monument, a zone perhaps 25 to 30 miles distant and running from Seiad Valley to Clear Creek, is a well-documented center of Shasta and Karuk settlement. Indeed, documentation of settlement areas along this reach is widely available in published literatures and can be reconstructed with considerable ease relative to the Applegate and Illinois Valleys. Heizer and Hester (1970) and Kroeber (1922), in particular, have

outlined the distribution of villages along the middle Klamath River. Elsewhere, Kroeber compiled considerable material on Karuk village sites and placenames, much of which was provided in an encyclopedic format without analysis (e.g., Kroeber 1936). While comparative demographic statements are impossible on the basis of existing documentation, the pre-contact population of Klamath River appears to have been quite large; it is reasonable to suggest that, while the Klamath River villages were further away than those of the upper Applegate and Illinois Valleys, the Klamath River communities represented the largest tribal villages in the general vicinity of Oregon Caves.

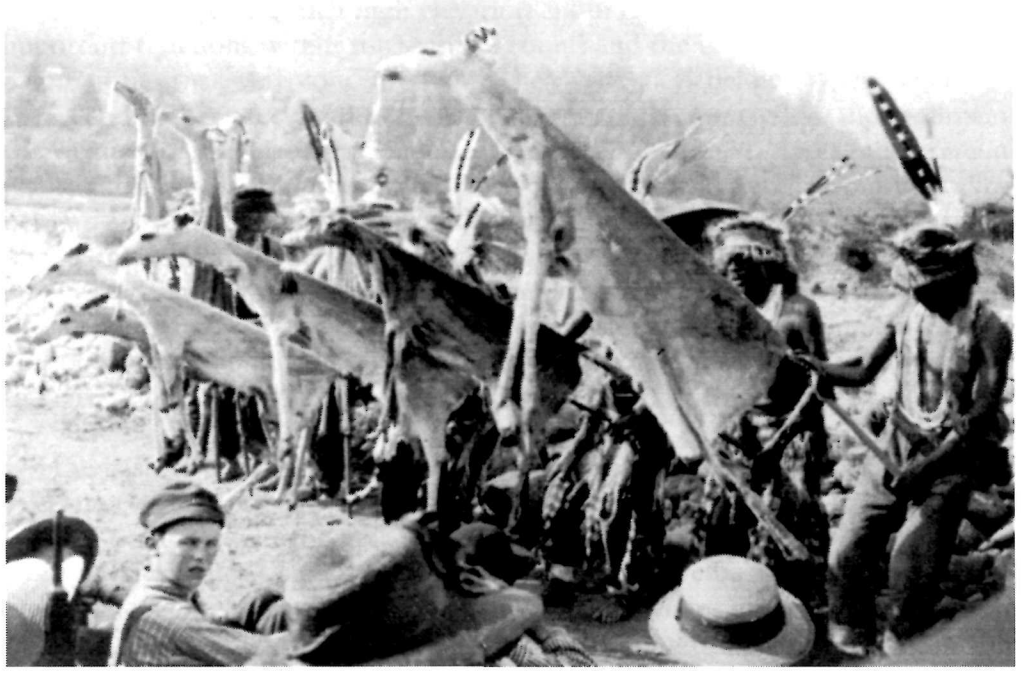
In this area, Shasta and Karuk settlements were principally concentrated at the confluences of major streams with the Klamath River, at major salmon fishing sites. They were primarily located, as well, on the "sunny, north side" of Klamath River in this area, while the territories associated with each village extended away from the Klamath River heartland on both sides of the river (Kroeber 1925: 286). Kroeber documents a dense pattern of settlement along the entire Klamath River south of the Monument. Major villages could be found at the mouths of Clear Creek, Indian Creek and Seiad Creek, while a smaller village is reported at the mouth of Thompson Creek. The first two villages are typically depicted as Karuk, the third is commonly depicted as Shasta or Karuk, while the fourth is typically depicted as Shasta. Still, individual accounts challenge these interpretations and it is clear that the two populations may have merged in this border zone between the Karuk and Shasta heartlands. This is still a point of contention among modern tribal members, and individuals identifying as both Shasta and Karuk live in this area. Kroeber (1925: 100) notes that these villages were associated with a number of smaller settlements fronting the Klamath River:

> "at the mouth of Clear Creek, Inam is reached: a large town, as shown by its boasting a Deerskin dance,[34] and famous even to the Yurok as Okonile'l. Some 8 miles above, at the mouth of Indian Creek, at Happy Camp, was Asisufunuk, the last large Karok village, at which a fish weir was sometimes thrown across the river. The Shasta mention in this region Nupatsu, below Happy Camp, Aukni above it, and Ussini at the mouth of China Creek, beyond which, at Thompson Creek, their own villages commenced. The three words are probably Shasta equivalents of Karok names" (Kroeber 1925: 100).

Kroeber (1925: 305) described Inam as "one of the most renowned centers of northwestern ritual" known to Karuk consultants of his time. Asisufunuk has been widely documented in sources on the Karuk, which identify it as a center of settlement, ceremony, and subsistence fishing. The adjacent mountains, including the Indian Creek drainage, were part of the resource hinterland used by this village for seasonal hunting, plant gathering, and ceremonial activity. In addition to mentioning these villages, Kroeber and Gifford (1980) also document the village of shammai (*sâ·may*), at the Seiad Creek confluence with the Klamath River. A Karuk consultant named Mary Ike reported to E.W. Gifford that Shammai was a village in which "some people spoke Karok, some people spoke Scott's Valley [Shasta] language" (Kroeber and Gifford 1980: 275). A number of sources suggest that the

Seiad Valley was utilized extensively for seasonal hunting, plant gathering, and ceremonial purposes.[35]

Ethnographic writings and contemporary interviewees indicate that these communities, especially Shammai and Asisufunuk, served as major fishing, trade, and ceremonial centers. Trails ran northward from these villages, following drainages both east and west of the Red Butte Wilderness area (now on U.S. Forest Service land), as well as east-west along the Klamath River. The geographical centrality and multiethnic character of these Klamath River communities fostered their role as multitribal gathering areas; as a result, consultants suggest, these communities brought together Yurok, Hoopa, Karuk, Shasta, Modoc, and Klamath populations to within a modest distance of Oregon Caves (Silver 1978: 213). (This pattern arguably was intensified at the onset of the gold rush, which displaced local tribes, but drew Indians from upstream and downstream communities to trade at Euro-American outposts such as Yreka.)[36]



A Karuk deer skin dance in the town of Orelans, California, in the early 1900s. Dances of this kind traditionally are held in the largest and most important Karuk communities, such as Inam. Siskiyou County Historical Society.

Though perhaps heavily impacted by the Fort Jones massacre of 1851, all of these villages were somewhat shielded from the direct effects of the Rogue War and continued to have resident tribal communities through the 19th and 20th centuries. For example, in 1905, a Karuk population of perhaps 160 individuals was reported

in the "Inam (Clear Creek) district," which included Clear Creek and Happy Camp (Kroeber 1925: 101). This did not include individuals of mixed Shasta-Karuk ancestry, which were said to be numerous, but did include a number of half- and quarter-Karuk individuals who lived among, and often could pass as, Euro-Americans. As shall be discussed later, Happy Camp continues to be an important center of tribal life and the administrative heart of the Karuk Tribe.

The Siskiyou Uplands: PrecontactUses

Clearly, as part of a mountainous border area, Oregon Caves is not central to any one tribal territory. Gray (1987: 22), for example, describes the mountains between the Illinois and Applegate Valleys as "steep mountainous terrain suitable for seasonal resource exploitation, but not likely as an area for semi-permanent settlement." This does not imply, however, that there was little or no human presence at Oregon Caves prior to Euro-American contact. Still, the question remains: why would American Indians from any of these historical populations venture into the high elevation boundary zone in and around Oregon Caves?

In southwest Oregon, such high elevation cultural boundaries had a number of important functions within the seasonal round and the ceremonial activities of the communities that were concentrated in the river valleys below. With cooler temperatures and higher precipitation than the surrounding countryside, the mountains in the vicinity of Oregon Caves exhibited "vertical zonation" of biota, and contained plants and animal communities that were demonstrably different from the valleys below. As such, these mountains provided a number of plant and animal resource opportunities to the American Indian inhabitants of southwestern Oregon and northern California that could not be found elsewhere in their traditional territories. Existing ethnographic and archaeological documentation, coupled with the author's ethnographic interviews, has identified some of the most important of these resources, which are discussed in later sections of this report.

On the basis of archaeological evidence, Nicholls, Brauner, and Smith (1983: 90-92) suggest that specialized resource procurement is key to understanding human use and occupation of the upland areas adjacent to the Applegate River drainage. They note evidence that a wide range of resources were being exploited in these environments, including both plant and animal resources found principally in the uplands. Moreover they note, the toolkit associated with upland occupation appears to include many of the same elements as lowland sites, suggesting that use of the uplands has long been carried out seasonally by the populations living in the valleys below: these are not two separate populations. Cumulatively, their excavations in the uplands of the Applegate River drainage demonstrated that a wide range of resources were being exploited in these environments, including both plant and animal resources found principally in the uplands.Ethnographic accounts were surprisingly thin on the topic of upland uses of the Siskiyou region, and much of the published literature on area tribes must be gleaned carefully to find references to upland resource use:

"Although few ethnohistorical accounts address the topic directly, taken together they support the ethnographic portrait of the Indians' 'annual round,' with semi-permanent winter villages and dispersal of smaller family groups into the uplands during the warm months" (LaLande 1990: 106).

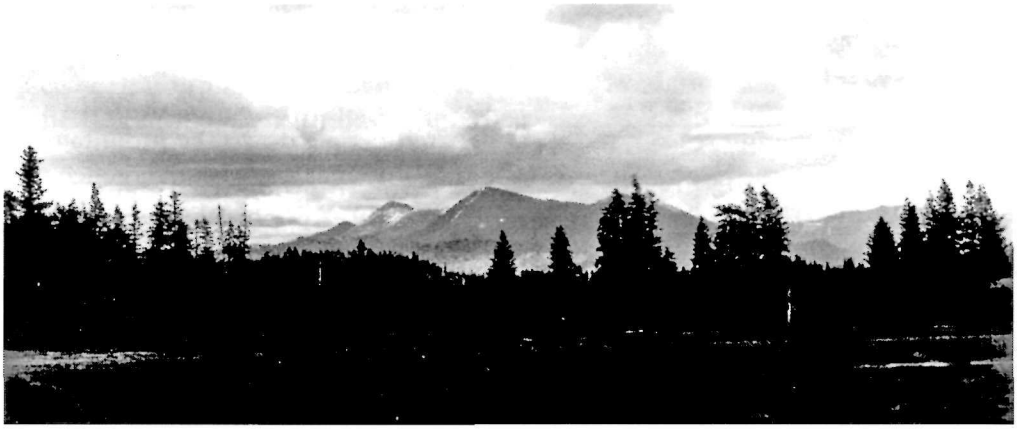
Taken together, though archival sources, published literature, and the accounts of contemporary tribal members suggest that the mountainous area of which Oregon Caves is a part has had many uses. This mountainous area was used for such purposes as inter-territorial travel, specialized resource extraction (for atypical plant, animal, and mineral products), and for religious training and ceremonies, particularly the "vision quest" or "power quest" (Sapir 1907a). Indeed, available ethnographic documentation suggests that much of the community in the Illinois, Applegate, and Klamath drainages left their winter villages on the valley floor as the temperatures rose in the late spring:

"In the spring, when certain plants had grown to a certain height, these winter houses were abandoned, and all the people went up into the mountains, and lived during the summer in the open, roofless brush-shelters. When, in the fall, the berries had been picked and dried, and a supply of dried venison laid in for the winter, they returned to the villages" (Dixon 1907: 421).

Modern tribal members are eager to point out that the villages below were not wholly abandoned in the summertime. Only able-bodied adults could, after all, make the arduous ascent to mountain camps:

"The majority of the people went into the mountains in the summer gathering what was needed for the next year, but the elders and small children could not go, it was too hard on them. They stayed home and took care of the villages. When people went gathering, they gathered a lot of food. They would not be able to bring back what they gathered all at one time so they would make frequent trips back to the village. This gave the elders and the small children the responsibility of the preparation of the food for storage. This gave the ones who could, more time to do the gathering" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 3-4).

When considering the accounts that follow, it is important to note that modern tribal members commonly use the designation "Grayback Mountain" to allude to the entire Siskiyou massif, including Mount Elijah. Indeed, the use of the term seemed to be applied to describe the largely continuous ridge from the vicinity of Red Buttes Wilderness on the Oregon-California border to the headwaters of the Deer Creek drainage. As such, a number of individuals depicted Oregon Caves as a constituent part of Grayback Mountain. This is consistent with conventional usage of the term by non-Indians in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For example, in an article in the Portland-based travel magazine, *The West Shore* (1888: 31), theOregon Caves were said to be part of this chain: "The mountain is one of a group called the "Graybacks," as they are snow-capped nearly the whole year." Likewise, Fidler (1922) referred to Oregon Caves as being in a "spur" of Grayback Mountain.37 And certainly, Grayback Mountain is a place that is well known to the tribes of the region:



Grayback Mountain, as seen from the Illinois River Valley. Grayback Mountain has long served as a landmark and a place of cultural significance to the tribes of the Siskiyou region. Siskiyou National Forest.

"That mountain area was used by all of the tribes around here - Karuks, Shastas, Takelmas...it was a "multi-tribal" area" (04).

Interviewees for the current study report that the date of the ascent varied depending on weather conditions and snowpack. Mid-June was a common time to ascend into the Grayback Mountain area. There were both mundane and ceremonial limitations on use of the area during the fall through late spring. It was acceptable to ascend when there was "a patch of snow here and there, but never solid snow" (03).

"People only visit the mountain in the summer, never when the snow is on the ground. The rest of the year it belongs to the Creator and the spirits there - the "ancients" - and to the thunder beings...The only time you are allowed in the mountains when the snow is on the ground is if you are starving and you are there tracking a bear to eat...it has to be a survival situation" (03).[38]

A number of interviewees for this study mentioned that the ascent to the mountains was welcomed each year, in part for a respite from the heat:

"There's that snow lens up there, even late in the summer. If you're miserable hot down there in the valley, you might retreat up into the mountains and get into some cooler spots" (07).

Places with springs, such as on the flanks Mount Elijah and Grayback Mountain, were said to be especially inviting as the summer wore on: "It's a nice cool place in summertime up there, and there's a lot of water" (24). As much of the summertime was spent traveling between seasonal encampments and resource procurement areas in the mountains, some interviewees that I consulted for this study depicted travel along mountain trail networks as a slow circuit, with stopovers at campsites by mountain lakes and springs:

"It was a round trip - you would go to different places at different times of the year, going up as it got warmer. By the time you had visited each place, the winter was coming. When you came down it was the end of the year" (21).

At the end of the gathering season, the snow "chased people down the mountain" and they regrouped in the large villages on the valley floors. The reconvergence of the community, interviewees note, was a time to store away food and other provisions, to participate in social activities and ritual work.

In these mountainous areas, the Shasta erected both temporary and permanent structures adjacent to springs: "The summer camp was a roofless windbreak of brush" (Kroeber 1925: 290; Holt 1946: 308). Likewise, Sapir (1907b: 262-63) reports that the Takelma moved into higher country in the summertime, near hunting and berrying sites, erecting brush shelters over a central fire pit.

From these base camps, tribal members participated in a wide range of subsistence, social, and ceremonial activities. These are explored thematically in the pages that follow. In this discussion, the ethnographic information from different ethnolinguistic groups is placed together in a thematic arrangement. This is done advisedly, recognizing that while the tribes of the region maintained distinctive traditions and beliefs, these communities were well-integrated generally and used mountain environments in the same basic ways.[39]

Trails, Campsites, and Travel through the Siskiyous

Trails traversing tribal boundaries passed through the high-elevation areas near Oregon Caves, connecting places visited for trade, resource gathering, warfare, or social gatherings. Foot trails were the principal routes of transportation in this region generally. Canoes were used along certain navigable reaches of area rivers, but canoe travel was relatively rare - even in the lowlands - compared to some other portions of northern California and southern Oregon, due to the steepness of area streams and the rapids and swift currents in the Rogue and Klamath Rivers (Dixon 1907: 395). Instead, Dixon (1907: 436) reports that "well beaten trails connected the various villages."

If the rivers were difficult to navigate, this did not have especially adverse consequences upon tribes' inter-territorial travel. Instead, the geography of travel was aligned to the prevailing trail networks, linking all tribes of the region. These trails facilitated strong ties between tribes living in different drainage basins.[40] Much of the inter-tribal trade addressed elsewhere in this document was carried out over these trail networks. Along routes running generally east-west, coastal and riverine Athabaskans and Yuroks could trade freely with interior populations of Takelmas and Klamath River tribes; along these routes, inland peoples exchanged products from the interior

Northwest, such as obsidian, camas, and dried deer meat for dentalia money shells, olivella and clam shell beads, as well as fish, shellfish, and other maritime goods. Likewise, trails running generally north-south allowed for trade between the people of the Rogue and Klamath Basins and their respective sub-basins.

Correspondence from the 1850s, associated with the Rogue Indian War, describes an extensive network of pre-existing trails following ridgetops and valley bottoms through the mountains lying between the Illinois and Applegate Valleys, as well as the Klamath River Basin (e.g. Martin 1856). Contemporary interviewees that I consulted for this study, likewise, recognized that the trails followed the ridgelines:

"The trails followed the ridges - it was more efficient that way" (18). There was "waterway travel in the low country, but a lot of times when they enter the high country they hit a ridgeline and just follow it all the way up" (07). The tradition of running major trail routes along ridgelines in this area was even reflected in area placenames, such as "Dastaddetadade," literally "sharp ridge trail over" mentioned by Batise, a Galice Creek man, to P.E. Goddard in 1904 (n.d.).

Interviewees consulted for the current study indicated that, though traveling along the ridgetops might sound arduous to modern people, this was widely accepted as the most efficient mode of travel through the tortuous terrain of the Siskiyous dividing the different tribal groups living in the valleys:

"What they seem to forget is that once you get up on the ridge you cut a lot of miles off, and all the trails were high. They weren't down in the valleys. The people lived down in the valleys, but if you were going to commute and you wanted a woman, you got on the ridge and you took off...and you brought her back across the ridge and she was your wife" (03).

Use of the trail network was essential for people traveling between villages, participating in any summertime resource procurement, or conducting the most fundamental ceremonial observances:

"The trail connected a lot of places where you did different kinds of things...places to gather berries or basket materials, hunting places and spiritual places...almost everything you needed was along that trail" (21).

While many aspects of the old trail system have been forgotten, certain important segments are still recalled by tribal interviewees that I have consulted for this study. A clear majority of tribal consultants for this project were aware of a major inter-tribal trail that passed up the Illinois Valley and crossed into the Indian Creek drainage, linking the villages of the Rogue and Klamath River Basins as well as Smith River:

"There are all kinds of stories about the trail that went up the Illinois Valley and down the other side to Indian Creek...people remembered a lot about those trails" (19).

Each tribe with ties to the area had its own stories of this trail. In the Confederated Tribes of the Lower Rogue, for example, "everyone spoke of a trail that went up through the Illinois Valley into Indian Creek":

"We have a story...There's a trail through there, through that southern end of the Illinois Valley, and people traveled through there all the time...and we have stories that we are related to the people at the upper end of that valley...there is also a story of visiting people along that trail, who had grasshoppers. I guess that the people used to eat them" (21).

Likewise, the people of Karuk and Shasta country reported traveling along this trail network from their side of the mountain. If the people from the Klamath River Basin wanted to travel this trail to the upper Illinois Valley, near Waldo, they might descend the ridges into the Sucker Creek basin. People from the Happy Camp area reported accounts of the trail leading along the Illinois Valley floor between the Takilma and Selma area. If travelers wanted to visit the community at the head of the Illinois Valley and then proceed to Talsalsan,

"They went through from Takilma, went not through Cave Junction but on the other side, the east side of Cave Junction. They went back along the hills toward Selma, back below Oregon Caves...over through where that small town...Holland is now" (24).

This trail, for reasons that are unclear but may relate to the simple directness of the route, appears to have passed through creek drainages, possibly up Bear Creek and down Thompson Creek into Deer Creek Valley. More commonly, though, if the people did not need to visit the head of the Illinois Valley, they were said to have followed the ridges immediately east of the Oregon Caves before descending:

"They used to come from Happy Camp and work their way around [the ridgelines around the Sucker Creek basin] and come around. And then they'd come to...another big spring up there on the side of the mountain [probably Mount Elijah] and then they'd come back and go down into Selma, and then the Cave Junction area. Because that was the easiest way for them to go, coming from Happy Camp" (24).[41]

Records maintained by the Rogue River and Siskiyou National Forests support the assertion that the mountain ridges immediately east of Oregon Caves were used as travel routes. The ridgelines of the Grayback Mountain massif, for example, are reported to be intermittently lines with small lithic scatters. These lithic sites contain a remarkable diversity of materials, including obsidian from the Glass Mountain area in northern California along the Klamath and Pit River divide, jasper and chert from the Rogue River basin, and chert that is consistent with coastal sites on the lower Klamath and Rogue basins. This combination of materials "is consistent with that ridge being a major transportation route between tribal territories" (Janet Joyer, Siskiyou NF, pers. comm. 2004; LaLande 1997).[42]

Another major branch of this trail network, reported by Shasta Tribe members primarily, ascended from the Klamath River up Seiad Valley and then rises up to the ridgeline trail system in the vicinity of Red Buttes Wilderness. This trail, intervie-

wees noted, connected both into the trail system descending into the Illinois Valley, with routes descending somewhere in the Althouse area, as well as the trail that ascended toward Grayback Mountain. The portion of this trail used for group travels between the Illinois Valley and the Klamath River was said to be regularly maintained through burning and other methods, as well as regular trampling by human and deer traffic. "We were told that it was so wide [in the 19th century] that three horses could fit on the trail, side-by-side" (15). Karuk and Shasta discussed using the trail to access the Applegate drainage: "We followed the trail and we traded with the locals down there at Applegate" (03).



A Karuk man, Ike, and his baby ride horseback. The native people who remained in the Siskiyou region following the Rogue War rapidly adopted the use of horses for traveling along the foot paths of earlier generations. Siskiyou County Historical Society.

Other trails within the regional trail network that ran east-west along the Siskiyou divide between the Rogue and Klamath River basins. A number of consultants for the current study discussed a branch of the trail between Indian Creek and the East

Fork Illinois that extended westward along the ridgeline, linking the communities of the area to Hoopa as well as "Salmon River and Chetco territory" (21). This trail also extended eastward, connecting into the Seiad trail and beyond. Likewise, Hoxie Simmons reported to Melville Jacobs an account of a young man who had been taken as a slave by the Klamaths. He escaped and fled from the Klamath River toward his homeland along a ridgeline trail that followed the Siskiyou summit going east-west. When he reached the Red Buttes area, he could easily find his way home, as his people regularly hunted elk in this region (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 3). Others mentioned a network of Klamath River Basin trails connected into this network, including a major trail from Fort Jones to Happy Camp and Scott's Bar, connecting the Shasta and Karuk communities at these places.

Goods were typically carried along these trails in large burden baskets with a tumpline of buckskin or woven plant materials. In summer, these trails could be hiked barefoot or with simple leather moccasins. When traveling in snow, the Shasta and perhaps other tribes of the region stuffed black tree lichen (*Bryoria fremontii*) or skins from squirrel or wildcat into their moccasins and other footwear for insulation. Park-associated tribes manufactured specialized snowshoes as well (Dixon 1907).



A Karuk woman carries a burden basket, of the sort used by all tribes of the region to carry heavy loads. Sometimes these loads were carried over considerable distances along footpaths traversing the ridges of the Siskyiou divide. Siskiyou County Historical Society.

A small number of recorded ethnographic accounts allude to tribes using these ridgeline trails to mobilize for warfare. E.W. Gifford, in Gifford and Kroeber (1980: 101) recorded a Karuk account of such a mobilization just beyond the study area, noting that

"The Tolowa once came to make war. They crossed the mountains from the west to near Inam [Clear Creek] and then came down the river, taking away anything they came across...[after several skirmishes] the Tolowa went home over the mountains."

This trail network also facilitated inter-territorial movements during well-documented "proto-historical" wars between the Shasta and Takelma (Sapir 1907b; Silver 1978). These trails also probably served as the routes used during ethnographically documented slave raiding expeditions between the Takelma and the Shasta. Slaves taken in these raids were typically sold to the Klamath and Modoc, presumably in the multi-tribal trading centers along the Klamath River Canyon.[43]



A type of specialized armor, made of wooden slats, was used during times of warfare. This Karuk example is similar to those reported for other tribes of the region. National Anthropological Archives

Interviewees that I consulted for this study noted that there were significant dangers with traveling these trails at the end of the winter season, when salmon fishing and multi-tribal gatherings in the Illinois Valley would have been commonplace. One contemporary tribal consultant related a story that spoke of these dangers:

"If there was bad weather, people couldn't get home from the dances...There is a story of a man who came down...the Illinois River Valley. The weather turned bad during or right after the dance when he was getting ready to take off. The people found out that he was planning on going up through Illinois Valley and up over, like Indian Creek, and that trail that went up that way, and probably go down the Smith River. And when they found out that he was planning on doing that they tried to talk him out of it. They said "the weather is bad. There's probably snow up there." And he said "Oh, nobody's going to freeze. It's grouse hooting time." He was basically saying it was lightening up like in the spring and wasn't going to have that kind of weather up there...Apparently after he left it got even worse. It was a little while before people could go up that way. And the first people up there found him frozen along the trail. Probably up towards Indian Creek, somewhere up there" (07).



Tannen [or Tanner] Mountain – Tribal groups often traveled the steep slopes of Tannen Mountain, shown here in a 1903 photo, and had encampments nearby. Siskiyou National Forest.

Ordinarily, in the summertime, people used to camp at lakes and springs as they passed through mountain areas near Oregon Caves. Lakes or springs located close to, but slightly below summits were said to be the most popular places for campsites:

"camps were located below the ridge, sometimes as much as one-quarter of the way down the hillside...the ridges were too exposed and windy, but the camps were protected on the sides of the mountains" (18).

Springs along the ridgelines were said to be especially important sources of water for travelers moving through the high country. The springs along the sides of Mount Elijah and vicinity were mentioned as being used in this way. This area, at the springs in the headwaters of the Lake and/or Limestone Creek drainages, was said to have been an important base camp for people living in the mountains during the summertime. The area was said to be close to a number of subsistence and ceremonial areas, and was speculated to be a "meeting place" and campsite for people converging from different tribes or villages (24, 03). It was also highly regarded because of its large and predictable springs:

"Several springs come out of the mountain there. When you stop and get a drink of that water it comes out cold, just like ice water" (24).



Bolan Lake, one of several lakes in the high Siskiyous that served as a campsite and resource gathering area for the native peoples of the region. Siskiyou National Forest.

Individuals and families that traveled in the high country were said to often move around between campsites of this type during the summer months. Interviewees

for the current study mentioned that Kelly Lake, Bolan Lake, and Tannen Lake were visited and used as campsites during travels between the Klamath and Rogue basins, often in succession. For people traveling to the Illinois Valley from Happy Camp, Kelly Lake was used as a campsite during the first day of an ascent. Some simply picked berries at Poker Flat and then descended back toward the Klamath River, but some continued on to Tannen Lake or Bolan Lake and used these camps as bases of operations along the Siskiyou crest. Bolan Lake was said to have been particularly important as a campsite by Happy Camp residents, as was still used heavily into the mid-20th century (24). Some groups continued on to campsites at the springs in the vicinity of Mount Elijah. From these camps, people traveled down to the villages of the upper Illinois Valley for social, ceremonial, or subsistence activities. Thus,

"People traveled from Poker Flat to Bolan Lake to Grayback Mountain... and down to Waldo...people stopped at each one" (24).

Such campsites typically had associated meadows that could be used as campsites and often contained culturally significant plants; in the 19th century, these meadows proved invaluable for grazing horses, which were of growing importance to mountain travel. Regrettably, knowledge of campsite locations is limited north of Selma due in part to the absence of large and proximate tribal populations after the Rogue War. Certain mountain campsites of particular importance, such as at Dutchman Peak on the east side of the Applegate Valley, were still recalled by some families that had left generations before: "There was constant use of that area" (07).

Interviewees that I consulted for this study mentioned a number of other sites that were accessible by this trail system in the peaks just south and east of the Monument. "There also was a place with large mortars. It had to do with acorns. It was a really important place" (21). This grinding site was said to be located in an exposure of serpentinite rock with blue-green coloration, adjacent to the trail. The site was said to be of special ceremonial importance. The exact uses of the site were not mentioned, but the site appears to have related in some way to subsistence-related rituals conducted as part of summertime treks into the mountains.

Tribal interviewees for this study from the Klamath River basin suggested that these trail networks facilitated access to a diverse range of resource opportunities and reduced the threat of famine. For example, their stories recalled hunting across conventionally designated tribal boundaries during times of scarcity:

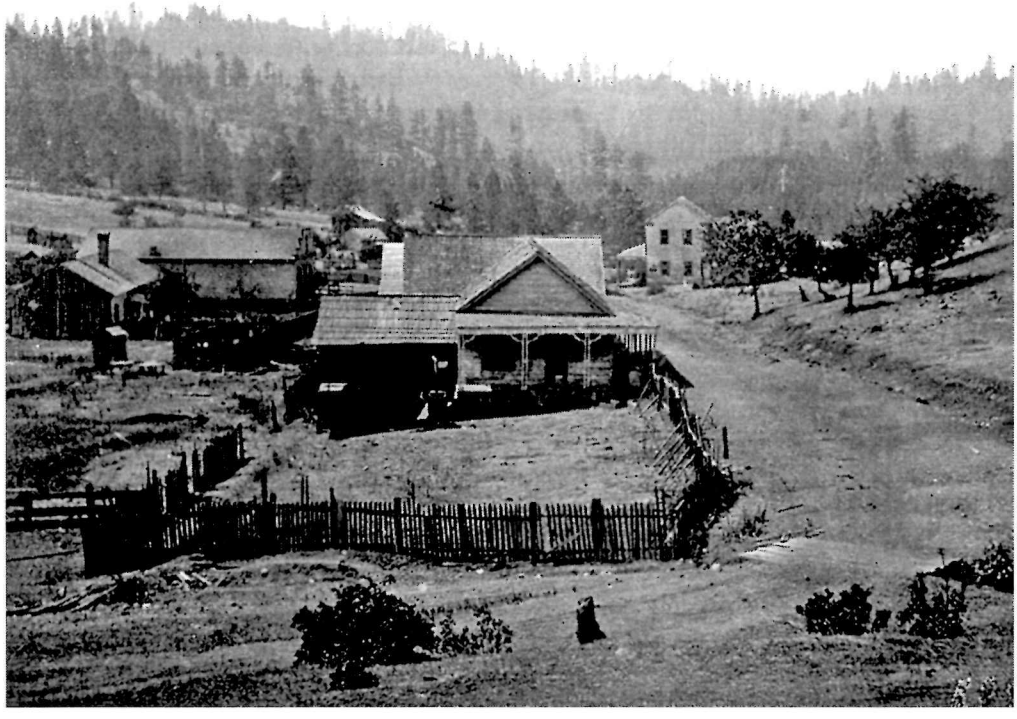
"The Karuk and the Shasta from Klamath River...if they were tracking elk, and if they went that far north, they would track them all the way up there...[up through Takilma and the Waldo area]. It's all overlapping... with the Indians on the Oregon side. Of course, there were no boundaries back then" (03).

As soon as Euro-Americans arrived in the Siskiyou region, they appear to have begun using tribal trails as routes of travel. The accounts of white militias and U.S. forces traveling through the region frequently mention making use of existing trail networks when moving between valleys or when tracking bands of Indians in the mountains. Following the Rogue War, both trails and certain tribal campsites were utilized by mountain travelers. A number of late 19th and early 20th century sources allude to the appeal of Meadows Mountain as a campsite, with abundant water, expansive views, and grazing areas for horses and livestock. During this period, the area was a popular campsite for people visiting Grayback Mountain and Oregon Caves, especially when ascending from Williams.



The trail from Williams to Oregon Caves, as it appeared in the late 19th century. Much evidence suggests that this trial largely followed the route of the pre-existing tribal trail from the Applegate Valley to the Lake Mountain and Grayback Mountain areas. Siskiyou National Forest

During the mid- to late-19th century, these trails became the foundation for wagon roads connecting the region's river valleys. In 1851, mining camps were established at Happy Camp on the Klamath River and at "Sailor Diggings" at Waldo.



The mining community of Waldo, Oregon circa 1900. Siskiyou National Forest.

"Most miners went back and forth between the two trading centers for years," using what appear to have been Indian trails that were expanded to become wagon roads (Pfefferle 1977: 11). Likewise, a wagon road ascended from Klamath River along Indian Creek, following the East Fork Illinois through the Waldo area in the upper Illinois River basin. This route, commonly called the "John Billings pack route" or the "Billings-Fry pack route" appears to have followed the original tribal trail routes linking the Klamath and upper Illinois drainages (Atwood 1978: 24). From the point where this trail met the Klamath River, at Happy Camp, another trail connected downriver to the Trinidad area, also reflecting the pre-contact patterns of movement through the Siskiyous.

Specialized Resource Procurement in the High Siskiyous

While archaeological and ethnographic accounts of area tribes allude to extensive upland resource harvests, these accounts are often ambiguous as to what resources were collected during the summertime harvests. A review of written accounts, as well as interviews with contemporary tribal members, have provided a partial list of

plants and animals gathered in this area. Certainly, more detailed research could be conducted on this topic.

Plant Materials

The highest mountains of the Siskiyou region were depicted as important sources of plant materials historically. Interviewees for the current study suggested that the Grayback Mountain massif and the Kalmiopsis area were recognized by their ancestors as places of considerable botanical variety that made them distinct and valuable for plant collection. In these areas, water is more abundant, but the growing season much shorter than the valleys below, brining an abrupt profusion of edible roots, shoots, and berries in high elevation forests and meadows following the springtime snowmelt each year.

Locally abundant edible berries were found in mountain environments, and were reported to be an important component of traditional subsistence in the summertime (Schenck and Gifford 1952; Dixon 1907: 424-25). Written sources and interviews suggest that a wide range of berries were gathered in the high Siskiyous, including huckleberries, manzanita berries, serviceberries (*Amelanchier* spp.) and an assortment of berries of the genera *Prunus* (e.g., crabapple), *Ribes* (currants) and *Rubus* (blackberries, raspberries, and their kin).

Berries tended to be concentrated in specific patches, often associated with springs and other perennial water sources. As will be discussed in a following section, the localized concentration of these berry species were also intensified through human management. As Pullen (1996: IV-15) notes:

"Berries, especially huckleberry and serviceberry, were gathered in the mountains surrounding the Illinois and Applegate River Valleys. Periodic burning would have maintained the productivity of such areas."

Interviewees that I consulted for the current study mentioned that the Siskiyous had certain especially productive berry patches that became the center of multi-tribal gatherings centering on the berry harvest. A large multi-tribal huckleberry picking area was reported in the upper reaches of Indian Creek, which was said to be used by people from the Illinois Valley as well as the Klamath River Karuk and other communities of the area:

"People talked about taking a long trip to go pick huckleberries...they piled them up and dried them there. Everybody was there! People from all the tribes on the Rogue River and Klamath sides" (21).

People gathered there not as "tribes" *per se*, but as families and households; at these sorts of gatherings, interviewees for the current study note, people sometime met potential spouses from other village communities. The same huckleberry picking

sites were recalled by tribal interviewees for this study from both sides of the Siskiyou divide:

"They got huckleberries back in there too. You'd go out of Happy Camp and go up to pick your huckleberries. There and up on Grayback. If you were out of huckleberries you would go up there" (24).

One of these patches was said to be located near Kelly Lake and Poker Flat; it is still recalled by some Karuk families, who continued to visit this patch long after the multi-tribal gatherings had ceased: "it's up there off the main road maybe a mile or two...it was still a pretty good patch" in the mid-20th century (24). Another traditional huckleberry picking area was reported in one of the draws above the Waldo area, in the headwaters of either Sucker Creek or the East Fork Illinois River, which was visited when people traveled over the pass.

The use of manzanita berries in the area has been hypothesized, but little detail is available. Davis (1963: 23) notes large concentrations of manzanita berries is found on Grayback Mountain. These berries could be eaten, but were also mashed to produce a "cider" that was consumed by the Shasta and other area tribes (Dixon 1907).

The specialized harvest of bulbs from upland liliaceous species was also common. The Karuk, for example, gathered tiger lily and Eureka lily (*Lilium occidentale*) in mountainous areas (Schenck and Gifford 1952). Mountainous areas in the Siskiyous also had isolated camas patches, which were much smaller than those found on the valley floors - they were likely utilized later in the season and in limited quantities. Takelma tales collected by Sapir makes passing reference to one the use of these high-elevation camas patches:

"On top of the mountain he arrived, looked down into the plain. Oh, 'twas a pretty land, and just one girl was digging camass and a burden basket of roots she carried on her back" (Sapir 1909: 125).[44]

Sugar pine nuts were mentioned as an important resource in the mountain forests of the region, though much of the pine nut gathering appears to have taken place some distance from the Monument.[45] Also, Boyd (1986: 73) reports that the Takelma burned along the bases of sugar pine trees in the fall to obtain the sweet sap. Hazelnuts too "were gathered in considerable quantities in the mountains" by area tribes (Dixon 1907: 423).

Interviewees for the current study report that a diverse assortment of basket materials, such as beargrass, hazelnut shoots, and maidenhair fern drew families into the mountains. Dixon (1907: 399), for example, notes that these three plants were obtained from mountainous areas were central to Shasta basketry traditions, while such authors as Schenck and Gifford (1952 suggest that these plants were essential to Karuk basketry traditions as well. Of these, perhaps beargrass (*Xerophyllum tenax*) was the most significant. Speaking of bear grass, Schenck and Gifford (1952) noted:

"This is an important material in basket making. It is gathered in June and July in the mountains "away from here" in areas which have been burned over by the Indians during the preceding year. It is gathered after the burning because then only new green leaves will be on the plant and it is more easily worked and picked in this state."

Beargrass was also used to hem women's deerskin gowns. Some interviewees for the current study - including individuals identifying themselves as Takelma, Shasta, and Karuk - mentioned that beargrass was gathered in the general vicinity of Oregon Caves, though specific gathering sites in the area were no longer recalled. So too, Hoxie Simmons recalled that "basket grass" was gathered on the big mountains at the headwaters of the Applegate River (Harrington 1981, Reel 28).

Maidenhair fern, an important decorative component of area tribes' basketry, is traditionally gathered at the headwaters of streams in high elevation areas (O'Neale 1932). O'Neale's consultants suggested that the root of the Karuk name for maidenhair fern, Yumarekiritapki, is "Yumare" or "hell," apparently reflecting the difficulty of gathering this plant in high, remote, and densely-wooded areas with cougars, bears, and other dangers. Women also reportedly gathered woodwardia fern in these remote high-elevation areas. Interviewees consulted for this study and ethnographic writings suggest that, cumulatively, baskets were made of materials from multiple elevations, gathered over the course of the annual round: basket foundations were sometimes made from low-elevation willow and myrtle or upland hazel, the twining was often made from middle-elevation Ponderosa pine or "bull" pine roots or upland sugar pine, while beargrass and maidenhair fern from the high mountains for basket overlays.

Beargrass and irises were also used in the production of cordage. Iris cord gathered in upland areas was used to create deer snares and nets for catching woodpeckers as part of the upland hunt (Schenck and Gifford 1952: 381; Sapir 1907b). Likewise, Kroeber noted that the use of iris cord set apart the Karuk and Shasta from other California tribes:

"In the northwest, from the Tolowa to the Coast Yuki, and inland at least to the Shasta, Indian hemp and milkweed are superseded by a small species of iris - *I. macrosiphon* - from each leaf of which two thin, tough, silky fibers are scraped out. The manufacture is tedious, but results in an unusually fine, hard, and even string (Kroeber 1922: 281).

During his Tillamook fieldwork at Siletz, Harrington (n.d.) recorded Tillamook accounts indicating that "Rogue River Indian doctors use the leaves of [Oregon iris, *Iris tenax*] as a poultice" and still found and used these plants after being relocated to Siletz.

The identity of medicinal plants from the high Siskiyous is scarcely reflected in the anthropological literature of the region, however, and few individuals recall these



A Shasta man carrying a cougar that has recently been killed. Siskiyou County Historical Society.

species today. Sources suggest that a host of medicinal plants, including several umbelliferous species, also were gathered in the mountains of southwest Oregon. Angelica, called "prayer root" by modern tribal members, was gathered for ritual purposes in subalpine areas of the Siskiyous. This plant continues to be a cornerstone of traditional medicinal and spiritual practices. Oregon grape (*Berberis aquifolium* and *B. nervosa*) was an important component of the tribal pharmacopoeia, with medicinal tonics derived from the roots being especially common.

These roots were also used by the region's tribes in the production of a yellow dye. Widely documented traditional medicinal plants, such as yarrow (*Achillea* spp.) and wormwood (*Artemisia* spp.) are also abundant in the study area. In addition to medicinal plants, minerals were also gathered in high elevation areas of religious significance, including materials used in paints, pigments, and dyes for ceremonial objects and regalia.

Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*) was an important part of ceremonial regalia, and people appear to have ascended into the mountains to gather poles and foliage from this tree. Recently cut "fir poles" with green foliage at top were carried by Shasta mourners in funerary ceremonies, for example, and these poles were sometimes added to the pyre that burned the possessions of the deceased (Dixon 1907: 465). Schenck and Gifford (1952: 379, 383) note that Douglas fir boughs were burned to "smudge" or ritually cleanse individuals, and was used to cleanse houses in which there was illness. Smoke from Douglas fir boughs was also used to shield the scent of weapons used in hunting and boughs may have been gathered during mountain hunting expeditions for this purpose. Mountain mahogany gathered high in the mountains provided material for digging sticks, bows, and other durable tools (Harrington 1981, Reel 28).

It is important to note that the botanical significance of the mountains in the vicinity of Oregon Caves emanated in part from the availability of unique plant materials in high-elevation environments, but also because of a culturally rooted prioritization of plants from higher elevations. Interviewees that I consulted for this study consistently suggested that the ritual significance of the uplands of southwestern Oregon, described in subsequent sections of this report, contributed to a range of related activities that may also represent important components of traditional plant gathering in the area. The peoples of southwestern Oregon exhibited (and some still exhibit) a preference for materials from upland locations for medicinal and ceremonial uses, even when these materials are broadly distributed on the landscape below. Associated with the overall religious significance of upland areas, these materials are said to have greater power and a greater capacity for healing. Perhaps for this reason, materials used in ceremonial regalia were also typically gathered in high elevation areas, including woodpecker scalps and feathers, eagle, woodpecker, and flicker feathers, and fox, marten and wolf pelts and body parts.[46] Medicinal plants, and plants used for baskets and other crafts were said to be especially sought out in high-elevation sites:

"All those high places like that, they're special kind of places. They're spiritual power or good luck places...all those kinds of places that people would go after up there...It's kind of a standard thing for basket materials and medicine plants and things like that, that they do kind of have different attributes if they're picked up high. Like maidenhair fern - you're not supposed to pick it down low along the river, you're supposed to get it from the high country. It's a lot better" (07).[47]

There are several reasons for this perception of plant materials from this environment. First, plants from mountain environments do exhibit material differences from the same plants gathered at lower elevations. Harsh conditions and a short growing season often create, for example, denser wood or fibers, and may concentrate active compounds in medicinal plants. However, the importance of these plants is also connected to the spiritual significance of particular upland environments; as shall be discussed elsewhere in this document, high elevation places were typically viewed as more cosmologically powerful, and plant materials gathered from these environments were said to embody these powers (13, 07, 03).

Hunting

Tribal interviewees for the current study almost uniformly suggested that the Siskiyou Mountains near Oregon Caves were hunted extensively. So too, the anthropological literature suggests that Southwestern Oregon and northern California societies participated in specialized mountain hunting for deer, elk, black bear, grizzly bear, mountain lion, marten, and a variety of small game. Mountain goats were also reported "here and there" in the mountains and hunted where available (Dixon 1907: 424). Such hunting was conducted after the snow had retreated from the mountains in early summer and continued into the early fall, with all activities centering on seasonal high-elevation encampments (Miller and Seaburg 1990). Hunting became particularly intensive in areas with snowpack, where summertime snowmelt brought a burst of edible herbaceous vegetation that provided forage for game species.

Hunting skill has been highly regarded in these communities; traditionally, men who were capable hunters were able to rapidly ascend the social ladder, being able to marry high-status women, for example, even if they did not possess the usual dowry, or even ascending to 'headman' status (Dixon 1907: 462). Hunting is depicted as being an important part of social life in the summertime, often involving entire families or village groups coming together to hunt game and process meat for later use:

"Long ago Applegate River people went hunting in the big mountains. Lots of people went, women and children too. They were going to hunt deer and elk. They were going to dry it all, to eat it in the winter. They all got there and killed a lot of elk" (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 2: 65).

Tale collections collected by Sapir indicate that mountain hunting was typical among the Takelma and was carried out over a wide geographical area: "Everywhere in the mountains he used to hunt...in every land among the mountains he procured venison" (Sapir 1909: 123). Shasta tales collected by Dixon (1910) and Curtin (n.d.) show a similar pattern.[48]

Tribal interviewees mentioned elk hunting in the vicinity of Oregon Caves by tribes from the Rogue and Klamath River basins. They note that the meadows in the subalpine zone were especially good for hunting in the summertime, and people moved back and forth between these meadows along ridgeline trails as they followed the game. Groups therefore moved along the Siskiyou divide, as well as the Grayback Mountain massif over the course of the summer. The area was depicted as an important area of overlapping hunting claims: "There were four or five Indian bands that used that area" (19). They reportedly used camps near mountain springs as base camps for hunting in the mountains of this area.



Small mountain meadows were common in the Siskiyou region. These modest clearings or "glades" provided concentrated hunting sites, specialized plant gathering opportunities, as well as serving as campsites. Some were maintained through the use of fire. In the 19th century, they were grazed by cattle and horses alike. Siskiyou National Forest.

Upland hunting traditions are also apparent in the archaeological record for adjacent upland areas, which contain lithic scatters, butchering stations, and other related features. For example, LaLande (1977) reported on the Brokaw Site, a ridgetop site sitting at 4500 feet in elevation, which he interprets to be Upland Takelma in origin. Consistent with a number of other ridgetop hunting sites mentioned near Oregon Caves, the Brokaw site appears to be related to high elevation hunting activities, including tool making, butchering, and hide preparation.

The notes of John Peabody Harrington (1981: 47) speak of the principal Applegate hunting area in the mountains, somewhere in the vicinity of Oregon Caves, near the "head of the Applegate River" and the lake called "Thunder Lake." Hoxie

Simmons informed John Peabody Harrington (1981: 42-48) that

"The round mountain at the head of the Applegate River is the Applegate Indian hunting ground. Naattlntcha ...what the Galice Indians called the round mountain hunting ground of the Applegate Indians" (Harrington 1981, Reel 28: 42-48).

Elsewhere in Harrington's notes the place as the "Indian hunting grounds" and spells the term "*Naato'ntcha*," which was said to mean "big mountains" in Applegate Athabaskan (Harrington 1981: 42, 48). One interviewees for this study provided the term "Nant'sun euchua" meaning "big flat mountain" for this site. LaLande has suggested that Red Buttes were called "*Naato'ntcha*" in Applegate Athabaskan. Harrington's interviewees described this important mountain landmark as follows:

"The Indians had just one ridge that they ran down in descending from that big round mtn Ind. packing deer or elk trots all the way down that ridge to his home on Applegate Riv. They got their deer or elk whenever they wanted one by going up to that mtn. Sometimes had to stay around up there many days" (Harrington 1981: 42-48).

Interviewees that I consulted for this study were aware of this hunting area, placing it at the divide between the Applegate River basin and Deer Creek on the Illinois River:

"Round Mountain or "Round top mountain" - that's always talked about as a really important hunting place...just south of the Deer Creek headwaters...up closer to Grayback" (07).

Others have placed this hunting ground closer to Red Buttes and the southern end of the Grayback Mountain massif. Referring to the Red Buttes area, LaLande (1984: 37) suggests that

"this and other nearby peaks along the crest of the Siskiyous formed the seasonal hunting territory of the Dakubetede Indians, and were known to them as the 'Big Mountains'."

Especially during drought years, tribes were able to travel over these mountain ridges into the headwaters of adjacent valleys to hunt. Such stories were especially widespread among the Karuk:

"Our oral tradition says that...we hunted that side, we traveled that far to hunt. What I was taught was that we went further in drought years, clear up into the Illinois Valley" (03).

This is not to suggest that there were no "hunting territories." The communities did make claims on certain hunting territories, though most of these claims were concentrated in lowland environments, closer to winter villages. These territories were sometimes inherited patrilineally, and claimed by families under usufruct systems of tenure. Together, the various hunting grounds of the families living in a single village comprised the village's cumulative "hunting territory" (Dixon 1907:

452). While hunting areas appear to have been conceived of more as family than village property, the larger village may have been called upon to defend families' territorial claims if they were infringed upon by external groups when there was not adequate game to support all hunting parties.

In the fall, people conducted final, large hunts in the mountains. Holt (1946: 312) notes that Shasta men,

"late in the fall went high up in the Siskiyous for the last big fall deer hunt. It was at this time that they had the big drive, encircling the deer with fire."

After this final hunt, they descended down the mountains and set ambushes, corrals, and snares to catch elk and deer as they retreated down the mountains from the snow, fattened by their summertime feeding in the highlands. In the Illinois Valley, they hunted

"up the trail over here near Waldo and over to the Takilma Valley...some of the bands used that area a lot. John's Band built miles of deer fences there to drive the game and hunt" (19).

Similar patterns were reported in the Applegate Valley:

"The Applegate people stay at the foot of the mountains in the early autumn. The deer are very fat and that's the time that they snare them because they are going to dry meat. They make a corral. The deer trail leading on in the middle. In the autumn the deer travel from the sunrise direction towards this way. Always that's the way they do it so that they may eat it in the wintertime. The bones are the only [part of the deer eaten then]. The meat they dry. They trap a lot of deer. They go there in the morning when not quite daylight and hit all sorts of things [to flush deer into the corral]. The deer all run and each one gets caught, one here, one there" (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 2: 65).

Among the Shasta, Dixon (1907: 431) reported two kinds of deer drives. The first involved creating fences of brushes or ropes, punctuated with narrow gaps. Noose traps were set in these gaps; as people flushed deer into these gaps, the deer were ensnared and dispatched with clubs or arrows. The second method involved "set[ting] fires in circles on the hills." Fires were set so that they encircled hills or ridges, with only small gaps in the fire line. The women shook rattles to flush out deer and the men shot the deer as they escaped through the gaps in the fire line. Sapir (1907b) reports the use of almost identical techniques among the Takelma. Sapir's consultants said of the Takelma that "the entire tribe would encircle a considerable district" with snares or "corrals," typically centered on known deer trails. Members of the community then flushed deer into these corrals using loud noises, small ground-clearing fires, and other methods (Sapir 1907b: 260). Deer and elk were also driven into ravines or off of cliff faces and then dispatched after their fall in the headwaters of the Applegate, Seiad Creek, and presumably elsewhere (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 3; (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 4). The tribes of this area often used trained dogs in upland environments to help drive game into ambushes, corrals, or cliffs (Kroeber 1925: 295).[49]

In late summer or fall, the Takelma set fires in the understory of mountain forests to drive deer into snares, corrals, or brush fences, as well as to enhance grazing opportunities (Sapir, 1907a: 260). Pullen (1996: V-2) notes that

"Small, localized fires were probably set for this purpose in the upper elevation areas of the Applegate River drainage, the lower slopes of Grayback Mountain, and the eastern side of the Kalmiopsis."

Likewise, Siletz tribal elders recall stories about mountainsides being set on fire in the Rogue basin to drive deer toward fences or hunting blinds, as well as to maintain grazing habitat for deer and note that "it promotes all kinds of foods, medicines, basket materials, and other things to grow there" (07).

The construction of rope snares or fences was the focus of group ceremonial activity. Those who constructed the rope fences had to undergo special spiritual training:

"For ten nights he fasts, bathes in cold water, and makes snare ropes. He rolls rope as he warms himself. In the daytime, he gathers the grass for the rope. With this rope, he makes snares with which he successfully pursues game because he has trained for it and perhaps because something has taken pity upon him. Thus he becomes rich" (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 128).

These rituals were probably conducted on the Grayback Mountain massif. Iris and beargrass were the principal materials used in the construction of snare rope. These plants were only gathered for use in snares within the uplands; for the Applegate, these materials were primarily collected at the head of the Applegate River and in the Wagner Buttes area (Harrington 1981, Reel 28). Snare rope produced by the tribes of the Applegate and Illinois valley was sometimes used as a trade good.

Bear hunts were also traditionally carried out in the mountains each spring, often at the entrances to caves. Much ritual preparation was required prior to the bear hunt. When the hunters specifically sought grizzly bears, they underwent ritual preparations similar to those required for warfare with human enemies. Once these rituals were complete, men traveled to caves where the bears hibernated. Hunters "talk to the bear for some time, and beg him to come out and be killed" (Dixon 1907: 431). At the cave entrance,

"a number of short, sharp stakes were driven into the ground in front of the opening, and then, as the bear came out and was engaged in tearing down and clearing out of the way this obstruction, he was shot in the neck" (Dixon 1907: 431-32).

A small number of other game species were mentioned in reference to this area. Tribal groups hunted small birds in the area, using their feathers for personal ornamentation and ceremonial regalia; these included pileated woodpecker scalps, and feathers of the flicker and red-headed woodpecker, especially the tail feathers. Porcupine quills were also used for these purposes and porcupine was hunted where available in the mountains. The possession of such items both enhanced and pro-

claimed one's elevated status traditionally, and would have been an important component of ceremonial regalia (Sapir 1907b: 264-67). No specific hunting areas were mentioned for these species, but there is some suggestion that, like medicinal plants or basketry materials, the provenience of these animal products from the high mountains contributed significantly to their perceived power and value.

Traditional Ecological Management of Upland Areas

Hunting and the gathering can be a challenging business, especially for people living in a landscape that is as rugged and complex as the Siskiyou Mountains. Relying upon naturally available concentrations of plant communities, for example, required considerable movement between patches of available plants. Recent efforts to gather berries and other plant materials has made this abundantly clear to modern tribal members:

"A lot of people are starting to gather again...One thing people don't understand is that you need a big area to gather...one year, you will be gathering at one place, one elevation, the next year you will gather at another elevation, and you might go somewhere else the next year...it all depends on where things are available. That depends on the weather and that kind of thing" (13).

In order to increase the localized and predictable availability of plant and animal resources, the peoples of the Siskiyou region applied a variety of techniques to enhance native plant communities.

Among these activities, none was so important as the use of fire. All ethnographically documented peoples of southwest Oregon also engaged in periodic burning of both forest and meadow areas to enhance herbaceous regrowth; to increase the output of berries, acorns, tarweed, or camas; or to increase concentrations of game or drive game toward hunting blinds and deer fences.[50] The documentation of these practices are widespread. Indeed, some of the earliest written accounts of the area tribes, compiled by members of the Wilkes Expedition, which collected ethnographic information throughout the West, mention observations of women igniting the vegetation of "the prairie & mountain ravines" (Peale 1841). Burning was conducted not only to enhance the quantities of certain culturally-preferred species, but - perhaps as importantly - to concentrate culturally preferred species in known locations. This reduced the distances that had to be traveled to acquire needed materials in rugged terrain and placed predictable concentrations of plants and game in close proximity to seasonal encampments in the high Siskiyous.

Interviewees suggested that lowland environments were burned to maintain patches of tarweed, epos, or camas, depending on local environmental conditions. Interviewees that I consulted for this study especially discussed the importance of burning to maintain camas prairies in the upper Illinois Valley, which was once



Upper Illinois Valley, with Sanger Peak in the distance. The expansive prairie bottomlands in the Illinois and Applegate Valleys were the product of annual burning by the native peoples of the region. Camas formerly thrived in these meadows. At the onset of Euro-American settlement, these prairies were the first places to be reoccupied for agricultural purposes. Siskiyou National Forest.

known regionally for its abundant camas. Crickets were also harvested in this area by burning, which chased the crickets toward obstacles where they became trapped. Using this technique, "people used to stack up the crickets like haystacks" (17).

In upland environments, localized burning was carried out to achieve multiple aims, and resulted in a variety of unique plant communities. Thus, as LaLande (1996: 2) suggests of the use of the extreme southeastern Applegate drainage:

"Three major native groups that inhabited or used the general area during the Late Archaic period would have been the Takelma, Dakubetede, and Shasta peoples. Their major enduring legacy to the land was the extensive acreage kept "cleared" of dense vegetation through repeated burning, particularly at low elevations and at the highest meadows."

Pullen notes of the numerous meadows of herbaceous species found in the high-elevation forest of the Siskiyou "The presence of a fair number of prairies in this zone during historic times can probably be attributed to Native American burning" (Pullen 1996: VI-19). These meadows of fire-tolerant or fire-dependent plant communities, while disappearing in the absence of regular burning, are still an important legacy of this form of management (Detling 1953).

The Karuk and other tribes also burned patches of hazel, iris, ceanothus, and beargrass in midsummer annually or bi-annually to obtain the best basketry materials (Schenck and Gifford 1952: 386). Patches of hazel were especially burned to

enhance their production and produce the long, straight shoots that were preferred for basketry (e.g., Schenck and Gifford 1952: 382). "People burned the hazelnut patches...up in the mountains to make longer, straighter shoots for their baskets" (07). As Harrington (1932: 103) notes,

"The foundation [of a Karuk] basket consists usually of carefully chosen shoots of the California hazel gathered the second year after burning the brush at the place where it grows."

O'Neal (1932: 15) likewise noted of hazel that the Karuk

"went to burn the brush during a dry summer or in the early fall. The following spring the young shoots sprouted but were left uncut until their second year."

The Karuk, Shasta, and other tribes also burned patches of hazel every year to enhance nut production; this was done in mountainous areas primarily, and was said to remove fir and hemlock trees that competed with hazel (Schenck and Gifford 1952: 386; Harrington 1932: 63-65). Managed hazel patches were most commonly located in well-watered areas on the mid-slopes of mountains (Fields 1985: 51; Bright 1957: 293)

Karuk, Shasta, and Takelma consultants indicated that they used to burn to enhance other basketry materials, including beargrass (*Xerophyllum tenax*), high in the mountains (O'Neale 1932: 21). The most durable and useful beargrass was said to be found in patches that were burned regularly. These patches were typically located on high-elevation ridgetops, resulting in significant concentrations of this liliaceous grass along mountain ridges close to the timberline (Fields 1985: 51; Bright 1957: 293). Meadows were burned continuously to keep conifers from encroaching on meadows of these and other culturally preferred species.

The Karuk and other tribes of the region burned huckleberry patches so they would "grow up good," removing competing vegetation and fostering new shoots; this sometimes resulted in large contiguous berry patches as described historically at places like Poker Flat (Harrington 1932: 63).

Burning was conducted in the mountains for other reasons as well. People burned every year along trail networks to keep trails open and to channel the passage of deer along predictable passageways along the ridges of the Siskiyous. Each year people set fires to these pathways as they descended. As a result, "it looked like little cities all along the ridgetops, with all of those small fires burning at once" when people returned to their villages in the valley below. (15). As addressed earlier, fire was also commonly used to flush game during large-scale hunts. Fire on the ridgetops was mentioned as an indicator of an impeding raid in a historical upper Takelma story of a Shasta attack (Sapir 1909: 189). Signal fires were also used. Hoxie Simmons spoke to Melville Jacobs of a young Applegate hunter, who had

married into the Illinois Valley people. He set signal fires to let his kinsmen know when he had successfully killed game along the Grayback Mountain ridge:

"Whenever he went from the Applegate in the direction of the 'lots of camas' people he told his own people 'Whenever you see smoke, come to there. I will have built a fire. You may come for the meat for as many as I have killed" (Jacobs n.d., Notebook 126: 97).

Signal fires are also mentioned on mountain peaks to warn of approaching enemies by the Galice Creek (Harrington 1981, Reel 28) Explorers entering the Bear Creek valley in 1846 also noted mountaintop signal fires heralding their arrival (Thornton 1846: 196). While not necessarily intended as "environmental management" *per se*, these activities certainly had localized impacts upon the distribution of plants and animals in the Siskiyou Mountains.

Burning techniques, especially those meant to enhance the availability of culturally preferred plant and animal species, appear to have been the domain of specialists within the tribes traditionally. Some of these techniques involved ceremonial activities and certain fires appear to have been lit in the region for specifically ceremonial reasons. Accordingly, Gifford's Karuk consultants reported

"When setting a fire, the fire setters said formula for a big fire, yet one which would do no harm. Then the formulist blows in all four directions to keep fire from spreading. The formulist is a fire setter who knows the proper medicine" (Gifford 1939, Notebook 174).

Perhaps significantly, the oral traditions of area tribes attribute the origin of all fire to events on the Siskiyou mountaintops.[51]

These individuals commonly used fire drills, lit tinder, and possibly coals carried from home fires, to ignite the vegetation. This burning was typically done at the end of the season in the mountains, once all hunting and gathering was complete: "People burned every year in the fall, as they came down out of the mountains" as they descended down the slopes at the end of the seasonal round (17). Some differentiated between forest fires, called "hot fires," and localized burning for vegetation management, called "cold fires" (16). The former were equated with destructive forest fires, while the latter were said to be constructive, the product of careful human stewardship:

"You need those cold fires to bring back everything, all of the deer and the camas...all the things that the people need and the animals need. When we burn like that things come back" (16).

The tribes of the Siskiyou region used techniques other than (or in addition to) fire that was said to enhance the output of culturally-preferred plants. Harrington's Karuk consultants noted the importance of repeated management on the output of plant gathering areas:

"they knew indeed that where they dig...all the time, with their digging sticks, many of them grow up, the following year many grow up where they dig them. They claim that by digging Indian potatoes, more grow up the next year again. There are tiny ones growing under the ground, close to the Indian potatoes. They also knew that it was good to drag a bush around after sowing. And they also knew that it is good to pull out the weeds. Root and all they pull them out, so they will not grow up again, and by doing this the ground is made softer" (Harrington 1932: 73).[82]

Similarly, some interviewees expressed the view that by continuing to dig up the roots of certain plants, one enhances their production:

"If you keep digging up plants, more will come back...as long as you don't take everything, but leave a little bit, there will always be enough" (17).

Often, this kind of mechanical management was required in addition to burning, in order to yield the desired result. As one consultant said of camas in the Siskiyous:

"to have it come good you need to burn it every year, you need to dig around it, if you dig around it...the soil will be looser and there will be more bulbs, more bulbs every year" (16).

Likewise, burning alone was said to be insufficient to maintain good patches of beargrass: "You have to take care of that bear grass - burn it, but also pick it back, get all the dead leaves out, that kind of thing" (16).

Interviewees for the current study note that many of these culturally-preferred plant and animal habitats were largely extirpated from the region, not only due to destruction of camas prairies and other traditional plant gathering areas, but also because "people could no long take care of it" (16). They generally agree with McKinley and Frank's (1995) conclusion that the displacement of indigenous populations from southwestern Oregon had a number of environmental repercussions, including a dramatic decrease in burning, especially in lowland environments, a loss of riparian wetlands and forest, and the various impacts upon water quality and vegetation dynamics caused by the emergence of logging and mining industries.

For those tribes and tribal members that remained in the Siskiyous into the early 20th century, official prohibitions on burning were cited as significant impediments to traditional plant gathering practices. At the time of O'Neale's research in the early 20th century, Karuk women reported that restrictions on burning now meant that they "must go several miles into open country or up on hill tops" to obtain their basketry materials; women often arrived *en masse* at burned-over areas soon after accidental or natural fires had occurred for this purpose (O'Neale 1932: 23). During the same period, some women reported paying family members to gather beargrass for them in the high country when visiting these areas for other purposes. This continues to be a challenge today, as some tribal members in the Siskiyou region continue to use beargrass and hazel for traditional basketry. As a result, some tribes have coordinated with public and private land managers to carry out

small-scale prescribed fires in the Rogue Basin where these two plants are found. The Karuk Tribe has coordinated with the Klamath National Forest to maintain patches of beargrass for this purpose through localized burning since the early 1990s (14). Siletz tribal members have occasionally gotten permission individually to do the same on National Forest lands in Oregon.

As the abundance of culturally-preferred species is traditionally viewed as the outcome of cosmological as much as environmental forces, so too is the decline of numerous species, such as camas and salmon, viewed by some consultants as the outcome of cosmological as much as material forces:

"People have forgotten how to show respect...if people don't show respect the salmon people, the camas, all of them will decide not to come back" (16).

There is therefore an imperative to continue managing the landscape in traditional ways, even if there is no specific material demand for the plant materials. This should be done, some suggest, simply to "show respect to the plant, show the Creator we still respect the plant" (16).

To underscore their continued faith in the restorative value of ceremonial intervention, interviewees for this study discussed the first salmon ceremony, recently revived by Rogue River tribes and recently officiated by Agness Pilgrim, as evidence of this phenomenon.[53] Agness Pilgrim discusses the oral tradition centering on the salmon, which describes the salmon as sentient and anthropomorphic beings that decide to "put on their salmon skins" and ascend the rivers each year provided that they are shown adequate respect.

"When people forgot how to do that, the salmon would not come back...now we have our first salmon ceremony every year on the Applegate River and the fish are starting to come back" (16).

As part of these modern events, people ritually cleanse themselves in sweat lodges and ritually cleanse the ceremonial site prior to the ritual; obsidian blades are used exclusively, and prayers are offered at each step of the process. Young men serve as divers, returning the salmon's bones to the river at the close of the ceremony as a sign of respect. Women pray over the female salmon, in acknowledgement of the maternal sacrifices of the female salmon, who die in the course of reproduction and "as they chose to do in the beginning of time" serve as the food of their own offspring. This ceremony is held each year on the Applegate River, the second week in June. In the view of many contemporary tribal members, this ritual activity represents a continuation of their practices of "traditional environmental management" of the Siskiyou region.

Oral Traditions and Ritual Traditions

All of the tribes of the Siskyou region had both oral traditions and ritual traditions tied to the mountains of the region. Tribal interviewees for the current study reported that the mountains and mountain lakes within this area were traditionally of great importance in the ritual traditions of all area tribes. These landscape features were said to have been used cure sickness and give individuals knowledge and strength. A small number of individuals reportedly continue ritual uses of certain mountains in the study area, especially the ridges of Grayback Mountain.

The powers associated with a place are said to be rooted in the genesis of that place. The oral traditions of area tribes describe the creation and use of different landscape features by spirit beings who precede the time of humankind. A place is said to possess distinctive powers because of what these spirits did there or, in some cases, by the transformation of a spirit into plants, animals, and geological features in a particular location. Within Takelma oral tradition, Sapir noted,

> "The events of nature and the good or ill fortune of men are controlled by a large number of supernatural beings or "spirits." Many of these are identified with animals or plants, the present transformed representatives of the primeval inhabitants of the earth" (Sapir 1907a: 34).

The landscape, created and touched by spirit beings from this period, manifests their will and power. Some tribal members speak of a principal Creator who intentionally fashioned places in this manner so that humans would have access to the spiritual powers and knowledge required to satisfy their needs, physical and spiritual. By traditional accounts, each of these landscape features continues to be inhabited by a spiritual force emanating from, and residual of, the actions of the Creator and lesser spirit beings. These forces can be engaged by living people. In addition, these spirit beings were said to have conducted ritual activities, such as vision quests at particular locations, to serve as an example to the people who were to follow. People were (and in some cases still are) encouraged to follow the examples of the Creator since that time, guided by descriptions of spirit beings' actions encoded in tribal oral traditions. In Karuk traditions, for example, the Creator fashioned the land, the plants, and the animals in anticipation of the arrival of humans. In these stories, the Creator traveled through the high country, and his tears formed the springs and creeks that flow from these mountains to the Klamath River. The Creators' presence empowered these landscapes and each place is said to possess residual powers that nourish all resident life and can be engaged and utilized by humans. If these powers are diminished or extirpated by destructive exploitation of the uplands, this was (and often still is) believed to lead to the loss of life, and to the loss of access points to the Creator's power (Theodoratus, Chartkoff and Chartkoff 1979; T. Kroeber 1980; Dale 1992). This Creator also established customs and the natural attributes tied to particular locations, to guide people in the time to come:

"upon the emergence of the people into their world, [this Creator] taught them the way they were to follow, the rules and the customs and beliefs by which the way should be forever maintained" (T. Kroeber 1980: xxiv).

Both the Creator and spirit beings that were described as later arrivals on the landscape, but preceding human time, may be sources of such inspiration. Within Karuk oral tradition, for example, people commonly have spoken of the *ikhareya* "ancient spirit, i.e., member of the race of beings that preceded mankind" and have used the term *ikhareya-kupa*, to allude to practices "ordained by the former spirit race [and thus] sacredly established" (Kroeber 1925: 107). Thus, for example, in some Karuk and Shasta tales Maruk-arar (maruk-ʔára·r) has been depicted as a creator of mountainous places. A Karuk man, Oak-Bottom-Flat Jack recounted a story to E. W. Gifford of Maruk-arar participating in the creation of the highlands and associated hunting taboos: "Maruk-arar (Hill Person) made this world. He made the mountains. The last he made was a long ridge [with] five ravines." [54] Hunting unsuccessfully in the mountains he has just created, Maruk-arar established that "They will find no deer when a woman menstruates" and this proclamation became an important taboo in Karuk and Shasta tradition. Once the menstruation is complete, Maruk-arar filled eight different creeks with deer he killed so that they will always be there for humankind; he also made medicine from plants in these mountains, establishing the custom of gathering medicinal plants in the uplands (Kroeber and Gifford 1980: 43). Once these beings were done establishing the resources and the customs of the world, they took on enduring physical manifestations, such as particular animals or landmarks. By some Karuk accounts, for example, Maruk-arar became manifested as a class of "Bigfoot"-like animals that still walks the Siskiyous.

In many cases, the spirit being simply turns into a peak or geological feature at the end of their creative activity. The Takelma have traditions of their creators turning into high-elevation peaks, for example, though it is difficult to establish which peaks are invoked in these stories. The transformer/creator *Daldal*, the dragonfly, was said to have been turned into a mountain peak when his task of bringing order to the landscape and to human lives was complete (Sapir 1909: 34). Along the Klamath River, tribes have stories of spirit beings that retreated to the high country as the first humans arrived, to avoid contamination from mundane life. These beings took the form of peaks, rocks, trees, and other distinctive features of these upland environments. People traditionally visit these sites to access these powers. A variety of ceremonies, conducted both individually on-site and by groups in the valleys below, were meant to engage these spirits (Spott and Kroeber 1942).

Thus, the most potent spirits and spirit forces have been traditionally associated with prominent peaks and other geological features that either manifest powerful spirit beings or were formed by specific acts of these beings. Thus, in Takelma texts, some mountains of religious significance have been depicted as being

anthropomorphic beings, with will and tangible motives (Sapir 1909: 173). Again, quoting Sapir on Takelma worldview,

"a "potent group of "spirits" are localized and associated with certain definite rocks, trees, or mountains. Direct offerings of food and other valuables seem often to have been deposited at the localities with which such beings are associated" (Sapir 1907a: 34).

Thus, Sapir (1907a: 46-47) and Harrington (1981: 876) mention ritual traditions among the Takelma, tied to dan-mologol ("Medicine Rock") and other mountains of ceremonial significance. Such places were said to be used to cure or to cause illness, as well as to seek protection from malicious shamans. The powers of these places could be engaged, and perhaps obtained for personal use, by visiting the site and leaving offerings of food. Takelma consultant Frances Johnson mentioned four related sacred peaks, one of which was near the Illinois River, that were used in this way (Harrington 1981: 876).

"A mountain spirit . . . the mountain itself and its presiding spirit being, as usual in such cases, more or less co-mingled in one conception... such mountain spirits were another Aldauyak'wadís, near Illinois River" (Sapir 1907a: 45).[55]

These mountains were described in Takelma oral tradition as siblings, and Aldauyak'wadís was said to be visible from its brother peaks to the north. While the basis of his claim is unclear, Pullen (1994, Appendix 3: 19) indicates that this peak was located between the Applegate and Illinois River Valleys. Sapir (1907a: 45) indicates that dreaming shamans gathered medicinal plants from these mountains, which were often the sources of their shamanic powers.

Likewise, lakes are traditionally believed to have the capacity to heal and to empower. Individuals sometimes engaged in ritual bathing in preparation for high mountain vision quests. Like mountains, lakes had specific kinds of powers attributed to them. And, as with the mountains, water bodies could be hazardous for individuals who have not undergone adequate preliminary religious training, and that unprepared individuals might be killed by the powers or spirit occupants of the lake. Only individuals who had undergone sufficient religious training and preparation were said to venture to lakes found near or above the timberline.

While tribal interviewees for the current study reported that a diverse range of solitary and group religious activities were conducted in the mountains to engage these powers, the one religious activity reported most consistently by tribal interviewees for the current study was the solitary vision quest. Vision quests typically involved considerable preparation, including prayers and fasting. Ritual cleansing, including bathing, "smudging" with empowered plant materials or waters, or the use of the sweat lodge, was also part of this preparation.



A traditional Klamath River style sweat lodge, consisting of a semi-subterranean building dug into the ground, with wood frame construction and split boards over the roof. Some tribal members have continued to construct sweat lodges of this type in recent years. Siskiyou County Historical Society.

During the vision quest, prayers and fasting continued, and individuals resisted sleep; rocks were sometimes piled or arranged at the vision quest site, but few other tangible traces were left behind. With time, diligence, and devotion, an individual might demonstrate the preparedness to the spirits or powers tied to a particular place. These spirits or powers reveal themselves, providing knowledge and power to the individual, as well as conferring songs that manifested this knowledge and power. From this time forward, the individual possesses a special connection to both the spirit and to the place where it was encountered. These ritual activities were said to provide individuals with the ability to heal themselves or others, or to foretell or influence the future outcome of threatening events. Healing powers were believed to be tied to specific geographical locations, and even tribes from beyond the Oregon Caves area viewed some of greatest healing powers from unspecified landforms in the middle Rogue Basin (Silver 1978: 219).

Vision quests were traditionally performed during puberty; during the vision quest, young people fasted and sought dreams or visions that provided them with spiritual power and foretold their future social, economic, and ceremonial position with

their community. As such, the vision quest was an important defining moment in the lives of young people.[56] Families from multiple villages converged to participate in events marking the puberty rituals, and this sometimes involved families and individuals from different ethnolinguistic groups.

Likewise, individuals might participate in vision quests later in life in order to seek new visions and new powers that will aid them in specific tasks or in specific events within their life. Such vision quests were especially undertaken during transitional life phases, such as puberty, the death of spouse, or in times of war or other crises; such activities might also be undertaken following the diagnosis of disease or infertility. During times of crisis, vision quests were commonplace; preparations for war or the death of a loved-one each called for distinct types of ceremonial activities, and many of these were carried out in mountainous areas in the Siskiyous. While a mountain area may have contained many vision quest sites, these sites did not possess uniform religious significance. Different places were said to be associated with different healing powers and potentials.

Most religious practitioners were said to derive a significant portion of their abilities to religious powers acquired from particular places on the landscape. The highest mountains have traditionally been considered the places of greatest power (and thus, for example, the Karuk term for "highest mountain," *ʔikpihan-tâ·pas* literally means "the strongest") (Kroeber and Gifford 1980).[57] While any landmark of perceived power might be visited by these individuals, the highest peaks were typically said to be the domain of "Indian doctors," the shamans and healers, who ascended to into these mountains and engaged in ritual activities to acquire or enhance their shamanistic powers.[58] They might, for example, participate in a mountain vision quest to seek the knowledge or power to heal a particular ailment, seek guidance on major threats to the tribe's welfare, or foretell and prepare for future events. Among the Shasta, dreams of powerful landmarks with associated powers was said to be among the first signs that one was going to become a shaman (Dixon 1907: 471). When a person had become a shaman subsequently, this place might be a source of power for him or her. The shaman's powers were often revealed to individuals in the form of dreams or songs:

> "the intending shaman would undergo a suitable term of training, generally consisting of fasting and praying in the mountains; during this period one or more spirits would appear in a dream and make known their guardianship by the bestowal of a medicine-song, for each of the shaman's [guardian spirit] has its own particular song suited to its general character" (Sapir 1907a: 41).

Similar traditions of shamanistic training have been reported among the Athabaskan, Shasta, and Karuk populations of the region.

Sapir (1907a, 1907b) reported two different kinds of shamans within Takelma society, one focused principally on removing "pains" or "disease spirits" and the other,

a "dreaming" shaman, who possessed powers of prophesy, control over natural phenomena, or proprietary spiritual knowledge and occasionally participated in the healing of physical ailments. Both types of shamans, particularly the latter, received their powers directly from mountain spirits. Guardian spirits included a host of beings, including panther, wolf, coyote, rattlesnake, eagle, hummingbird, woodpecker, flicker, moon, sun, and wind.

Similarly, interviewees for this study agreed that there were many kinds of "doctors." Some were "sucking doctors," who sucked illnesses out of their patients' bodies. Some specialized in herbal remedies.[59] Some had special powers to heal or to influence natural phenomena. All of these skills required power, which required having visions at certain locations. The geographical origins of one's power remained a significant part of one's identity and one's continued capacity to exercise shamanic power. Among the Shasta, for example, "They announced the name and place of residence of their spirits not only when they first acquired them, but in approaching a patient" (Kroeber 1925: 303). They also returned to the geographical origins of their power when conducting certain kinds of ritual healing, sometimes traveling a circuit between the patient and the power place.[60]

Historically, the powers obtainable from specific locations were required not only to participate in specialized religious activities, such as shamanistic healing, but also for relatively mundane skills as well. Many of these powers were gender-specific. Men went to certain kinds of places to obtain "hunting power" or to ritually engage the spirits of prey animals. Women acquired spirit powers that allowed them to become skilled basket makers. Both men and women could acquire spirit powers to become talented gamblers, or to become skilled singers of religious songs. Often the locations of these specialized vision quests were geographically linked to the object of the ritual work; a quest for hunting power might, for example, be undertaken in a place with a view of a hunting site or a source of material from projectile points. Brief rituals, sometimes simply called "prayers," were sometimes offered at certain locations in the uplands to insure good hunting in the absence of a complete vision quest (Sapir 1907a: 35).

Despite a number of cultural differences between tribes associated with the Siskiyou region, all traditionally share a particular reverence for prominent mountain landmarks, and a suite of ceremonial traditions that are practiced solely at these places. These places were of such enduring significance that some tribal members continue to view these landmarks as significant long after, in some cases, geographical displacement of proximate tribal communities, religious conversion, and social or cultural integration into multi-tribal or non-Indian communities. Significantly, some tribal interviewees that I consulted for the current study still indicate a belief in the powers of the Grayback Mountain area to provide access to visions and healing power.

Spirit Guardians

Certain interviewees consulted for the current study noted that ceremonial sites, such as those used for vision quests, were said to be protected by hazardous powers or beings, and were often considered taboo for non-ceremonial uses. According to tribal oral traditions, personal objects left at such powerful place could have dire consequences for an individual and, save the occasional rock cairn, there is little archaeologically detectable imprint of these activities today.[61]

Interviewees that I consulted for the current study noted that these dangers were manifested in their oral traditions as beings, "spirit guardians," that were widespread in association with mountains and caves with elevated spiritual power. These beings were spirits in their own right, but often not the spiritual locus of a particular place; instead they are described as intermediaries, helping to protect sacred places and mete out the spiritual powers that dwell there. These beings were said to be both powerful and potentially malicious if people visited their bailiwick with poor preparation and ill intent. Modern accounts of their exact significance vary. At minimum, these beings were said to check on the behavior of individuals visiting such places to monitor behavior and insure that people approached such places with due reverence and solemnity. Ceremonial places are said to be profoundly dangerous for people who visit the area casually, and the spirits dwell in these places that will punish such behavior. Those who go to these places with suitable preparation and good intentions will meet the expectations of the spirit guardians and be granted access to the unique powers associated with the place.

These spirit guardians, interviewees for this study suggest, were often manifested as "little people." Likewise, Sapir (1907a) noted of Takelma oral tradition that

"there is a class of imaginary, generally maleficent, beings that inhabit the woods or waters [including] a race of dwarfs no bigger than children, said to be able to pack whole elks and to be termed díni *dini* by the Shastas" (Sapir 1907a: 34-35).

Such beings appear in a number of stories addressing the Siskiyous near Oregon Caves:

"There were many Indians living at Sciad long ago. A man went out to hunt, and the "little-men" took him prisoner while he was hunting in the mountains..." (Dixon 1910: 25).

Likewise, Kroeber (1925: 302) reports of Shasta oral traditions that "The guardian spirits were of the shape of men but smaller size. Each one inhabited a definite locality." Harrington's consultants also mentioned that spirit beings in the mountains included dwarf-like people and beings with the head and horns of a deer (Harrington 1981, Reel 28: 279-80). Likewise, Dixon (1907: 470) notes

"The entire area occupied by the Shasta is thought of as thronged with spiritual, mysterious powers, spoken of as Axè'ki, or "pains." These are conceived of in human form (rather shorter than the ordi-

nary stature), and inhabiting rocks, cliffs, lakes, and mountain summits, and rapids and eddies in streams. Many animals are also regarded as Axè'ki. They are the cause of all disease and death, and trouble, and become the guardians of the shamans, and are often inherited by them..."

These beings enforced rigid protocols befitting of the most powerful ceremonial places and practices. Dixon's consultants noted that

"The Axè'ki are scattered all over the country. Some live in rocks or mountains; others in streams or lakes...The Axè'ki are always trying to shoot people with the pains which they carry, and for this reason ordinary people avoided the spots Axè'ki are known to live. Even shamans dislike sometimes to go to their dwelling-places, for, if the shaman has failed to heed in every particular the commands of the Axè'ki, the latter will shoot and kill her" (Dixon 1907: 476).

Elsewhere, Dixon (1904: 24) notes of Axè'ki "every rock and cliff, every mountain has one." When these spirits first present themselves to the shaman, the spirit identifies its place of origin, typically a rock feature of mountain. Only shamans were said to see Axè'ki clearly, and could develop relationships with Axè'ki through vision quests that would grant them unique powers. The Shasta suggested that the most powerful sacred places and Axè'ki lived in the Rogue River country, and these provided the greatest power to inflict or heal pains (Dixon 1907: 476). Some interviewees that I consulted for the current study suggested that access to these powerful places gave their ancestors elevated spirit power relative to other tribes, a point made by earlier anthropological accounts such as Kroeber's comment that "Some of the present-day Karok state that they, the Shasta, and more easterly tribes excelled the Hupa in able shamans as well as powerful wizards..." (Kroeber 1925: 106).

A number of stories also describe such spirit guardians as taking the form of "Bigfoot" or similar creatures. Karuk oral traditions, for example, indicate that mountainous places of spiritual importance are inhabited by manifestations of "Maruk-arar," in the form of large anthropomorphic beings that Karuk consultants associated with the being non-Indians called "Bigfoot" (Kroeber and Gifford 1980: 43-44, 57-60, 374). Karuk stories describe Maruk-arar as huge and powerful, with a bow made of a split tree and arrows made of young trees. Some accounts suggest that these beings are manifestations of the Creator, who transformed into these beings at the onset of human time; others suggest that these beings "report back" to the Creator on peoples' actions at sacred places.

Another dangerous "spirit guardian" that was said to protect sacred mountains and mountain lakes from everyday use in tribal oral tradition were giant serpents or snakes. These beings were widely reported in the lakes of the Siskiyou region, and certain individuals suggest that they were in the Oregon Caves area. They may be the same spirit being reported by Sapir's Takelma consultants as *gelgàl*, a serpent dwelling in the mountains that can squeeze the life out of humans (Sapir 1907a: 35).

Hoxie Simmons reported that there were two powerful lakes in the headwaters of the Applegate Basin, one of which conferred weather doctoring power, the other inhabited by a giant snake that would consume people. Likewise, Harrington (1981: 47) records of the Applegates that "The Inds. were always afraid of lakes, they would never swim in a lake" due to stories of giant snakes or other beings dwelling in these places. This fits a regional pattern, and indeed may refer to the same lake recorded in other tribal stories associated with a lake or lakes accessible north of the Karuk and Shasta settlements on the Klamath River. In one Karuk story recorded by John Peabody Harrington (1932: 13-19), two brothers ascend a high mountain ridge and are swallowed by a large snake in a mountain lake. Surviving this struggle, they acquire great hunting and gambling powers - hunting a large number of "mountain birds" including woodpeckers, eagles, and condors, they use their feathers to become wealthy. Similarly, among the Shasta, Dixon (1907) recorded the following story:

"Long ago people were living at Seiad. They were gambling. There were many people there. They won from one person all that he had. After a while he bet his wife, and even her they won from him. So he had nothing at all. He did not know what to do. He went off. "I wonder what to do!" he thought. He went up into the mountains. He thought, "I wish to go to that place." He went there. There was a lake at that place, and he jumped into it. In the lake there was a great rattlesnake; and when he jumped in, the snake swallowed him; like that...

"Now, at his home they missed him, they worried about him. They did not know where he had gone. All hunted for him. His brother hunted for him. After five days the snake spit out the man he had swallowed. On the sixth day his brother found him. He came upon him as he lay. "Perhaps he is dead," thought the brother. He touched him, and found that he breathed. So he raised him up, he dragged him higher up on the shore and washed him. Then he took him home. That was the way he came back. He arrived at his house. Now he gambled again. He won back as much as he had lost. That was the way he got his gambling-luck" (Dixon 1910: 24-25).

Certain interviewees consulted for this study suggest that these snakes should be viewed as spirit guardians, comparable to the "little people" or the Bigfoot-like manifestation of Maruk-arar.[62] They will only harm individuals without suitable preparation to receive the power associated with the lake, but if the individual is suitably prepared they will cause no lasting harm, leaving the individual uniquely empowered.

Ceremonial Uses of the Grayback Massif

When interviewees that I consulted for this study were asked the subject of the Oregon Caves area and the associated Grayback Mountain massif of which it is a part, they consistently noted that "Grayback Mountain area is a spiritual place," formerly used for power quests. The entire crest, with its constituent peaks running from the Deer Creek headwaters to the Siskiyou divide, seems to be perceived in this way:

"People went to places for powers or their song...those places were powerful and the phenomena is still there" (16).

"Those places are used in peoples' transition from boy to man, or girl to woman...or to catch our songs" (13).

Interviewees for this study noted that the tallest peaks close to Oregon Caves were places of particular power:

"People went up to the highest mountains to catch songs...the songs came right from the ground...they would hear their songs or dream them while they stayed on those mountains" (18).

The power of the highest peaks lining the ridges east of Oregon Caves was said to be intense, and was inaccessible and potentially dangerous to those who were not suitably prepared: "Only medicine people and their companions could go up there" (03). Some tribal members in the area continue to participate in ritual healing, sometimes involving sweat lodge ceremonies, herbal cures, and visits to sacred places. A small number of individuals felt that it was important to go on the record indicating that, as part of that enduring tradition, the ridgelines between the Illinois and Applegate Basins is "still important and it's still being used" (03).

Some interviewees that I consulted for the current study made efforts to point out characteristics that they view as being diagnostic of vision quest sites. High elevation promontories throughout the area were reported to be likely sites of historic religious activity. Places with views of other sacred places, such as Mount Shasta, Medicine Mountain (in the Marble Mountain Wilderness), and other peaks of religious significance to area tribes, were reported to be particularly likely sites for these activities.

In the course of interviews, I was able to work with at least one knowledgeable practitioner who still uses the area ceremonially, as well as no fewer than three others who had detailed knowledge of ritual traditions tied to particular landmarks in the study area. Information from these individuals appears to be corroborated by fragementary references in the archival record and suggests a fine-grained knowledge of the terrain.

Interviewees that I consulted for the current study mentioned a number of ritual activities traditionally tied to the Grayback Mountain massif and its lower flanks, including vision quests of the type described previously. Interviewees for this study noted that the distinctive, mountainous geology of the Oregon Caves area contributed to its significance as a ceremonial area. Rock outcrops, caves, and other features in the mountainous hinterland were said to be the source of powers, and offerings were sometimes left in these places (Kendall 1990, 1977; Sapir 1909). Some interviewees for this study noted that a creek (i.e., Cave Creek) emerging

from a cave on the side of this massif would have been a powerful medicine place, but there was little specific information on this point.

However, of all of the ritual traditions tied to this area, the most significant seek to focus on the acquisition of powers to perceive, engage, and modify environmental forces such as weather.

Certainly, the anthropological literature addressing this region mentions the acquisition of powers to influence meteorological and other environmental events through ritual activity. In the oral traditions of area tribes, such as the Takelma, "supernatural beings are identified with or are manifested in such inorganic objects as sun, moon, wind, whirlwind, snow, rain, and storm" and can be engaged or beseeched for certain assistance ritually (Sapir 1907a: 34). According to Takelma oral traditions recorded by Sapir, a storm spirit also dwelled in the mountains in the vicinity of the study area. This spirit was portrayed as a large, powerful woman with a camas digging stick, who traveled over the mountain ridges uprooting and overturning trees just as mortal women uprooted and overturned camas bulbs (Sapir: 1907a: 39). Winds are also depicted as beings that travel mountain passes in Takelma oral tradition (Sapir 1909: 197).

There were a number of prescriptions for influencing weather through activities carried out on the mountaintops. Dixon noted of the Shasta that if a person

> "goes up on a high ridge in summer-time, and rolls about or tramples on the grass, it will rain. There is also a kind of root that grows high up in the hills. If this is burned, the sky clouds over at once and rain will surely fall in two or three days" (Dixon 1907: 471).

The anthropological literature also alludes to a being or beings associated with thunder and - significantly - certain authors have indicated that the Grayback Mountain massif was identified as the source of thunder in tribal traditions (e.g., LaLande 1991). Farrand (1915: 211-12) recorded stories of the being called "Thunder" among the Shasta and Athabaskans from this area, who had since been removed to the Siletz Reservation. In these stories, Thunder is depicted as a powerful man who is ultimately defeated and relegated to the sky. "Thunder" clearly played an important part in Applegate mythology, but this spirit being's role is unclear (Harrington 1981, Reel 28). Among the Yurok, Kroeber (1975: 445) noted stories of the being, Thunder, who is responsible for creating prairies in subalpine and alpine environments.[63] Contemporary interviewees for this study note the role of thunder in starting fires on the mountaintops that create prairies; they also note that thunder will chase away people who should not be on the mountaintops.

Another denizen of the mountains of the area, according to Takelma oral tradition, was - *p!a*^{x}*s*, the spirit of snow. Coinciding with the observation that elk and deer

descend down the mountains each winter as the snows accumulate, this spirit was said to be responsible for flushing game down to the lowlands. However, each year

"though he drove down the deer from the mountains, he was not believed to be particularly well disposed to men, whom he begrudged the game" (Sapir 1907a: 37).

As evidence of this, Takelma noted that elk, immobilized after intensive snows, often had no choice but to bed down in holes in the snow below trees and would sometimes become entrapped in such places. This was described as evidence of the greed of *p!a'ṣ*. Incantations were used to beseech snow to send the elk down the mountain so that they could be hunted:

"..."drive on the elks that dwell in back of the mountain, the black necked ones down in dark places," Snow used to be told. Thereupon it did not snow, he became quiet again. Snow is stingy; he does not desire to drive down elks" (Sapir 1909: 197; 1907a: 38).

Contemporary interviewees for this study note that snow builds up and chased the deer down "it probably chased a few Indians down too!" (07). The heaviest snows, as described in the stories of the snow spirit, were only found on the very high mountains, such as Grayback Mountain and the Red Buttes area.[64] Intercession with this powerful spirit was important to the success of the hunt, but could not be undertaken by merely anyone - the person engaging this being had to be a person with particular powers and training.

In order to influence meteorological events, generally, specially trained individuals were required to intercede with the spirits associated with these events, which were said to reside in particular places on the landscape. Indeed, the apparent number and centrality of weather-related magic and ritual within the corpus of recorded Takelma ceremonial tradition is noteworthy. Sapir (1909: 197-98; 1907a: 49) recorded a number of Takelma rituals and incantations undertaken to influence meteorological events including thunder, snow, rain, and others. Likewise, Kroeber (1922: 302-03) mentions "weather doctors" as one type of specialized shaman found throughout California cultures. Such doctors were said to have gained the power to control meteorological phenomena through specialized ritual practice and training. Ritual bathing and cleansing in mountain lakes is sometimes mentioned as a common part of vision quests undertaken for these higher powers (Dixon 1904). Meanwhile, Heizer (1953) noted rock features in Shasta territory, traditionally used by weather shamans to influence weather. Similar features were also reported in other northwestern California tribes' territories.

In the Siskiyou region, such intercession with potent spirits that control weather and other environmental phenomena may relate to the "world renewal" functions that have been identified in Karuk traditions especially (Drucker 1936). For example, Karuk elders reported to Putnam that as part of their traditions,

"..."a medicine man go up in the high mountains and prayed to the heaven and to the stars and to the sun with his power that sickness will be going away and have a better world: the earth will be covered with green grass and wild flowers and plenty of fish in the river-also berries and all animals and birds will come back to earth again."...While the Indian priest is fasting and praying on some lonely mountain top, the men of his tribe are busy preparing for the big festival. Word is sent to all the tribes in the country that "Ah Pura Way" [the world renewal ceremony] will be danced on such and such an occasion. Those who receive the invitation immediately begin preparations to participate in the festival" (Putnam 1917: 279-80).

Perhaps related to these previously recorded ritual traditions, some interviewees that I consulted for the current study alluded to the Grayback Mountain massif as a place closely tied to powers over meteorological phenomena. The area was said to be used by the tribes of the Rogue and Klamath River basins, and occasionally by tribes more distant. A small number of families have kept alive traditions tied to this place, which is still perceived to be an important source of power for people wishing to influence environmental phenomena:

"You're hoping to commune and work with the wind and the fire on that mountain. It's kind of a lost art...there's few training for it anymore...I'm not saying it's lost. It's dormant...Few go there. It's very hard, very hard training" (03).

The high ridgeline was said to be more powerful, but less commonly used than many other ceremonial places: "That's high medicine. You can train for it, but you take the chance of hurting yourself if you go there" (03).

The power to go to this area was said to have been traditionally inherited "along the bloodline" though few individuals in the bloodline necessarily had the discipline and power to go there. It is important to note that these individuals indicate that the information provided here has been passed along within living oral traditions and ritual practices, and these individuals do not appear to be familiar with the anthropological writings on weather doctoring. The powers that once can obtain in these high mountains, they suggest, gives people the ability to modify the weather, springs, or other environmental phenomena for good:

"You can find water and call back water from the earth. If you have a need for obsidian, you can find obsidian. These are things that the Creator gave us to survive...To actually go up to an underground spring, sing your song, and have it come back up out of the ground at you - that's your true test" (03).

Power is said to be obtained from certain rock "altars" along the ridgetops. Interviewees did not wish to give detailed information on the location of these altars. Despite the sensitivity of this information, these individuals felt that it was important to record this information for future generations. "That's a real sacred area for training. There are only a handful of us left who can remember where the altar is" (03).

These ritual areas are located for optimum views of other power places, such as Mount Shasta and Medicine Mountain, which are also acknowledged and perhaps engaged for their powers during the ritual. A number of other Cascade Range peaks are also visible. Some took pilgrimages to these remote peaks as part of their advanced religious training, but minimally these places had to be seen and recognized as part of the ascent:

"You have to acknowledge them. Even though that's way outside of our territory that is still a place of power...the old timers that trained there - they would sometimes go on at some point in their lives to honor them. Go there directly. The old medicine people, they acknowledged all of the places of power that they saw up there" (03).

The ascent up the mountain requires extensive preparation, including ritual cleansing of the body and spirit. Individuals cleanse their bodies with cathartic work in the sweat lodge prior to their ascent, and bathed in ritual springs or lakes as they climbed the mountain. Individuals fast on the mountaintop, consuming only salmon broth and acorn broth. The stay lasts several days and, while an individual largely conducts this work independently, a "second" follows them to insure their safety during this physically and spiritually trying event:

"you have to have a second - someone who is knowledgeable to realize when there is a challenge going on. Someone that is strong - physically, obviously, they should be fairly strong, but spiritual strength, so that they can help. Help if you need it" (03).

Certain points were visited in preparation for the ascent, or as part of the ascent, and a "ceremonial trail" mentioned as part of the ascent from the valleys below is mentioned in a following section. Springs, streams and lakes visited along the ascent were important to the ceremonial use of this area, not only for ritual cleansing. This was because each was said to impart a different kind of power that cumulatively prepared the individual for the more challenging effort of acquiring meteorological power on the Grayback Mountain ridge. A number of lakes are along the ceremonial trail to Grayback Mountain and were likely used in this way.[65] Springs were also visited, included "springs above where the caves are" (24).

Only a handful of individuals pursue this kind of power today. A number of realities of modern life make the training difficult. Occasionally, someone has successfully participating in ceremonial activities on the ridges of the Grayback Mountain massif. This was said to be taken as evidence in the community that this individual had been "accepted" by the mountain's resident powers as a healer and had chosen the correct career path.[66]

These individuals refer to "Thunder beings" and lightning dwelling along this ridgetop. The Thunder beings are said to protect the place and to assess the preparedness of individuals who go there, in a manner reminiscent of a spirit guardian.

Braving a lightning storm on the top of the ridge as part of a ritual quest is traditionally considered a potent and distinctive source of spiritual power:

"That is where the lightning strikes...people went up there in the storms...the lightening would strike over here, it would strike over there...right by you. The noise is incredible...the spirits were testing you, maybe trying to chase you off. And you had to stay up there until it was over" (03).[67]

There are interesting parallels to this information in unpublished archival sources alluding to the study area. Hoxie Simmons reported to Harrington that there were two culturally significant lakes sitting side-by-side, near traditional hunting areas at the headwaters of Applegate River. These lakes were apparently associated with Thunder and were used for acquiring weather power:

"There were two lakes on that big round mountain at the head of the Applegate River, one was called Thunder lake, a small lake like a hole with a rim around it. This was possibly the witch lake... The other lake was a big lake" (Harrington 1981, Reel 28).

Elsewhere, Hoxie Simmons reported that the smaller was referred to as "Thunder Lake" and was said to be the source of powerful "weather medicine." The larger lake was powerful but dangerous, the home of a "big snake monster," presumably a spirit guardian that would devour people who visited the place casually (Harrington 1981, Reel 28). This mountain and adjacent upland areas were apparently central to Applegate subsistence.

Clearly, this reference to Thunder Lake as a source of "weather medicine" appears to relate to the practices described by interviewees that I consulted for this study. Gray (1987) and LaLande (1984: 3-4) speculate that these were Azalea and Lonesome Lakes at the head of the Butte Fork of the Applegate River, or the Squaw Lakes. Elsewhere, LaLande (2001: 68) interprets these lakes as being the Squaw Lakes, which are roughly 20 miles east of Grayback Mountain, but suggests that they could also be Azalea and Lonesome Lakes in the Red Buttes Wilderness. Ethnographic information gathered in the course of this study may support for a provenience in the Red Buttes or Grayback ridge. Certainly, there are other paired sets of lakes near or immediately beyond the upper reaches of the Applegate drainage, and along the Grayback Mountain ceremonial trail. In light of the information provided by interviewees that I consulted for this study, it is quite possible that the lakes being described were part of the "weather medicine" tradition tied to Grayback Mountain. Pairs of lakes fitting Simmons' description - one large, one small - in the area include Tannen Lakes, Bigelow Lakes, Miller Lakes, and an apparently unnamed pair of lakes at the headwaters of Sturgis Fork. Of these, Bigelow Lakes may best fit the ethnographic and geographic patterns apparent in archival and interview sources. The Bigelow Lakes are encircled by a cirque rim that may fit the description of "a hole with a rim around it."



Bigelow Lake sat adjacent to the subalpine meadow commonly called "Bigelow Meadows" in honor of the Bigelow family, who grazed livestock there in the 19th century. As this 1922 photo shows, the meadows had become overgrazed by the early 20th century. Siskiyou National Forest.

While this interpretation is not definitive, the implications are worth considering. Regardless of the identity of the lakes mentioned by Simmons, the accounts of contemporary would minimally suggest that tribal members have long passed alongside Bigelow Lakes as part of efforts to obtain a range of powers that might be summarized as "weather medicine." If the lakes identified by Hoxie Simmons are, in fact, the Bigelow Lakes, this might suggest a lively component of tribal ritual traditions was centered one mile east of Oregon Caves.

Ceremonial Trails

In addition to trails used for travel and access to mountain resource sites, interviewees consulted for the current study suggest that the Siskiyou region was also transected by trails that were principally ceremonial in nature. Such trails were especially common, these consultants note, in the higher elevation portions of the Siskiyous. These trails were said to ascend peaks of religious significance, as well as connecting such peaks. In some cases these peaks, interviewees for this study suggest, had "altars" at certain locations, consisting of rock cairns and other features that were visited and used ritually as part of the ascent. The alignment of landmarks that interviewees mentioned along these trails suggest that they passed very close to, if not through, eastern portions of Oregon Caves National Monument.

Such trails are documented within the literature addressing the tribes of far northern California. For example, Goddard (1976), who conducted research among the Karuk and Applegate peoples, noted that the tribes of northern California possessed ceremonial trails of this type ran, which ran along the crests of ridges. The ridgelines were lined with ceremonial sites linked by trails; a number of these ceremonial sites were marked with rock cairns and were associated with places where certain events were mentioned in tribes' oral traditions. Goddard noted that at some of these shrines, for example, arrows were shot to commemorate archery contests held at that site long ago by different groups that had met unexpectedly along the trail. Offerings were traditionally left at some of these sites (see also Wylie 1976).

A ritual trail network of this kind was reported in the vicinity of Oregon Caves, ascending the ridgeline running from the Klamath River, through the Grayback Mountain area, as far north as the vicinity of modern-day Grants Pass. Information provided by interviewees for this study provided a consistent account of the route taken by this trail, following landmarks lining the ridgetops and passing very near the boundary of Oregon Caves National Monument. Certain families from the middle Klamath River still have oral traditions regarding the use of this trail network.

People were said to follow the trail up the ridgeline, stopping at certain points to pray. In certain locations of particular religious significance, people prostrated themselves or crawled "in respect for the spirits there." Key prayer sites along the trail were associated with stone "altars." These are reported to be located along the trail, in places with views of prominent and distant landmarks.

Interviewees consulted for this study report that fragments of this trail network can still be found today:

"The trail is still there. You've got to know where to look for it - it's pretty much completely overgrown. I know myself and this other person...went up to follow that trail. It took us four days to go from the headwaters of Indian Creek on up" (03).

The paths followed by this trail, as well as the "altars" along its length may have been marked by rock features similar to those documented as part of mountain ritual activity elsewhere in the region (Deur 2005, 2002a; Chartkoff 1983; Theodoratus, Chartkoff and Chartkoff 1979). The trail crosses many jurisdictions and is not documented or protected along much of its length. Even as ritual uses of the Siskiyou highlands may continue, the arduous trek up ceremonial trails is being eclipsed by the use of trucks to access high-elevation areas.

Uses of Mountain Caves

Little information was available from written sources or modern tribal consultants regarding traditional uses of Oregon Caves. However, tribal interviewees uniformly described caves, generally, as being of traditional importance in the region. Oral traditions regarding cave use in the Siskiyous are apparently widespread and tribal members expressed a sense of certainty that Oregon Caves was used by their ancestors:

"For the Applegate and Takelma and Shasta...There are a lot of caves and rock shelters...there's just *extensive* use by these people" (07).

Some interviewees mentioned the use of caves for mundane activities, such as temporary shelters. Betty Hall and Mary Carpelan of the Shasta Tribe, for example, described traditional uses of caves as shelters by Shastas of southern Oregon and northern California. The use of caves as temporary shelters was said to be especially common during mountain resource harvesting and other activities conducted at some distance from permanent settlements. Such accounts appear in the oral traditions of the Takelma; Harrington (1981: 809) reported that Molly Orton indicated the name for a cave east of Table Rock, So-ytanakh, meant "stone house" and that this cave was depicted as a house in stories of spirit beings. Indeed, some sources suggest that the term "Shasta" indicated a person who was a "stone house or cave dweller," but Kroeber (1916: 58) suggested that the term "Weohow," which some Shasta reported as their word for themselves, was the term with this meaning.[68] Shasta interviewees note that the use of these caves was said to have declined significantly after a major earthquake around 1830, which caused some of these caves' ceilings to collapse, apparently resulting in loss of life in many places through the region. Few people resumed this use of the caves in the intervening years between 1830 and the elimination of the practice in the wake of Euro-American reoccupation.

Yet, perhaps more significantly, all interviewees that I consulted for the current study acknowledged that caves were used in some way for ritual purposes. The ritual importance of caves, like any other landscape feature, was linked to the role of particular caves in tribal oral traditions. Certainly, caves receive frequent mention in collections of tribal tales; texts recorded by Sapir, for example, make reference to

places called gwel-hók'wal "holed underground, caved" or literally "with a hole in the earth" (Sapir 1909: 247). Tribal interviewees noted that caves were important in the creation stories and mythic narratives of area tribes, and elements of these oral traditions persist today. Karuk interviewees, for example, mentioned that their oral tradition describe their ancestors first being created in caves and different tribal groups were said to have originally emerged from different mountain caves in the Siskiyou region. As creation sites, those caves that are still recalled from these oral traditions are viewed as sacred places by modern tribal members (though the location of these sites is still guarded by tribal traditionalists). These Karuk interviewees speculated that the residents of the Illinois and Applegate Valleys shared these kinds of stories, but that the caves tied to Illinois and Applegate origin stories - in essence, these tribes' creation sites - were located in the headwaters of the Illinois and Applegate valleys. No descendents of these communities depicted caves as creation sites, however.

Some caves were said to house spirits or powers. The principal spirits were associated with the beings associated with each cave in oral traditions - beings that were said to have emerged from or into the cave, or beings that were transformed into the cave in the time preceding the emergence of modern humans. Some of these caves were avoided altogether, in part because they were believed to house spirits or powers that were too dangerous or powerful for most people to engage safely. Some interviewees for this study noted that caves tied to origin stories and other important events were also said to be especially well protected by spirit guardians, including Bigfoot-like beings or "little people."

Many caves were used as vision quest sites, according to interviewees that I consulted for the current study. Caves in the Siskiyou region, they suggest, were used to acquire certain powers or knowledge. Different caves were said to possess different powers or "medicines" that could be obtained by visiting these places, bringing such abilities as prescience or healing skills to their bearer. These powers were "different than what you get up on the mountaintop" and may relate to what is called "below-the-ground power"; juxtaposed against "below-the-ground power" this power was said to be relatively dangerous and could be used for selfish intent or evil. These powers were sought out despite the presence of potent spirit inhabitants or guardian spirits. Only with ritual preparation and virtuous intent could an individual who visited these caves engage these spirits safely and obtain the powers associated with the cave. One individual indicated that, when engaging the spirits in caves, people were very cautious to leave no physical trace of their presence; any belonging of an individual, even a few hairs left behind, could be used by guardian spirits to manipulate the individual after their departure. Even though the exact nature of some of these powers have been forgotten or are no longer sought, some tribal members view these powers persist latently within the site; caves must be preserved and protected, they indicate, so that those powers will be available to the

people if they are needed. The well-being of individuals or entire communities might depend on their ability to tap into the healing power of those kinds of places. Some discussed the reemergence from the earth as being like a ceremonial rebirth of the individual, but were not certain of the degree to which this reflected the traditional views or practices tied to the area's caves.

Related to these beliefs and practices, some interviewees for this study noted that some caves in the Siskiyou region were historically used by young men for tests of their power or their control of fear. These individuals entered caves and traveled as far as they were able. When they decided to double back, they commonly left a marker, in the form of a mark on a cave wall or possibly offerings (e.g., feathers, bundles of medicinal plants, etc.) to mark the extent of their travels into the cave (17, 15). "Testing rocks" and other geological features were used to test one's physical and spiritual preparedness and sometimes confer special powers; suitably prepared individuals could climb such rocks, crawl through their crevices, or conduct other feats that were beyond the capacities of ordinary people. These testing rocks are said to have been widespread in the region.

Interviewees that I consulted for the current study related a number of other views about ritual caves in the area. "The caves were said to be connected underground" and some ceremonial caves were said to have wind blowing from distant caves through holes in their walls (21). This wind was said to gust so strong in some caves that dust or small rocks would be pushed around these vents. Likewise, complexes of caves were said to be connected ritually, with powers or spirits that possessed the ability to travel through these connections. Thus, by participating in ritual activity in one cave, a person might also engage the site-specific ritual powers of caves in remote locations. This is consistent with region-wide patterns in oral and ritual traditions.

Bear caves were also said to have been sacred to the tribes of the area and are still said to have "supernatural" properties by some tribal members today. Bears and their lairs are traditionally said to possess special powers that could be engaged ritually. For example, among the Shasta, the grizzly bear was said to be a powerful *Axè'ki* or guardian spirit that conferred "grizzly power." This power was especially great and allowed individuals to ward off death by a variety of means, including an ability to heal people who had been attacked by grizzlies, which were often encountered when traveling in the mountains (Dixon 1907: 485-86).[69] Interviewees for this study mentioned that their ancestors sometimes went to bears' caves in the high mountains as the bears emerged from hibernation as part of bear doctoring rituals or the quest for grizzly power, similar to those documented in various parts of northern California.

Interviewees for this study also mentioned other kinds of rock features of ceremonial importance in the general area that were said to be related to caves. Some con-

sultants mentioned "rock amphitheaters" -- large concave areas of exposed rock -- that are traditionally used for ritual dances and other ritual events. Exposures of deeply colored serpentinite rock were mentioned occasionally as places of special importance, including at least one area of serpentinite bedrock mortars that was used as part of subsistence rituals along the crest between the Klamath and Rogue Basins, near Oregon Caves.

Importantly in this study, caves were also widely reported to serve as shelters or hiding places during times of conflict, when people were required to stay in the mountains for extended periods or during the frigid winter months. This use appears in some of the tribes' oral traditions. In a Takelma tale recorded by Sapir, for example, mountain caves are mentioned as a refuge for deer people who are being hunted excessively by Panther and his brother Wildcat:

"Even though [Panther] went about everywhere in the mountains, he found no deer. Then did he become tired, returned again in the evening, returned empty-handed. To talk among themselves did the deer assemble in a certain house; in a mountain cave, therein did they assemble" (Sapir 1909: 50).

The caves, some suggest, not only provided impromptu shelters in remote locations, but were also thought to have the potential to confer powers that would protect people under siege. These uses of caves will be discussed in more detail in later sections addressing the Rogue War.

Caves retain a certain religious significance today. Interviewees that I consulted for the current study continue to view these places as important due to persisting or revived tribal ritual traditions; caves also provide tangible geographical links to the ritual activities of tribal ancestors in the time preceding Euro-American contact. Some of the Klamath River peoples are said to revere caves tied to their origin stories and still honor those places ritually. Members of a number of tribal groups still living in the Siskiyou region report that caves are still visited for ritual uses into the present day, possibly including abbreviated vision quests. Tribal members, however, are often reluctant to disclose the locations of caves that possess ritual significance, or to discuss the traditional uses of caves with non-Indians: "they don't tell people where the important caves are to protect them" (05). Likewise, the location of specific caves is not divulged in the current report.

Recognizing the cultural significance of caves, the Karuk Tribe has worked with the Klamath National Forest in recent years to develop a special management plan for caves on National Forest lands. One of the central goals of this management plan was to restrict public access to certain ritually important caves without drawing undue attention to them. Grates, fences, and other barriers were considered, but had to be designed to allow fauna (especially bats) to move freely and to allow occasional human use of these areas.

A number of interviewees that I consulted for the current study expressed a feeling of certainty that Oregon Caves were known and used ritually, based on their knowledge of general land and cave use in the area, but could not provide specific details. Information regarding the use of the caves, some speculated, was not passed along due to the disruptions of the Rogue River War and the sensitivity of cultural and strategic knowledge of this area during the time of first ethnographic research on the area. A number of interviewees for this study suggested that there were probably artifacts in the entrance of Oregon Caves when it was first explored by Elijah Davidson. "There probably was some of that kind of thing there, but in those days they just didn't care, you know" (24).

Nineteenth Century Encounters and the Rogue Indian War

The earliest detailed written accounts that we have of tribes in the Siskiyou region - indeed, the only detailed accounts predating tribal removal to distant reservations - date from the time of the Rogue Indian War. Clearly, the tumult of warfare fostered a very distorted view of cultural practices and distributions during that period. Still, the literature and archival materials from this period are of considerable value in answering certain questions pertaining to tribal use of the study area.

The details of the Rogue War have been addressed in many written accounts. Detailed accounts, for example, can be found in the 19th century writings of Walling (1884) and Victor (1894), based on the first-hand recollections of non-Indian combatants; while providing detailed accounts of specific campaigns, these works are ambiguous on several points and do little to illuminate the tribes' perspectives on the conflict. Subsequently, focused treatments of the Rogue War have been produced by various authors. Beckham's *Requiem for a People* (1971) is perhaps the classic account of the combat, providing what was, at the time of its writing, a revisionist account of the war. In this volume, Beckham provided a chronological account of inter-ethnic violence in the region, in a narrative that was generally sympathetic to the perspective of Indian combatants. Beckham's account has been challenged by more recent revisionist histories, including Douthit's *Uncertain Encounters* (Douthit 2002), which posits that Indian-white relations were more complex than suggested by Beckham and others, with periods of both cooperative and combative exchanges. Various local histories, such as Heckert's *The People and the River* (Heckert 1977) address the Rogue War with limited scholarly veracity, but with a specificity of local detail that has made these volumes a perennial favorites among some local and tribal historians.

When reexamining such well-traveled historical terrain, it is unnecessary to provide a complete account of the Rogue War in this document. However, there are certain themes that demand attention in this report, as they have some bearing on the use of the mountains surrounding Oregon Caves, as well as the valleys immediately below.

As interviewees for this study noted, the region was remarkably isolated from Euro-American influences through the first half of the 19th century and "one of the last places to see the white man" (19). Tribal interviewees for this study mentioned

that there were rumors of Spanish influences on the Illinois Valley prior to Anglo-American settlement, supported by accounts of a Spanish coin and a metal cross said to be found archaeologically in the area.[70] Shasta interviewees also related a Shasta oral tradition indicating that some Shasta traveled into Spanish America centuries before Euro-American arrival in their territory to trade for horses; this account is also mentioned in Carpelan and Hall (2000: 7).

When European and Euro-American explorers first arrived in the Northwest, however, they did not initially venture into the complex terrain of southwestern Oregon's interior. Beginning in 1826, however, the Hudson's Bay Company began to take an active interest in the potentials of southwestern Oregon for fur trading and trapping. In that year, John McLoughlin dispatched Alexander McLeod to explore that region; accompanied by botanist, David Douglas, McLeod and his party traveled through the Umpqua basin, encountering tribes that had heretofore had no contact with non-Indians. In 1827, Peter Skene Ogden passed through the Siskiyous while trapping and assessing southern Oregon's potential for fur trade development; passing from the Klamath River, he appears to have crossed into the headwaters of the Applegate and traveled downstream along the Rogue River, making brief contacts with area tribes but having few lasting impacts.

Trade goods had entered the region prior to this time, and Ogden's journals from the 1827 expedition report that the group saw trade goods among the communities of the Rogue River (Davis 1961). To be sure, many new ideas and technologies, resulting from trade with Euro-Americans elsewhere in the Northwest, had been entering the Siskiyou region through the first half of the 19th century. These especially arrived through trade and social networks along the Klamath River with the interior from the Klamath and Modoc, who had acquired horses early in the contact period and were well integrated into western trade networks of the early to mid-19th century centering on The Dalles. This exposed the area to growing influence, not only of Euro-American culture, but of other tribes that were part of this burgeoning fur trade network. Thus, "with the horse came a number of cultural elements from the Plateau, or even from the Plains; of which some went on to the Shasta" and other tribes of the Siskiyou region (Kroeber 1920: 163).[71]

Beginning in 1829, Euro-American incursions into the vicinity of Oregon Caves occurred annually, as occasional Hudson's Bay Company expeditions began passing through the Rogue River basin en route between California and Oregon. Occasional Euro-American trappers or cattlemen passed through the area in the decade that followed. Most traveled along the cattle trail passing through the Bear Creek Valley, from the Sacramento Valley to Champoeg and Fort Vancouver, bypassing the Applegate and Illinois Valleys altogether. In 1841, members of the Wilkes Expedition passed through the area, creating the first detailed accounts of the region's flora, fauna, and human inhabitants. Still, these visitors appear to have

had only indirect cultural influences on the indigenous peoples of the region, bringing a succession of diseases and occasional direct access to trade goods, but having limited acculturative impact.

Soon, however, the opening of the Applegate Trail through the upper Rogue Valley (in 1846), the discovery of gold in northern California by non-Indians (1848-49) and the discovery of gold in southwestern Oregon (1850-51) brought a dramatic transformation of the region, and radically reshaped the lives of all tribes of southwestern Oregon and northern California. Speaking of the Karuk, Kroeber (1925: 98-100) notes

"Except for a few transient bands of Hudson Bay Company voyagers, the Karok knew nothing of the existence of white men until a swarm of miners and packers burst in on them in 1850 and 1851. The usual friction, thefts, ambushings and slaughters followed..."

By 1850, the region was immersed in conflicts that would ultimately erupt into the "Rogue Indian Wars," a crescendo of battles and counter-strikes between white settlers and Indians. With the first major battles occurring in 1853, the War reached a fever pitch in 1855-56. Though most tribal groups had been extirpated from the Oregon side of the Siskiyous by 1856-57, interethnic violence continued sporadically in the region through the end of the decade. Miners' intentional and unintentional infractions on tribal communities are largely accepted as the ultimate cause of this conflict. As depicted by Gibbs (1853: 162) during the early stages of the War, these conflicts were precipitated by

"the great influx of miners [crowding the Indians] from their fisheries and hunting grounds, and the commencement of permanent settlements... Many of their villages had been burned and their people shot in a war of extermination."

Much of the initial impact on tribal societies has been described as fundamentally environmental, undermining tribal subsistence practices and impinging on tribal claims of the land. For example, John Beeson complained that his fellow settlers had taken all of "the bottom land, from which the Indians had been accustomed to derive a large amount of their subsistence, in seeds, roots, and berries" (Beeson 1857: 67). Walling (1884: 354), too, noted that, with the first arrival of the miners, tribal subsistence was promptly undermined:

"The lordly pines and oaks were stricken down: the hills and gulches seamed and scarred by the miner's pick... and the oppressive silence of nature changed, in a few months, into a scene of restless activity."[72]

Beckham (1978: 71) adds to this

"the Indians of the region had been reduced to starvation and to surviving virtually as refugees in their own homeland. The miner's debris had ruined the fish runs. The settlers' hogs had eaten the acorns and the cattle had cropped off the camas. The pioneers had erected laboriously-made split-rail

fences and would not let the Indians burn the fields and hillsides as they had done for ages to produce new seed crops or keep down the brush for good hunting."

It is perhaps for this reason that Dixon (1907: 389) suggests the Shasta were decimated during the 1850s and 1860s by massacre, war, disease, and "the famine consequent on the destruction of the food supply."

Witnessing these impacts upon the landscape, as well as escalating violence against their families and communities, the tribes of the region were largely united in a series of retaliatory attacks against offending mining communities and white militias. "Until the gold rush, they had been spared the debilitating effects of white contact, and they meant to resist that contact with all the force they had" (O'Donnell 1991: 136). For a brief time, these conflicts arguably fostered increasing consolidation in matters of political organization and military action among the tribes of southwestern Oregon and northern California, in response to external threats and demands for formal tribal representation in treaty negotiations (Kendall 1990).

Much of the original retaliation took the form of raiding, and settlers experienced heavy raiding on wagon convoys traveling between settlements in the Illinois and Applegate River valleys. If the impacts were relatively minor, the retaliation by white militias and U.S. troops was intense. Both sides entered into a more generalized pattern of combat, within militias attacking non-combatant tribal communities and tribal bands attacking nominally non-combatant white communities. Quickly, the violence escalated to engulf all Indian and non-Indian communities in the Rogue River basin, as well as certain communities in the Umpqua and Klamath Basins as well. During the War, most white combatants – consisting of miners and agricultural settlers – were incorporated into roving militia units, with only limited participation by professional military units. Accordingly, the record of these battles remains fragmentary and conjectural to this day (Beckham 1971). Yet clearly, within less than a decade, the Takelma, Rogue River Athabaskans, Shasta, and (to a lesser extent) Karuk were to be reduced to a fraction of their original numbers and largely displaced from their traditional lands. Oregon Caves is ringed by significant battle sites from this intense period of fighting, including Williams Creek (August 1853), Star Gulch (January 1856), and Eight-Dollar Mountain (March 1856). The high Siskiyous, too, served both as refuge and as base of operations to the many tribal groups drawn into the conflict.

Tribal Participants

Reconstructing the identity of the communities and individuals involved in the Rogue War is, at best, difficult. Perhaps it is safest to say that all communities in the Rogue Basin were involved at some level, but that the chaos and mobility

associated with the war resulted in the considerable displacement, reintegration, and decimation of specific tribal communities.

The nature of these conflicts requires some reconsideration of traditional social structure. Each community was linked, indeed integrated with, adjacent communities; if one uses the "marriage wheel" concept presented by Shasta geneaologists, one can say that the communities of the Siskiyou region were linked, one to the other, like spokes on a wheel. Marriage rules required that families marry exogamously, not to one or two other villages, but to numerous villages throughout the region. And, as some interviewees that I consulted for the current study suggest, different villages became so integrated through this repeated process that "they really were all one people." As Drucker noted of the Takelma, marriage established "a formal bond between the two families involved. In-laws were supposed to respect and aid each other" (Drucker 1937: 247). This sense of mutual obligation was tested like never before during the Rogue War, and contributed significantly to the scale and scope of that conflict.

War narratives from this period suggest that non-Indians were stunned to find that they would strike one village, only to have the members of what superficially appeared to be unrelated bands, even linguistically unrelated bands, make attacks in reprisal. Arguably, what they witnessed was a pattern of kinship-based mutual defense of villages that had developed from the social organization of area tribes. When militias struck one village, they had effectively struck a constellation of villages that possessed not only kinship ties to the affected community but may have also possessed kin-based reciprocal obligations to respond. The exact nature of these obligations are not readily apparent in the ethnographic literature and were only addressed briefly within interviews for the current project. Yet it is clear that with kinship ties linking villages within and between tribal territories, tribal members had historically come to the aid of adjacent villages that were under attack.[73]

This was probably a highly adaptive strategy prior to European contact, when small scale incursions by other tribes could likely be quelled by the intervention of kin arriving from a constellation of surrounding villages. Indeed, this pattern of mutual defense may have fostered these communities' long-term stability, in spite the proximity of large and imposing neighbors, such as the Klamath and Modoc upstream, and the Yurok downstream. In the face of the scale and scope of the Euro-American threat, however, which simply lacked precedent in inter-tribal warfare, this pattern of inter-village defense contributed to the undoing of the tribes.[74] As the villages in the Applegate Valley found themselves under attack, for example, a large number of outlying villages with kinship ties to these communities entered the fray from the Illinois Valley and elsewhere. As militias engaged these residents of villages in these valleys, villages from other communities were obliged to respond to threats against kin. In time, much of the region was engaged in the conflict and

non-Indian numbers swelled, resulting in the annihilation or removal of a remarkable number of tribal communities. This sense of kin-based intervillage obligation during times of crisis more fully explains the ethnic diversity of tribal participants in the Rogue War than the notion of some general uprising against non-Indian invaders, as suggested by classic accounts (Beckham 1970). The risks taken by these warring groups, such as Klamath River Shastas coming to the aid of Bear Creek and Illinois Valley villages, were substantial and cannot be fully appreciated without an understanding of their relationships to kin in neighboring communities.

As will be discussed briefly in the pages that follow, the earliest inter-ethnic violence in the region was centered on the Klamath River Basin, in the period from 1849-51, just before the beginnings of the Rogue War. These conflicts displaced Shastas and Karuks "refugees" to the Rogue Basin. (In short order, the migration would turn in the opposite direction, with the Rogue War pushing peoples of diverse ethnolinguistic affiliation from the Rogue to the Klamath Basin.) For a short time, however, displaced Klamath Basin Shasta men were able to play an important role in the defense of Rogue Basin tribes, often taking on leadership roles within combatant bands comprised significantly of Rogue Basin peoples. In the many entries found in official reports on Rogue War campaigns, one commonly finds reference to combined efforts of Klamath Basin "Shastas" and resident peoples of the Rogue Basin, and this was true on both sides of the border.[75] With the many connections between Rogue and Klamath Basin communities, the Klamath Basin Shasta

"played quite an important part in the so-called " Rogue River wars" of 1853-54, and 1855-56, bands from as far as Scott and Shasta Valleys coming north across the Siskiyous to aid their Rogue River brethren" (Dixon 1907: 389-90).

The term "brethren" was not hyperbole in this case. Interviewees expressed amusement at the confusion in some historical accounts of the Rogue War, with people assumed to be outsiders, such as "Shastas," suddenly appearing and disappearing from battle accounts. In truth, some suggest,

"they were all related and each-others kin. They just called anyone from the Oregon side of the border "Rogues" and anyone from the south side of the border "Shastas... they were all related and were coming over the mountains to help their own families" (15).

In some cases, even Indians from outside of the region played a role in the conflicts, apparently united with local tribes through social ties or simply the presence of a mutual enemy. Speaking of one of the confederated multi-band battle groups, for example, Joseph Lane reported, "They are led by a Canadian Indian, named Enos, who was formerly a favorite guide for Colonel Frémont in his expedition" (Lane: 1856: 10).

If a number of outside Indians were involved as combatants, so too were some individual Indians willing to provide support for non-Indian military ventures. George

Hunter (1887: 50), for example reported a number of "good Indians" who assisted the U.S. troops and white militias. These tribal members stayed close to forts, and provided occasional strategic information as well as food and water.

Military and militia accounts, mentioning the precise identity of bands involved in the combat, tend to be brief and superficial at best. Combatant Indians tend to be identified by their geographical provenience, while known bands were designated by the names of their headmen or "chiefs" – such as "Sam's Band" of the Sam's Valley area, "John's Band" of the Applegate Valley, or "Limpy's Band" of Illniois Valley (Fidler n.d.: 23).[76] Each of these groups experienced periods of peace with white forces, though each was ultimately embroiled in the conflict. Only rarely did chroniclers mention the ethno-linguistic association of encountered groups and then, typically, only when these groups, such as the Shasta, Modoc, or "coast Indians" were thought to be outside of their home territory. As the war progressed, the combatant bands increasingly appeared to be multi-tribal.

Tribal consultants and archival sources alike noted a hierarchy, linking tribal headmen from different villages:

"Old Jo, John and Sam were the principal leaders of the Indians, aided by such young and vigorous warriors as George and Limpy" (Nesmith 1879: 213).

Shasta oral tradition, as well as some written accounts, suggests that Joe, John and Sam were related. Indeed, Shasta accounts suggest that they were all brothers and son of a prominent Shasta chief named "Chief Sky" or "Chief John" who held considerable power among the regions' tribes at the time immediately preceding Euro-American contact and was killed in conflicts with miners in the 1840s and 1850s.[77]

Tyee Bill was also recognized as a head chief in the study area. Tyee Bill was identified by some interviewees for this study as the son of Tyee John. These consultants noted that the 1854 treaty with the Rogue River tribes appears to identify Tyee Bill as head chief of all the bands in the study area, including the Galice Creek people, some of the Applegate River Athabaskans, the Illinois Valley and Mid-Rogue Takelmas and some of the Shastas on the headwater of Applegate and Deer Creek. Tyee Bill was said to be Shasta, hailing from the upland areas at the headwaters of the Applegate or Illinois Valley (07).

Within the study area "Applegate John" was perhaps the most central figure in Rogue War narratives. On the Illinois and Applegate Rivers, this headman, named Hart-tish, but also known as "Chief John," "Tyee John," or "Old John" ascended to prominence as a military leader. Applegate John is variously depicted as an Applegate chief, but also the chief of a village in Shasta territory and also Deer Creek in the Illinois Valley (Victor 1894: 407). "Tyee John was kind of like a chief

of that area [the Selma area], but was from east of that area" (07). The reason for this apparent ambiguity in his origins reflects the circumstances of the period, coupled with the kinship dynamics alluded to elsewhere in this document. Some Shasta interviewees for this study identified Applegate John as being born in the Shasta village of Scotts Valley in the Klamath River Basin (15, 17, 08). Likewise, Heckert (1977: 135) reports that

"On the Applegate, courageous Hart-tish (John), military expert for the Takelmas, patrolled the timbered hills and meadows with his disciplined warriors. Born in the Shasta Valley, war and famine had driven him and some of his followers to the headwaters of the Applegate."

Heckert suggests that John migrated to the Applegate Valley in roughly 1850. Based on extrapolation from exogamy rules in this area, some interviewees for this study expressed the belief that Applegate John's grandparents were from a village in the Illinois Valley. With these roots, Applegate John was able to assume the role of a headman in the upper Illinois Valley during the time of the Rogue War. Some suggest that he had assumed this role after the massacre of the Klamath River Shasta in November of 1851 (15). Tribal consultants and some written sources note that there were two "Chief Johns" from the Applegate Valley who played a role in these conflicts, the other being *Teecum-tom* or "Elk Killer."[78] Neither were original signatories of the 1853 Treaty with the Rogue River, but both were signatories to the 1854 addendum to that treaty. Teecum-tom apparently signed the 1853 treaty a year after its original negotiation. Regrettably, the used of the generic term "John" makes differentiation nearly impossible in some written accounts.[79]

Some attacks appear to have been coordinated between Shasta bands led by Tipsu Tyee and Athabaskan or multi-ethnic bands led by Applegate John (Beckham 1975).[80] Tipsu Tyee is commonly described as a Shasta chief "whose home was in the mountains between Applegate and Bear Creeks" (Walling 1884: 211). Still, some have suggested that his home village was close to the Applegate River near the modern-day Applegate Reservoir.

While Chief John was connected to Illinois Valley, and clearly possessed ties to the Deer Creek area, other headmen from the Illinois Valley appear in Rogue War narratives. One or more of the Illinois River bands were identified as being under the control of a headman named "Limpy," so named due to an ailment that caused a limp. Chief Limpy was frequently mentioned as a combatant in Rogue War narratives. Limpy appears to have served as subordinate headman for the Illinois Valley people during the War and may have been the village headman for the band centered on the upper Illinois Valley, possibly at Sal-wa'-qa. It is possible that he had held especially high rank prior to the War, but took a subordinate role in military operations in deference to chiefs such as John, Sam, and Jo. Some accounts indicate that he is a relative, possibly the brother of, Chief John, as well as Chiefs Jo and



While the identities of the men known as "Chief John" during the Rogue War is often ambiguous, it is clear that there were two men who went by that Anglicized name – Hart-tish and Teecum-tom. Both men were band leaders with strong ties to the Applegate Valley. The Chief John shown here, identified as "Tecumtum" by staff at the Oregon Historical Society, decades after the conclusion of the Rogue War.

Sam (Heckert 1977: 135). Some interviewees consulted for this study dispute this claim, noting that Chief John was Shasta while Limpy was Takelma.

The exact composition of the different bands operating under these headmen is difficult to establish. There is some implication in the historical literature that headmen were simply leading village populations that had mobilized for the conflict. Yet by the time the War had fully engulfed the Rogue Basin, "communities," *per se* were quickly breaking down. Groups of men and a few women from pre-existing village populations were combatants and necessarily quite mobile. Children, the elderly and many women took, as much as possible, to refuges in remote locations, only sometimes regrouping with combatant members of their communities. The accounts of tribal members suggest that combatant bands consisted significantly of displaced residents from particular valleys, with a significant admixture of outside groups displaced to the region - Chief John leading Applegate people, with a mixture of Illinois Valley and Shasta men, for example, and Chief Limpy leading Illinois Valley people with Shasta and a few Applegate men.

Conflicts in the Illinois and Applegate Valleys

The advent of large-scale immigration along the Oregon Trail in 1843, followed by the discovery of gold in California in 1848, brought a surge of new travel between the Willamette and Sacramento Valleys. By 1849-50, gold discoveries in northern California brought a flood of miners into the Rogue and Klamath Basins for the first time. Early in the year of 1850, miners arriving along on the lower Rogue reported conflicts with tribes, noting that they were robbed of gold by "Rogue Indians" who dumped the gold into the river. At the miners' request, Oregon Territorial Governor and Indian Agent Joseph Lane arrived on the scene in the spring of 1850, meeting with different Rogue bands and taking "Chief Joe" hostage. During this captivity, Lane negotiated a peace agreement with certain bands, and initiated efforts to establish a treaty with the "Rogue Indians," a term that has been widely interpreted as applying to the Takelma, as well as certain Shasta and middle Rogue Athabaskans.[81] Yet, at O'Donnell (1991: 136-37) notes, this agreement involved many promises that neither side could keep, including the halting of further depredations by miners and unconsulted Rogue bands. Lane soon stepped down from his position as Indian agent, amidst the tumult of Indian uprisings in western and northeastern Oregon.

By the following year, in 1851, non-Indians discovered gold in the Illinois Valley. In that year, the Rollins family was part of a pack train traveling from Oregon City, Oregon to the gold fields of California. A group of Indians that the Rollins party encountered at Savage Rapids on the Rogue River informed members of the pack train that gold could be found nearby. Roughly half of the pack train, including the



The town of Kerby, as it appeared in 1908. The modern town, built close to the site of a large native village, emerged amidst the tumult of the Rogue War. Eight Dollar Mountain, an important Rogue War battle site, sits in the background. Josephine County Historical Society

Rollins family, decided to follow these Indians to the reported gold, while the other half of their party continued toward California. The Rollins party was guided to the confluence of Josephine Creek and the Illinois River, just west of modern-day Kerby. At this site, the party found, and began to work, gold-bearing placer deposits (Ort 1909, Acklen 1977).[82]

The congenial tone of this first recorded foray of non-Indian miners into the Illinois Valley was short-lived however. For reasons that remain unclear, it was later reported that some of the Indians in the area determined to kill the Rollins mining party and to take hostage 17-year-old Virginia Josephine Rollins. Warned of the plot by an Indian boy who had befriended the family, the Rollins party prepared a nighttime ambush on the perimeter of their encampment. As Indians approached, the Rollins party killed three armed men and hastily retreated to the mining boomtown of Yreka, California. News of both the Indian hostilities and the presence of gold in the Illinois Valley, brought by this party, spread rapidly through the goldfields of northern California. While Virginia Josephine Rollins lived the remainder of her life in California and apparently never returned to the Illinois Valley, her name was applied to the creek where the first gold was found, and ultimately to the entire county (Ort 1909).

A flood of miners soon arrived, bent on the dual objectives of armed retaliation and the staking of new placer claims, marking the beginning of what would become

both the Rogue War and the gold boom of southwestern Oregon. As summarized by Edna May Hill (1980):

"In 1851, several prospectors came north from the Klamath River, and passing over the divide into the valley of the Illinois, found gold to the west of that stream, in the sands of a creek which flows into the Illinois a few miles below Kirbyville. The news of their discovery was immediately communicated to the numerous and populous mining camps of northern California, and people began to move toward the new diggings in considerable numbers."

Still, the attraction of gold discoveries, as well as the apparent retreat of the Indians encountered by the Rollins family, helped to temporarily diffuse the intensity of the conflict that followed.

The seasonal trickle of non-Indian travelers passing through the study area abruptly swelled to a constant stream. Tensions grew as the impacts of this travel became apparent. U.S. Army troops were dispatched to the area to provide protection to travelers; in June of 1851, one such detachment, led by Major Philip Kearny, exchanged fire with the Indians and inflicted disproportionate losses. In the week that followed, troops led by Kearny and former Oregon territorial governor Joseph Lane swept through the valleys of the middle Rogue River attacking several different parties of Indians, most having ambiguous ties to the group involved in the original battle. These early battles took place some distance north of the Monument, most notably at Table Rock. Major Kearny organized the miners of Illinois Valley to conduct several attacks on Indian communities in this valley in an effort to rid the upper Valley of a viable Indian threat to mining settlements (Hill 1980):

"There was a lot of heavy mining activity on that upper Illinois – Sailors Diggings, Waldo all of that that area and there's a lot of records about those people just being completely harassed, and their village burned out, being chased around and it would get calm for a while and they'd get right back at harassing those people again" (07).

The residents of the valley do not appear to have risen up during this period, but a considerable number began to relocate to other tribal settlements with which they had kinship ties. It is perhaps during this period that many residents of these villages took up residence with the Galice Creek people, who were distant from these mining communities, as described by Hoxie Simmons (Jacobs n.d.).

Meanwhile, similar conflicts embroiled the coast. In summer of 1851, Captain William Tichenor attempted to establish a settlement at what is today Port Orford, a place chosen for its juxtaposition to the gold fields of northern California near Yreka and Scott's Valley. Ordering a landing party of nine men to hold the site and lay out a town, he headed back to San Francisco. In his absence, hostilities grew between the resident Athabaskan-speaking "Quatomah" and the landing party. The landing party retreated to Battle Rock and as the Indians attacked, fired down upon them, killing at least 17 and wounding many others. The landing party evacuated

northward up the coast, but Tichenor arrived with reinforcements; by later that summer, the local Indian communities had been subdued and his trading post was constructed. In that same summer, a party exploring travel routes linking potential port sites on the coast to the gold fields of northern California, led by William G. T'Vault, ventured northward and was attacked by Indians on the lower Coquille River. Together, these events incited a storm of protest in the fledgling settlements of Oregon and California, and by October of 1851, U.S. Army troops were dispatched to retaliate against the coastal tribes (Beckham 1978, 1971).

Simultaneously, south of the Oregon-California border, the U.S. government worked quickly to try to resolve the "Indian problem" and to open up most of California to mining and resettlement. Between April 29, 1851 and August 22, 1852, negotiators representing the United States federal government signed 18 treaties with California tribes, including the tribes of the Klamath River basin. Each of these treaties called for the development of reservations and the provision of services in exchange for the extinguishment of Indian title to the land. Two treaties were signed with Karuk and Shasta tribal members during this period, "Treaty R" and "Treaty Q." The most proximate reservation proposed under any U.S. treaty was found slightly over six miles south of the Monument, as part of the November 1851 "Treaty with the Upper Klamath, Shasta, and Scott's River" tribes, commonly called "Treaty R." This proposed reservation centered on the central Klamath River, with a northern border that ran along the 42nd parallel from the head of Indian Creek eastward to the vicinity of Mount Ashland. Contemporary tribes claiming descent from these unratified treaty tribes include the Karuk Tribe, Quartz Creek, and the federally unrecognized Shasta tribes. As suggested by this treaty, the ceded lands of the "Upper Klamath, Shasta, and Scott's River" would have run eastward and southward from this reservation. Meanwhile, the land immediately west of Indian Creek and this proposed reservation sat within the proposed ceded lands of "the Poh-lik or lower Klamath, the Peh-tsick or upper Klamath, and the Hoo-pah or Trinity river Indians" in the October 1851 "Treaty Q" (See Appendix 3). Both treaties were signed and arrived in Washington, D.C., only to encounter vocal opposition from the California delegation; neither treaty was ratified by Congress.

A number of Shastas recall oral traditions describing non-Indians killing several Shasta chiefs and their families at Fort Jones, in Quartz Valley California shortly after the signing of Treaty R in November of 1851. Invited to a feast at Fort Jones, their oral tradition indicates, these Shastas were poisoned with strychnine, leaving only a small number of headmen as survivors:

"3,000 Shasta warriors were poisoned by strychnine that was laced into the beef and bread at the customary barbecue after the signing of the treaty... Miners and vigilante groups swept through the Shasta Nation slaughtering all the Indians they could and burned all the villages. Some Shasta Indians fled into the mountains. That winter most of them perished" (reported in Hall 1990: 140).[83]



Chief Sunrise, a Shasta chief. Chief Sunrise was one of the leaders who survived the 1851 massacre of the Shasta, hiding out for two years afterwards in the mountains near Scotts Bar. Siskiyou County Historical Society

This oral tradition also indicates that the Wintu got word of the plan and sent runners to alert the Shasta, but when they arrived they realized "We got there too late, they were already dying...There was an Indian corpse to be seen anywhere one looked." Chief John of the Klamath River north of Scott Valley "was said to be nearly out of his mind due to the death of his people" (Hall 1990: 137). Only 2 of the 13 signatories of Treaty R were said to have survived this massacre, including Ida-kar-i-wak-a-ha or "Big Ike" (15, 17). "After the massacre....the people ran off to the mountains to hide" (15). Some families, including several surviving members of Chief John's family, fled to join kin in the valleys of the Rogue Basin, apparently including the Illinois and Applegate Valley villages, which they believed to be relatively isolated from the conflicts.

When these people arrived in the villages of the Illinois and Applegate Valleys, however, they found that mining camps had gotten established there, and tribal life was precarious at best. On the basis of the Rollins' families accounts, miners began to flood into upper Illinois Valley by late 1851. Quickly, they had established mining camps at Althouse Creek. In the Waldo area, a group of sailors who had recently arrived on the coast discovered gold. A boomtown rapidly emerged at the site, called "Sailor Diggings." Some arriving Shastas decided to stay in at some distance from white communities, instead choosing higher elevation reaches of the Applegate Valley, as well as the remote corners of Illinois Valley.

Ironically, while the Illinois Valley became the center of early mining, it was the bands from outside of this valley that initiated open conflicts with the mining settlements of the region. In 1852, following the arrival of a wave of homesteaders, sporadic battles in the Rogue Basin, the attacks on the Klamath Basin Shastas, and the influx of miners to gold discoveries at Sailor Diggings, Althouse Creek, and Galice Creek, Sam's band of the Table Rock are declared war on non-Indian residents of the Rogue Basin (Sutton 1966). By 1853, a number of other bands joined together to provide a unified front against non-Indian troops and militias. An account by combatant James Nesmith (1879: 213) describes the military's response:

"During the month of August, 1853, the different tribes of Indians inhabiting the Rogue River Valley, in southern Oregon, suddenly assumed a hostile attitude. They murdered many settlers and miners, and burned nearly all of the buildings for over a hundred miles along the main traveled route, extending from Cow Creek, on the north, in a southerly direction to the Siskiyou Mountains. General Lane, at that time being in the Rogue River Valley, at the request of citizens assumed control of a body of militia, suddenly called for the defense of the settlers. Captain Alden of the regular army, and Col. John E. Ross of Jackson County, joined General Lane and served under his command" (Nesmith 1879: 213).[84]

In 1852 and early 1853, the Illinois Valley appears to have continued serving as a refuge for tribes retreating from conflicts in adjacent valleys. A number of non-combatant groups displaced from the coast chose to go there:

"A lot of Athabaskan peoples came there from the coast...Smith River and Chetco... during the wartime especially, people fleeing the coast and up into those mountain retreats up there" (07).

Coast peoples' ability to retreat to the Illinois Valley was clearly rooted in their pre-contact visits to this valley prior to Euro-American contact and the role of this valley as camas source and trade center to tribes of this coastal zone.

In addition, some sources indicate that combatant Indians took refuge there, attempting to evade detection among the non-combatant Illinois Valley bands (Fidler n.d.; *Daily Courier* 1935: 6). The growing population of displaced Indian combatants in the Illinois Valley had the unfortunate consequence of exposing the valley to increasing attention by militias. Militia accounts begin to mention tracing combatants from other villages back to this valley. Walling, for example, mentioned brothers who were involved in the combat pursuing Indians who had taken some mules far from the Illinois Valley:

"On their return a party was made up to pursue certain Indians who had stolen some property from the Hunter brothers, including quite a number of mules. The thieves were followed for three days over rough mountains, across creeks and through jungles, and at last traced to an Indian village on Illinois River" (Walling 1884: 229)

The village was probably Talsalsan, near the confluence of Deer Creek and the Illinois River. Likewise, William Tichenor (1878), who became a combatant in the Illinois Valley campaigns following his more famous involvement in the founding of Port Orford, complained that the various tribes embroiled in the War seemed to use the Illinois Valley and its adjacent uplands as a refuge from the conflict.

"They began to steal away with their families [in the Illinois River Valley] and to secret them in the forests high in the mountains."

Tichenor determined "that I would get them out of that," and began periodic forays into the mountains to route out Indians who had retreated to the Illinois Valley and the surrounding high country.

This period also witnessed a surprising influx of new settlers, who began establishing Donation Land Claims despite the growing tension between Indians and newcomers. Before the end of the Rogue War, a total of 47 Donation Land Claims had been made in the Applegate and Upper Illinois Valleys, including seven on Deer Creek, 22 on the upper Illinois River Valley upstream from Selma, eight in the Williams/lower Applegate River area, and 10 on the Middle and Little Applegate Rivers (McKinley and Frank 1995: 36-38). Some claimants were killed in the hostilities, while a number of other claimants sold or abandoned their claims by the war's end.

Despite frequent if sporadic attacks on the remaining communities of Illinois Valley, these communities remained remarkably peaceful into 1853. In that year, the War that consumed the middle Rogue increasingly spilled over into their territory. Members of the Grave Creek band, including their Chief "Taylor" were tracked down by Applegate Valley settlers and hanged that year at Vannoy's Crossing, near the site of the first gold discovery at Josephine Creek, due to vague suspicions of their involvement in a settler's disappearance (Beckham 1971: 82-83; Sutton 1966). Still, "During the Indian War in the year 1853 the Indians of Illinois Valley were, to all appearances, friendly and peaceable" (Fidler n.d.).

This all changed, however, late in 1853. The densely settled Williams Creek Valley, a spur of the Applegate Valley would become the site of frequent battles. Perhaps most notable among these was the first major battle led by the town's namesake, Captain Robert Williams in August of 1853. This battle, which is depicted in some sources as the first major battle of the war, occurred in a valley northeast of the Monument:

"The first battle of the war was fought on the twelfth day of August, 1853, and was an exciting little fight between about twenty volunteers under Lieut. Burrell Griffin, of Miller's company, and a band of Indians under Chief John. The volunteers were ambushed at a point near the mouth of Williams creek, on the Applegate" (Colvig 1903: 233).

Chief John was said to lead the tribal forces in this battle. U.S. forces proceeded to a village at Sterling Creek, which was destroyed (Walling 1884: 216). The skirmishes that followed escalated into a secondary battle, with militia forces led by Robert Williams. Courier (1960) reports that the modern town of Williams takes

"its name from Captain Robert Williams, who led a battle with the Indians fought on a creek named for him, and thus the name for the whole valley. Skeletons of victims falling in that battle were discovered as late as 1907 on the George Sparlin ranch."

Speaking of the battle at Williams Creek, one consultant noted that Robert Williams was a militia leader who was opposed to the treaty negotiation process, and suggested that the Williams Creek attack was largely a massacre of a village community:

"Williams...I think that that is named after an early settler that is referred to in the records as "Captain Williams." He was a ringleader of trying to break up the treaty negotiations. He was basically a butcher of our folks" (07).

Following the Williams Creek battle, Captain Robert Williams and his troops descended into the Illinois Valley and thence to the Rogue River, where they planned to participate in battles commencing on the Middle Rogue. Shortly after Williams' militia departed, the remaining settlers were attacked by the Indians of the Illinois River, "who until then had shown a tolerably peaceful disposition"

(Walling 1884: 229). Indians based in the Illinois Valley apparently attacked miners and settlers on the Deer Creek Bar along the Illinois River. Whether the attackers were from local communities or were refugees or clandestine combatants from other communities remains unclear. In light of the connections between the Illinois Valley, Applegate Valley, and Grave Creek communities, not to mention Applegate John's ties to both Applegate and Illinois Valley communities, it is quite possible that this was a retaliatory attack for the Vannoy Crossing and Williams Creek massacres. Regardless of the exact identity of the combatants, the Illinois Valley bands were clearly implicated as the responsible parties. From this time forward, the bands of the Illinois Valley appear to have been fully engaged in the conflict.

While the residual tribal settlements of the Klamath River were largely spared the direct impacts of the Rogue War during this period, the events of the war clearly spilled over into California:

"In 1853, Chief Bill of the Shastas and his village came to the Big Bend on the Shasta River, about two miles from Yreka, California to do their annual fishing for salmon. The white community was suspicious of any Indian gathering. When the people arrived at the river, they started the Salmon Calling Ceremony, in which the white community interpreted as 'a war dance'. The white community attacked the Shasta people and the Shasta people were able to escape from their attackers" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 11).

Back in the Illinois Valley, miners and settlers hastily constructed stockades around individual farmsteads, which were then designated as "forts," such as the Hay family farmhouse, which became "Fort Hay" in the vicinity of modern-day Kerby, and at the Anderson Stage Station in Selma.[85] Other impromptu forts that were in operation during the wars included Fort Vannoy (1855-56), Fort Hayes (1855-56), Fort Birdseye (1855-56), Fort Lane (1853-56), and Fort Baker (1855-56). These stockades allowed a small sedentary non-Indian population to persist on the valley floor, even during the height of the conflicts:

"...precaution taken by the people of the upper Rogue River valley with regard to the Butte Creek Indians, served to put the people of Illinois river upon their guard against that portion of the Indian force that had obtained a position in that vicinity, and thus frustrated the enemy's designs with regard to that region of' country.... By the timely precaution of the people of Illinois valley, Deer creek, &c., their settlements were saved, though their loss in stock was considerable" (Drew 1860: 29-30).

Chinese laborers, drawn to the mining centers of the area, were often given the task of digging trenches around fortifications and providing other non-combatant support to the war effort (Stone 1855).

At the same time that these battles commenced in the Illinois and Applegate Valleys, tense negotiations were taking place at Table Rock that resulted in the Rogue River Treaty of September 10, 1853.[86] Hastily negotiated as a part of a peacemaking effort, this treaty extinguished tribal claims on the upper Rogue, Bear Creek, and Applegate Valleys in exchange for the promise of a reservation and other

protections. (Significantly, the "ceded lands" identified in this treaty extend to just east of Oregon Caves, where the western border of these lands follows the divide between the Applegate River and Althouse Creek.) Sam's Band, hailing from the Table Rock area, played an especially important role in these negotiations and was widely celebrated for abiding by its conditions despite considerable violence in the years that followed.[87] A temporary reservation was created at Table Rock, near modern-day Medford, and a significant number of the Takelma and Oregon Shasta population relocated there following the signing of this treaty.

In 1854, the Table Rock Treaty was amended by U.S. Congress, calling for the placement of all middle Rogue Valley tribes on reservations. Importantly, this amendment called for the removal of people from a general geographical area, with a partial list of headmen serving as signatories, rather than applying to particular named tribes (see Appendix 1). In part, this might reflect the general demographic upheaval associated with the Rogue Indian War. By this time, it had become clear to U.S. authorities that it was growing increasingly difficult amidst the tumult of war and the complexity of inter-village ties to designate tribes on anything more that a geographical basis. Moreover, their experience now confirmed, peace treaties signed with one band did not necessarily ensure peace with other bands of the same ethnolinguistic group. The authority of individual chiefs, it became clear, was circumscribed by the larger patterns of social organization of the Siskiyou region.

Despite some effort to achieve a broader peace between Indian and white combatants in the immediate wake of the treaty, the Wars quickly resumed and continued to escalate, with massacres and violent attacks on both sides. Historical accounts and tribal oral traditions indicate that the Table Rock Reservation itself became a target of white reprisals and that at least one massacre of non-combatant Indians occurred there. All too soon, the cohesion of tribes within the region began to unravel, as leaders such as Chief Sam sought to maintain the peace and abide by the terms of the Table Rock Treaty, while leaders such as Tispu Tyee resisted any compromise. In some cases, displacement and high mortality reorganized these united populations into fragmented and mobile multi-tribal bands. As some interviewees for this study noted, Table Rock was a long way from their traditional territories; people from the upper Illinois Valley, for example, originally lived closer to the Pacific Ocean than they did to Table Rock. When the tribes of the mid-Rogue River moved to Table Rock Reservation

"and because that was kind of foreign land, Table Rock, to a lot of those people and a lot of the things promised by the government weren't really provided, the agent was compelled to let those people walk back from time to time, and there were a lot of tensions between the miners and settlers and the people" (07).

Likewise, as a concentrated Indian population, Table Rock populations were vulnerable to attack. Interviewees for this study reported a number of violent attacks

against the reservation community, spurred by general anti-Indian sentiment, even as the community attempted to maintain the terms of the treaty. In turn, the residents of this reservation returned to a number of places in the study area and intermittently rejoined hostilities. Thus, in October of 1854, groups of Indians were described leaving the Table Rock reservation and

"menacing the settlements of Illinois valley and its tributaries, Applegate and Deer creeks... It was to this end that they left the reservation, (all except the chief Sam and his tribe,) and took up positions at different points in and around Rogue River valley, that, in a warlike view, possessed the greatest advantages. The chief "John," with his tribe, took to the mountains between Rogue River and Illinois valleys, where he could have easy access to both, as well as the settlements on Applegate and Deer creeks. "George" and "Limpy" took stations further down Rogue river, and in close proximity to the settlements which became the scene of their bloody operations of October 9. The Butte Creeks, in conjunction with the Modocs, occupied the country along the eastern limits of Rogue River valley from the reservation southerly to and across the Siskiyou mountains, thus completing a cordon of outposts around Rogue River valley and the settlements of Applegate and Deer creeks, and partially around those of Illinois river. Some of these positions the Indians had occupied for weeks, and some, indeed, for months..." (Drew 1860: 27).

Despite a temporary respite from conflicts elsewhere in the Rogue Basin, the people of the Illinois Valley under Chief John and probably Chief Limpy appeared to be resolutely in favor of combat. In the same year, the Modoc are reported to have hosted a war council with Modocs, Klamaths, Shastas, and Illinois Valley peoples, to assess the conflicts with white settlers and to consider coordinated armed resistance in the Rogue basin. As reported by Drew:

"In June, 1854, I was informed by several chiefs of the Scott's and Shasta valley tribes that runners had been sent to their tribes to summon them to a general war council to be held at a point on the Klamath called Horse creek. I consulted with Lieutenant J. C. Bonnecastle, United States army, then stationed at Fort Jones. He and myself concurred in the propriety of advising the chiefs who had reported the movement to attend the war council and report to us the whole proceedings.

"The chiefs returned from the council and reported the tribes of Illinois river, Rogue river, and the Upper Klamath river, and its tributaries represented in the council, and all but themselves (the chiefs who had reported the movement to me) were for combining, and commencing in concert an indiscriminate slaughter of the whites..."(Drew 1860: 18).

While these meetings may have served as the foundation for some of the documented coordination between Klamath Shasta and Rogue Basin bands, the Klamath and Modoc never played a significant role in the conflicts.[88]

References to skirmishes at Deer Creek are numerous in the literature regarding this period in the Rogue War. Militias made up of miners from the Waldo and Althouse areas were especially active in raiding the remnant tribal population at what is sometimes called "a rancheria on Illinois River or Deer Creek" (Walling 1884: 228). The head of the valley was later reported as a stronghold of Indian combatants (Fidler n.d.). A number of consultants for the current study mentioned that certain

members of their families from both the Illinois and Applegate Valleys retreated to the Klamath River, to join kin living in villages that were not directly embroiled in the conflict at this time (21, 07, 16). This could pull families apart in ways that are not immediately appreciated by modern, non-Indians:

"There's reference to an Indian woman trying to make her way to Fort Lane or someplace, and basically came out [from the mountains into the Applegate Valley] to Dr. Barker's place and someone was supposed to export her to Fort Lane, where everybody who was not participating in the war were being held. And instead of escorting her they killed her...She, after her husband was killed, wanted to go back to her folks. And according to Indian tradition, the women didn't have automatic guardianship of the kids. They went to the husband's people. She had to leave the children there, but she had to go back to her people...there were probably a lot of situations like that at the time" (07).

Using the negotiations initiated by Joseph Lane as a starting point, the United States hastily negotiated and ratified the Treaty with the "Chasta, Scotons, and Grave Creek Band" (November 18, 1854). These typically have been interpreted to be the Galice and Illinois Valley bands (Royce 1899); a more detailed assessment of these groups' identities in included in a following section. Oregon Caves sits within the lands ceded by this treaty. In exchange for promises of protection and services, these peoples agreed to relocate to the Table Rock Reservation, and thence to a reservation in an unspecified location.

Despite the singing of the treaty, inter-ethnic violence continued in the Illinois Valley, possibly by groups that were not party to the treaty. For example, Illinois Valley bands were implicated in raids on a number of wagon convoys in the Rogue Basin in 1855, and in the same year "Illinois Indians went over to Happy Camp and robbed a party of white men, then killed a man on Indian Creek" (Daily Courier 1935: 8). U.S. troops and volunteers descended upon the tribes gathered in the Kerby area to retaliate. By this time, however, troops' reports on the number and composition of tribal forces suggest that multi-tribal bands had become the norm in the valley. Written accounts reported groups ranging between roughly 100 to 1500 Indians participating in coordinated attacks on U.S. positions. In and around the study area, these groups were sometimes reported to consist of mixed groups, including "Shasta and Takelma" bands (Stone 1855). A growing number of unidentified "coast Indians," probably Athabaskan speaking Tututnis, Chetcos, and others, were forced into the interior valleys by hostilities on the coast at Gold Beach and vicinity. The historical record, while quite fragmentary on this point, clearly indicates that some of these coastal bands arrived and joined in resident bands' fighting in the Illinois and Applegate Valleys (Sutton and Sutton 2003: 104; Lane 1856: 10). U.S. troops' retaliatory strikes against perceived culprits proved futile, and may have expanded the conflict by drawing in a steadily expanding pool of combatants.

Despite the signing of the treaty, inter-ethnic violence continued in the Illinois Valley, possibly by groups that were not party to the treaty. For example, Illinois



An artist's depiction of Chief Sam, as he looked in 1858. Chief Sam abided by the terms of the Table Rock treaties, and his band stayed on the Table Rock Reservation, even as all other bands from this Reservation fanned out into the surrounding countryside in anticipation of open warfare.
Confederated Tribes of Siletz Archives

Valley bands were implicated in raids on a number of wagon convoys in the Rogue Basin in 1855, and in the same year "Illinois Indians went over to Happy Camp and robbed a party of white men, then killed a man on Indian Creek" (Daily Courier 1935: 8). U.S. troops and volunteers descended upon the tribes gathered in the Kerby area to retaliate. By this time, however, troops' reports on the number and composition of tribal forces suggest that multi-tribal bands had become the norm in the valley. Written accounts reported groups ranging between roughly 100 to 1500 Indians participating in coordinated attacks on U.S. positions. In and around the study area, these groups were sometimes reported to consist of mixed groups, including "Shasta and Takelma" bands (Stone 1855). A growing number of unidentified "coast Indians," probably Athabaskan speaking Tututnis, Chetcos, and others, were forced into the interior valleys by hostilities on the coast at Gold Beach and vicinity. The historical record, while quite fragmentary on this point, clearly indicates that some of these coastal bands arrived and joined in resident bands' fighting in the Illinois and Applegate Valleys (Sutton and Sutton 2003: 104; Lane 1856: 10). U.S. troops' retaliatory strikes against perceived culprits proved futile, and may have expanded the conflict by drawing in a steadily expanding pool of combatants.

The joining of forces in the Illinois Valley between presumably isolated groups took area troops by surprise. Joseph Lane, in his April 1856 appeal to the U.S. House of Representatives for expanded military support, cited this collusion of coastal and interior tribes as evidence of a new, organized "war of extermination against the whites" that demanded immediate military intervention (Lane 1856: 10). By the summer of 1855, all of the bands of the middle Rogue, and many of the middle Klamath bands, had been pulled into the hostilities. Of those bands that originally signed the Table Rock treaties, only "Chief Sam's Band" of Sam's Valley appears to have resisted further violent conflict with non-Indians. Joseph Lane (1856: 9) reported

"The Indians which were placed upon the reserve near Fort Lane [Table Rock Reservation] were under the care of an agent who had done all in his power to maintain friendly relations...A portion of these Indians have not since made war upon the whites and have not joined the war party. The bands which did not come into the peace terms have been waging war ever since..."

As battles raged through the Applegate and Illinois Valley in the summer of 1855, warring parties agreed to meet in the Illinois Valley to discuss a truce. U.S. negotiators demanded removal to reservations as a precondition of surrender. Of all the headmen who met there, John was the most adamantly opposed to this solution, requesting instead that he and other be allowed to peacefully settle at Deer Creek:

"Regular troops were ordered up from California, in addition to those already in the country. The Indians observing these preparations, assembled in their natural fortifications in the mountain fastnesses, for defense... These movements had their influence upon the hostiles, who being communicated with agreed to a conference with the military authorities at a place upon the Illinois river.

Lieutenant Colonel Buchanan was in command and most of the regular troops, with throngs of Indians, were present, at the time and place agreed upon. The main body of the assembled Indians agreed to remove to the reservation; all except their great Chief John who insisted on remaining upon his own favorite grounds, otherwise he said he would fight" (Hermann 1917: 65-66).

Federal authorities determined that the only way to bring the War successfully to an end was to begin removing captured combatant tribes to a reservation that was far from the Rogue Basin. The task of locating the new reservation for the Rogue Basin tribes, as well as other Oregon tribes displaced by treaty cessions of their lands, fell to Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, Joel Palmer. After considering a number of locations, including tracts east of the Oregon Cascades, Palmer settled on the sparsely settled coast of Oregon as the appropriate venue for a western Oregon reservation. According to Palmer's successor, J.W. Perit Huntington (1864: 106):

"The Coast Reservation was selected by the late Superintendent Joel Palmer in 1855, at a time when the Western slope of the Coast Mountains had been but partially explored, and was supposed to be nearly or quite worthless."

The site was seen as strategically appropriate, close enough to the population centers of the Willamette Valley to allow easy control and supply of the reservation, while far enough from this population to avoid further interethnic conflict.[89] The plan to create a reservation proceeded hastily, with Interior Secretary R. McClelland submitting maps and plans for the Coast Reservation directly to President Franklin Pierce:

"Department of the Interior
November 8, 1855.

SIR: I herewith submit for your approval a proposed reservation for Indians on the coast of Oregon Territory, recommended by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and submitted to the Department by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, for the procurement of your order on the subject, in letter of the 10th September last.

Before submitting the matter to you I desire to have a more full report of the subject from the Indian Office, and the letter of the head of that bureau of the 29th ultimo (Report Book 9, page 54), having been received and considered, I see no objection to the conditional reservation asked for, "subject to future curtailment, if found proper," or entire release thereof, should Congress not sanction the object rendering this withdrawal of the land from white settlement at this time advisable.

A plat marked A, and indicating the boundaries of the reservation, accompanies the papers, and has prepared thereon the necessary order for your signature, should you think fit to sanction the recommendation.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
R. McClelland, *Secretary*" (McClelland 1855).

President Pierce responded immediately and hastily with an executive order, in order to foster a quick resolution of the war:

"*Office of the President, November 9, 1855.* The reservation of the land within denoted by blue-shaded lines is hereby made for the purposes indicated in letter of the Commissioner of the General Land Office of the 10th September last and letter of the Secretary of the Interior of the 8th November, 1855. Frank'n Pierce" (Pierce 1855).

The Table Rock Reservation was disbanded soon thereafter, and members of Sam's band were moved from Table Rock to the Grand Ronde area of the Coast Reservation in early 1856.

As the Table Rock Reservation was disbanded and the war continued to depopulate portions of the middle Rogue and Bear Creek Valleys, the full force of the conflict turned to the Illinois and Applegate Valleys. By late 1855 and early 1856, the Illinois and Applegate Valleys were fully engaged in War. Pullen (1996: VI-8) refers to the area around Deer Creek as "the center of conflicts between whites and Indians during the war" outside of the lower Applegate and Bear Creek drainages. In 1855, Captain S. A. Frye described a battle with Indians who hid in a large thicket of willows along Deer Creek. (Capt. S.A. Frye to Col. John E. Ross, Oct. 23, 1855). By late in the year of 1855, Chiefs John and Limpy were now clearly allied with the Athabaskan-speaking tribes of the coast in their battles on the Illinois, Applegate, and elsewhere:

"Chiefs "John" and "Limpy," with a large number of the most active warriors, who had followed their fortunes during all these struggles, still held out and continued their depredations in the lower Rogue River country and in connection with the Indians of Curry County" (Colvig 1903: 236).

Another significant battle flared in March of 1856 at the base of Eight-Dollar Butte, a short distance from the village of Talsalsan. Most sources allude to this as a single large battle, though some allude to the events as a series of large and numerous "skirmishes" (e.g. Heckert 1977: 195; Dutton and Dutton 2003: 222-25). At the beginning of this battle, approximately 800 Indians attacked the white communities along the Illinois River; after a series of skirmishes the battle came to a head at the base of Eight Dollar Butte. There, the Indians held their ground on the butte despite heavy gunfire, using the heavy forest on the hillslopes for cover:

"A hundred or more of the readiest fighters ever known among the Indians of this continent held with determination the hill and the thick woods and successfully barred the way (Walling 1884: 265).

At the end of the conflict, the Indians were dispersed and sent fleeing into adjacent mountains; white volunteers were dispatched to alert communities elsewhere in the Rogue drainage that this large group of combatants was again on the move.

Mountain Refuges and Guerilla Tactics

During all of these conflicts, it is clear that the intimate local knowledge of area tribes served as an important strategic resource. Of all the areas used by the tribes of the area, perhaps none was as important to their strategic success as the mountains between the Illinois, Applegate, and other settled valleys of the Siskiyou region. Many – perhaps most – accounts of the Rogue Indian War in the study area and vicinity mention the tribes' use of heavily forested mountains for strategic purposes, and as a defensible refuge from the hostilities that engulfed the valleys below (Hunter 1887; *Daily Courier* 1935; Fidler n.d.).

In this regard, too, it is important to briefly reflect on the pre-contact cultural practices of area tribes. If the mountains were consistently depicted as the residence of spirits and spirit powers in the tribes' oral traditions, so too are the mountains depicted as a place of refuge during times of crisis. The tribes' oral literatures consistently depict mountains as a retreat to be used during times of crises, such as floods and famines. A tale documented among the Rogue River Athabaskans and Shastas discusses Coyote and the first two people ascending the highest mountain in the area to avoid a flood that consumed the rest of the world; when the flood subsided, these people traveled over the land, becoming the ancestors of the first people (Farrand 1915: 210; Dixon 1907: 31). A Karuk story recorded by Kroeber and Gifford (1980: 56-57) uses similar imagery, noting that the highest Siskiyou peak served as the sole refuge from a global flood. Another story, recorded among the Shasta and Rogue River Athabaskans, describe the use of mountains for hunting during times of famine, a practice mentioned by a number of modern tribal consultants:

> "Hard times came now upon Coyote and his grandmother. They were starving once more. Coyote became desperate, and said to his grandmother, "I know what to do. I'll make snowshoes to hunt deer with. I know where I can find many deer [and ascended the mountains]" (Farrand: 1915: 219).

Likewise, when dangerous beings appeared on the land in the traditional corpus of tribal oral literatures, a typical response was to retreat into the mountains. For example, a story relayed by Shasta consultants suggested,

> "Long ago an evil being was travelling about, travelling around in the world to eat people. After a while, he came into this country; he came up river. The people heard of him, heard that a "devil" was coming who ate people, and they fled to the mountains" (Dixon 1910: 369).

In oral traditions regarding the time of ordinary human events, the mountains of the Siskiyou region continue to be depicted as refuges of this kind. Mountains are sometimes mentioned as a refuge during inter-tribal war, for example, in Takelma stories recorded by Sapir: "to the mountains they ran off" (Sapir 1909: 193). Mountains were also traditionally depicted as the ritual locus of warfare and raiding, which involved much preliminary ceremonial preparation in these areas (Dixon

1907: 439-41, 490). Some accounts suggest that individuals participated in vision quests in mountainous areas in preparation for wars with neighboring tribes.[90]

Such stories, told repeatedly within communities, arguably served to condition young people. Quickly, they learned that mountains served as a suitable place to retreat in times of conflict. This clearly seems to be the case during inter-tribal battles reported by tribal interviewees for this study. So too would this cultural pattern shape tribal responses to the new and formidable challenges emerging at the time of the Rogue War.



The dense timber of the mountains surrounding Oregon Caves became a refuge and a strategic stronghold for the tribes combating militias from the Applegate and Illinois Valleys. A towering canopy was dominated by dense stands of mature Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*). Frank Patterson photo, Oregon Caves National Monument Museum and Archives

While American Indian uses of upper elevation lands were clearly disrupted by these conflicts, certain uses may have briefly intensified, as individuals and groups sought power and resolve for battle, mourned losses, or sought refuge in the remote and unmapped terrain of their traditional hinterlands.

Prior to the Rogue War, travelers through the Siskiyou region noted the tribes' use of the mountains for rapid retreats – indeed, Lindsey Applegate (1921) had noted Indians retreating to the mountains, and then rolling boulders and shouting from mountaintops at night during the first charting of the Applegate Trail in 1846. At other times, entire communities would disappear into the densely forested moun-

tainsides for cover, only descending once it was clear that the visiting party had no hostile intentions (Walling 1884: 304). In 1850, James Cardwell described arriving at the village at the mouth of the Applegate River, which appeared to be abandoned by everyone but the chief. When Cardwell made efforts to demonstrate his benign intentions, the chief "seemed to be high[ly] pleased, and called all the village to come in, and it seemed that the surrounding woods was alive with Indians" (Cardwell 1879: 4).

Interviewees who participated in the current study still have stories about the use of the mountains as refuges for women, children, and the elderly during the Rogue War and sometimes describe the mountains between the Applegate and Illinois Valleys as a hiding place for refugees:

"During the Rogue River War they chased people way up into the highlands up there, and people were hiding out in those places up there. My great-grandpa Adams told...about hiding out in mountains when he was just a boy... He and his grandmother Stayed in a big hollowed-out sugar pine snag, eating sugar pine pitch....a Shasta person found him...his mother's people, and took care of him for a while...That area there on the Applegate River is basically where my great-grandfather came to Siletz from. His father was Applegate River Athabaskan and his mother a Shasta. The father was killed down there, somewhere down around Wolf Creek, shot through the forehead" (07).

The story of this boy, John Adams, and his efforts to survive that winter are recounted in both the works of Curtis (1924) and Beckham (1971).[91]

Combatant bands sought to chase militias and others away from mountain strongholds in a variety of ways. Along the lower Applegate, for example, James Cardwell (1879) reported the rolling of rocks in a manner almost identical to the accounts of the Applegate party over a decade before:

"the indians began to show themselves in large numbers in the hills above us and they would yell horribly and roll stones down as if to try to frighten us away."

Militias and U.S. forces used the networks of trails through the mountains to pursue Indians, but with limited success. "The trail through the thick underbrush was very narrow..." and troops were often bogged down on these trails with their horses and equipment (quoted in *Daily Courier* 1935: 8). The combatant bands apparently placed barricades and other obstacles across pre-existing ridgeline trails to slow the progress of non-Indian forces. Interestingly, the combatant tribes sometimes set ground-clearing fires during the Rogue Indian War to flush their enemy from camps and other secure positions. This method, perfected through its use in upland hunting and plant management, proved effective in densely vegetated battle sites (Hunter 1887: 53). Also Indian combatants were said to sometimes set fires to conceal trails, to slow pursuit by militias, or to generate smoke to conceal archers during battles (Walling 1884: 219).

The use of defensive mountain "strongholds" was widely reported elsewhere in the Rogue River basin during the war. In an especially partisan account of the Rogue War, Senator James Nesmith recalled that the people at Table Rock had assumed a similarly defensive posture on the mountainsides early in the Rogue War:

"The encampment of the Indians was still on the side of the mountains, of which Table Rock forms the summit, and at night we could plainly see their camp fire, while they could look directly down upon us...After riding a couple of miles across the level valley, we came to the foot of the mountain where it was too steep for horses to ascend. We dismounted and hitched our horses and scrambled up for half a mile over huge rocks and through brush, and then found ourselves in the Indian stronghold, just under the perpendicular cliff of Table Rock, and surrounded by seven hundred fierce and well armed hostile savages, in all their gorgeous war paint and feathers" (Nesmith 1879: 216-17).

Within two years, after a number of removals to Table Rock and increasing attacks on this reservation population, the people of Table Rock were taking up residence with bands hidden in lesser-known mountain retreats. Joel Palmer (1855: 255), for example, observing that the Indians sequestered at the Table Rock Reservation were dying from disease and starvation, and anxious regarding further attacks by miners, noted that "many had fled, and others were preparing to fly to the mountains for security."

Yet the role of these mountain retreats was not solely defensive. Indeed, the mountains became the bases of operations for the guerilla warfare that characterized the years 1855-56 in particular. Attacks by Indians typically involved a descent from well-concealed positions in the uplands, and there is some suggestion that tribes sought to draw non-Indian troops into the complex and well-forested terrain where area tribes had a considerable tactical advantage. Militiamen from this period frequently complained in their writings that tribes were now using the mountains as the base of operations for "their perfidious and bloody Operations" (Drew 1860: 15-16).

This guerilla style of combat was arguably initiated in the study area by Tipsu or "Tipsey" Tyee, a Shasta chief, who was said to live in "a brushy kingdom in the hills" in the upper Applegate Valley (Walling 1884: 211). Tipsu Tyee was widely depicted as a militant leader, who parted company with his fellow headmen early in the conflict by refusing to participate in treaty negotiations or seek peace with non-Indians. Beginning in 1854, Tipsey, described by Beckham (1971: 142) as a "Tipsey initiated a guerilla warfare against white militias, as well as assassinations of other tribal leaders who supported the treaty process." In May of that year, a detachment from Fort Jones, California (Quartz Valley), led by John Bonnycastle, pursued Tipsu Tyee's band through the mountains. Despite considerable losses by Tipsu's band, by late summer "a few warriors of Tipsey's band survived in their old haunts in the Siskiyous and the foothills of the Cascades" and conducted raids on lowland settlements and mountain travelers from the relative safety of the Siskiyou Mountains (Beckham 1971: 150).

By the following spring, a number of other bands were firmly established in the mountains surrounding the Illinois and Applegate Valleys. The timing and location of Indian raids suggests that individuals or bands were taking refuge in the mountainous areas near Oregon Caves, especially during the later phases of the conflict when the combatant tribes' strategic position became increasingly defensive. Regular sighting and attacks by Indians hiding in the mountains are noted in the upper Applegate, the Deer Creek Valley, and the upper Illinois Valley into the headwaters of Indian Creek on the Klamath River drainage. The bands ensconced in the mountains were led by such leaders as Chief Limpy of the Illinois Valley, Chief Tipsu of the upper Applegate Valley, and Chief John, with his ties to both Valleys. Notes from the period especially mention Chief John and "Old Limpy" of Illinois Valley holding out in the mountains adjacent to Illinois Valley awaiting opportunities to attack the white militias traveling through the area (Fidler n.d.: 24). When not directly engaging the militias, Indian combatants attempted to undermine their advantage by attacks on homes, food supplies, and other goods:

"those under the chief "John" sought their mountain retreats to await a more favorable opportunity to carry out their cherished designs, but, in the meantime, continued to destroy such property, stock, &c., as they could get at without incurring too much risk" (Drew 1860: 30-31).

Raids upon pack trains and other traveling groups were especially effective at intermittently severing contact and supply lines between white settlements in the Illinois and Applegate Valleys and the outside world. By 1855, the mountain campaigns were having a considerable impact on the success and morale of militia and military campaigns.

"Confusion reined in the heart of the Rogue country. At Althouse and Sucker creeks in the Siskiyous the miners hurriedly held citizens' meetings, formed a company of soldiers, and began scouring the hills for the Indians who were ambushing pack trains from the coast. No sooner had the volunteers left their camps that the Indians fired the shanties, tenpin alleys, card houses, and piles of whipsawed lumber" (Beckham 1971: 157; Oregon Statesman 1855).

In the mountains, the tribes remained remarkably well hidden. On October 23rd, 1855, Captain Judah reported that he led a company of 135 men through the study area, including the upper reaches of Williams Creek, Sucker Creek, and Applegate River "but found no Indians" (Stone 1855). Yet, during the same month, Stone reported that large numbers of Indians were clearly hiding near the mountain passes between the Illinois Valley and Indian Creek:

"Several trains bound for Indian Creek are lying here, afraid to venture on the road which is said to be covered in Indian tracks" (Stone 1855).

Miners at Althouse Creek signed a petition in late 1855 complaining about the presence of Indians in the woods surrounding their community. A petition from the

residents of Althouse for increased military support, dated October 29, 1855, notes that the people of the area continued to be

"aggravated by the hostilities of small parties of Indians lurking through out the woods, and waylaying persons that have been by necessity compelled to pass from one place to another" (quoted in Pullen 1996, Appendix 3: 4).

The winter accomplished more, however, than the military could ever do to these bands hiding in the mountains. Previous winters had been difficult in the snow-bound Siskiyous, but the winters of 1855-56 and 1856-57 decimated the remaining bands taking refuge in the high Siskiyous. John Beeson noted of Chief John's efforts to hide with his people in the mountains during the winter took a significant toll on his people:

"this was extremely difficult; for, during several months in the year, the mountains, being extremely bleak and covered with snow, offered nothing for subsistence" (Beeson 1857: 67).

Interviewees for this study still have stories about these winters, suggesting that they contributed to very high mortality among their people, both before and after their forced location to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations:

"That's why so many of the people from the Rogue Valley died off at Siletz in the first couple of years - they had all basically gotten so weak from exposure during the last couple of winters, they had some kind of lung disease. It didn't take much to wipe them out..." (07).

As mentioned previously, mountain caves appear to have been used as refuges during times of conflict in the years prior to Euro-American contact. The use of caves in mountainous areas during the Rogue War was said to have intensified during these winters in the mountains:

"Especially during stress times, like the Rogue River War, people would be hanging out in that high mountain country during times of year when they wouldn't normally be there. And there was probably places like the Oregon Caves, if not *the* Oregon Caves, that were sort of a retreat: a place to maybe stay the whole winter...when everything else was covered in snow...especially when all the villages had been burned out" (07).

Specific caves were mentioned as hiding places in both written accounts and the accounts of modern tribal members:

"some of that's even documented during the Rogue War. The U.S. forces even hauled in a big...mortar cannon, they shot some mortar shells into a cave that some Shasta people were hiding in...near the Siskiyou crest (07).

Some archival accounts from the period also mention troops tracking Indians to cave hideouts in the mountains. One account alludes to troops chasing

"stock which the Indians had stolen and driven to the mountains. The troops at Fort Lane interfered with the Indians in this instance only to the extent of marching to the cave, (about twenty-five miles distant,) into which the Indians had retired after accomplishing their bloody work, firing two shots from a howitzer, which served only to frighten the Indians into making another promise to behave better in future, and here the matter was dropped and the troops marched back again to Fort Lane, having accomplished simply-nothing" (Drew 1860: 17).

Another account mentions a conflict that ultimately resulted in the death of the combative Shasta chief of the upper Applegate, Tipsu Tyee, while he and his family hid in a cave (Heckert 1977: 182-83).

Occasionally, because of these hardships, combatant bands descended from the snow-clad mountains in the winter and sought to reestablish a foothold on the valley floors. In January of 1856, for example, militias found groups of Indians occupying and fortifying abandoned miner's cabins at Star Gulch on the Applegate River, east of Oregon Caves. This group appears to have been compelled to descend from the snow-covered mountains and sought to create a defensible household on the Applegate Valley floor. Yet, when under attack, in January of 1856, this group was forced to retreat back into the mountains. One *Oregon Sentinel* account, apparently referring to the same event, notes Captains Rush and Bushey attacking Shastas camped on the Applegate River near Star Gulch: "on their arrival the enemy had fled up a precipitous mountain, inaccessible to horses."



The heavy snows of the high Siskiyous were a threat to native and non-native travelers alike in the mid-19th century. Here, a pack train carries supplied to miners through a Siskiyou pass. Siskiyou National Forest.

By spring of 1856, the people of the mountains were suffering. In addition to suffering attrition from repeated militia and military attacks, they had spent a full winter in the high Siskiyous without permanent structures. For some, it was their second, third, or fourth winter hiding in the mountains. The bands that remained were scarcely able to put up resistance to further attacks. By summer of 1856, the tribal presence in the upper Illinois Valley had been whittled down to a few survivors:

"On the Illinois river a few were known to live, the miserable and lonely relics of Limpy's once powerful band. These possibly impelled by hunger, committed a few robberies during July 1856, and made an attempt on the life of a man named Thompson, but were driven off" (*Daily Courier* 1935: 16).

The end of the War, and the end of the tribal occupation of the Illinois Valley, was at hand.

A Short Note on Treaties

The treaties of 1853 and 1854 were negotiated in the heat of battle, and during a time of great tribal hardship and dislocation. Presently, from this historical distance, it is difficult to know how the treaties might have reflected actual contact-period tribal organization and territoriality. Still, these treaties set the stage for the creation of the Siletz and Grand Ronde Reservations and for the formation of modern tribes from the fragments of the combatant tribes, alongside the survivors from a number of other tribes from western Oregon. As such, it is important to briefly consider the identity of the treaty tribes that ceded the lands of which Oregon Caves is now a part.

Oregon Caves sits near the dividing line between two ceded lands designated in the Rogue River and "Chasta, Grave Creek, and Scoton" treaties. Still, as part of the Illinois River drainage, Oregon Caves clearly sits in the territory ceded by the latter treaty. The Rogue River Treaty claims the land

"Commencing at a point one mile below the mouth of Applegate Creek, on the south side of Rogue River, running thence southerly to the highlands dividing the waters of Applegate Creek from those of Althouse Creek, thence along said highlands to the summit of the Siskiyou range of mountains, thence easterly to Pilot Rock, thence northeasterly to the summit of the Cascade range . . . (Kappler 1904: 603).

The 1854 treaty with the Chasta, Grave Creek and Scotons indicates

"a line running due south would cross the Rogue River midway between the mouth of Grave Creek and the great bend of the Rogue River; thence east along said boundary to the summit of the main ridge of the Siskiyou Mountains or until this line reaches the boundary of the country purchased of the Rogue River Tribe (Kappler 1904: 655).

The full text of these treaties, and all other treaties addressing lands within 25 miles of Oregon Caves, is provided in Appendices 2 and 3 of the current document.

The identity of these signatory bands remains a subject of continued debate. Gray (1987) interprets the "Chasta" as being the Chasta Costa of the lower Illinois Valley, the Grave Creeks as being the "Grave Creek band of Umpqua" and the Scotons as probably being the Galice Creek Athabaskans. If true, the inclusion of the Galice Creek may reflect the apparent consolidation of upper Illinois Valley communities with the Galice Creek in the 19th century, as reported by Hoxie Simmons reported to Melville Jacobs (n.d.).

Yet this interpretation is not subject to debate. The reportedly Athabaskan-speaking "Shasta Costa" have also commonly been alluded to as the "Chasta Costa" or "Shasta Scoton." Kroeber (1907: 236) attempted to identify the "Chasta-Scotons," concluding that they were

"a tribe or two tribes (Chasta and Skoton) formerly living on or near Rogue r., Oreg., perhaps the Chastacosta or...the Sestikustun. There were 36 on Grand Ronde res. and 166 on Siletz res., Oreg., in 1875."

Kroeber notes that they have been termed the "Castacosta" in Dorsey's writings, the "Chasta Scoten" in an 1863 article in *California Farmer*, and the "Chasta-Scotans," "Shasta Scoton" and "Skoton-Shasta" in various Indian Affairs report of the 1850s-1870s. Kroeber (1907: 236) said of the "Chasta" that they were

"A tribe, probably Athapascan, residing on Siletz res., Oreg., in 1867, with the Skoton and Umpqua, of which latter [sic] they were then said to have formed a part. The Chasta, Skoton, and Umpqua were distinct tribes which concluded a treaty Nov. 18, 1854. The Chasta were divided into the Kwilsieton and Nahelta, both residing on Rogue r. J. 0. Dorsey thought these may have been identical with Kushetunne and Nakatkhetunne of the Tututunne. Kane, in 1859, located them near Umpqua r. In 1867 the Chasta, the Scoton, and the Umpqua together, at Siletz agency, numbered 49 males and 74 females, total 123. They may be identical with the Chastacosta or form a part of the Takilma. They do not seem to have any connection with the Shasta, who did not extend down Rogue r. below Table Rock, and who were generally bitterly at war with their Athapascan neighbors."

Yet Kroeber (1907: 236) notes that the Chasta were also identified as one of the "Illinois Creek Bands," as well as by the terms "Chastà," "Chasta band of Rogue Rivers" and "Haw-quo-e-hov-took" in Joel Palmer's Indian Affairs reports of the 1840s and 1850s; he also notes that Kane alludes to them as the "Chastay."

Perhaps most importantly, the Indian Affairs reports of treaty negotiator and Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Joel Palmer suggests that in his time, it was simply the case that the "Illinois Creek Bands" were "usually called the Chasta Creek Bands of Rogue River" (Palmer 1854). This would suggest that Chasta is simply a geographical term alluding to the Illinois Valley peoples.

The Siletz identify the Chasta, Scotons, and Grave Creek treaty lands as being among their ceded lands. Maps of ceded lands produced by the Grand Ronde have occasionally excluded this treaty territory, likely reflecting the historical placement of much of this population on the Siletz Reservation. Still it is clearly in the ceded lands of both tribes (Kappler 1904).

Modern Shasta interpret the wording of the 1854 Chasta, Scotons and Grave Creek treaty to include, but not be limited to, the "Shasta" as well as what they interpret as the "Grave Creek" community under the leadership of Shasta leader, Chief Jo. The Shasta Tribe, Inc., which is seeking federal recognition, claims to be related to the Illinois Valley populations that signed this treaty, but are using the 1851 California "Treaty R" as the principal basis for their current claim for federal recognition. It is unlikely but possible that if the Shasta Nation obtained federal recognition, they might seek to identify the Illinois Valley as part of their ceded lands, alongside Siletz.

On the basis of the available evidence, Gray (1987: 23) concludes that the Chasta, Scotons, and Grave Creek treaty was largely a treaty made by a group of Athabaskan speaking communities, and that these treaty boundaries effectively indicate that

"the boundary south of the Rogue River between Chasta Costa and related Athapascan speakers and the "Rogue River Tribe" (which included the Takelma and the inhabitants of the Applegate Valley) was the western edge of the Applegate Valley."

In many cases, the relationship between signatories and territories specified remains ambiguous. Ironically, most of the headmen associated with the study area during the Rogue War, including Chief Limpy, were signatories to the Table Rock Treaty (ceding the Applegate Valley and other areas) but not the Chasta, Scoton and Grave Creek treaty. This might support the view that he was a military leader of Illinois Valley bands but may not have held the same status over resident bands prior to the War.

Tribal Communities of the Post-War Period

Reservations and Renegades: The Early Years of Siletz and Grand Ronde

The last major battle in the Rogue War, in the summer if 1856, decimated what was left of the bands led by Chief John, Chief Limpy, and Chief George. During this battle, on May 27, 1856, troops reported that Chief John was serving as the principal commander during these conflicts:

"The loud commanding voice of Chief John could be distinctly heard sending forth his orders, with all the deliberation and saneness of a military disciplinarian" (Hermann 1917: 65-66).

Some accounts suggest that on May 29, 1856 Chiefs Limpy and Chief George surrendered to Lieutenant-Colonel Buchanan at Big Meadows, but that a portion of their bands continued to fight after their surrender. Chief John held out for another month in the mountains, suffering sporadic losses until he surrendered on July 1st of 1856. Chief John and his band were immediately marched to Port Orford en route to the Coast Reservation.

Beginning on July 12, 1856, 592 Rogue River, Chetco, and Chasta Scoton Indians were marched under military escort to Port Orford, from which they were carried aboard the steamship "Columbia" to the Siletz Reservation. Simultaneously, other Rogue and Shasta Indians, alongside Klamaths, Modocs, and Lower Umpquas, were marched along an inland route to Grand Ronde. In the summer of 1856, approximately 1300 persons were sent to Siletz, including additional "Rogue" bands as well as fellow combatant Coquilles, Umpquas, and others. Chief John's Band, the Chetcos and a select number of other bands who had fought successfully against U.S. forces, were forced to march the length of the coast:

"when they gave up fighting they were marched into Port Orford, part of them were brought by ship. And then Tyee John, he and his people I think were basically being punished for holding out from moving to the reservation and they were marched up the coast directly, along with Chetco and Pistol River people" (07).

By the end of 1856, most Takelma, middle Rogue Athabaskans, and many Shastas, including the remaining population at the Table Rock Reservation, had been removed to Grand Ronde. The Cow Creek Umpquas, who had been pulled into

later stages of the War, were also sent there, but many successfully escaped into the mountains:

"As late as August 1856, eight months after the move of Cow Creek members to the Grand Ronde Reservation, an estimated one hundred Cow Creek Indians were still hiding in the mountains" (U.S. Congress 1987: 7).

During this same period, a growing number of former combatants began to retreat south of the Oregon-California border to avoid detection, attack, and removal to the Coast Reservation. More often than not, these people were able to relocate to the villages of kin, related through inter-village exogamic marriages. For example, the older brother of Applegate man, John Adams, mentioned earlier as a founding member of Siletz, was married to a Karuk woman. His connection to Karuk families allowed him to escape:

"They moved his family over to join her people on the Klamath River to avoid being rounded up to Siletz...There wasn't the round-up and removal that was happening on this side of the Siskiyous" (07).

This family remained with the Karuk people and became integrated into the Karuk with time. (In the years that followed, the descendents of one brother increasingly identified as Siletz and the descendents of the other brother increasingly identified as Karuk, a bifurcation that was commonplace at this time.)

Early in 1857, following a final, harsh winter spent resisting detection and removal, the remnants of Limpy's Band descended from the mountains near the Applegate-Illinois divide, probably prepared to surrender. The band descended to a site along the Rogue River below the mouth of the Applegate and was attacked:

"All the men in that group were killed in February of 1857...they'd been hiding up in the high country and they came down close to the settlements in February in a miserable, destitute, starving condition. They said the settlers, assuming them still hostile, went out and shot all the men. About 10 in number. There was like 60 women and children that they split between two settlers there and kind of kept them corralled up in barns or whatever until the Grand Ronde Agent sent someone down...to escort them up to Grand Ronde...The massacre site is one that is pretty well known and it is constantly getting looted" (07). [92]

At the time of this massacre, the Coast Reservation was effectively being cut in two. This was being done in order to spread its duties between two Indian agencies and thereby increase its capacity to hold more Indians displaced from the Rogue War and elsewhere.[93] The Grand Ronde Reservation was carved out of the northeastern Coast Reservation, in a location that was easily accessible from the Willamette Valley.[94] The Coast Reservation placed its agency operations at Siletz, with a separate sub-agency at Alsea, and was subsequently redesignated as the Siletz Reservation. In June of 1857, President James Buchanan (1857) created the Grand Ronde Reservation in a Presidential order that was remarkable for its brevity:

"*Executive Office, Washington City, June 30, 1857.* Townships 5 and 6 south, of range 8 west, and parts of townships 5 and 6 south, of range 7 west, as indicated hereon by red lines, are hereby withdrawn from sale and entry and set apart as a reservation for Indian purposes till otherwise ordered. James Buchanan."

A majority of the families that had been removed from the Rogue Basin, including John's Band, were moved from the Grand Ronde Agency to Siletz within weeks of this proclamation to make way for the arrival of Willamette Valley groups and other tribes at Grand Ronde (Metcalf 1857). When the survivors of Limpy's band arrived at Grand Ronde, most of the Rogue River tribes were already in the process of being moved to Siletz. The survivors of Limpy's band were largely sent there as well before they had the opportunity to become established at Grand Ronde (07). Over the course of the summer of 1857, alone, an estimated 999 of the "Rogue and Shasta Indians" at Grand Ronde were moved to Siletz (Peterson 1934: 47; Kent 1973: 3). Tribes from interior, including the Illinois and Applegate Valleys were especially placed in the northern portion of the Siletz Reservation, north of the town of Siletz (07).

The number of survivors at these reservations was remarkably small, reflecting the extremely high mortality rate that marked the final winters in the mountains, the ferocity of the final Rogue War battles, and the forced relocation to Oregon's northern Coast Range. By the end of 1857, Siletz Indian Agent Robert Metcalfe (1857: 357) indicated that the Shasta and Rogue River Indians in his agency included "John's band, numbering one hundred and seventy-two; George's two hundred and twenty-two; Joseph James' one hundred and sixty." In addition, among the coastal tribes, Metcalfe reported 110 "Shastacosta" Indians. He noted of all these groups that

"They are all wretchedly poor, and destitute of all the necessaries and comforts of life...At present they regard the white man as their natural enemy" (Metcalfe 1857: 357).

Indian agent correspondence suggests that at both Siletz and Grand Ronde, Indian agents were under particularly intense scrutiny from federal and state authorities. The visibility of the Rogue Indian Wars had contributed to a reformist urgency at these reservations, with the goal of converting the combatant Indians to comparatively docile, Christian agriculturalists (Meacham 1871). To hasten religious and cultural conversion, Siletz and Grand Ronde Agencies were "assigned" to the Methodist church. So widespread was their influence, so complete their control over the minutiae of reservation life in the two decades following the founding of the Reservations, that Grand Ronde Indian Agent LaFollete resigned from his post in protest (Meacham 1871: 302-03).

The reservations further compounded the social integration between certain tribal groups that existed before European contact, which had itself been compounded by

the circumstances of the Rogue Indian War. Siletz Indian Agent Robert B. Metcalfe (1857) appears to use the terms "Shasta" and "Rogue River Indians" interchangeably in his reports. Similarly, Metcalfe proposed confederating Cow Creeks and Rogue River Indians, as - he contended - they spoke the same language and were both within his jurisdiction. Yet this integration now included other tribes. At Siletz and Grand Ronde, both multi-tribal reservations in northwestern Oregon, these populations joined a number of other displaced tribes, including Molallas, Calapuyas, Yoncallas, Chinookans, and others.

Simultaneously, a handful of families resisted removal, and were able to maintain a foothold in their traditional territories as the Rogue Indian Wars came to an end, living on the margins of the area's burgeoning Euro-American communities and economies. During the forced removals to the Siletz and Grand Ronde Reservations

"A number of them eluded capture or they managed to escape from the army. For several years after the founding of the reservations, the army and agents made expeditions into the remote mountainous areas of southern Oregon, rounding up small bands of people" (Kent 1973: 3).

The circumstances of these families and individuals are addressed in later sections of this document.

Over the rest of the decade, Indians from around the state of Oregon were relocated to the Coast Reservation and by 1860 the reservation had a peak resident population, in excess of 2500 individuals. Yet the tribes at Siletz and Grand Ronde, especially those from the Rogue and Klamath Basins, experienced very high mortality. Sam's Band had only 385 survivors of an estimated relocated population of 600 in 1857. The next year's mortality rates were equally dramatic. As Siletz Indian Agent, Robert B. Metcalfe (1858), reported of the Siletz in July of 1858,

"According to the census taken of those people twelve months ago, they numbered five-hundred and ninety. Out of this number two hundred and five have died; thirty-five have returned to Grand Ronde, and three hundred and fifty remain, many of whom are sick. A few more years will put an end to the most fierce and warlike race of people west of the Rocky Mountains."

A number of sources report intense "homesickness" among the Shasta and Takelma on the Siletz Reservation and attribute some of the mortality rate to this phenomenon.[95] Trying to explain this "homesickness," some consultants for the current study noted that all of the places tied to the peoples' stories and religious practices, as well as family gravesites and other places of great importance were now inaccessible to the people of Siletz and Grand Ronde:

"Going back on the male side of the family, you would trace your origins to that village from the beginning of time. People weren't nomadic, didn't move around a lot...The whole spiritual belief of the next generation coming and the man bringing that to sustain his village, his people, it's just ingrained in the people if they have been in that spot since the beginning of time it is pretty hard to pick up and move elsewhere" (07).

In addition, some attributed the mortality to abrupt changes in diet and weather conditions experienced as a result of relocation (Sutton and Sutton 2003: 260; Fidler n.d.). Contemporary interviewees that I consulted for the current study also note that many sources of traditional medicine were not available at the new reservations and that sacred or "healing" places were absent. Acorn and other traditional foods were also absent. They were also suffering, these consultants suggest, from severe depression:

"My great-grandpa [from the Applegate Valley] when he was brought here, about 8 years old, one of the first people he stayed with was a Takelma man named Old Hugh and his wife. They had taken in several old women and at least one orphan. Those older women didn't have any family left. Their husbands were either dead before or had died during the war. They didn't have any children or grandchildren that were alive and didn't have anyone to care of them. So old Hugh took them in...and my great-grandpa, he said that those women just sat around and cried the whole time. Never stopped crying until they died. Part of it was missing their family and being so alone, but they were away from even the graves of their families and the places that were familiar to them, and they were just miserable" (07).

Immediately after their arrival at the Siletz and Grand Ronde Reservations, certain Indian families began to agitate for their return to the Rogue Basin. Siletz Indian Agent, Robert B. Metcalfe (1857: 357) reported

"They all express a strong desire to return to their native country and appear to have a superstitious awe of having their bodies buried on a foreign land. Many of the more sensitive have died from a depression of spirits, having failed in the last desperate struggle to regain their country, where they once roamed free as air..."

Chief John and other Rogue Indian headmen were most vocal in agitating for their return to their homeland. In 1857, Chief John reportedly proclaimed to the Siletz Indian Agent that

"My heart is sick. Many of my people have died since they came here; many are still dying. There will soon be none left of us...Now we want to go back to our country...I will consent to live here one year more; after that I must go home" (quoted in *Daily Courier* 1935: 16).

As a result of this agitation, Chief John and his son were sent to Alcatraz and imprisoned there. Chief John and his son attempted to escape Alcatraz but were subdued; they also reportedly attempted to commandeer the ship that carried them from Oregon to California as they passed the mouth of the Rogue River. Ultimately, Chief John was allowed to return to Siletz, expressing a desire to be reunited with his family if not his homeland (Hermann 1917; Lockwood 1900; Metcalf 1857; Fidler n.d.).[96]

Indian Agents responded to tribal demands with the observation that the Rogue Basin was no longer safe for Indians, and that tribal members returning there would be hunted down and killed by militias, U.S. troops and others. In response,

"Basically all the headmen said the same thing, whenever their statements were recorded: "you tell us we'll be shot and killed if we go back to those places." And they said, "Well let us go then, because we might as well be shot there [instead of] die here"" (07).

Members of Sam's Band attempted to use treaty negotiation language as leverage in their push to return home, noting that they agreed to remove to the Siletz Reservation under the condition that they would be allowed to return to the Table Rock Reservation at the end of hostilities. The Department of Indian Affairs would not yield on this point, even as the reservation communities grew increasingly anxious. In his 1866 Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Siletz Indian Agent Ben Simpson reported considerable effort to put aside unrest caused by "the non-fulfillment of their treaties" and to "[convince] them that their location is permanent" (Simpson 1866: 85).

At about this time, individual escapes from the reservations become commonplace, with Rogue River families attempting to return home (e.g., Fidler 1924: 37). By 1870, Indian Agent Ben Simpson (Simpson 1870: 389), reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that

"One of the greatest difficulties with which I have to contend is in keeping the Indians on the reservation. I have made it a rule, from which I never deviate, to allow no Indian to go beyond the limits of the reservation without first obtaining my written permission....yet notwithstanding this precaution, quite a number of Indians are now absent from the agency without permission..."

Later in his report, he notes,

"much dissatisfaction was created among the Indians on this agency by the circulation, early in the spring, of a petition to throw open this reservation for settlement and remove the Indians. Quite a number of the Indians ran away from the agency..." (Simpson 1870: 390).

Tribal interviewees for the current study also spoke of this period, noting that some families attempted to escape south along the coast, while others "skirted the valleys" to avoid detection by white communities that were becoming established there. "There was a group that was apparently partly composed of Grand Ronde people that went back and stayed around the Table Rock area" (07). This is probably the group mentioned in the August 30, 1861 *Oregon Sentinel*, which reported that

"Fifty or more Rogue River Indians have returned to their old hunting grounds on Sam's Creek, about fifteen miles from this place, and assert that it is their country and that they propose to occupy it; and to make their society more interesting they tell the settlers there that three or four hundred more will join them in a few days. As an evidence of what they intend to do, they have turned some of their horses into a pasture and told the owner, at his peril, not to take them out."

This insurrection, probably carried out by members of Sam's Band who were based at Grand Ronde, was short-lived. These individuals were quickly escorted back to both Siletz and Grand Ronde, divided into different communities to restrict further unified action.

A number of modern families have stories of their ancestors trying to return to the Rogue Basin at the time "There's a lot of stories of people who left Siletz and went down there..." (07):

"My great-grandpa John Adams and Annetta Scott's father...his name translated out as "Ground Eater"...they left Siletz here probably in the 1870s and went down there. The story in the family was that originally they went down to try to locate a spot where they had captured some pack mules from a mining group or some US Army mules at one point during the war...They had actually gotten a hold of miner's mules that actually had saddle bags with gold dust in them. And they had buried those saddle bags. They went down there originally...to try to locate that spot and get those saddle backs. They said that the country had changed so much that they didn't recognize things. It was about 20 years later...they were never able to locate those saddle bags...They tried to take up Indian homesteads there. The impression I got from the story was that they were harassed...they ultimately decided to return to Siletz" (07).

Another member of that family, Dave Adams, was mentioned - a man who was half Shasta and half Rogue River Athabaskan - who escaped Siletz at around the same period. Attempting to escape the continued roundups of Indians in the Rogue Basin, Adams ultimately arrived at Yreka, where he met and later married Ella Snelling, a full-blood Shasta woman. Snelling's parents were reportedly Shastas who had been removed to Siletz, but had escaped and traveled south of the Oregon-California border. Facing persistent anti-Indian sentiment, the entire family decided to rejoin family at Siletz and returned to that reservation around 1890.

Certain tribal communities of the Klamath River Basin, including Shasta and Karuk villages on the middle Klamath River, were still large enough in the 1870s and 1880s that families escaping from Siletz and Grand Ronde were able to effectively hide in these communities

"A lot of those were people who were initially removed to Siletz and then they escaped went just south of the Oregon border...and would not be rounded up again like people that stopped short of the California border would have been" (07).

During the same period, some of these communities served as refuges for Modoc and Klamath refugees from upriver, seeking refuge and anonymity in these towns during the Modoc War of the 1870s. Some families at Siletz, such as those of Klamath John and Klamath Charlie, were said to have had family in these communities and were said to leave Siletz periodically to visit them before returning, by their own will, to their families at Siletz (07).

In the 1870s, while there was still considerable instability in the communities of Siletz and Grand Ronde, these communities began to achieve a form of stability. At Siletz, the tribe chose their first elected Chief, George Harney, the great-grandfather of interviewee Aggie Pilgrim. The accounts of Siletz Indian Agent, J.H. Fairchild (1874) reported that the community was increasingly dependent on agri-



An 1875 photo of George Harney, the first chief to be elected by the multi-tribal community at Siletz, and great-grandfather to project interviewee, Aggie Pilgrim. National Archives.

cultural production and was rapidly converting to Christianity, while still suffering from frequent crop failure and continued high mortality rates.

The 1880s, however, represented something of a turning point in the history of these tribes and a consideration of this period is useful in considering the transformation of the Rogue Basin tribes into members of the consolidated tribes of Grande Ronde and Siletz. It also represented the period of the first formal anthropological research within these communities, most notably by Dorsey. In 1884, for example, only 27 Takelma survivors were counted at Siletz reservation (Sapir 1907: 256). In 1888, when the population was close to its nadir, the Siletz Agency only had 607 residents, while Grand Ronde claimed 422 Indian residents and 115 "mixed bloods" (Lane 1888, McClane 1888).

In 1888, Siletz Agency Indian Agent, J.B. Lane, provided an account of life on the reservation that was meant to highlight the Indian agencies' successes in converting the "Rogue Indians" into members of the larger majority culture:

"With a few exceptions all live in frame houses, all wear citizens' clothes, most of them speak English, nearly all between ten and twenty-five years of age can read and write...The old-fashioned customs are dying out among them gradually. A great many of the old ones still hold to their ideas of superstition and their Indian doctors, but while they patronize their doctors they don't seem to have much confidence in them beyond their supposed services to the sick, and even then they do not entirely ignore the white physician...

"The raising and marketing of oats, hay, and potatoes, with a few cattle and hogs constitute the bulk of the products of Indian industry within the reservation. The establishment of salmon canneries within the vicinity is opening up a good market for this popular fish, of which the rivers of the Siletz, at certain seasons, produce an abundance, and I anticipate that some of the Indian fishermen will realize several hundred dollars each from this source this fall...A large number find employment outside among the whites. Farming, clearing land, chopping wood, logging, fishing, hop picking, and various other minor employments are engaged in by men and women among their white neighbors, with whom they are on the most friendly terms" (Lane 1888: 209-10).

At this time, residential schools and missionary efforts together sought to eradicate vestiges of traditional knowledge (Lane 1888; McClane 1888). During this time, the Methodist Church held considerable influence at the Siletz Reservation, while the Benedictine order of the Catholic church was still active in missionary efforts on the Grand Ronde Reservation (McClane 1888). Land was also divided into individual "allotments" during this period, under the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, in order to reduce dependence on collectively owned property and to instill individualistic and capitalistic values in the tribal community:

"The allotments of land in severalty to the Indians of this agency was begun last September and continued until December, Special Agent M. C. Connelly being sent here for this purpose. About seventy allotments were made at that time..." (Lane 1888: 211).

Most written accounts suggest that interspersion with other tribal populations at these multi-tribal reservations contributed to the rapid decline of Takelma, Rogue Athabaskan, and Shastan identity, cultural knowledge, and language (Kendall 1990: 592). The tribes found themselves compelled to use certain cultural "lowest common denominators" such as the use of the trade language, Chinook Jargon, for everyday conversation:

"As more than twenty tribes, each having its own dialect, have been consolidated on this reservation, they are obliged to use a common language. So all speak Chinook jargon, and many are learning English" (Dorsey 1889: 55).

In 1884, Dorsey (1890: 227-37) visited Siletz to seek out Takelma speakers, finding only about 30 "Takelmas" surviving there. When Sapir arrived there in the summer of 1906, there were too few Takelma speakers for him to complete his intended full study of the language and culture. Yet, during Dorsey's visit, each constituent village community still maintained some sense of distinctiveness: "Each village, as the Tutu tunne, Mikono tunne, etc., has its special burial-ground on the Siletz reservation" (Dorsey 1890: 228). Moreover, despite considerable pressure to adopt non-Indian economic and religious institutions, a small number of traditional practices persisted. In particular, traditional hunting, fishing, and plant gathering practices, continued on the reservations. Grand Ronde Indian Agent John McClane reported in 1888 that on his reservation, "The women make baskets and pick berries in the season, and sell to the whites outside" (McClane 1888: 204).

This period was marked by new kinds of challenges, many of them economic, legal, and administrative. A number of individuals from the Rogue Basin sought compensation from the "Rogue River Indians" and the federal government in the years following the war for damages to homesteads caused by the war (e.g., Myer 1891). Families also experienced new hardships as land fell into private ownership and they became dependent on the vagaries of weather, agricultural markets, and other factors in the generation of private income. In many cases, lands allotted to Indians at Siletz and Grand Ronde were lost to non-Indians, because of debt, tax liability, and the administrative actions of the Indian Agency. At Grand Ronde, for example:

"During the 1890s the Secretary of the Interior allotted most of the Grand Ronde Reservation to individual Indians. Over 33,000 acres of allotted land passed into non-Indian ownership in the aftermath of the General Allotment Act. In 1901, an additional 25,791 acres of the Grand Ronde Reservation was declared surplus and sold for $28,500" (US Senate 1988: 1-2).

The small community was further pulled apart by the gradual erosion of the Siletz Reservation. Under a separate 1894 agreement with the Siletz Indians, the tribe agreed to "cede, sell relinquish, and convey to the United States all their claim, right, title, and interest in and to all the unallotted lands within the limits of [the Siletz] reservation" with certain exceptions (U.S. Congress, 1894: 535). On July 25, 1895, under a presidential proclamation from President Grover Cleveland,

these lands were made available for non-Indian settlement (Cleveland 1896). So too, in 1904, the Grand Ronde were compelled to cede all portions of their reservation that had not been allotted or used for specific governmental functions (Kappler 1904, 3: 105-07).

Despite these challenges, the Siletz and Grand Ronde tribes were no longer administered like refugee or prison camps. Despite continued poverty, health and lifespan slowly began to improve, slowly approximating those of other rural Oregon communities. The membership of these reservation communities expanded now, no longer as a result of arriving tribes, but from the birth of new generation of tribal members. This new generation would know the Rogue Basin, not usually on the basis of an intimate first-hand knowledge, but primarily through the stories passed along to them by their elders.

(Re)Discovery of the Cave

While the Siletz and Grand Ronde tribes were getting established in northern Oregon, newly arrived settlers were getting to know the recently depopulated Siskiyou region. Unlike many portions of the West, very little local knowledge was transmitted between Indian and white communities at the contact period, with hostilities from the onset and the abrupt and much of the area. With a growing number of white settlers in all of the surrounding valleys, it was perhaps inevitable that Oregon Caves would soon be "discovered" by non-Indians who recently entered the Siskiyous.

Contemporary accounts of the caves' discovery uniformly indicate that in fall of 1874, Elijah J. Davidson Jr. (1849-1927) discovered the entrance to Oregon Caves while hunting on Grayback Mountain. As recounted by Fidler in 1877,

> "Two years ago, Mr. E.J. Davidson, one of the most adventuresome and successful mountaineers and hunters of this region, while in pursuit of a deer he had wounded with his dog, accidentally stumbled upon the discovery of what he took to be the mouth of a cave, and which conjecture has since proven to be correct. The discovery was made on the spur of a mountain familiarly known out here as "Old Grayback," and on the side that is drained off toward Sucker Creek or Illinois River" (Fidler 1877).

While Davidson pursued a deer, his dog chased a bear into the cave and Davidson, hearing his dog yelping from inside, followed into the cave. Stories of Davidson's discovery are a cornerstone of local historical accounts as well as NPS interpretation of the Caves. Davidson's father, also named Elijah, had settled in the Williams Valley in the 1850s, almost immediately after this valley was depopulated by the Rogue War. Elijah Davidson Jr. had grown up hunting, trapping, and exploring in these mountains. Davidson returned to the caves in 1877 with his brother, Carter Davidson, and the two men led a number of trips to the caves in the years that fol-



The entrance to Oregon Caves, prior to the development of roadways or buildings. Cave Creek formed a small waterfall tumbling from the cave's entrance. With a growing number of white settlers in all of the surrounding valleys, it was perhaps inevitable that Oregon Caves would soon be "discovered" by non-Indians who recently entered the Siskiyous. Siskiyou National Forest.

lowed (Sweet 1987). Nearby Mount Elijah was later named to commemorate Davidson's widely publicized discovery of the caves.

Tribal interviewees consistently suggested that late-19th century settlers like Davidson simply followed Indian trails when navigating the high country in the Siskiyous. "Early people prospecting in the Applegate Drainage using those trail systems and getting way up into those upper reaches up there" (07). This claim appears to be supported by a diverse range of documentary materials.

Clearly, the "discovery" of Oregon Caves may well have been facilitated by settlers following the Indian trail network into Grayback Mountain and along the ridges and meadows along the head of Lake and Limestone Creeks. Elijah Davidson's discovery narratives indicates that, when he found the cave, he had been following a preexisting "dim, brushy trail" just large enough to allow the passage of horses while ascending Grayback Mountain from Williams. The configuration and description of this trail network corresponds with what might be expected to remain of the "very narrow" trails through "thick underbrush" reported by the military expeditions following Indian trails through Williams Valley and over into the Illinois Valley two decades earlier. Davidson followed this trail directly to "Mountain Meadows, directly under the old noted Grayback mountain...it was an ideal camping place" (Davidson 1922: 274). Indeed, available evidence suggests that may have been a tribal campsite only a few decades before, in all probability linked to the Applegate Valley along a trail through Williams Creek.

Early accounts of the caves provide little that would attest to Indian use of the cave. In 1883, George Dunn (1883: 4) indicated that "pitch torches carried in by visitors made the scenery look like someone had been living therein." Dunn, however, did not note such evidence during an earlier visit to the Caves suggesting that this was probably correctly attributed to recent visitor

This trail that Davidson used to access the Oregon Caves appears to have been rapidly overgrown in the years that followed. By the time of geologist, Thomas Condon's visit to the caves in 1884, no trail could be found leading from Williams to the Oregon Caves area (Anonymous 1884). In 1884, however, two local settlers, Homer Harkness and Walter Burch blazed a new trail from Williams directly to Oregon Cave. By 1885, they had obtained a mining claim to the caves, and immediately began to promote the site as a tourist attraction. Celebrating the caves' sublime beauty and the medicinal properties of Cave Creek, the two men began to advertise the caves both locally and state-wide (*Rogue River Courier* 1886).[97]

In 1909, President Taft declared Oregon Caves a National Monument, and in 1933 Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an executive order placing a number of monuments, including Oregon Caves, under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. By 1934,



Early non-Indian visitors typically carried lit torches to navigate the caves, as seen in this early Oregon Caves photo. Any soot that might have accumulated as a result of Native American use of the caves was effectively obscured. Josephine County Historical Society

Oregon Caves National Monument operated as an independent unit of the NPS.[98] The trail blazed by Harkness and Burch was maintained until the advent of NPS management. This trail probably conforms to the same general route of a pack trail described by Babe Williams (2001) which followed the approximate contemporary route of USFS Road 960. In 1961, the Oregon Caves Master Plan indicated that these trails, and others, were still visible (Oregon Caves National Monument 1961).

Indian Communities in the Siskiyous, 1858-1930s

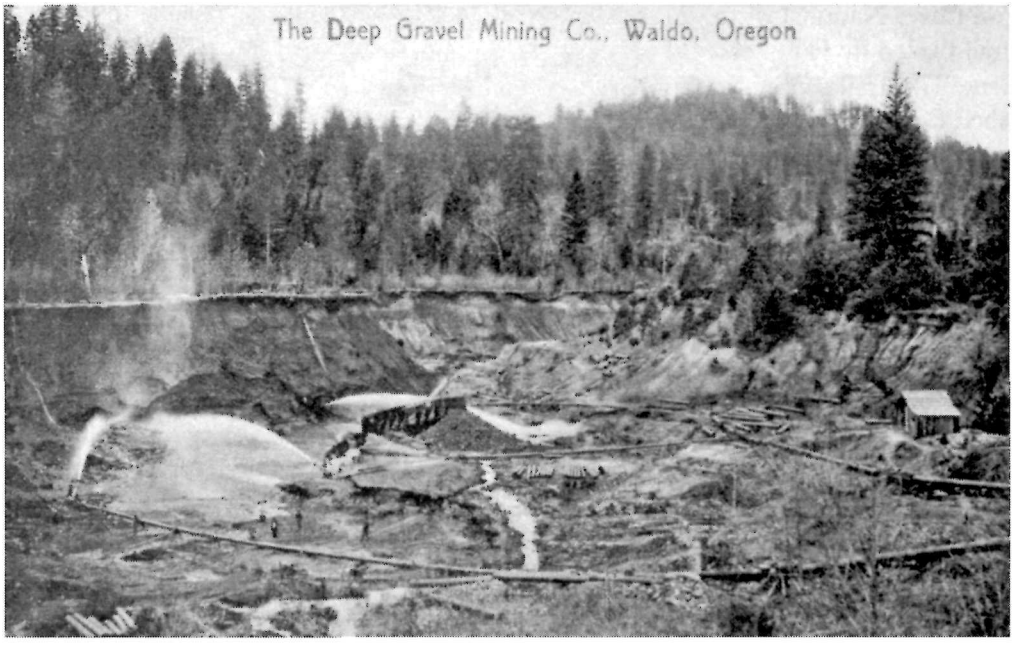
Clearly, a number of tribal members escaped relocation to Siletz and Grand Ronde. Archival references to these escapes, and the continued use of the Siskiyou Mountains as refuge, is widely noted in archival sources from the period. Likewise, there are many oral traditions of these escapes among modern tribal members, who note that "A lot of people hid out in the mountains to avoid being sent to Siletz" (21). Some provide specific examples:

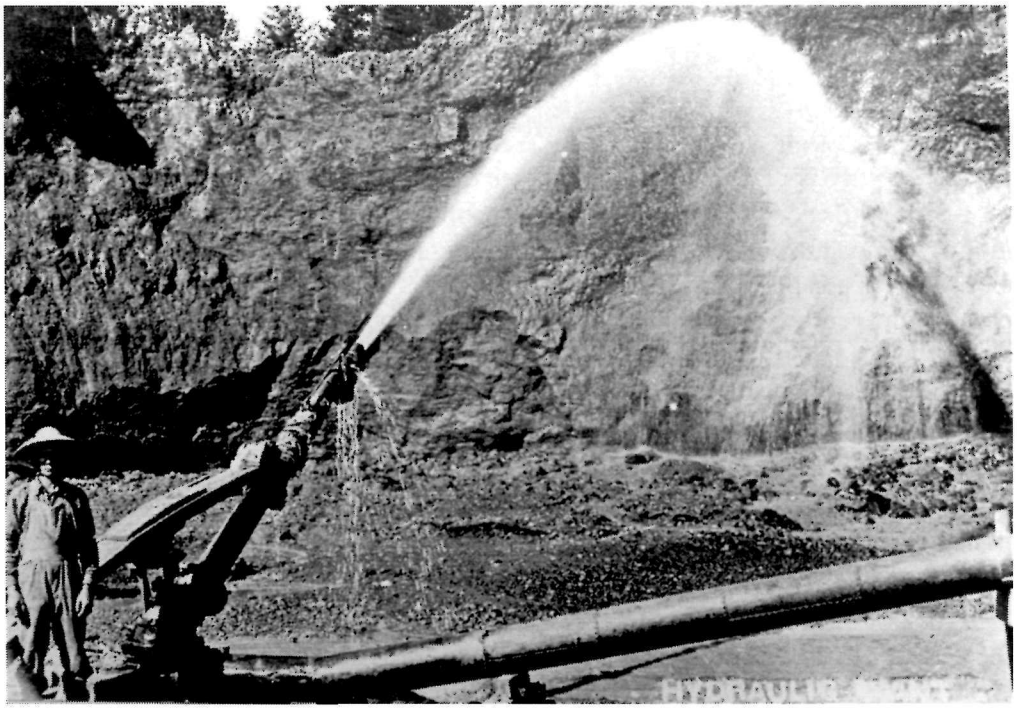
"people hid out in the hills...there's a lot of oral history in the early settler families down there, at Grants Pass and downriver from there...the oral history down there is that Limpy Tyee was killed down there in the spring of 1857 and a number of his people that had hid out in the hills there. But we have records that he was here - before that and after - that on the reservation after then. He wasn't killed there but it was probably other members of his band that refused to be removed" (07).

These Indians, without access to many of their subsistence resources, occasionally raided settlers for basic provisions. Even after the War was over, settlers in the Rogue Basin continued to petition for U.S. troops' intervention. A series of "roundup" campaigns, originally diected by General Joseph Lane, routed out a number of these escapees, and those individuals who were not killed in this campaign were apparently sent to Siletz. Roundups took place as far south as the Siskiyou summit, but these troops seldom ventured south of the Oregon-California border east of Happy Camp:

"Roundups continued...through the 1860s and...I know there was a big round-up around 1874. There were several of them - they didn't particularly go in the upper Klamath country, but they would go down through the Illinois Valley and come out at Crescent City and round up people that they knew belonged at Siletz. They would look for them...where they were trying to integrate in and would send them back to Siletz" (07).

Many of the remaining individuals fled south to avoid the roundups, joining up with large tribal populations, such as the Klamath, Yurok, and Hoopa, to avoid detection and removal. Clearly, south of the Oregon-California border, circumstances were quite different. As Kroeber (1925: 98-100) notes that after the Rogue Indian War and related hostilities of the 1850s, the Karuk:





Hydraulic mining for gold in the Illinois and Rogue Basins involved tearing apart soil and rock strata using high-pressured water cannons. Likewise, deep pit mines appeared through the area in the late 19th century, including the Deep Pit Gravel Mine in Waldo, Oregon. The damage to the waterways and fish runs of the region were immeasurable, and undermined the persistence of those Indian communities that remained. Josephine County Historical Society

"returned to what was left of their shattered existence. Permanent settlers never came into their land in numbers; the Government established no reservation and left them to their own devices; and they yielded their old customs and their numbers much more slowly than the majority of California natives."

In this relatively large and isolated tribal population, many families found that they could effectively "disappear."

Still, the large population of "landless" Indians living along the middle to lower Klamath River at this time could not easily be ignored. In response, the Department of the Interior moved swiftly to create a reservation at the mouth of the Klamath River, where the bulk of this population was situated. By November of 1855, Indian Commissioner George Manypenny and Secretary of the Interior McClelland addressed this issue, arguing for the creation of the Klamath River Reserve, a precursor to the modern Yuork and Hoopa Reservations. The Hoopa Valley Reservation was established by an act of Congress on April 8, 1864; consisting primarily of Hoopa families, this reservation also housed a number of individuals of Karuk ancestry. Upriver, the Shasta had perhaps been so decimated by the events of the Rogue War that there was no comparable effort to create a single reservation.

Only a handful of Indian families who had assisted the U.S. forces during the Rogue Indian War were also allowed to stay within their homelands in the Rogue Basin. A small number of Indians were able to stay in their traditional territories due to their importance to local economic activities. A man named Robert Jewett, for example, ran a ferry crossing Rogue River; following the end of the War, Jewett successfully petitioned for the right to retain an elderly tribal member who served as his assistant. Likewise, the headman, "Umpqua Joe" was credited with alerting settlers of an impending attack during the War in 1855 and was not removed to Siletz at the end of the war. His daughter, "Indian Mary" married a non-Indian and stayed at their home on the middle Rogue, ultimately being granted title to the modest homestead in 1885, now commemorated by Indian Mary Park on this site. Indian Mary was said to "visit [Shasta] relatives on the upper Klamath River" in the late 19th century and regularly traveled "down the Klamath River visiting Indian families, and going back over the Siskiyou Mountains to her home near Grants Pass, Oregon" (Hall 1990: 139).

For most women, however, marriage to non-Indian men was the only way to avoid forced relocation to Siletz or Grand Ronde. Intermarriage clearly was taking place prior to the Rogue War, as miners and settlers married into tribal families. At the close of the War, however, inter-ethnic marriages became widespread, in part as a means of survival for Indian women: "The women of our family were all able to avoid removal because their husbands were white" (21). Clearly, the Rogue Indian War and other inter-ethnic violence resulted in a disproportionately high mortality rate for men of the local tribes. Women of the Karuk and Shasta in particular, were

left in their traditional homeland with a relatively small male presence. Simultaneously, the white population - consisting of miners and settlers - was overwhelmingly male. Most militia members and miners left the Rogue and Klamath Basins in the years following the Rogue War, but those who stayed often sought out women in the remnant tribal communities, which were especially numerous south of the Oregon-California border. Inter-ethnic marriages thus became commonplace in many early mining communities along the middle Klamath River.

A number of these families, with Shasta or Karuk women, moved into the Rogue River basin during the mid- to late-19th century. If the Klamath River basin possessed single women, the Rogue River basin possessed available agricultural land. Ironically, the depopulation of the resident Indian population left the Rogue River basin relatively uninhabited and open for agricultural resettlement, and it was the descendents of the neighboring Shasta and Karuk who often became the resident "Indian" population (Atwood 1978). Thus, a number of individuals and families that have identified as "Rogue Indian" have later investigated their ancestry and found that they are in fact primarily Shasta or Karuk.[100]

As an example, some interviewees for this study mentioned Chief John (not to be confused with Applegate John), who was variously said to be of mixed Hoopa, Karuk, and Shasta ancestry. When at Hoopa, militias amassed, attempting to force the relocation of his people. Chief John is said to have told his people "not to leave, and to just stay there, and he was shot. He was shot several times" by militia members (21, 15, 17). Some accounts suggest that another part of this family lived at the Shasta village at Scott's Bar. Following Chief John's death and a miner raid on Scott's Bar, two of his daughters went to Happy Camp and lived with the largely Karuk family there. While living there, they met and married non-Indian men by the names of John Billings and Abraham Frye, who operated a store for miners at the mouth of Indian Creek. John Billings married "Adeline." The men paid the family a dowry for the girls, "but they got a mother-in-law in the deal," and their mother lived with the Billings family; while interviewees for this study did not discuss this mother in detail, she was depicted as being of Shasta and/or Applegate ancestry (15). Abraham Frye's brother Jim also married a woman at Happy Camp, who is said to be Karuk (Atwood 1978: 28-29).

John and Adeline Billings settled at the confluence of the Illinois and Rogue Rivers in 1868. Abe and Jim Frye and their respective wives also settled on Oak Flat at the Rogue-Illinois River confluence (Atwood 1978: 28-29). Another resident of this area, Frank Thornton, reported that his mother was an Indian "from the Klamath below Hoopa somewhere" who moved there during the same period (Atwood 1978: 36). There, roughly nine families of white men and Indian women became the founding members of the mixed community that is now represented by the federally unrecognized "Confederated Tribes of the Lower Rogue," with family names

such as Fry, Leap, Billings, and Hall.[101] In the years that followed, other tribal descendents joined this community, including some from the Klamath Basin and some that appear to have resisted relocation from the Rogue Basin. Members of the Siletz, Shasta Nation and Karuk Tribe also mentioned kinship ties to these families. (While some of this story is recounted in Kay Atwood's book, *Illahee*, consultants from all of these groups took issue with a number of details in this work and discouraged its use as a significant source for the current study.) In recent years, members of the Confederated Tribes of the Lower Rogue in Agness have participated in linguistic analyses of the language used by individual elders in their community, finding it to be a mixture of Karuk and the form of Athabaskan spoken in the Applegate Valley and, by extension, in the Illinois Valley and Galice Creek (21).

Karuk families still living in the Happy Camp area depict the Agness families and other Karuk descendents in the Rogue Basin as distant family. Moreover, they suggest that the Karuk, with longstanding ties to the upper Illinois Valley and Grayback Mountain area, became the principal group now using the area in the vacuum created by the Rogue War:

"People were married into the tribes on the other side of the hill - we had relations over there...a lot of people on this side of the hill migrated over during the Rogue River wars to help our neighbors...a lot of Karuk families got sent to Grand Ronde and Siletz along with the Rogue Rivers and Shastas. After the wars they swept away every Indian in the Rogue River Valley. The only families that were allowed to stay were Karuk families near Agness...then, you know, as people were scattered, the areas that we had shared with the other tribes we kind of moved in and became the only tribe using the area" (04).

A number of families living today have mixed tribal ancestry that can be traced to this period of consolidation within the remaining tribal community. Interviewees for this study identifying themselves as Shasta descent mentioned migrations in both directions during this period. Like the ancestors of the community in Agness, Shasta interviewees for this study indicate that there was considerable intermarriage and short-distance migrations by mixed couples because Shasta women who married white men during the mid-19th century were "not killed." These couples are the ancestors of today's Shastas at places like Quartz Valley (Hall 1990: 140).

These families of mixed ancestry continued certain traditions of land and resource use in the Siskiyous, though typically at some distance from Oregon Caves. According to Ivin Billings, the intermarriage of Indian and white families resulted in a degree of cultural borrowing from American Indians among descendents of combined ancestry:

"There was a lot of the Indian ways that settlers took on. For instance, they used an Indian system in building a campfire. It's the way you lay a fire out: your sticks, your kindling, to start it burning. The settlers would use Indian ways of cooking lots of things; things you raised in the garden, and in things they gathered from the woods, like camas" (in Atwood 1978: 27).

With the maternal line being almost exclusively Indian in this community, many traditional female skills, such as basket making, were retained. Some of these mixed families appear to have continued traditions of vegetation burning, and may have burned upland patches of beargrass, maidenhair fern, hazel, and woodwardia fern to provide basket materials through much of the 19th century (Atwood 1978: 150-52).

Articles from newspapers from the mid-to-late 19th century, such as the *Oregon Sentinel* (1856-67) provide evidence of a continued Indian presence in the Illinois and Applegate River valleys well after the removals. Likewise, the number of casual archival references to "Indians" still being present in the Applegate and Illinois Valleys is impressive in the years following the war. Speaking of Williams in the early 1860s, Momsen (n.d.) reports

"Williamsburg had a couple of mercantile stores, a mining supply store, three saloons, a blacksmith shop and two hotels. White families were few, but there were many single white miners and Indians."[102]

In some cases, these Indians appear to be part of the community, while elsewhere they appear to be perceived as a threat. The *Oregon Sentinel* reported on April 8, 1863 that

"The Citizens in the vicinity of Phoenix [Oregon] having petitioned Mr. Rogers, Indian Agent, to remove a squad of Indians who had become a nuisance there, that gentleman, on Monday last, went out and ordered them to leave by Wednesday. This order will be obeyed, as the Siwashes are in fear of the soldiers at camp."

Tribal interviewees that I consulted for the current study were aware of these individuals or small groups passing through the Rogue Basin, suggesting that they principally represented people who were now sequestered on the south side of the Oregon-California border. If not always Shasta or Karuk, these individuals were often residing, permanently or temporarily, in Shasta and Karuk communities:

"Probably some of that is Shasta people that either escaped the removal and were in the Yreka area and moved into Oregon for periods of time and then shift back and forth. Some of them were probably Shasta and Takelma people from Siletz and Grand Ronde" (07).[103]

Certainly, the Shasta communities south of the Oregon-California border appear to have been remarkably resilient in the wake of the violence of the 1850s. A number of accounts suggest that the Shasta, along with the many other people who had been displaced to the Klamath River, continue to host multi-tribal social and ceremonial events through the 19th century.[104] One account from this period recalls:

"The annual encampment, "Pow-Wow," of Indians, of the Klamath, Shasta, Siskiyou and Scott Valley tribes, was held, during September [1863], about one mile from Yreka. Brewer, who was fascinated by the appearance of these Indians, declared they were the best looking he had so far observed in the

state, far superior to central California's Digger Indians. He observed some of the squaws were quite pretty, and would be excepting "they had their faces painted in strange ways..." (Jones 1953: 118).

So too, oral traditions from the Shasta and Karuk from this period are a telling indicator of the continued, if sometimes precarious, persistence of tribal communities south of the Oregon-California border:

"In 1873, Shasta people from Shasta Valley, Klamath River, and Scott Valley met in Scott Valley for ceremony and dancing. Tyee Jim, Chief of the area would many times host these dances. They had three camps set up, held dances at night. This was stopped by the local white community by threatening the Shasta people's lives.

"In 1874, the Shasta people who remained were meeting to discuss the reservation that the government was attempting to establish for them. Representatives came from Hamburg, Gottsville, Quartz Valley, Scott Valley, Shasta Valley, Upper Klamath, Bogus, Shovel Creek, Mount Shasta, New River and Salmon River to discuss what was going to happen to them. The representatives would report back to their communities.

"The Shasta people would have communal gardens. They would grow crops and the settlers' would destroy their gardens. The Shasta people would gather every year along the Upper Klamath River near Bogus and Shovel Creeks to plant their gardens...

"Shasta people far away as present day Grants Pass would come for a few weeks in the summer to visit family and friends. When people would go visiting their relatives in other areas. the settlers would take over their lands and they would have no home to go back to. This happened all over the Shasta people's aboriginal lands. The Shasta people would then go and live with their local Chief" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 12).

These communities also became eligible for allotments of land under the General Allotment Act. Claims typically consisted of only the land on which an applicant's home was situated. Still, this application of the act allowed certain families to finally obtain clear title to their own land. Allotments were reported in such communities as "Etna (Ruffy Reservation), Salmon River, Upper Klamath River (Shovel Creek, Bogus, and Copco), Scott Bar, Hamburg, Gottsville, Moffett Creek, Yreka (Bender Allotments), and the north end of Scott Valley and Quartz Valley" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 14). Approximately 65 allotments were established in the area in the years that followed.

This modest control over the land they occupied arguably had a galvanizing effect on segments of the Shasta community and facilitated further migration into the area by tribal members displaced from areas north of the Oregon border, as well as families wishing to return from Siletz and Grand Ronde. By the time Roland Dixon attempted to locate the remaining "full-blood" Shastas in 1900 and 1904, the Shasta population was diminished in Siletz and Grand Ronde, but apparently thriving in the communities of the Klamath Basin. In the course of this effort, he identified

"four individuals at Siletz, one or two at Grand Ronde Reservation in Oregon, and one woman at Yakima [but] all the Shasta now known to be living are scattered throughout their old territory. A few

are at Yreka, much mixed with Wintun; there are several in Scott Valley, and perhaps a score or two at various points along the Klamath River. In addition to these full-bloods, there are quite a number of half-breeds" (1907: 389).

In contrast, the upper Illinois and Applegate Valleys are described largely devoid of a resident Indian population through the mid-to-late 19th century. To the extent that they appear in the written record, they are there to service the growing non-Indian settlements and economies of these valleys. White settlers of the period generally depicted the removal of Indians from the Illinois and Applegate Valleys as the final step required to realize the economic potential of the region. A.A. Armstrong (1857: 51), whose brother had been involved in battles at Table Rock and elsewhere during the Rogue Indian War, lamented the impact of Indian hostilities had caused on regional economic development:

"Owing to the number of hostile Indians prowling continually about the region, it has never been satisfactorily "prospected" [due to] the fact that very few persons were willing to risk their scalps, even in the search for gold."

In the absence of tribal communities, settlers and miners flooded into the valleys of the Siskiyous. Althouse was perhaps the richest mining area in what became Josephine County during the Rogue War, and following the end of hostilities its importance continued to expand. Following the end of the Rogue Indian War, gold and bronze production was undertaken at an industrial scale at the head of Illinois Valley (Sutton 1966). Tribal members residing in the Klamath River basin continued to visit the Illinois and Applegate Valleys as they provided services to these mining communities. One consultant for the current study recalled a story handed down in his family of visiting these mining towns:

"My grandfather who told my father - he was a backpacker from Weitchpec [Hoopa Reservation], he took a mule trail and would...bring mail and whatnot from over at Weitchpec and pack it all the way down this drainage [Quartz Valley]...he said that he remembered when he was a young boy his uncle used to take a pack train from Happy Camp and come down to the Applegate and the Illinois [by Waldo]...to the mining. And the only respect that he could get there was the fact that he could make the trip...he was Karuk...that was William Harry, my grandfather's uncle" (03).

The 1880s witnessed the emergence of commercial agriculture in the Illinois and Applegate drainages, facilitated by rapid expansions of the railroad network into southwestern Oregon during this period. Agricultural operations especially centered on small orchards and hops growing. By 1900, large scale agricultural operations were flourishing in the valleys east and west of Oregon Caves, especially cattle ranches, cherry and apple orchards; small commercial sawmills also operated in a number of communities (Sutton 1966). A modest number of Indian families from the Klamath River provided agricultural labor at these farms and ranches, but the record of this is quite sparse. One account provided for this study by Robert Kennta addresses this period



Early mail carriers traveled the network of tribal trails in the late 19th and early 20th centuries throughout this part of the Siskiyous. Siskiyou National Forest.

"My dad's oldest brother [George Kennta] left Siletz...in 1914-15...and made his way down into the Illinois Valley country and worked for some big cattle rancher that ran cattle in the hills all around theIllinois Valley. And he told some stories of staying with some Indian people there. It was an Indian man and his wife. They had little kids. The old man would sit there and sing songs in the evening time...that was in Cave Junction-Selma area."

South of the Siskiyou divide, however, tribal numbers were still large and tribal culture was still remarkably robust. The populations of the middle Klamath had experienced periodic declines due to disease, the decline in salmon harvests, and a host of other factors (Hrdlicka 1909). Yet, efforts to culturally assimilate these large and relatively remote tribes still met with considerable obstacles. As Putnam complained of the Klamath River tribes in 1917:

"Because of the mountain barriers and their remoteness from the centers of civilized life, the tribes of the northern coast counties have continued to cherish up to the present many of their old tribal customs even though the government schools have used ever effort to discourage the barbaric practices, and to win the Indians to sane modes of life and thought" (Putnam 1917: 282)

These large communities along the Klamath River had an enduring connection with the people of Siletz and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Grand Ronde. Interviewees that I consulted for the current study note that these connections with the Klamath River communities fostered a slow migration of families from Siletz to the Klamath Basin:

"There was a lot of continued intermarriage with Karuk people and Shasta people at Siletz that still had family around Yreka and that country there... one family I remember had a daughter that married a Karuk man in Quartz Valley...They lived down there most of the time and came back every year or two to visit" (07).

These kinship ties facilitated the exchange of ideas between Siletz and the communities of far northern California. Some suggest that the Indian Shaker church, a charismatic religious movement integrating native and Christian elements, was first brought to the Klamath River by people from Siletz:

"The main church for northern California was at Smith River...The shake was brought from Siletz to Smith River. Siletz people established that church...the other Shaker churches in northern California were "satellites" of that first Smith River church" (07).

Once this church was established, additional tribal members moved between Siletz and the Klamath River communities as part of church activities. Even Siletz tribal members without direct kinship ties in the Klamath Basin were compelled to go there. Sometimes, this fostered new kinship ties, as Shakers from Siletz married people they met in Klamath country; for example, one consultant mentioned a Shaker minister from Siletz who married a Yurok woman from Hoopa in the mid-20th century as evidence of these continued connections (07).

It is important to note, too, that the non-Indian members of modern-day tribal families also had diverse connections with the Oregon Caves area during the early 20th century. Robert Kennta reports, for example, that his father's uncles, Matt and Henry Kennta, were Finnish immigrants that had mining claims on Althouse Creek in addition to family ties at Siletz. A decade later, David West's father was part of the Civilian Conservation Corps team that helped construct facilities for the newly-created Oregon Caves National Monument in the 1930s: "My father was part of the CCC - he was part of a group that they lowered down into the caves on ropes, to see what was down in there."

Despite the abundance of marriages between Indian and non-Indian individuals, interviewees commented on what they described as the overt racism of local communities in the area through the mid-20th century. One individual mentioned a

local club, the "Redmen Association" of Jacksonville, was said to have an official code of conduct that was meant to mimic American Indian values while also forbidding membership of any individual with known American Indian ancestry (18). Interviewees for this study note, too, that the public institutions of the region continued to represent the Rogue War as an appropriate Euro-American response to Indian treachery and barbarism. Perhaps embodying that sentiment, a booklet-length commemorative publication of the *Grants Pass Courier* entitled "Rogue Rivers Always Known as Bad Indians," published in 1935, suggested that settlers

> "could not tolerate the Indian thefts nor themselves accept the Indian mode of life. Civilization and barbarism could not mingle; the two races could not live side by side; and one must go" (*Daily Courier* 1935: 1)

Consultants for the current study note that parts of southern Oregon simply were not safe for Indians in this light. This fostered continued concentration of tribal members within existing tribal communities, such as Agness, Happy Camp, Fort Jones, Siletz, or Grand Ronde, for example, and restricted Indian migration into rural areas such as the Illinois and Applegate Valleys. Despite a number of inter-ethnic marriages, the ethnic geography of this region remained sharply segregated.

In 1905, the original California treaties of 1851-53 had been rediscovered and widely publicized, fostering both public and congressional attention to the plight of California's federally unrecognized tribes. In the years between 1906 and 1910, legislation provided funds to purchase small lands for "landless" or "homeless" Indians in northern and central California. These small tracts were termed "rancherias." In the years that followed, these treaties were used to facilitate the federal recognition of California tribes that had heretofore been unrecognized by the U.S. government.[106] With that body of legislation as a foundation, certain Shasta families became active in 1934, trying to find a home for a number of the tribal families found scattered throughout Shasta and Karuk territory. Centering their efforts on the community at Fort Jones, in Quartz Valley, these families began to purchase land under the Wheeler-Howard Act. By 1939, the group had purchased 604 acres of land. The group, consisting of only 40 individuals, became federally recognized as the Quartz Valley Community of Shasta, Karuk, and Upper Klamath Indians in this year. Their 604 acres of land became a reservation, available to "homeless Indians" from these tribes (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 14-15). The population of this small reservation grew steadily, as a growing number of Shasta, Karuk, and other tribal families scattered through the Siskiyou region regrouped in this newly organized tribe. [107]

The Emergence of Modern Tribes

Despite the odds, tribal ties to the landscapes of southwestern Oregon persisted. Through the early 20th century, enduring family relationships, Indian Shaker Church activities, and other social events provided continuing ties between tribal communities. In turn, this allowed some families with historical ties to the area to return intermittently from the Siletz and Grand Ronde Reservations to southwestern Oregon. Meanwhile, those families that remained in their traditional territories or joined other tribal populations in the region have, in some cases, continued to maintain their ties to southwestern Oregon with relatively few barriers.

In recent decades, a resurgence in tribal identity among American Indian populations with historical ties to southwestern Oregon has further complicated the question of tribal associations with the Oregon Caves area. Also, a number of federally unrecognized groups – including, in some cases, those families who escaped removal to Siletz and Grand Ronde – have declared their intention to seek federal recognition. Federally recognized and unrecognized tribes alike now direct renewed attention to places of historical and cultural significance, and make increasingly bold claims on rights of access and use to such places (Collins 1998; Deur 2002a). No doubt, the dynamic historical relationship between American Indian communities and the landscapes of the Siskiyous is by no means over.

Clearly, this complicated history has vast implications for NPS consultation efforts. Tribal groups termed "Takelma" or "Applegate Athabaskans" in the ethnographic literature, for example, do not persist as distinct, recognizable American Indian populations, but are now constituent parts of the multi-tribal communities that have formed at Siletz, Grand Ronde and elsewhere. Moreover, there are both federally recognized and unrecognized populations of Rogue Basin Athabaskans, Shastas, Karuks, and other groups - often multi-tribal groups - in Oregon and California. In order to understand its relationship with these various communities and Oregon Caves National Monument, an overview of the formation and condition of modern tribes is in order. While the history outlined in cursory form here does not exhaustively address all tribes with ties to the area, it does address the tribes with the strongest historical ties to the Siskiyou uplands in the vicinity of Oregon Caves.

Termination and Restoration of Federally-Recognized Tribes: 1940s-1980s

The 1920s and 1930s were relatively stable periods in the legal history of the Siletz and Grand Ronde. The principal appearances of Siletz and Grand Ronde in the corpus of federal Indian law and policy during the early 20th century consist of Department of the Interior appropriations for modest funds for the "support and civilization" of these tribes, as well as minor legislative actions pertaining to the sale of reservation lands and the management of allotments.

However, at the close of World War II, the fate of American Tribes began to change. In 1944, a House Select Committee on Indian Affairs recommended eliminating tribes' special relationship with the United States Government. Gradually, the federal government began to take steps to do this through a policy of "termination," effectively eliminating tribes and tribal governments throughout the country. The policy represented an effort to foster social and economic changes within tribes that would hasten their assimilation into the dominant culture and cash economy.

In the mid-20th century, many American Indian tribes participated in the "Indian Claims Commission" process. Within the venue of the Indian Claims Commission, federal and tribal researchers assessed unresolved tribal claims on lands and resources, and many tribal members participated in hearings that assessed traditional tribal land use. These hearings were instrumental in establishing "judicially established" tribal lands, for which tribes could make financial claims in order to settle unresolved claims on the land. Though Oregon Caves National Monument does sit within treaty territories, it was not located within judicially established Indian lands that were documented by the Indian Claims Commission. The nearest judicially established Indian lands include the stateside claims of the "Indians of California" south of the Oregon-California border. In a key legal case, *The Indians of California v. The United States*, California's treaty tribes' claims on lands were settled for an average figure of $1.25 per acre over much of the state including the area south of Oregon Caves as far north as the 42nd parallel (Johnson 1966). In many cases, preexisting anthropological literature was used to assess California tribal claims in this case, with the work of Alfred Kroeber and others being excerpted and compiled into compendia by such scholars as Ralph Beals. While Indian Claims Commission testimony is not available for most areas tribes, Karuk material is included in Beals and Hester (1974). Other judicially established lands in the include those of the "Coquille, Chetco and Too-too-to-ney" sitting largely within Curry County and those of the Klamath Tribes that include the southeastern corner of Jackson County.

As tribal claims began to be assessed and settled, the U.S. government was prepared to begin terminating tribes. House Concurrent Resolution 108, passed by U.S Congress in 1953, called for the termination of federal responsibilities and special

status for American Indian tribes in California, Texas, Florida, and New York as part of a nation-wide effort to assimilate American Indian tribes into the cultural and economic mainstream. Then, in 1954, all tribes of western Oregon were "terminated" in 1954 as part of the Western Oregon Termination Act (Appendix 4). Both the Siletz and Grand Ronde were abruptly "terminated" by the federal government. The Karuk and Shasta also received mention as a "terminated" tribe under the Western Oregon Indian Termination Act, apparently in order to account to individuals of Karuk descent who had moved into Oregon at the end of the Rogue War and/or were enrolled with western Oregon tribes:

"A lot of Karuk folks are on that side of the hill...the "Karuk tribe of Oregon" was terminated in 1954 - they don't terminate you if you aren't there" (04).

Four years later, in 1958, the 85th U.S. Congress enacted Resolution 2824 and Public Law 85-671, the latter being commonly known as the California Rancheria Act. This act called for the termination of federal trusteeship on some 44 rancherias within the State of California, many of which had been established only a few decades beforehand. This Act called for the division and distribution of lands and other assets among tribal members and the termination of federal tribal status. Among the rancherias terminated were the Elk Valley, Quartz Valley, and Smith River, all on the margins of the Siskiyou region. By 1960, these communities were disbanded.

Termination ended their status as federally recognized tribes, dissolved tribal governments, and nullified most federal fiduciary responsibilities to these tribes. The social, economic, and cultural implications of termination were both significant and complex in these tribes. Sources of employment and public services dissolved and some communities began to drift apart. Almost immediately, representatives of these tribes began to agitate for the reestablishment of their tribal status. As the negative impacts of termination became apparent through the 1960s and 1970s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was being called upon to reassess the adverse impacts of termination and was considering the reestablishment of a number of tribal governments. Among the tribes of the Pacific Northwest, the Siletz were among the most organized and effective in making their case for restoring federal recognition. In December of 1975, legislation to restore the Siletz Tribe was introduced by Representative Les Aucoin in the U.S. House of Representatives and by Senator Mark Hatfield in the U.S. Senate. In 1977, President Jimmy Carter signed the legislation granting federal recognition to the Siletz.

In the 1970s, a number of other legal issues were addressed among California tribes. The Hoopa Valley Reservation was created by Executive Order by President Ulysses S. Grant on June 23, 1876; the reservation was created without specifying which tribes would reside there. While the majority of the residents were Yurok and Hoopa, there were also resident Karuk, most from upstream communities.

The Karuk had effectively "slipped through the cracks" when Klamath River tribes were being assigned to reservations. Recognizing this, the Karuk were able to make a case for their distinctive tribal status, using recent decisions regarding the disposition of Hoopa lands and resources, as well as the general national movement toward the restoration of tribal status. The Karuk Tribe of California became federally recognized as a separate tribe under an act of the U.S. Congress in 1979. Their claim for recognition invoked California Treaties R and Q as a historical basis for their recognition. Their claim also noted that most Karuk descendents were not eligible for enrollment with the Hoopa and Yurok tribes, originally formed from a reservation meant to incorporate all lower Klamath River tribes.[108]

Also, during the 1970s, a number of rancheria communities terminated under the California Rancheria Act sought to regain federal status. In a landmark case, *Tillie Hardwick, et al. v. United States*, et al., a Pomo woman by the name of Tillie Hardwick served as the focal point of this group's efforts, arguing that the termination of seventeen of these rancherias under the California Rancheria Act had been unlawful. In 1983, the United States District Court for Northern District of California decided in favor of the plaintiffs, resulting in the federal recognition of seventeen Indian rancherias (Rapport et al. 1983). Quartz Valley was among these communities and was reinstated in December of 1983, though the tribe began to reestablish certain administrative duties informally as early as 1980. Smith River Rancheria and Elk Valley Rancheria were also granted federal status as an outcome of the *Tillie Hardwick* case. [109]

Grand Ronde, as well as other tribes in the region such as Cow Creek, followed a path back to recognition that was very similar to that of Siletz. Members of the tribes worked to document the continuity of the tribe during termination, while also working with members of Oregon's congressional delegation to introduce legislation restoring tribal status. The Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians gained federal recognition in 1982 under the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians Recognition Act. Grand Ronde reached their goal a year later, being restored by an act of Congress in 1983.

By the end of 1983, the mixture of federally recognized tribes in the Siskiyou region was more or less "fixed." No new federally recognized tribes, tied to the Oregon Caves area, have emerged since. Once established, each of these tribes initiated efforts to restore and newly develop economic, social, and cultural programs for their people. This process is arguably still underway, and these efforts have much to do with the character of the modern tribes as we know them today.

The Emergence of New Indian Communities: 1970-2006

As a number of federally-recognized tribes and unrecognized tribes have continued to maintain ties to the study area, the Rogue Basin has become a center of what are

arguably "new Indian communities." These heterogeneous groups consist of individuals or families from diverse tribes who have recently arrived from throughout North America, but who have come to associate with other American Indians in the region. The reasons for the migration of historically unrelated American Indian populations to the Siskiyou region are many. Reasons have included such factors the growing importance of Native American programs at Southern Oregon University (formerly Southern Oregon State College), a host of economic incentives, and the scale and continued vitality of proximate tribes such as the Klamath, Yurok, and Hoopa.[110]

Some interviewees for this study expressed the view that the area was always a crossroads of tribes, who shared ideas and ceremonial traditions: "Raven and coyotote overlap here...we have stories about both of them" (19). Some go further, to suggest that the power of Grayback Mountain and other ceremonial sites was so great that the area hosted numerous tribes from far away long before contact. This might be affirmed by accounts such as those of Dixon (1907), which indicated that the ceremonial sites of the area brought people from the Klamath Basin. For some, this continues to be a draw to the middle and upper Rogue basins:

"There is something about the place that draws me there...the whole valley is ringed by medicine springs...some of the most powerful sacred sites are here where the three mountain ranges come together...People hear about this place and come from all over" (18).

Clearly, the emergence in the 1960s and 1970s of southwestern Oregon and far northern California as a countercultural haven has been an important factor as well, and some authors have addressed a distinctive convergence of art community, New Age and libertarian social movements, and modern tribal identities in the region today (e.g. Brand 1988, Salter 1981). The accounts of tribal interviewees for this study, coupled with a review of newspaper accounts from the region, provide some hint of the cultural variegation that has increasingly marked this area in the years that followed, blurring Pan-Indian and New Age movements in a variety of distinctive ways. There is the Caddo artist who moved to the Ashland area to produce crafts for the Ashland tourist market, donned in Plains style costume (Force 1973). There is the woman of Cherokee ancestry, calling herself by the Ojibwa name, Ne-Be-Genawana, who moved to the Phoenix area where she fabricated Plains-style art and beadwork (Alaks 1993). There are the accounts of ceremonial drumming by Seminole, Lakota, Aleut/Kiowa, and a number of other tribal descendents at Rogue Community College events in recent decades. Then, there are the non-Indians seeking to invoke romantic or spiritual images of Indians as part of undertakings that are connected to tribal groups only tangentially, if at all. There is the commune that took the name "Talsalsan," later transforming into the "Talsalsan Farm" (Gardner 1978). There are accounts of a non-Indian Zen leader who obtained insights from ritual drug use conducted with a Mescalero Apache "shaman" in the Applegate Valley.[111] To be sure, this list merely 'scratches the sur-

face' of the range of personalities and personal experiences that define this trend. Still, despite the abundance of outside artists and New Age pretenders, it is important to acknowledge that many multi-tribal movements in the Siskiyou region have emerged out of local tribes' efforts and have served important roles in supporting the welfare of tribal descendents. By the late 1960s, local Indian services were increasingly being made available to Indians with little historical association with the area. The persistence of scattered and federally unrecognized tribal communities in northern California, especially Shasta communities, arguably fostered the institutional flexibility that was required to service tribal newcomers. For example, the Siskiyou County Indian Association was formed in 1969, to "promote the local Indian culture, furthering Indian education and heritage" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 15). A member of the Intertribal Council of California, the Association provided assistance to any Indian living in Siskiyou County; though created primarily to support Shasta membership, provided services to a growing number of newcomers.

Founded by Lakota descendent, Robert Owens, the Ashland-based "American Indian Cultural Committee" in the late 1980s. This organization sought to promote cultural activities within the pan-Indian community of the Rogue basin that might foster social and cultural stability within this community. Owens noted that the area had drawn many newcomers from other tribes, who were bringing with them (and arguably synthesizing) ceremonial traditions from elsewhere:

"This area seems to attract a lot of spiritual people. There have been a lot of Indian ceremonies in the area in the last seven to eight years" (in Fattig 1989).

This committee served as the precursor to the American Indian Cultural Center, which provided social services as well as a venue for cultural activity to the area's growing American Indian community. In 1996, this center closed, but in 1999 the organization reappeared as the Grants Pass-based Southern Oregon Indian Center (or SOIC) (Lancaster 1999). The SOIC's mission is

"to establish and maintain a visible indigenous America in southern Oregon, dedicated to the protection, promotion, and preservation of First Nation's traditions and culture" (SOIC n.d.).

The local board and officers include individuals who identify themselves as Muskogee Creek, Yaqui, Kiowa/Comanche, Shasta, Cherokee, Cherokee/Ojibwa, Lakota/Navajo. Coming together in this multi-tribal community, some members of this organization have increasingly come to think of themselves as a *de facto* tribe, unified by common goals and similarities in the traditions of tribes throughout North America:

"Indian people in this valley are a long way from their original homes and tribes, so we are in a sense, a tribe without a land base...We are a place where Native American people can be heard, have companionship, gather to preserve our cultures, and help the community we live in. We are many tribes

gathered as one people. We encourage and support each other to maintain sobriety and good moral and family values which were originally the way of our people" (SOIC n.d.).

Working as a non-profit organization, the Southern Oregon Indian Center has been responsible for facilitating most of the powwows that take place in Grants Pass' Riverside Park and at Wolf Creek. These powwows are distinctly multi-tribal events, attracting tribal members from throughout the West; members of Siskiyou region tribes have a certain prominence in some powwow events, but ceremonial events are decidedly pan-Indian, reflecting the considerable diversity of its participants. The SOIC has also played an active role through schools, churches, and prisons to provide outreach to at-risk American Indian youth. Food-share programs, educational initiatives, and cultural preservation are also part of this group's ambitious program.

The relationship between these multi-tribal groups and federally recognized tribes can sometimes be tense. Some tribal interviewees adamantly pointed out that while the SOIC does have certain members who come from historically associated tribes, the SOIC itself "is not a tribe." Public pronouncements made by the SOIC and other multi-tribal groups, they note, often run counter to those of federally-recognized tribal groups, but are accepted by some area officials as representing the "tribes' position." Moreover, there appears to have been growing friction between outside tribal traditionalists and local neo-traditionalists. As Northern Cheyenne leader, Bernard Red Cherries suggested, this part of Oregon is "a hub of new age activity...[people who] want to play medicine man for the weekend" (in Moran 2003). Red Cherries was involved in trying to censure sun dance ceremonies that were held in the Williams area.

Still, federally-recognized tribes and tribal members from other parts of the country do sometimes communicate on issues of mutual concern. Indians from elsewhere have in some cases worked with Siletz tribal members on issues of mutual concern. For example, Aggie Pilgrim and other Siletz enrollees worked alongside resident (but locally unaffiliated) Indians in protesting proposed archaeological excavations that had the potential to disturb Takelma burials (Hahn 1992b). Increasingly, these Siletz enrollees take part in the SOIC-sponsored social programs, powwows and other events.

It is important to note that some of the multi-tribal organizations in the Rogue Valley have attempted to group together and pursue tribal status in a manner similar to historical tribes. In the mid-1980s, a group of families of American Indian descent from Grants Pass, Talent and elsewhere banded together, calling themselves the "Northwest Cherokee Wolf Band of the Southeastern Cherokee Confederacy, Inc." Led by a leader of partial Cherokee ancestry, Robert Ponder, the constituent families of this group included "Sioux, Choctaw, Apache, White Mountain Apache, Creek, Paiute, and others" (Fattig 1984). This group initiated a petition for federal

recognition with a letter of intent to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in March of 1978. The group's petition was subsequently denied in November of 1985.

More recently, the "Confederated Tribes - Rogue - Table Rock & Associated Tribes, Inc." has emerged as a group with ambiguous historical associations with the area's tribes, and ambitions for federal recognition. This group has also used the names "Confederated Tribes Rogue-Table Rock-Rogue Indians," "Latgawa Native American Indian Tribe" or simply the "Latgawa tribe." Led by John "Grey Eagle" Newkirk, a longtime Republican activist, this group has a political program that seeks to provide its members with economic self-sufficiency through a number of private business ventures. This group has tried, unsuccessfully at the time of this writing, to enter into joint ventures with federally recognized tribes of Oregon to construct resort facilities and other developments in the Rogue Valley. Their Chairman, John Newkirk sometimes identified himself to the media as a "Montana Indian"; more recently indicates that he is descended from a Latgawa chief who hid in the mountains after the Rogue War and later joined the Nez Perce as they retreated from federal troops, thereafter hiding out in Montana. Representatives from other tribes suggest that the group consists principally of individuals from tribes outside of the region. Through the 1990s, Newkirk was highly visible in the regional media as he campaigned unsuccessfully for seats on the U.S. Senate and the Jackson County Board of Commissioners, while also battling with the Bureau of Land Management over contested mining claims in the Siskiyou region. More recently, the group has received legal challenges and media attention for issuing their own driver's licenses, as well as establishing their own courts, police, and jails. This group submitted a letter of intent to petition the Bureau of Indian Affairs for federal recognition in March of 1997. In the late 1990s, this group sought permission to conduct ceremonies at Lava Beds National Monument, a request that was denied in light of their apparent lack of historical affiliation with the park.

Park-Associated Tribes Today

Today, there are a handful of federally recognized tribes that have the clearest historical associations with Oregon Caves, emanating from the complex circumstances presented in the preceding pages. The Confederated Tribes of the Siletz Indian Reservation has the clearest and most direct associations with the park, in light of both treaty ties and the number of area tribal members sent there in the mid-19th century; while a smaller number of area tribal members were sent to become members of the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon, this tribe also has clear treaty ties to the Oregon Caves area and some portion of their current membership is descended from park-associated tribal communities of the 19th century. Klamath River Shasta and Karuk used the area, even if Oregon Caves was a short distance beyond their conventionally defined territories as established in ethnographic sources and in unratified treaties. Thus, park-associated populations are also on the rolls of the federally-recognized Karuk Tribe of California, while individual members of the Quartz Valley Indian Community claim affiliation with the Monument (see Appendix 1). It is important to note that the complex history of the region has created a situation in which individuals might be eligible for enrollment in more than one tribe, and it is not uncommon to have individuals change their tribal affiliation. Indeed, roughly half of the tribal members interviewed in the course of the current project noted that they had changed their formal tribal affiliation in the last two decades.

Members of the Siletz and Grand Ronde express a strong sense of attachment to the Siskiyou region. Likewise, the governments of these two tribes assert certain rights associated with their ceded lands, including the right to be consulted under NAGPRA and the National Historic Preservation Act. These tribes make few specific claims on lands and natural resources in southern Oregon, however. For example, the Siletz do not make explicit territorial claims in their Constitution. They do maintain cultural hunting and fishing rights on lands not owned by the tribe, but these are centered in close proximity to the reservation.[112] Similarly, the Constitution and by-laws of the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde designate the tribe's "jurisdiction and territory" to include those lands and resources associated with the reservation only, and do not allude to the former territories of the Grand Ronde's constituent tribes. However, this document indicates a more extensive potential geographical range for certain subsistence rights: "Nothing in this Article shall be construed as restricting the exercise of hunting, fishing or gathering rights of members, if any, consistent with Federal Law" (Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde 1999).

If the Quartz Valley Rancheria was created "for homeless Indians" including Karuk and Shasta families, its territorial associations are somewhat diffuse. Members hail from a number of locations within the traditional territories of these groups. Moreover, some enrollees from Quartz Valley have recently changed their enrollment status to Karuk, while some members of Shasta descent have renounced their Quartz Valley enrollment and pursue recognition as part of the Shasta Tribe, Inc. Ironically, while the Quartz Valley community contacted the National Park Service at the onset of this study to indicate that Oregon Caves lies beyond their area of interest, no fewer than seven individuals living in the Quartz Valley community contributed directly to this project. This reflects in part the fact that the Quartz Valley Indian Community has a rather narrowly defined official "area of interest" that principally follows the Klamath River corridor and immediately adjacent uplands from the western edge of the Upper Klamath Lake basin to approximately Seiad Valley. Incidentally, their area of interest is largely included in the expansive ceded lands of the Klamath Tribes, which extend to well into the middle Klamath River; the Klamath Tribes official "area of interest" has often been defined as existing solely east of the Cascade Range crest, and to the Klamath Canyon near Iron Gate (USFS 2000).

Happy Camp still serves as an important center of tribal life for Klamath River tribes and, among all federally recognized tribes with historical ties to the area, the Karuk Tribe of California is most proximate to the Monument. In addition to being the site of the Karuk Tribe's administrative offices, the Happy Camp area serves as a center of traditional activities, including salmon fishing stations and ceremonial areas. The Karuk have hosted basket weavers' gatherings, language programs, and other cultural events there in recent years. Despite tribal interests in Oregon, Karuk "aboriginal territory" is typically defined as being south of the 42nd parallel, in keeping with precedents established under the unratified Treaties "Q" and "R" as well as the California Indian Claims Settlements. The Karuk Tribe of California's Constitution and cultural offices provide a slightly more expansive definition of their "aboriginal territory": "The laws of the Karuk Tribe shall extend to all persons and property located within the Tribes aboriginal territory subject to its jurisdiction" (Karuk Tribe of California n.d.). The Karuk define their "aboriginal territory" as including all of the Indian and Thompson Creek drainages to the divide between the Klamath and Rogue River basins, which include a very small amount of terrain south of the Sucker Creek drainage.[113]

Individual families within the Tolowa Athabaskan populations at the Elk Valley and Smith River Rancherias, the Cow Creek Band of the Umpqua Tribe of Indians, and the Klamath Tribes clearly have historical ties to the Monument, even if the larger tribes do not claim affiliation. The Cow Creek Band of Umpqua used for recognition the September 18, 1853 Rogue River treaty that includes lands close to the eastern boundary of Oregon Caves. Nonetheless, the Cow Creek do not include the Applegate River basin in their large aboriginal "area of interest." The Cow

Creek are active in cultural efforts in the northern Rogue Basin and have been involved in reinterrment of human remains under NAGPRA in that area. The Hoopa Valley Tribe, the Yurok Tribe, the Coquille Indian Tribe and the Modoc Tribe also appear to have individual families with ties to the Monument, although this point was not conclusively determined through the current research. Importantly, tribal cultural staff consulted on the extreme ends of the Klamath River Basin - the Klamath Tribes and the Yurok Tribe - recognized that families and individuals in their tribes have historical ties to the Oregon Caves area, but did not claim direct tribal affiliation with this territory and made no specific requests to participate in consultation with the Monument.

Federally Unrecognized Tribes Today

In light of the complex history of southwestern Oregon and northern California, this study involved contacting a number of federally unrecognized tribes. There are no fewer than three tribes with some historical connection with the study area that are seeking federal recognition at the time of this writing. The Confederated Tribes of the Lower Rogue, representing the Agness community, and the two federally unrecognized Shasta populations, including the "Shasta Tribe, Inc." of California and the "Shasta Nation" of Oregon clearly have members who may be traditionally associated with the Siskiyou region near Oregon Caves.

The Shasta Tribe, Inc., consist of a number of families descended principally from Shastas who either stayed in their home territory or returned to northern California from Siletz. The Shasta Tribe submitted a petition for federal recognition to the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Branch of Acknowledgment Research on May 2, 1982.

"On August 28, 1982, the Shasta Nation consisting of the Shasta and Upper Klamath Indians filed for Federal Recognition with the Federal Government. In 1984, the Petition was submitted to the Federal Acknowledgement Committee in Washington, D. C. Two deficiency letters have been received. Each response to the letters only brings more questions" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 16).

Since that time, the Shasta Tribe has split into two separate groups, with the name "Shasta Nation" now being use by the newer of the two organizations. The Shasta Tribe, Inc. appears to be the group that filed the original petition and continues to communicate with the Bureau of Indian Affairs regarding the petition. The separate Shasta Nation, based in McDoel, California has reportedly submitted a FOIA request for access to the petition, in order to use its contents in their own acknowledgment effort. The Shasta Tribe, Inc. was originally unincorporated, but later incorporated to satisfy the requirements of an ANA grant (15). The modern Shasta Tribe, Inc. has an enrollment of approximately 1,500 (Carpelan and Hall 2000). Some Shasta Nation enrollees apparently live in the Illinois valley and vicinity, and some members express a strong sense of attachment to the upper Illinois valley and the adjacent Siskiyous around Oregon Caves.

The Confederated Tribes of the Lower Rogue represents a federally unrecognized tribe, combining the preexisting Chetco Tribe of Southern Oregon, with Karuk, Athabaskan, and possibly Shasta ancestry, as well as descendents of the Chetco, Tututni and other tribal groups from the lower Rogue and adjacent coastline. The Confederated Tribes of the Lower Rogue is in the process of seeking federal recognition, probably through a congressional effort. Their Chairman at the time of this writing is also said to be enrolled with the Karuk Tribe of California; some tribal members may also be eligible for enrollment at Siletz or Grand Ronde. Some acknowledge kinship with Shasta as well. Divisions within the tribe have resulted in the alternating fusion and fission of tribal entities known as the "Chetco Tribe of Southern Oregon," "The United-Chetco-Tututni Tribe" and "The United Chetco Tribe." The Confederated Tribes of the Lower Rogue also hosts a powwow in Agness every September, involving visiting tribes from throughout southwestern Oregon and elsewhere. This tribe has had an organized language program in recent years, and has received funding from the State of Oregon and private foundations for cultural restoration projects, including a basketry training program.

Cultural Identity and Cultural Resource Issues Today

For a time, researchers and land managers tended to assume that there were no more Indians who knew of, or cared much about, southwestern Oregon. This notion was rooted in the observation that these tribes had undergone such dramatic change and had undergone sometimes forcible conversion into the American mainstream. In 1975, Daythall Kendall, a linguistics doctoral student researching Takelma, visited both Siletz and Grand Ronde and was reportedly "not successful in finding anyone who knew about the Takelma" (in Beckham 1978: 13). Yet, it is clear today that certain individuals still identify as "Takelma," including some members of the Siletz and Grand Ronde, while other tribes described their members as having "some Takelma blood" including certain Shastas and Cow Creeks (16).

Likewise, a number of families at Siletz and Grand Ronde still identify strongly as Applegate or Illinois Valley people. When asked to identify a cursory list of Siletz families who still discussed their roots in this area, Siletz Cultural Director, Robert Kennta mentioned

> "the Harney family, John Punzie's daughter's family...and some of the Galice Creek people including the Simmons family...and then the Batise, William, Kennta, and Washington families...there are many people who are Applegate and Shasta...there's Klamath Charley's family, Walt Klamath's family, the Tom family, the John family, the West family...the list goes on and on"

Clearly, the Illinois and Applegate Valley peoples are not extinct. And, many of these families continue to visit the region, reconnecting with places of cultural and historical importance to their families:



Illinois River Falls served as an important fishing site and has been a revered place of cultural significance into the present day. In addition to salmon, eels could be harvested there. Eels can be seen ascending the falls on the rocks on the right side of this historical photo. Siskiyou National Forest.

"My dad was upper Rogue, Klamath River and Shasta...we used to go down there and drive from the Highway [Interstate 5] to Happy Camp looking at sites. There were a lot of settlements there, but also a lot of gathering places for medicine that we visited...there are a lot of places like that along the Illinois River too" (13).

"I drove through [Illinois Valley] this last spring and saw lots of camas patches...in the little low spots between fields" (07).

"Even our folks today...there's people who go from Siletz here down to the Brush Dance on Klamath River, and go up over Grayback Mountain and go down to Happy Camp and to Katamin to dance" (07).

When asked to name the places in the Rogue Basin that are still revered and visited by Siletz, Grand Ronde, and other traditionally associated tribes today, one consultant identified prominent settlement sites and high-elevation sites that have been used ritually:

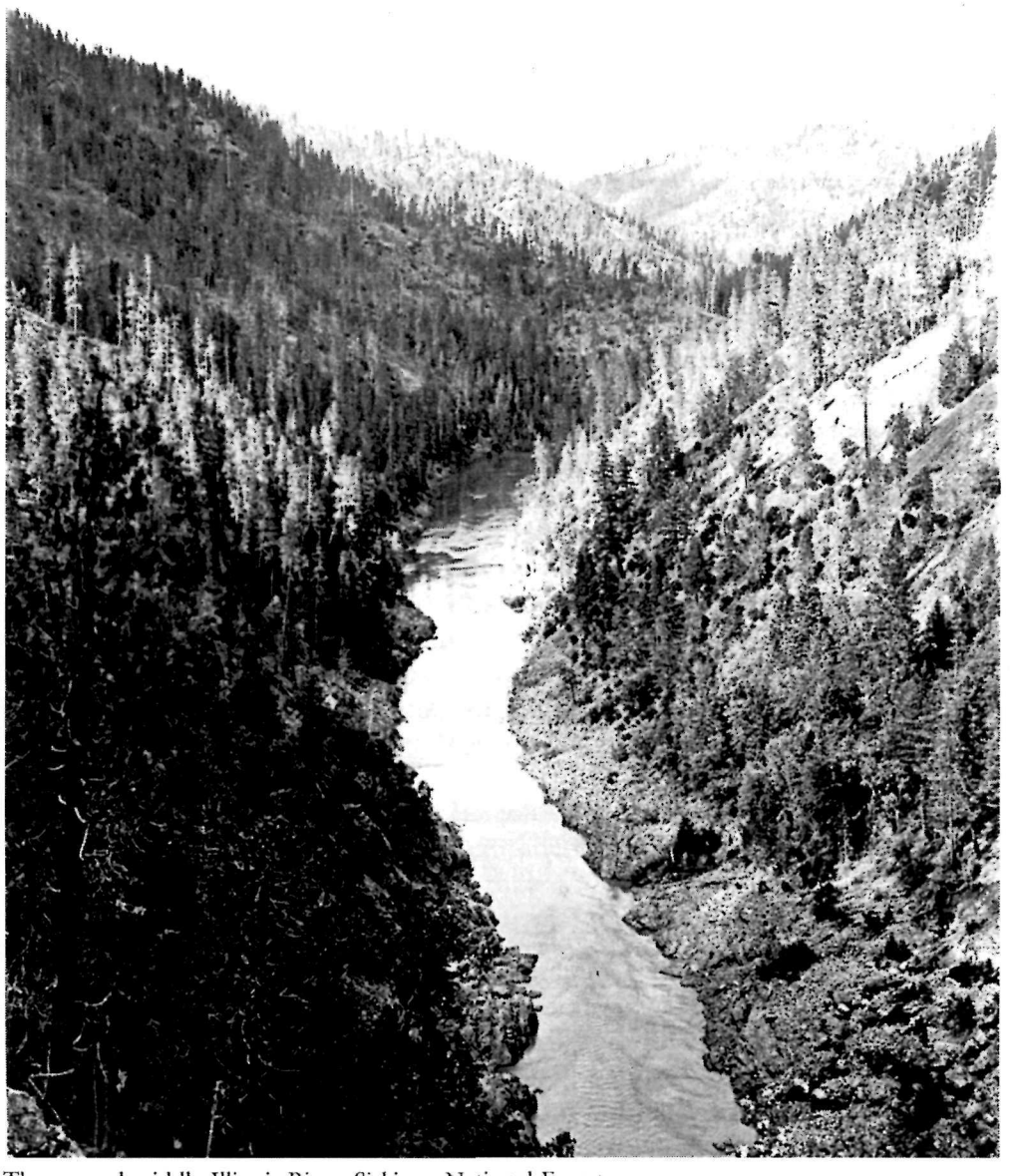
"Table Rock, river junctions - like the junction of the Applegate with the Rogue, the junction of the Illinois with Rogue, probably forks of the Illinois - any of the falls or rapids where major fishing was going on, Illinois River Falls...and all the spiritual places up high" (07).

These return visits are not only an individual and personal journey, but are increasingly representing organized, group efforts by Siletz and Grand Ronde tribal members. By the early 1980s, organized cultural programs sought to revive traditional knowledge and activities on the Siletz Reservation, and Grand Ronde was not far behind (Pickett 1984). Today, both Siletz and Grand Ronde have robust cultural resource departments. Siletz has played a distinctive role in reconstructing the complex history and geneaology of Siskiyou region tribes, and in protecting cultural sites in southern and coastal Oregon. Grand Ronde has been at the forefront of innovative cultural programs, such as cultural programs centered on the Willamette Valley, as well as the documentation and revival of the use of Chinook Jargon, the lingua franca that unified that multi-tribal community in the 19th century. Both groups now work to assist in reconnecting tribal members with their ancestral homelands, through a variety of means:

"There are a lot of tribally sponsored activities, we do an annual Run to the Rogue, it's kind of a spiritual run from right here [at Siletz]. We take of from the old agency headquarters...we jog the highways carrying an eagle feather staff. We go about 240 miles. We take off on a Thursday morning and wind it up on Saturday...it goes day and night - a continuous walk, run, crawl, whatever! That's part of maintaining our connection to those places down there...remembering people 3, 4, 5 generations back being marched this way" (07).

These runners arrive at Lower Oak Flat on the Illinois River, where they participate in a variety of social and ceremonial events with other tribal descendents who have converged on the site. This event, held the third weekend in September, has been an annual event over the last decade.

Also, Siletz and Grand Ronde tribal members have recently been marking the 150th anniversary of their treaties and their relocation to, and then from, the Table Rock Reservation. Multi-tribal ceremonial and social events, including traditional dances and salmon feeds, have been associated with these events. The treaties and removals, while not a pleasant part of their history, are acknowledged as important



The rugged middle Illinois River. Siskiyou National Forest.

and marked with these events, in part because these were fundamental to the genesis of the modern Sieltz and Grand Ronde people: "those were the baby steps that led to the tribes being confederated, and agreeing to live together" (24).

The tribal offices of Siletz and Grand Ronde have essentially the same protocols for consultation. In the case of Oregon Caves, they recommend that cultural or historical resource consultation issues be handled through their cultural program's directors. Appendix 4 provides current contact information regarding these Directors.

Consultation with these tribes, they note, does not necessarily mean that the tribe will involve the lineal descendents of Applegate and Illinois Valley families on administrative issues. However, at the discretion of these directors, as well as the tribal committees to which they report, they might seek out the input of direct descendents or other members of their communities on specific issues. Though Siletz has the most direct historical ties to the area, Siletz and Grand Ronde have overlapping historical ties and are typically consulted in the same manner by federal agencies. The overlapping associations of these tribes are by no means unique to the study area and both tribes have overlapping claims to ceded lands throughout western Oregon. In most cases, the two tribes have been able to develop policies and protocols that facilitate their cooperation on cultural matters.

Both tribes express a desire to be the first point of contact for any dealings on tribal issues as it is "a ceded land issue" for them. Other tribes that might want, for example, to hold an event at Oregon Caves or make claims on human remains, they suggest, do not have a sound footing. They are especially opposed to direct dealings with federally recognized groups unless they are also part of the discussion. For federally unrecognized tribes, they suggest, the NPS should use protocols similar to those used for non-profit groups and similar organizations. This is especially true of groups with ambiguous historical associations to the Siskiyou region who might wish to visit the area for "ceremonial purposes." As Siletz cultural director, Robert Kennta notes:

> "We would basically deny any other groups' use of that area. We would basically fight tooth and nail not to allow that use of that place. There's a lot of "New Agey" kind of groups that have already been to some of our prayer places and modified the rock rings and that kind of thing."

The Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde is in the process of formulating policies pertaining to their involvement on land and resource issues within their ceded lands. Certain tribal members are petitioning tribal council and their cultural program for more active engagement in historical and cultural efforts throughout their ceded lands, including southwestern Oregon. It appears likely that the tribe will take a more active role in consultation matters in southwestern Oregon, but the timing and character of this involvement is still difficult to predict (13). Administrators from both the Shasta Tribe, Inc. and the Karuk Tribe of California expressed an interest in being consulted regarding future cultural resource issues within the park. The Shasta Tribe has participated in archaeological clearances on Siskiyou and Rogue River National Forests. The Karuk Tribe sends monitors to assess potential impacts on cultural resources during forest fires north of the Oregon-California border. "If a fire is burning and it's coming toward our territory" cultural monitors will be dispatched, including to the Siskiyou and Rogue River National Forests (14). Interviewees note that some of the most severe damage to prayer seats, rock cairns, and other ceremonial landmarks has been caused by fire crews.[114] Memoranda of Understanding have been established between tribes and certain National Forests in

an effort to minimize such impacts and to insure that tribal monitors might be available on short notice for archaeological compliance during fires. Similar Memoranda, they suggest, could be established with Oregon Caves as part of the larger effort to coordinate with surrounding units of the U.S. Forest Service. While the Karuk Tribe does not include the Oregon Caves area in their formally designated "aboriginal territory," tribal representatives note that they traditionally used a number of outlying sites for ceremonial and subsistence purposes and the Grayback Mountain massif is part of this outlying area. As a result, the cultural resource staff of the Karuk Tribe expressed a strong interest in being part of future consultation efforts by the Monument. In addition to their MOU on fire management, they also have collaborated with the U.S. Forest Service on the management of culturally significant caves, and may have expertise to share on that topic.[115]

Certainly, a number of Karuk families express a strong sense of attachment to the upper Illinois Valley and Grayback Mountain region today. Some note that Rogue River peoples' ceremonial traditions closely resemble their own, due both to pre-contact interaction with these peoples, the prevalence of Karuk among the part-Indian residents of the Rogue River basin, and the fact that the Karuk were able to keep alive certain cultural traditions a short distance away in the Klamath basin. A number of Karuk still use mountainous areas in the vicinity of Oregon Caves for spiritual purposes, as well as visiting such places as Doctor Rock and Chimney Rock, in and around Smith River National Recreation Area.

Tribal members note that the U.S. Forest Service manages much of their traditional territory. Thus, tribal members have considerably more knowledge of, and concerns about, USFS management and policy than NPS management and policy. Many of their recommendations made in the course of interviews would not apply to NPS lands, but may be of relevance on the National Forests. For example, some park-associated tribal members expressed a desire to see designated, somewhere in the vicinity of Grayback Mountain public land that would serve the needs of "the Indian public...a place to go that's remote...for sweats and things like that," but recognize that NPS lands in the area are limited and such a place would necessarily be located on Forest Service lands (13).

Certainly, some tribal members have concerns about certain cultural resource issues, which may be relevant to Monument staff. For example, some complained of public agencies promoting archaeological excavations in the Illinois Valley. In the early 1990s, the U.S. Forest Service directed a widely publicized excavation of a site at Deer Creek, probably part of the "Talsalsan" complex. This excavation was directed by Siskiyou National Forest archaeologist, Janet Joyer and was staffed by "Passport in Time" program volunteers. The project involved salvage archaeology of areas that had already been looted to varying degrees. This excavation included burial areas and, primarily for this reason, was protested by certain tribal members,

including no fewer than three of this project's interviewees.[116] Burials, interviewees for this study noted almost uniformly, should be left in place, if at all possible.

Likewise, places of religious significance in the high Siskiyous, in the view of several consultants for the current study, should be given special protection. These places, they note, have to be identified in consultation with American Indians, and often are not associated with a structure or other tangible evidence of human use:

"I say to the State and to people that they need to know: just because there's no steeple or church there, it doesn't mean that it is not important to us and our religion...some can't see that these places are important. This is what I call "spiritual blindness"" (16).

Some interviewees for this study called for the preservation of environmentally sensitive areas, and praised the NPS for managing the landscape in a way that achieves these ends. Aggie Pilgrim notes that the environmental changes in the area have been significant in her lifetime. She bemoans the impacts of miners, including contemporary gold miners, on the Rogue River and the growing problem of air pollution in southwestern Oregon: "they're not just destroying habitat - they're destroying our future." She expressed joy at having visited Oregon Caves and seeing what NPS staff had done to preserve the bat population in the cave: "I pray for those bats...I thank the Creator for them."

Interpretation of tribal culture and history in the Siskiyous is also a matter of much concern to modern tribal members. Some interviewees that I consulted for the current study expressed dismay that local Indians were long depicted as brutal savages by local museums and that this continues, implicitly or explicitly in popular representations of their people today. Some expressed the view that the "cave man" motif that emerged as part of early Oregon Cave promotions compounded this problem, as images of these Neanderthal-like beings were conflated with tribal imagery: "I would like to chop down that Cave Man!" (16).

A number of other interviewees expressed some concern regarding the use of their cultural information by "New Agers." Some also expressed concern regarding the use of their stories by non-Indians who give public presentations on Indian oral traditions in the area for profit with little specific knowledge of the area.
Also, in light of the kind of information provided in this document, interviewees that I consulted for the current study requested that Oregon Caves staff acknowledge in their interpretation that the Monument sits at a territorial boundary between tribes, and should take extra caution to discuss tribal traditions in terms that recognize the diversity of tribes in the Siskiyous. Past park interpretation on tribal themes has been informed significantly by the literature on the Takelma, but it is clear that there is much that is equally pertinent in the much larger literatures on the Shasta, Karuk, and Athabaskan peoples of this unique borderland area.

Still, it is important to note that interviewees that I consulted for the current study were generally pleased to be contacted in the course of a study that was proactive and was not the outcome of compliance for a specific proposed action at the Monument. Those tribal members with experience in cultural resource management stressed the importance of ongoing dialogue between tribes and land management agencies, as well as value of discussing traditional ties to particular places outside of the context of short-term compliance mandates (05, 14, 17). This has arguably fostered communication that could aid all parties, and extend well beyond the restricted scope of compliance notifications. Indeed, Siletz cultural program director, Robert Kennta, has offered to meet at Oregon Caves with NPS staff to discuss a wide range of issues of mutual concern to both groups. To be sure, Oregon Caves is well on its way to achieving the diverse, long-term goals of this traditional association study.

A Note on Potentially Relevant Cultural Resource Laws and Litigation

An extensive body of case law exists addressing land issues among the tribes along the middle and lower Klamath River. Most of these cases address land issues and claims along the River corridor itself, including several that involved competing claims on Klamath River Reservation lands and resources among constituent treaty tribes now represented by the Yurok, Hoopa, and Karuk. Examples of these cases include Mattz v. Arnett, 412 U.S. 481 (U.S. Supreme Court 1973), as well as a string of litigation emanating from the Hoopa-Yurok Settlement Act of 1988, such as Karuk Tribe v. United States (Court of Federal Claims 1993), Karuk Tribe v. United States (Court of Federal Claims 1998), and Karuk Tribe v. United States (Court of Appeals for 9th Federal Circuit 2000).

The region has also witnessed legal challenges of federal land management as it pertains to areas of ceremonial significance. Most notable among these centered on the proposed development of the "G-O Road," a U.S. Forest Service road leading through Six Rivers National Forest from Gasquet to Orleans, as well as logging in terrain adjacent to the proposed road. In the 1970s, the U.S. Forest Service proposed the development of the "G-O Road," a road following high mountain ridgelines between Gasquet and Orleans, California. This high terrain is a prominent place within tribal oral tradition among the Karuk, Tolowa, Hoopa, and Yurok, as well as the containing of a number of sacred places still used by members of these tribes. The G-O Road was built in part to allow logging of this uplands area. Initial tribal consultation indicated that the entire uplands was a singular sacred area and that it was not possible to simply build the road while mitigating or avoiding impacts at certain specific locations along this route.

The upland area traversed by this road represented a place that had been documented as being of religious significance to the Yurok, Hoopa, and Karuk tribes; a

report on the area, produced for the U.S. Forest Service by Theodoratus Cultural Research in 1979, documented aspects of this traditional significance of the area, with traditional uses comparable in some respects to the Grayback Mountain area. Primarily on the basis of this report, Carol Shull, the Keeper of the National Register, determined that the area was eligible for listing as a Traditional Cultural Property. Despite these developments, Six Rivers National Forest proceeded with plans for road development in the area, indicating in a 1982 Environmental Impact Assessment that road development could proceed by minimizing direct impacts on archaeological sites and not harvesting areas of known religious use. Responding to this, a coalition of tribal members under the umbrella of the "Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association" petitioned the U.S. District Court to prohibit development of this area; the 1983 case, *Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association v. Max Peterson, Chief of U.S. Forest Service, et al. (1983), the courts ordered an injunction against the proposed G-O Road.* At this time, the court determined that limited compliance for the proposed action violated NEPA and required expanded NEPA consultation; the court, however, rejected the plaintiff's claim that the action was necessarily a violation of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. The U.S. Forest Service appealed the case to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, but this court concurred with the lower court's decision. During the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals review of the case, U.S. Congress passed the 1984 California Wilderness Act, placing the contested land in the Siskiyou Wilderness Area; while making much of the debate on the land's future moot, the U.S. Department of Agricultural sought to appeal the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals' decision in order to assert a general precedent. Subsequently, the U.S. Supreme Court accepted U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, Richard E. Lyng's request to issue a writ of certiorari to the Circuit Court's opinion and to review the case. In a 5 to 3 decision, the Supreme Court upheld the U.S. Forest Service's contention that the G-O Road did not violate the free exercise of Native American religious practices and road-development could proceed (Dale 1992, Pritchard 1990). In its final statement of findings, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor (1988) stated,

> "Even if we assume that we should accept the Ninth Circuit's prediction, according to which the G-O road will "virtually destroy the . . . Indians' ability to practice their religion,"...the Constitution simply does not provide a principle that could justify upholding respondents' legal claims. However much we might wish that it were otherwise, government simply could not operate if it were required to satisfy every citizen's religious needs and desires... No disrespect for these practices is implied when one notes that such beliefs could easily require de facto beneficial ownership of some rather spacious tracts of public property. Even without anticipating future cases, the diminution of the Government's property rights, and the concomitant subsidy of the Indian religion, would in this case be far from trivial: the District Court's order permanently forbade commercial timber harvesting, or the construction of a two-lane road, anywhere within an area covering a full 27 sections (i. e. more than 17,000 acres) of public land."

In 1990, in part to provide a solution to the dispute, the U.S. Congress voted to include the contested area in the new Smith River National Recreation Area, which sits roughly 20 miles southwest of Oregon Caves National Monument (see Dale 1992; Alderman and Kennedy 1991; Theodoratus, Chartkoff and Chartkoff 1979).

This case received considerable attention in the popular press at the time and is treated frequently in scholarly treatments of American Indian law (Wilkinson 2004; Dale 1992; Alderman and Kennedy 1991; Matthiessen 1979).

Potentially relevant litigation is currently underway in three separate cases in which the plaintiff, the "Save Medicine Lake Coalition," has brought suit against the U.S. Forest Service, the U.S. Bureau of Land Management, and the San Jose-based Calpine Corporation. The suits allege that geothermal energy generation facility, slated for development within a Traditional Cultural Property, has unlawful impacts on American Indian ceremonial sites and activities. The first of these lawsuits, the "Fourmile Hill case" filed in 2002, is still before the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, while two other cases, centering on other portions of the Highlands, are currently on hold pending a decision on the Fourmile Hill case. While the Pit River Tribe and Klamath Tribes have been actively supporting this litigation, the litigation has also involved individuals of Shasta and Karuk ancestry.

The full corpus of cultural resource law is beyond the scope of the current document. The National Park Service's "Foundation of Indian Law and Policy Sourcebook," a compilation of relevant laws, executive orders, NPS policies, and other guidance for National Park Service units seeking to navigate their mandates and obligations relative to park-associated American Indians. Wilkinson's *Indian Tribes as Sovereign Governments: A Sourcebook on Federal-Tribal History, Law and Policy* (Wilkinson 2004) is also a valuable primer on American Indian law and policy, with a particular emphasis upon the meaning of tribal sovereignty in this context. Four chapters provide the historical context of federal law and policy addressing American Indians. Additional chapters provide overviews of the history of the treaty process, key federal statutes, and key U.S. Supreme Court decisions (including the locally important *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association).* Finally, some reference should be made to Thomas King's *Cultural Resource Laws and Practice* (King 1998), which provides a valuable contextualized introduction to the logic and letter of cultural resource laws as they now exist.

Suggestions for Further Research

An expanded study, with additional interviews, should be considered. Most likely, this study would take the form of a Traditional Use Study. In light of the limited scope of the interview component of this project, interviewees were chosen to provide a brief "representative sample" of knowledge of the area, rather than a comprehensive overview. Therefore, a number of potential interviewees were not contacted, while some interviewees included in the project clearly had much more to add than was possible in the course of single interviews. For example, tribal members recall considerably more information than is presented here regarding the families who moved to Siletz, their historical ties to particular villages in the study area, and their experiences and returns to the Siskiyou region following removal. This would be an outstanding focus of further oral history research.

Of particular value would be a study that involves collaboration with adjacent National Forest managers. Much of the material gathered on the use of the high Siskiyous near Oregon Caves centers on land that is managed by the U.S. Forest Service, but not the National Park Service. Yet, this material may be of considerable value in interpreting and managing resources in the park. More thorough information on the uses of areas just east of the Monument for ceremonial and subsistence purposes would be especially valuable, and there are a modest number of remaining tribal elders who might provide detailed information on this area.

A number of sources of archival materials are available, but were not consulted in the course of this study. Some of these might be visited for additional material. The Oregon State Historic Preservation Office has detailed archaeological reports and site forms for much of the surrounding countryside. This information might be reviewed for further information on the network of trails, settlement sites, and specialized activity areas that surround the Monument. Also, the Confederated Tribes of the Lower Rogue and the Shasta Tribe, Inc. have submitted extensive documentation on their histories to the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Branch of Acknowledgement Research. This office assesses the validity of tribes' claims for federal recognition on the basis of myriad reports documenting each tribe's culture and history from the time of first Euro-American contact into the present day. These tribes have submitted genealogies, ethnographies, and other documents as part of this process. These materials were not consulted in the course of this study, but could be reviewed with the consent of the tribe for further information on the subjects of this report.

In addition, it may be in the best interest of Oregon Caves National Monument staff to undertake a project to compile certain archival sources for use in the park's research collections. Materials such as the ethnographic notes on the area by John Harrington and Melville Jacobs, or "gray literature" reports such as Pullen (1996) are invaluable for the understanding and interpretation of area history. Such an effort might be carried out in collaboration with the new Illinois Valley Field and Research Station in Selma.[117]

If deemed appropriate by NPS interpretive staff, the Monument would benefit from the development of interpretive materials based on the content of this report, as well as consultation with park-associated tribes regarding the accuracy and appropriateness of these materials. Comparable interpretive efforts have been managed by NPS Regional Anthropologist, Dr. Frederick York and Crater Lake National Park Historian, Stephen Mark.

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Principal Investigator

Dr. Douglas Deur has served as Principal Investigator for this study. He is Research Coordinator for the Pacific Northwest Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit at the University of Washington, and Adjunct Professor in the University of Victoria School of Environmental Studies. He holds an interdisciplinary Ph.D. in Anthropogeography from the joint Department of Geography and Anthropology at Louisiana State University, as well as Master's degrees in both Anthropology and Geography. He specializes in research addressing American Indian land and resource traditions, as well as contemporary management issues surrounding lands and resources of traditional cultural significance in the western United States. Working with the National Park Service, he has directed research projects at Crater Lake National Park, Lava Beds National Monument, Lassen Volcanic National Park, Yosemite National Park, Joshua Tree National Park, Hagerman Fossil Beds National Monument, Lewis and Clark National Historical Park, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, Glacier Bay National Park, Katmai National Park and others. He has also worked directly for a number of tribes, especially the the Klamath Tribes, for whom he has served as Ethnographer since 1998, directing a number of research projects in the Oregon-California borderlands.

Sources

Interviewees and Advisors

The following individuals provided valuable information in the course of formal or informal interviews regarding Oregon Caves and vicinity:

Mary Carpelan . . . . . .Shasta Tribe
George Fence . . . . . .Cherokee Nation
Betty Hall . . . . . .Shasta Tribe
Jerry Hall . . . . . .Confederated Tribes of Lower Rogue
Roy Hall, Sr. . . . . .Shasta Tribe
Roy Hall, Jr. . . . . .Shasta Tribe
Rick Hill . . . . . .Karuk Tribe
Leaf Hillman . . . . . .Karuk Tribe
Robert Kennta . . . . . .Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians
Aggie Pilgrim . . . . . .Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians
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Gerald Skelton . . . . . .Klamath Tribes
Frederick York . . . . . .National Park Service

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Appendices

1) FACTSHEETS ON FEDERALLY RECOGNIZED TRIBES

2) RATIFIED TREATIES

3) UNRATIFIED TREATIES

4) SELECTED PUBLIC LAWS AND FEDERAL REGISTER NOTICES

Appendix 1: Factsheets on Federally Recognized Tribes

CONFEDERATED TRIBES OF GRAND RONDE COMMUNITY OF OREGON

Date of Federal Recognition: 11-22-1983

Approximate Enrollment (2003): 4,740

Executive Offices: 9615 Grand Ronde Road
Grand Ronde, OR 97347
Phone: (503)879-5211 (800)422-0232
Fax: (503)879-2173
http://www.grandronde.org

Tribal Chair (2006): Cheryle Kennedy

Cultural Resources Director (2006): David Lewis

ORCA Area Treaties:
1853 Rogue River Tribes Treaty
1854 Rogue River Tribes Treaty
1854 Chasta, Scoton and Grave Creek Treaty
(1853 Agreement with Rogue River Tribes, unratified)

Ceded Lands includes ORCA: Yes
Self Governance Tribe: Yes

CONFEDERATED TRIBES OF SILETZ INDIANS

Date of Federal Recognition: 11-18-1977

Approximate enrollment (2003): 3,808

Executive Offices: P.O. Box 549
Siletz, OR 97380
Phone: (541)444-2532, (800)922-1399
Fax: (541)444-2307
http://ctsi.nsn.us

Tribal Chair (2006): Delores Pigsley

Cultural Resources Director (2006): Robert Kentta

ORCA Area Treaties:
1853 Rogue River Tribes Treaty
1854 Rogue River Tribes Treaty
1854 Chasta, Scoton and Grave Creek Treaty
(1853 Agreement with Rogue River Tribes, unratified)

Ceded Lands includes ORCA: Yes

Self Governance Tribe: Yes

KARUK TRIBE OF CALIFORNIA

Date of Federal Recognition: 1-15-1979

Approximate enrollment: 4,800

Executive Offices: 64236 Second Avenue
PO Box 1016
Happy Camp, California 96039
Phone: (800) 505 - 2785, (530) 493 - 5305
Fax: (530) 493 - 5322

Tribal Chair (2006): Arch Super

Cultural Resources Director (2006): Harold Tripp

ORCA Area Treaties:
(1851 California Treaty R, unratified)
(1851 California Treaty Q, unratified)

Ceded Lands includes ORCA: No

Self Governance Tribe: Yes

QUARTZ VALLEY RANCHERIA OF KAROK, SHASTA AND UPPER KLAMATH INDIANS

Date of Federal Recognition: 12-1983

Approximate enrollment: 150

Executive Offices:
13601 Quartz Valley Road
Fort Jones, CA 96032
Phone: (530) 467-3307
Fax: (530) 467-3466

Tribal Chair (2006): Aaron Peters

ORCA Area Treaties:
(1851 California Treaty R, unratified)
(1851 California Treaty Q, unratified)

Ceded Lands includes ORCA: No

Self Governance Tribe: No

Appendix 2: Ratified Treaties

TREATY WITH THE ROGUE RIVER, 1853.

Sept. 10, 1853. | 10 Stats., 1018. Ratified Apr. 12, 1854. | Proclaimed Feb. 5, 1855.

From: *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.* Vol. II (Treaties). Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.
Vol. II, Pages 603-605.

Whereas a treaty was made and entered into at Table Rock, near Rogue River, in the Territory of Oregon, this 10th day of September, A. D. 1853, by and between Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian affairs, and Samuel H. Culver, Indian agent, on the part of the United States; and Jo-apser-ka-har, principal chief, Sam To-qua-he-ar, and Jim Ana-cha-a-rah, subordinate chiefs, and others, head-men of the bands of the Rogue River tribe of Indians, on the part of said tribe.

ARTICLE 1
The Rogue River tribe of Indians do hereby cede and relinquish, for the considerations hereinafter specified, to the United States, all their right, title, interest, and claim to all the lands lying in that part of the Territory of Oregon, and bounded by lines designated as follows, to wit:

Commencing at a point one mile below the mouth of Applegate Creek, on the south side of Rogue River, running thence southerly to the highlands dividing the waters of Applegate Creek from those of Althouse Creek, thence along said highlands to the summit of the Siskiyon range of mountains, thence easterly to Pilot Rock, thence northeasterly to the summit of the Cascade range, thence northerly along the said Cascade range to Pitt's Peak, continuing northerly to Rogue River, thence westerly to the head-waters of Jump-off-jo Creek, thence down said creek to the intersection of the same with a line due north from the place of beginning, thence to the place of beginning.

ARTICLE 2
It is agreed on the part of the United States that the aforesaid tribe shall be allowed to occupy temporarily that portion of the above-described tract of territory bounded as follows, to wit:

Commencing on the north side of Rogue River, at the mouth of Evan's Creek; thence up said creek to the upper end of a small prairie bearing in a northwesterly direction from Table Mountain, or Upper Table Rock, thence through the gap to the south side of the cliff of the said mountain, thence in a line to Rogue River, striking the southern base of Lower Table Rock, thence down said river to the place

of beginning. It being understood that this described tract of land shall be deemed and considered an Indian reserve, until a suitable selection shall be made by the direction of the President of the United States for their permanent residence and buildings erected thereon, and provision made for their removal.

ARTICLE 3

For and in consideration of the cession and relinquishment contained in article 1st, the United States agree to pay to the aforesaid tribe the sum of sixty thousand dollars, fifteen thousand of which sum to be retained, (according to the stipulations of article 4th of a treaty of peace made and entered into on the 8th day of September, 1853, between Gen'l Jo. Lane, commanding forces of Oregon Territory, and Jo., principal chief, Sam and Jim, subordinate chiefs, on the part of the Rogue River tribe of Indians,") by the superintendent of Indian affairs, to pay for the property of the whites destroyed by them during the late war, the amount of property so destroyed to be estimated by three disinterested commissioners, to be appointed by the superintendent of Indian affairs, or otherwise, as the President may direct. Five thousand dollars to be expended in the purchase of agricultural implements, blankets, clothing, and such other goods as may be deemed by the superintendent, or agent most conducive to the comfort and necessities of said tribe, on or before the 1st day of September, 1854; and for the payment of such permanent improvements as may have been made by land claimants on the aforesaid reserve, the value of which to be ascertained by three persons appointed by the said superintendent.

The remaining forty thousand dollars to be paid in sixteen equal annual installments, of two thousand five hundred dollars each, (commencing on or about the 1st day of September, 1854,) in blankets, clothing, farming-utensils, stock, and such other articles as may be deemed most conducive to the interests of said tribe.

ARTICLE 4

It is further agreed that there shall be erected, at the expense of the United States, one dwellinghouse for each of the three principal chiefs of the aforesaid tribe, the cost of which shall not exceed five hundred dollars each, the aforesaid buildings to be erected as soon after the ratification of this treaty as possible. And when the tribe may be removed to another reserve, buildings and other improvements shall be made on such reserve of equal value to those which may be relinquished; and upon such removal, in addition to the before-mentioned sixty thousand dollars, the United States agree to pay the further sum of fifteen thousand dollars, in five equal annual installments, commencing at the expiration of the before-named installments.

ARTICLE 5

The said tribe of Indians further agree to give safe-conduct to all persons who may be authorized to pass through their reserve, and to protect, in their person and

property, all agents or other persons sent by the United States to reside among them; they further agree not to molest or interrupt any white person passing through their reserve.

ARTICLE 6

That the friendship which is now established between the United States and the Rogue River tribe of Indians shall not be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed that for injuries done by individuals no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured to the Indian agent; and it shall be the duty of the chiefs of the said tribe, that upon complaint being made as aforesaid, to deliver up the person or persons against whom the complaint is made, to the end that he or they may be punished agreeably to the laws of the United States; and in like manner if any violation, robbery, or murder shall be committed on any Indian or Indians belonging to said tribe, the person or persons so offending shall be tried, and if found guilty, shall be punished according to the laws of the United States. And it is agreed that the chiefs of the said tribe shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses or other property, which has or may be stolen or taken from any citizen or citizens of the United States, by any individual of said tribe; and the property so recovered shall be forthwith delivered to the Indian agent or other person authorized to receive the same, that it may be restored to the proper owner.

And the United States hereby guarantee to any Indian or Indians of the said tribe a full indemnification for any horses or other property which may be stolen from them by any citizens of the United States: Provided, That the property stolen or taken cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen or taken by a citizen of the United States. And the chiefs and head-men of the said tribe engage, on the requisition or demand of the President of the United States, superintendent of Indian affairs, or Indian agent, to deliver up any white person or persons resident among them.

ARTICLE 7

It is agreed between the United States and the Rogue River tribe of Indians, that, should it at any time hereafter be considered by the United States as a proper policy to establish farms among and for the benefit of said Indians, it shall be discretionary with the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to change the annuities herein provided for, or any part thereof, into a fund for that purpose.

ARTICLE 8

This treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

In testimony whereof the said Joel Palmer and Samuel H. Culver, on the part of the United States, and the chiefs and headmen of the Rogue River Indians aforesaid, have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year aforesaid.

Joel Palmer,[L. S.]
Superintendent Indian Affairs.
Samuel H. Culver, [L. S.]
Indian Agent.
Jo, his x mark, [L. S.]
Aps-er-ka-har,
Sam, his x mark,[L. S.]
To-qua-he-ar, [L. S.]
Jim, his x mark, [L. S.]
Ana-chah-a-rah, John, his x mark, [L. S.]
Lympe, his x mark, [L. S.]

Signed in presence of - -
J. W. Nesmith, Interpreter,
R. B. Metcalf,
John, his x mark,
J. D. Mason, Secretary,
T. T. Tierney.

Witness,
Joseph Lane,
August V. Kautz.

We the undersigned principal chief, subordinate chiefs and headmen of the bands of the Rogue River tribe of Indians, parties to the treaty concluded at Table Rock, near Rogue River, in the Territory of Oregon, on the 10th day of September, A. D. 1853, having had fully explained to us the amendment made to the same by the Senate of the United States, on the 12th day of April, 1854, do hereby accept and consent to the said amendment to the treaty aforesaid, and agree that the same shall be considered as a part thereof. In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and affixed our seals, this 11th day of November, A. D. 1854.

Aps-so-ka-hah, Horse-rider, or Jo, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ko-ko-ha-wah, Wealthy, or Sam, his x mark. [L. S.]
Te-cum-tom, Elk Killer, or John, his x mark. [L. S.]
Chol-cul-tah, Joquah Trader, or George, his x mark. [L. S.]

Executed in presence of --
Edward H. Geary, Secretary
Cris.Taylor,
John Flett,
R. B. Metcalf, Interpreter,
Joel Palmer, Superintendent.

Margin notes in original publication:

Cession of lands in Oregon.
Indians to occupy a portion of the ceded land temporarily.
Permanent home to be selected.
Payment for said cession.
Buildings to be erected.
Additional payments on removal.
Protection of travelers.
Redress for individual grievances.
Restitution of stolen property.
Guaranty for property stolen from Indians.
Farms may be established.

TREATY WITH THE ROGUE RIVER, 1854. (Amends TREATY WITH THE ROGUE RIVER, 1853)

Nov. 15, 1854. | 10 Stats., 1119. | Ratified Mar. 3, 1855. | Proclaimed Apr. 7, 1855.

From: *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.* Vol. II (Treaties). Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.Vol. II, Pages 654-655.

Articles of an agreement entered into and concluded this fifteenth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, between Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian affairs, on the part of the United States, and the chiefs and headmen of the Rogue River tribe of Indians, on the part of said tribe.

ARTICLE 1

It is agreed on the part of said tribe, that the Table Rock reserve, described in the treaty of the 10th September, 1853, between the United States and the Rogue River tribe, shall be possessed and occupied jointly by said tribe and such other tribes and bands of Indians as the United States shall agree with by treaty stipulations, or the President of the United States shall direct, to reside thereupon, the place of residence of each tribe, part of tribe, or band on said reserve, to be designated by the superintendent of Indian affairs or Indian agent; that the tribes and bands hereafter to be settled on said reserve shall enjoy equal rights and privileges with the Rogue River tribe; and that the annuities paid to the Indians now residing, or hereafter to reside on said reserve, shall be shared by all alike, from and after said residence thereon: Provided, That the annuity of the Rogue River tribe, as agreed on in the treaty of the 10th September, 1853, shall not be diminished or in any way impaired thereby. It is also agreed, that the United States shall have the right to make such roads, highways, and railroads through said reserve as the public good may from time to time require, a just compensation being made therefor.

ARTICLE 2

In consideration of the foregoing stipulations, it is agreed on the part of the United States to pay to the Rogue River tribe, as soon as practicable after the signing of this agreement, two thousand one hundred and fifty dollars, in the following articles: twelve horses, one beef, two yokes of oxen, with yokes and chains, one wagon, one hundred men's coats, fifty pairs of pantaloons, and fifty hickory shirts; also, that in the treaties to be made with other tribes and bands, here-after to be located on said reserve, that provision shall be made for the erection of two smith-shops; for tools, iron, and blacksmiths for the same; for opening farms and employing farmers; for a hospital, medicines, and a physician; and for one or more schools; the uses and benefits of all which shall be secured to said Rogue River tribe, equally with the tribes and bands treated with; all the improvements made, and schools, hospital, and shops erected, to be conducted in accordance with such laws, rules, and regulations as the Congress or the President of the United States may prescribe.

ARTICLE 3

It is further agreed, that when at any time hereafter the Indians residing on this reserve shall be removed to another reserve, or shall be elsewhere provided for, that the fifteen thousand dollars thereafter to be paid to said Rogue River tribe, as specified in the treaty of the 10th September, 1853, shall be shared alike by the members of all the tribes and bands that are, or hereafter shall be located on the said Table Rock reserve.

ARTICLE 4

It is also further provided that in the event that this agreement shall not be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States, or that no other tribe or band shall be located on said reserve, the two thousand one hundred and fifty dollars stipulated in article second of this agreement to be paid said Rogue River tribe, shall be deducted from their annuities hereafter to be paid said Indians.

In testimony whereof, the said Joel Palmer, superintendent as a fore-said, and the undersigned chiefs and headmen of the Rogue River Tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and seals, at Even's Creek, on the Table Rock Reserve, on the day and year herein before written.

Joel Palmer, superintendent [L. S.]
Ap-sa-ka-hah, or Joe, first chief, his x mark, [L. S.]
Ko-ko-ha-wah, or Sam, second chief, his x mark, [L. S.]
Sambo, third chief, his x mark, [L. S.]
Te-cum-tum, or John, fourth chief, his x mark, [L. S.]
Te-wah-hait, or Elijah, his x mark, [L. S.]
Cho-cul-tah, or George, his x mark, [L. S.]
Telum-whah, or Bill, his x mark, [L. S.]

Hart-tish, or Applegate John, his x mark, [L. S.]
Qua-chis, or Jake, his x mark, [L. S.]
Tom, his x mark, [L. S.]
Henry, his x mark, [L. S.]
Jim, his x mark, [L. S.]
Executed in presence of --

Edward R. Geary, secretary.
Cris. Taylor,
John Flett, interpreter.
R. B. Metcalfe

Margin notes in original publication:

Other Indians may be settled on the Table Rock Reserve.
Ante, p. 603.
Annuities.
Roads may be made.
Payment and stipulations in consideration of the foregoing article.
Provision in case of removal from said reservation.
Provision in case treaty is not ratified or no Indians are removed to said reserve.

TREATY WITH THE CHASTA, ETC., 1854.

Nov. 18, 1854. | 10 Stats., 1122. | Ratified Mar. 3, 1855. | Proclaimed Apr. 10, 1855.

From: *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.* Vol. II (Treaties). Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904. Vol. II, Pages 655-57.

Articles of a convention and agreement made and concluded at the council-ground, opposite the mouth of Applegate Creek, on Rogue River, in the Territory of Oregon, on the eighteenth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, by Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian affairs, on the part of the United States, and the chiefs and head-men of the Quil-si-eton and Na-hel-ta bands, of the Chasta tribe of Indians, the Cow-nan-ti-co, Sa-cher-i-ton, and Na-al-ye bands of Scotons, and the Grave Creek band of Umpquas, to wit, Jes-tul-tut, or Little Chief, Ko-ne-che-quot, or Bill, Se-sel-che-tel, or Salmon Fisher, Kul-ki-am-i-na, or Bush-head, Te-po-kon-ta, or Sam, and Jo, they being duly authorized thereto by said united bands.

ARTICLE 1
The aforesaid united bands cede to the United States all their country, bounded as follows:

Commencing at a point in the middle of Rogue River, one mile below the mouth of Applegate Creek; thence northerly, on the western boundary of the country heretofore purchased of the Rogue River tribe by the United States, to the head-

waters of Jump-Off-Jo Creek; thence westerly to the extreme northeastern limit of the country purchased of the Cow Creek band of Umpquas; thence along that boundary to its extreme southwestern limit; thence due west to a point from which a line running due south would cross Rogue River, midway between the mouth of Grave Creek and the great bend of Rogue River; thence south to the southern boundary of Oregon; thence east along said boundary to the summit of the main ridge of the Siskiou Mountains, or until this line reaches the boundary of the country purchased of the Rogue River tribe; thence northerly along the western boundary of said purchase to the place of beginning.

ARTICLE 2

The said united bands agree that as soon after the ratification of this convention as practicable, they will remove to such portion of the Table Rock reserve as may be assigned them by the superintendent of Indian affairs or agent, or to whatsoever other reserve the President of the United States may at any time hereafter direct.

ARTICLE 3

In consideration of and payment for the country herein ceded, the United States agree to pay to the said united bands the sum of two thousand dollars annually for fifteen years, from and after the first day of September, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, which annuities shall be added to those secured to the Rogue River tribe by the treaty of the 10th September, 1853, and the amount shared by the members of the united bands and of the Rogue River tribe, jointly and alike; said annuities to be expended for the use and benefit of said bands and tribe in such manner as the President may from time to time prescribe; for provisions, clothing, and merchandise; for buildings, opening and fencing farms, breaking land, providing stock, agricultural implements, tools, seeds, and such other objects as will in his judgment promote the comfort and advance the prosperity and civilization of said Indians. The United States also agree to appropriate the additional sum of five thousand dollars, for the payment of the claims of persons whose property has been stolen or destroyed by any of the said united bands of Indians since the first day of January, 1849; such claims to be audited and adjusted in such manner as the President may prescribe.

ARTICLE 4

When said united bands shall be required to remove to the Table Rock reserve or elsewhere, as the President may direct, the further sum of six thousand five hundred dollars shall be expended by the United States for provisions to aid in their subsistence during the first year they shall reside thereon; for the erecting of necessary buildings, and the breaking and fencing of fifty acres of land, and providing seed to plant the same, for their use and benefit, in common with the other Indians on the reserve.

ARTICLE 5
The United States engage that the following provisions, for the use and benefit of all Indians residing on the reserve, shall be made:An experienced farmer shall be employed to aid and instruct the Indians in agriculture for the term of fifteen years. Two blacksmith-shops shall be erected at convenient points on the reserve, and furnished with tools and the necessary stock, and skilful smiths employed for the same for five years.A hospital shall be erected, and proper provision made for medical purposes, and the care of the sick for ten years.

School-houses shall be erected, and qualified teachers employed to instruct children on the reserve, and books and stationery furnished for fifteen years.

All of which provisions shall be controlled by such laws, rules, or regulations as Congress may enact or the President prescribe.

ARTICLE 6
The President may, from time to time, at his discretion, direct the surveying of a part or all of the agricultural lands on said reserve, divide the same into small farms of from twenty to eighty acres, according to the number of persons in a family, and assign them to such Indians as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege and locate thereon as a permanent home, and to grant them a patent therefore under such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted or prescribed.

The annuities of the Indians shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.

ARTICLE 8
The said united bands acknowledge themselves subject to the Government of the United States, and engage to live in amity with the citizens thereof, and commit no depredations on the property of said citizens; and should any Indian or Indians violate this pledge, and the fact be satisfactorily proven, the property shall be returned, or if not returned, or if injured or destroyed, compensation may be made therefor out of their annuities. They also pledge themselves to live peaceably with one another, and with other Indians, to abstain from war and private acts of revenge, and to submit all matters of difference between themselves and Indians of other tribes and bands to the decision of the United States or the agent, and to abide thereby.

It is also agreed that if any individual shall be found guilty of bringing liquor into their country, or drinking the same, his or her annuity may be withheld during the pleasure of the President.

ARTICLE 9
This convention shall be obligatory on the contracting parties from and after its rat-

ification by the President and Senate of the United States.
In testimony whereof, Joel Palmer, superintendent aforesaid, and the undersigned chiefs and headmen of said united bands, have hereunto set their hands and seals at the place and on the day and year herein written.
(Signed in duplicate)

Joel Palmer, Superintendent. [L. S.]
Jes-tul-tut, or Little Chief, his x mark. [L. S.]
Ko-ne-che-quot, or Bill, his x mark. [L. S.]
Se-sel-chetl, or Salmon Fisher, his x mark. [L. S.]
Bas-ta-shin, his x mark, [L. S.]
For Kul-ke-am-ina, or Bushland.
Te-po-kon-ta, or Sam, his x mark, [L. S.]
Jo (Chief of Grave Creeks), his x mark. [L. S.]

Executed in presence of us -
Edward R. Geary, Secretary.
John Flett, Interpreter.
Cris. Taylor

Appendix 3: Unratified Treaties

TREATY WITH THE POHLIK OR LOWER KLAMATH, ETC., 1851. (California "Treaty Q")

October 6, 1851. | Unratified.

From: *Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties, Vol. IV, Laws* (Compiled to March 4, 1927), Part IV. Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929. pp. 1117-20.

TREATY MADE AND CONCLUDED AT CAMP KLAMATH, AT THE JUNCTION OF KLAMATH AND TRINITY RIVERS, STATE OF CALIFORNIA, OCTOBER 6, 1851, BETWEEN REDICK MCKEE, INDIAN AGENT ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES, AND THE CHIEFS, CAPTAINS AND HEAD MEN OF THE POHLIK OR LOWER KLAMATH, &C., TRIBES OF INDIANS.

A treaty of peace and friendship made and concluded at Camp Klamath, at the junction of the Klamath and Trinity rivers, between Redick McKee, one of the Indian agents specially appointed to make treaties with the various Indian tribes in California, on tree part of the United States, and the chiefs, captains, and head men of the tribes or bands of Indians now in council at this camp, representing the Poh-lik or lower Klamath, the Peh-tsick or upper Klamath, and the Hoo-pah or Trinity river Indians; containing also stipulations preliminary to future measures to be recommended for adoption, on the part of the United States.

ARTICLE 1

The said tribes or bands acknowledge themselves, jointly and severally under the exclusive jurisdiction, authority and protection of the United States; and hereby bind themselves to refrain hereafter from the commission of all acts of hostility or aggression towards the government or citizens thereof, and to live on terms of peace and friendship among themselves, and with all other Indian tribes which are now or may hereafter come under the protection of the United States.

ARTICLE 2

Lest the peace and friendship established between the United States and the said tribes should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is expressly agreed that, for injuries received on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place or be attempted; but instead thereof, complaints shall be made by the party aggrieved to the other, through the Indian agent of the United States in their district, whose duty it shall be to investigate, and, if practicable, adjust the difficulty; or, in case of acts of violence being committed upon the person or property of a citizen of the United States by an Indian or Indians belonging to or harbored by either of said tribes or bands, the party or parties charged with the commission of

the crime shall be promptly delivered up when demanded, to the civil authorities of the State of California for trial; and in case the crime has been committed by a citizen or citizens of the United States upon the person or property of all Indian or Indians of either of said tribes, the agent shall take all proper measures to bring the offender or offenders to trial in the same way.

ARTICLE 3

The said tribes or bands hereby jointly and severally relinquish, cede, and forever quit claim to the United States, all their right, title, claim or interest of any kind which they or either of them have to lands or soil in California.

ARTICLE 4

To promote the settlement and improvement of said tribes or bands, it is hereby stipulated and agreed, on the part of the United States, that the following tract or district of land shall be appropriated and set apart as an Indian reservation, and the use and possession thereof forever guaranteed to the said tribes, their successors, and to such other tribes as the United States may hereafter remove from other parts of the valleys of the Trinity or Klamath rivers, or the country adjacent, and settle thereupon, to wit: commencing at the mouth of a stream called John's creek, emptying into Trinity river on the north side thereof, about fourteen miles above this camp; thence running up the middle of the same with its windings, to a distance of five miles; thence north to the summit of the dividing ridge between the waters of the Trinity and Klamath rivers; thence northwestwardly in a straight line to a point on said Klamath river opposite the lower end of what is now known as "Red Cap's" bar; thence due west to the summit of the first ridge lying beyond the Klamath river; thence southwestwardly along the summit of said ridge to a point due north of the mouth of Pine creek; thence south to the mouth of Sand creek; thence up Pine creek with its windings, to a point due south of the place of beginning; and thence north to said place of beginning. The said reservation including, by estimation, a tract twenty miles in length by twelve miles in width, and containing in all six or seven square miles of farming land. It is, however, understood and agreed that the United States reserves the right of way over said lands, and of using for farming purposes any quantity thereof not exceeding one thousand acres; also the right to establish such military posts, erect such buildings, and make such improvements for the accommodation of their agent and other officers or servants as the President may direct; also that said tribes or bands shall never sell or alienate their right or claim to any part thereof, except to the United States, nor shall they ever lease to or permit white men to settle, work or trade upon any part thereof without the written permission of the United States Indian agent for the district.

ARTICLE 5

It is further stipulated and agreed that the said tribes or bands shall, within three years from the date hereof, or sooner, if thereto required by the United States,

remove to and settle upon said reservation; and that whenever said removal and settlement shall be ordered by the United States or made by said tribes, such farmers, mechanics, and school-teachers to instruct them in the language, arts, and agriculture of the whites as the President may deem expedient and proper, shall be assigned, provided for, and settled among them, so as to place the Indians on said reservation in a situation as favorable for their improvement (being in like manner supplied with facilities for farming, stock-raising, &c.,) as by the treaty of Lu-pi-yu-ma on the 20th day of August, 1851, is stipulated to be assigned to and provided for the Clear Lake Indians. It is understood, however, that if upon examination by the Indian agent it is found that any of the articles or supplies provided in said treaty for the Clear Lake Indians shall be unnecessary for or unsuited to the Indians on the Trinity and Klamath, the President may in his discretion withhold the same, and invest the value thereof in other and more suitable goods. And it is further expressly agreed and understood that if either of said tribes or bands, or other Indians harbored by them shall be guilty of theft, robbery or murder, either upon the persons and property of Indians or whites, the United States may exclude such tribe or band from all the benefits of this treaty.

ARTICLE 6

As early as convenient after the ratification of this treaty by the President and Senate, the United States will deliver to the said Klamath and Trinity Indians, through their agent, during each of the years 1852 and 1853, viz: five hundred pairs two and a half point Mackinaw blankets, five hundred pairs strong cotton pantaloons, five hundred cotton (hickory) shirts, five hundred red flannel shirts, five hundred strong cotton or linsey gowns, three thousand yards of calico, three thousand yards of four-fourths brown sheetings, thirty pounds Scotch thread, five thousand needles, six dozen pairs scissors, two gross thimbles, ten pounds pins, ten dozen nine-inch flat files, thirty-five dozen large size butcher knives, ten mattocks, one hundred garden or corn hoes, two hundred chopping axes, handled, common size, two hundred chopping axes, handled, small size; one hundred sheet-iron camp kettles, large size; one hundred sheet-iron camp kettles, second size.

It is understood, however, that the agent shall use a sound discretion as to the time when, and the tribes or persons to whom the said goods shall be distributed, having reference to their peaceful disposition and good conduct.

ARTICLE 7

In consideration of the premises, the United States, in addition to the numerous presents of beef, bread, sugar, blankets, shirts, &c., &c., made to said tribes at this camp, will, within sixty days from the date hereof, furnish them free of charge at the ferry of C. W. Durkee, in Klamath river, to enable them to rebuild the houses recently destroyed by the whites, with four dozen chopping axes, handled, ten sacks of hard bread, and four bullocks, sixteen pairs heavy blankets, to be distributed among them by said Durkee, according to their respective losses.

ARTICLE 8
These articles to be binding upon the contracting parties when ratified by the president and Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof the parties have hereunto signed their names and affixed their seals this sixth day of October, anno Domini 1851.
[SEAL.]

REDICK McKEE,
United States Indian Agent for California

For and in behalf of the Wetch-peck tribe, living at mouth of Trinity.
WUCK-UG-GRA, his x mark.
WA-PE-SHAW, his x mark.
SA-SA-MICH, his x mark.
EN-QUA or AMOS, his x mark.

For and in behalf of Wuh-si tribe living three miles below mouth of Trinity river.
MO-RU-KUS, his x mark.

For and in behalf of the Cap-pel tribe.
MAH-ON, his x mark.

For and in behalf of the Mor-ri-ahs.
HAH-ON, his x mark.
WUS-SUR, his x mark.
UP-PER-GASH, his x mark.

For and in behalf of the Ser-a-goines.
UP-LA-GO-PUS, his x mark.
MOO-ROO-KUS, his x mark.
SA-ET-MA-GEHL, his x mark.

For and in behalf of the Pak-wan tribe.
CAP-PEL-LA-WAH, his x mark.

For and in behalf of the Ut-cha-pah-tribe, living near the mouth of Bluff creek.
E-NE-NUCK, his x mark.
MOW-WEIGHT, his x mark.

For and in behalf of the Up-pa-goines, living near "Red Cap's" bar, on Klamath river.
KEE-CHAP, his x mark.
RED CAP or MIK-KU-REE, his x mark.

For and in behalf of the Sa-von-ra tribe.
SA-VON-RA, his x mark.
UP-PA-GRAH, his x mark.

EX-FIN-E-PAH, his x mark.

For and in behalf of the Cham-ma-ko-nee tribe.
KA-TOP-KO-RISH, his x mark.

For and in behalf of the Coc-ko-man tribe.
PA-NA-MO-NEE, his x mark.

For and in behalf of the Chee-nah tribe, living ten miles below mouth of Salmon river.
AK-KA-REE-TA, his x mark.

For and in behalf of the Hoo-Pahs or Trinity river Indians residing in twelve rancherias or villages.
Principal Chief, AH-ROOK-KOS, his x mark.
TE-NAS-TE-AH or JOHN, his x mark.
MET-POOKA-TA-MAH, his x mark.
NIC-A-WA-EN-NA, his x mark.
WASH-TEN, his x mark.

Signed, sealed and delivered, after being duly explained, in presence of
John McKee, Secretary.,
C. W. Durkee, George Gibbs, Interpreters.,
H. W. Wessells, Brevet Major; U. S. A., commanding escort.,
Walter Van Dyke,
Geo. W. Ellsworth,
Morris S. Thompson, Interpreter,
Walter McDonald.

TREATY WITH THE UPPER KLAMATH, SHASTA AND SCOTT'S RIVER, 1851. (California "Treaty R")

November 4, 1851. | Unratified.

From: *Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties, Vol. IV, Laws* (Compiled to March 4, 1927), Part IV. Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929. pp. 1121-24.

TREATY MADE AND CONCLUDED AT CAMP, IN SCOTT'S VALLEY, SHASTA COUNTY, STATE OF CALIFORNIA, NOVEMBER 4, 1851, BETWEEN REDICK M'KEE, ONE OF THE COMMISSIONERS ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES, AND THE CHIEFS, CAPTAINS AND HEAD MEN OF THE UPPER KLAMATH, SHASTA, AND SCOTT'S RIVER TRIBES OF INDIANS.

A treaty of peace and friendship made and concluded at camp, in Scott's valley, Shasta county, California, between Redick McKee, one of the Indian agents specially appointed to make treaties with the various Indian tribes in California, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs,

captains and head men now in council at this camp, representing the Upper Klamath, Shasta, and Scott's river Indians, residing severally in twenty-four, nineteen, and seven rancherias or villages, and known as the O-de-i-lah tribe or band, I-shack chief, from the Upper Klamath river; I-ka-ruck tribe or band, Tso-hor-git-sko chief; Ko-se-tah tribe or band, Ada-war-how-ik chief; I-da-kar-i-waka-ha tribe or band, I-da-kar-i-waka-ha chief, from Shasta, valley; Wat-sa-he-wa tribe or band, Ar-rats-a-cho-i-ca chief; E-eh tribe or band, An-na-nik-a-hok chief, from Scott's valley.

ARTICLE 1

The said tribes or bands acknowledge themselves jointly and severally under the exclusive jurisdiction, authority and protection of the United States, and hereby bind themselves to refrain hereafter from the commission of all acts of hostility or aggression towards the government or citizens thereof, to live on terms of peace and friendship among themselves and with all other Indian tribes which are now or may hereafter come under the protection of the United States.

ARTICLE 2

To preserve the peace and friendship hereby established between the United States and the said tribes or bands, it is understood and agreed that for injuries received on either side, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place or be attempted; but instead thereof complaints shall be made by the party aggrieved to the other, through the Indian agent or sub-agent of the United States for their district, who shall investigate, and, if practicable, adjust the difficulty; and in case of acts of violence being committed upon the person or property of a citizen or citizens of the United States by an Indian or Indians belonging to or harbored by either of said tribes or bands, the party or parties charged with the commission of the crime shall be promptly delivered up when demanded of the chiefs by the said agent or a duly authorized officer of the county, to be tried for the alleged offence by the civil authorities of the State of California; and in case the crime has been committed by a citizen or citizens of the United States upon the person or property of an Indian or Indians of either of said tribes or bands, the agent shall take all proper measures to bring the offender or offenders to trial in the same way.

ARTICLE 3

The said tribes or bands for and in consideration of the premises, and of the stipulations and promises hereinafter contained, hereby jointly and severally sell, cede, relinquish, and forever quit claim to the United States, all their right, title, claim or interest of any kind which they or either of them have to the lands they now occupy, and to all other lands or soil in California.

ARTICLE 4

To promote the permanent settlement and improvement of said tribes or bands, it is hereby stipulated and agreed that the following described tract or district of country shall be appropriated and set apart as an Indian reservation, and the use and possession thereof forever guarantied to the said tribes or bands and their successors, equally with such other Indian tribes or bands and their successors, as the

United States may hereafter remove from the waters of the I~lansath or Trinity rivers of elsewhere in northern California, and settle thereupon, to wit: commencing at a point on the easterly side of Scott's valley, about six miles above the cabin or improvement generally known as Watson, Gee & Company's ranch, where two cedar trees stand upon the southwest side of a bald hill, and midway between the said cedars; thence running in a southwesterly direction across the said valley to a point projecting into the same, behind which stands a conical peak called Seino's peak; thence over the same and over said peak to the summit of the dividing ridge between the waters of Scott's and Klamath rivers; thence following the same to where a divide runs northward to a creek or large brook entering the Klamath from the northward next above the one entering at Murderer's bar, and known as Indian creek; thence along said divide and across the Klamath river to the mouth of said creek; thence up the main fork of said creek to the forty-second parallel of north latitude; thence eastward along said parallel to a point due north of a point where the ridge dividing the waters of Scott's river from the waters of Humbug creek terminates at or near the Klamath; thence due south, crossing the Klamath river, to said point; thence following said divide and the divide separating the waters of Scott's river from the waters of Shasta river to a point in a line with the place of beginning, and thence southwesterly to said place of beginning; said tract being by estimation twenty-four miles in length from northwest to southeast by fifteen miles in average width, and containing between four and five square miles of tillable land, Provided, however, That those citizen of the United States who are now engaged in mining, raising, or washing gold upon that part of Scott's river lying between the first creek entering the same from the north, above the town of Scott's bar and the mouth of said river, shall be permitted to hold and work the claims of which they are now in actual possession for the term of two years from the date of this instrument, unless sooner exhausted; and Provided further, That such other citizens of the United States as have already thrown up earth or raised ore on any other part of said reserve shall be allowed until the first day of June next to wash the same, and that those having cabins or other improvements already erected on said reservation shall be permitted to occupy and enjoy the same, free from molestation, until said first day of June, eighteen hundred and fifty-two, and no longer. It is also further provided, That the said tribes or bands shall never sell or alienate their right or claim to any part thereof except to the United States, nor shall they ever lease to or permit white men to settle, work, or trade upon any part thereof without the written permission of the United States Indian agent for the district. It is agreed and understood, however, that the United States reserves the right of way over said lands, and of using for farming purposes any quantity thereof not exceeding one thousand acres; also the right to establish such military post or posts, erect such buildings, and make such other improvements for the accommodation of an Indian agent and other officers or servants as the President may direct.

ARTICLE 5

The said tribes or bands agree and hereby bind themselves to remove to and settle permanently upon said reservation, within two years from the date hereof, or sooner if thereto required by the Indian agent of the United States; and whenever said removal and settlement shall take place, the United States with a desire to encourage them in acquiring a knowledge of letters, agriculture, and the mechanic arts, will employ and settle among them upon said reservation, one principal schoolteacher, with three male and female assistant teachers to instruct said tribes in the different branches of a common-school education and in the domestic arts of sewing and house-keeping, upon the manual labor system; also one practical farmer who shall assist said tribes in cultivating the soil and act as superintendent of agricultural operations, with two assistant farmers, one carpenter or worker in wood who shall direct and aid in the construction of houses, repairing wagons, &c., and one blacksmith or worker in iron also to be employed for their assistance and convenience; all of the above teachers, farmers, and mechanics to be paid and maintained upon said reservation by the United States for the period of five years, and as long thereafter as the President may deem advisable; also that the United States will erect suitable dwellings, school-houses and shops for the accommodation of an agent, and of the teachers, farmers and mechanics above specified, and store-houses for the protection of the public property.

ARTICLE 6

The United States will also appoint and settle among said tribes upon said reservation, an agent or sub-agent of the Indian department to carry out the stipulations of this treaty and the general laws and regulations of the Indian department pertaining to the government and improvement of said tribes; and until the United States shall have established a military post on or in the neighborhood of said reservation, with a regular physician or surgeon attached thereto, the United States Indian agent for the district shall be authorized, and is hereby directed to employ at the expense of the United States, an experienced physician to reside on said reservation, attend to the sick among either whites or Indians, and especially to vaccinate the members of each tribe; and when said military post shall be established, the services of the surgeon thereto attached may be substituted by said agent for those of the physician first employed, allowing him therefor a reasonable compensation.

ARTICLE 7

To aid said tribes or bands in their subsistence while removing to and making their settlement upon said reservation, the United States, in addition to twelve head of beef cattle, twenty sacks (one thousand pounds) of flour, and numerous other presents of blankets, shirts, &c., given to them at this camp, will furnish them free of charge, during each of the years 1852 and 1853, with two hundred head of beef cattle, to average in weight five hundred pounds net, and two hundred sacks (equal to twenty thousand pounds) of flour, five hundred pair of two and a half point

Mackinaw blankets, five hundred pairs strong pantaloons, five hundred cotton (hickory) shirts, five hundred red flannel shirts, six hundred linsey gowns for women, and girls, three thousand yards of calico, three thousand yards 4-4 brown sheetings, twenty-five pounds of Scotch thread, five thousand needles, assorted, one gross of thimbles, ten pounds of pins, twelve dozen scissors, fifty dozen common size butcher knives, five hundred pea-jackets of heavy, strong cloth, assorted, one thousand pounds of salt, one hundred hatchets, all to be distributed among them by the agent, according to their respective numbers.

ARTICLE 8

As early as convenient after the ratification of this treaty by the President and Senate, and the settlement of said tribes or bands upon said reservation, the United States will also furnish them with twenty-four brood mares and one stallion, thirty milch cows and one bull, fifty sheep, ten hogs (both sexes,) four yoke of work cattle, with yokes, chains, &c., two breaking ploughs, ten small ploughs, two ox wagons, one mule wagon, seeds of all proper kinds for sowing and planting, eight work mules or horses with harness, one hundred heavy spades, twelve mattocks, four hundred garden or corn hoes, two hundred chopping axes, common size, with handles, two hundred chopping axes, small size, with handles, two hundred sheet-iron camp-kettles, first size, two hundred sheet-iron camp-kettles, second size, four hundred tin pans, (two hundred large size, two hundred small size,) one set of blacksmithing tools, one set of carpenter's tools, three thousand pounds of iron, five hundred pounds of steel, assorted, fifty dozen pint tin cups, fifty dozen tin plates, fifty dozen iron-lined spoons, three United States flags. The stock enumerated above, and the product thereof, together with the farming utensils and mechanical tools to be held as the joint property of said tribes or bands, the former to be marked or branded with such letters or marks as will at all times designate the same to be their property, and no part or portion thereof shall be killed, exchanged, sold, or otherwise parted with, without the assent and direction of the agent.

ARTICLE 9

It is further agreed, that the United States will fence in with a good board or post and rail fence, preparatory to breaking up the soil for planting, one thousand acres of land; and if, by the year 1853, the said tribes or bands shall not be in a situation to provide themselves with food and clothing, and the agent for their district shall so recommend, the President, in his discretion, may order for their use, in the year 1854, a like or smaller quantity of the articles enumerated in article 7 to be provided for the years 1852 and 1853.

ARTICLE 10

It is further understood and agreed that within the line of the reservation referred to and described in article 4, there shall be retained and set apart a belt or border of one mile in width on the eastern and southern sides or lines thereof, whereon it shall not be lawful for either Indians or white men to settle on or remain, or to pass

over except by the highways or roads running through the same, but the same shall be exclusively within the jurisdiction of the United States.

ARTICLE 11

The said tribes or bands hereby bind themselves to deliver up within sixty days from the date hereof, all horses, mules, or other property which may be in their possession, stolen from the whites, the claimants making proof of ownership before the agent or such person as he may designate to act in his absence, or before a magistrate or judge of the county of Shasta; all such property claimed but not clearly identified, to be returned to the Indians.

In testimony whereof, the parties have hereunto signed their names and affixed their seals, this fourth day of November, anno Domini eighteen hundred and fifty-one.

REDICK McKEE,
United States Indian Agent. [SEAL.]

For and in behalf of the O-de-i-lah tribe or band from the Upper Klamath river:
I-SHACK, his x mark. [SEAL.]
E-EH-NE-QUA, his x mark. [SEAL.]
PI-O-KUKE, his x mark. [SEAL.]
SA-NAK-A-HA, his x mark. [SEAL.]

For and in behalf of the I-ka-ruck tribe or band in Shasta valley:
TSO-HOR-GIT-SKO, his mark. [SEAL.]
CHE-LE-NA-TUK, his x mark. [SEAL.]

For and in behalf of the Ko-se-tah tribe or band in Shasta valley:
ADA-WAR-HOW-IK, his x mark. [SEAL.]
QUAP-SOW-A-HA, his x mark. [SEAL.]

For and in behalf of the Ida-kar-i-waka-ha tribe or band in Shasta valley:
A-LAT-SE-WAK-A-NA, his x mark. [SEAL.]
IDA-KAR-I-WAK-A-HA, his x mark. [SEAL.]

For and in behalf of the Wat-sa-he-wa tribe or band in Scott's valley:
AR-RATS-A-CHO-I-C A, his x mark. [SEAL.]
For and in behalf of E-eh tribe or band in Scott's valley:
AN-NA-NIK-A-HOK, his x mark. [SEAL.]
SUN-RISE, his x mark. [SEAL.]

Signed, sealed and delivered, after being fully explained, in presence of—

JOHN McKEE, Secretary.
GEORGE GIBBS, LINDLEY ABEL, Interpreters
W. T. SMITH.
F. H. McKINNEY.

C. MCDERMIT.
SAMUEL FLEMING.
WALTER MCDONALD.
C. FULTON.
WM. H. BURGESS.
EDWARD HICKS.
WILLIAM DAIN.
LIRY SWAN.
GEO. W. TAIT.

AGREEMENT WITH THE ROGUE RIVER, 1853. (Unratified)

Sept. 8, 1853. | Indian Office–Oregon, 1844-1858, Ore. Supt. L., 323.
From: *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.* Vol. II (Treaties). Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904. Vol. II, Pages 1049-50.

Stipulations of a treaty of peace made and entered into by Joseph Lane Commanding forces of Oregon Territory, and Joe, principal Chief of the Rogue River tribe of Indians, Sam, Subordinate Chief and Jim, Subordinate Chief, on the part of the tribes under their jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 1
A treaty of peace having this day been entered into between the above named parties whereby it is agreed that all the bands of Indians living within the following boundaries to wit, commencing just below the mouth of Applegate Creek, on Rogue River, thence to the highlands which divide Applegate from Althouse creek, thence with said highlands Southeasterly to the summit of the Siskiou mountains, thence easterly along said range to the Pilot Rock, thence northeasterly following the range of mountains to Mount Pitt, thence northerly to Rogue River, thence northwesterly to the head waters of Jump-off-Joe, thence down this stream to a point due north from the mouth of Applegate Creek, thence to the mouth of Applegate Creek shall cease hostilities, and that all the property taken by them from the whites, in battle or otherwise shall be given up either to Genl. Lane or the Indian Agent. The Chiefs further stipulate to maintain peace and promptly deliver up to the Indian Agent for trial and punishment any one of their people who may in any way disturb the friendly relations this day entered into, by stealing property of any description or in any way interfering with the persons or property of the whites, and shall also be responsible for the amount of the property so destroyed.

ARTICLE 2
It is stipulated by the Chiefs that all the different bands of Indians now residing in the Territory above described shall hereafter reside in the place to be set apart for them.

ARTICLE 3
It is further stipulated that all fire arms belonging to the Indians of the above named bands, shall be delivered to Gen. Lane, or to the Agent, for a fair consideration to be paid in blankets, clothing, &c., except Joe, principal Chief, seven guns, for hunting purposes, Sam, Subordinate Chief, five guns, Jim Subordinate Chief five guns.

ARTICLE 4
It is further stipulated, that when their right to the above described country is purchased from the Indians by the United States, a portion of the purchase money shall be reserved to pay for the property of the whites destroyed by them during the war, not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars.

ARTICLE 5
It is further stipulated that in case the above named Indians shall hereafter make war upon the whites, they shall forfeit all right to the annuities or money to be paid for the right to their lands.

ARTICLE 6
It is further stipulated, that whenever any Indians shall enter the Territory above described for the purpose of committing hostilities against the whites the chiefs above named shall immediately give information to the Agent, and shall render such other assistance as may be in their power.

ARTICLE 7
An Agent shall reside near the above named Indians to enforce the above stipulations, to whom all complaints of injuries to the Indians shall be made through their Chiefs.

Signed this 8th day of September 1853.
Joseph Lane [L. S.]
Joe (his x mark) Aps-er-ka-har Principal Chief. [L. S.]
Sam (his x mark) To-qua-he-ar Subordinate Chief. [L. S.]
Jim (his x mark) Ana-chak-a-rah Subordinate Chief. [L. S.]

Witnesses,
C. B. Gray, interpreter; R. B. Metcal; Y. Y. Turney, Sec.
The above stipulations of treaty were entered into and signed by the respective parties in my presence, and with my approval.

Joel Palmer,
Superintendent Indian Affairs Oregon Territory.

Appendix 4: Selected Public Laws and Federal Register Notices

PUBLIC LAW 588 – TERMINATION OF WESTERN OREGON TRIBES

Signed August 13, 1954
From: U.S. Govt. Printing Office. *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.* (Vol. VI, Laws). Chapter 733. (August 13, 1954, [S. 2746] 68 Stat. 724). pp. 641-45. (excerpt)

AN ACT
To provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the property of certain tribes and bands of Indians located in western Oregon and the individual members thereof, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the purpose of this Act is to provide for the termination of Federal supervision over the trust and restricted property of certain tribes and bands of Indians located in western Oregon and the individual members thereof, for the disposition of federally owned property acquired or withdrawn for the administration of the affairs of such Indians, and for a termination of Federal services furnished such Indians because of their status as Indians.

PROCLAMATION OF PUBLIC LAW 588 – TERMINATION OF FEDERAL SUPERVISION OVER THE PROPERTY OF THE WESTERN OREGON TRIBES AND BANDS OF INDIANS OF OREGON, AND THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS THEREOF,

by the Secretary of the Interior, United States of America

Published in the Federal Register August 13, 1956
From: U.S. Govt. Printing Office. *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.* (Vol. VII, Part IV, Executive and Departmental Orders Published in the Federal Register). Vol. 21. Pp. 1499-1500.

A Proclamation

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 13 of the act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 724), I, Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior, do hereby proclaim that:

1. On and after August 13, 1956, the tribes, bands, groups, or communities of Indians located west of the Cascade Mountains in Oregon, including the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community, Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, Alsea, Applegate Creek, Calapooya, Chaftan, Chempho, Chetco, Chetlessington, Chinook, Clackamas, Clatskanie, Clatsop, Clowwewalla, Coos, Cow Creek, Euchees, Galic Creek, Grave, Joshua, Karok, Kathlamet, Kusotony, Kwatami or Sixes, Lakmiut, Long Tom Creek, Lower Coquille, Lower Umpqua, Maddy, Mackanotin, Mary's River, Multnomah, Munsel Creek, Naltunnetunne, Nehalem, Nestucca, Northern Molalla, Port Orford, Pudding River, Rogue River, Salmon River, Santiam, Scoton, Shasta, Shasta Costa, Siletz, Siuslaw, Skiloot, Southern Molalla, Takelma, Tillamook, Tolowa, Tualatin, Tututui, Upper Coquille, Upper Umpqua, Willamette Tumwater, Yamhill, Yaquina, and Yoncalla, and the individual members thereof, shall not be entitled to any of the services performed by the United States for Indians because of their status as Indians.

2. Effective on August 13, 1956, all powers of the Secretary of the Interior, or any other officer of the United States, to take, review, or approve any action under the constitution and by-laws of the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon approved May 13, 1936, pursuant to the act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), are terminated. Any powers conferred upon the tribe by its constitution and by-laws that are inconsistent with the provisions of the act of August 13, 1954, supra, are terminated. Such termination shall not affect the power of the tribe to take any action under its constitution and by-laws that is consistent with that act without the participation of the Secretary or other officer of the United States in such action.

3. Effective on August 13, 1956, the corporate charter of the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon, issued pursuant to the act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984), and ratified on August 22, 1936, is revoked.

4. Effective on August 13, 1956, the proceeds from the sales of lands of owners whose whereabouts cannot be ascertained shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States for safekeeping until properly claimed.

5. On and after August 13, 1956, all statutes of the United States which affect Indians because of their status as Indians shall no longer be applicable to the western Oregon tribes, bands, groups, or communities of Indians of Oregon or the members thereof, and the laws of the several States shall apply to the tribes, bands, groups, or communities and members thereof in the same manner as they apply to other citizens or persons within their jurisdiction.

6. Nothing in this proclamation shall affect any claim heretofore filed against the United States by any tribe, band, group, or community of Indians of western Oregon.

7. Nothing in this proclamation shall abrogate any valid lease, permit, license, right-of-way, lien, or other contract heretofore approved.

8. Nothing in this proclamation, issued pursuant to the act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 724), shall affect the status of members of the tribes, bands, groups, or communities as citizens of the United States.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused the seal of the Department of the Interior to be affixed this 13th day of August 1956.

FRED A. SEATON,
Secretary of the Interior

SILETZ INDIAN TRIBE: RESTORATION OF FEDERAL SUPERVISION

Enacted November 18, 1977

From: United States Code, Title 25: Indians, Chapter 14, Subchapter XXX-A: 91 U.S. Stat 1072. (excerpt)

Section 711a. Federal recognition

(a) Extension; laws applicable; eligibility for Federal services and benefits

Federal recognition is hereby extended to the tribe, and the provisions of the Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984) as amended (25 U.S.C. 461 et seq.), except as inconsistent with specific provisions of this subchapter, are made applicable to the tribe and the members of the tribe. The tribe and the members of the tribe shall be eligible for all Federal services and benefits furnished to federally recognized Indian tribes. Notwithstanding any provision to the contrary in any law establishing such services or benefits, eligibility of the tribe and its members for such Federal services and benefits shall become effective upon November 18, 1977, without regard to the existence of a reservation for the tribe or the residence of members of the tribe on a reservation.

(b) Restoration of rights and privileges

Except as provided in subsection (c) of this section, all rights and privileges of the tribe and of members of the tribe under any Federal treaty, Executive order, agreement, or statute, or under any other authority, which were diminished or lost under the Act of August 13, 1954 (68 Stat. 724) (25 U.S.C. 691 et seq.), are hereby

restored, and such Act shall be inapplicable to the tribe and to members of the tribe after November 18, 1977.

(c) Hunting, fishing or trapping rights and tribal reservations not restored

This subchapter shall not grant or restore any hunting, fishing, or trapping right of any nature, including any indirect or procedural right or advantage, to the tribe or any member of the tribe, nor shall it be construed as granting, establishing, or restoring a reservation for the tribe.

CONFEDERATED TRIBES OF THE GRAND RONDE COMMUNITY OF OREGON : RESTORATION OF FEDERAL SUPERVISION

Enacted November 22, 1983

From: United States Code, Title 25: Indians, Chapter 14, Subchapter XXX-C: 97 U.S. Stat 1064. (excerpt)

Section 713b. Restoration of Federal recognition, rights, and privileges

(a) Federal recognition

Notwithstanding any provision of the Act approved August 13, 1954 (25 U.S.C. 691 et seq.) or any other law, Federal recognition is extended to the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon and the corporate charter of such tribe issued pursuant to section 477 of this title and ratified by the tribe on August 22, 1936, is reinstated. Except as otherwise provided in this subchapter, all laws and regulations of the United States of general application to Indians or nations, tribes, or bands of Indians which are not inconsistent with any specific provision of this subchapter shall be applicable to the tribe.

(b) Restoration of rights and privileges
Except as provided in subsection (d) of this section, all rights and privileges of the tribe and the members of the tribe under any Federal treaty, Executive order, agreement, or statute, or under any other Federal authority, which may have been diminished or lost under the Act approved August 13, 1954 (25 U.S.C. 691 et seq.) are restored, and the provisions of such subchapter shall be inapplicable to the tribe and to members of the tribe after November 22, 1983.

LYNG v. NORTHWEST INDIAN CEMETERY PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION
U.S. Supreme Court, 485 U.S. 439 (1988)

485 U.S. 439

LYNG, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, ET AL. v. NORTHWEST INDIAN CEMETERY PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION ET AL. - CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT No. 86-1013.

Argued November 30, 1987
Decided April 19, 1988

(Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association representing certain Yurok, Tolowa and Karuk tribal members)

(excerpts)

"In 1982, the United States Forest Service prepared a final environmental impact statement for constructing a paved road through federal land, including the Chimney Rock area of the Six Rivers National Forest. This area, as reported in a study commissioned by the Service, has historically been used by certain American Indians for religious rituals that depend upon privacy, silence, and an undisturbed natural setting. Rejecting the study's recommendation that the road not be completed through the Chimney Rock area because it would irreparably damage the sacred areas, and also rejecting alternative routes outside the National Forest, the Service selected a route through the Chimney Rock area that avoided archeological sites and was removed as far as possible from the sites used by the Indians for specific spiritual activities. At about the same time, the Service also adopted a management plan allowing for timber harvesting in the same area, but providing for protective zones around all the religious sites identified in the study. After exhausting administrative remedies, respondents - an Indian organization, individual Indians, nature organizations and members thereof, and the State of California - filed suit in Federal District Court challenging both the road-building and timber-harvesting decisions. The court issued a permanent injunction that prohibited the Government from constructing the Chimney Rock section of the road or putting the timber-harvesting plan into effect, holding, inter alia, that such actions would violate respondent Indians' rights under the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment and would violate certain federal statutes. The Court of Appeals affirmed in pertinent part...

"(III A) Even if we assume that we should accept the Ninth Circuit's prediction, according to which the G-O road will "virtually destroy the . . . Indians' ability to practice their religion," [485 U.S. 439, 452] 795 F.2d, at 693...the Constitution simply does not provide a principle that could justify upholding respondents' legal

claims. However much we might wish that it were otherwise, government simply could not operate if it were required to satisfy every citizen's religious needs and desires. A broad range of government activities - from social welfare programs to foreign aid to conservation projects - will always be considered essential to the spiritual well-being of some citizens, often on the basis of sincerely held religious beliefs. Others will find the very same activities deeply offensive, and perhaps incompatible with their own search for spiritual fulfillment and with the tenets of their religion. The First Amendment must apply to all citizens alike, and it can give to none of them a veto over public programs that do not prohibit the free exercise of religion. The Constitution does not, and courts cannot, offer to reconcile the various competing demands on government, many of them rooted in sincere religious belief, that inevitably arise in so diverse a society as ours. That task, to the extent that it is feasible, is for the legislatures and other institutions. Cf. The Federalist No. 10 (suggesting that the effects of religious factionalism are best restrained through competition among a multiplicity of religious sects).

"One need not look far beyond the present case to see why the analysis in Roy, but not respondents' proposed extension of Sherbert and its progeny, offers a sound reading of the Constitution. Respondents attempt to stress the limits of the religious servitude that they are now seeking to impose on the Chimney Rock area of the Six Rivers National Forest. While defending an injunction against logging operations and the construction of a road, they apparently do not at present object to the area's being used by recreational visitors, other Indians, or forest rangers. Nothing in the principle for which they contend, however, would distinguish this case from another lawsuit in which they (or similarly situated religious objectors) might seek to exclude all human activity but [485 U.S. 439, 453] their own from sacred areas of the public lands. The Indian respondents insist that "[p]rivacy during the power quests is required for the practitioners to maintain the purity needed for a successful journey." Brief for Indian Respondents 8 (emphasis added; citation to record omitted). Similarly: "The practices conducted in the high country entail intense meditation and require the practitioner to achieve a profound awareness of the natural environment. Prayer seats are oriented so there is an unobstructed view, and the practitioner must be surrounded by undisturbed naturalness." Id... No disrespect for these practices is implied when one notes that such beliefs could easily require de facto beneficial ownership of some rather spacious tracts of public property. Even without anticipating future cases, the diminution of the Government's property rights, and the concomitant subsidy of the Indian religion, would in this case be far from trivial: the District Court's order permanently forbade commercial timber harvesting, or the construction of a two-lane road, anywhere within an area covering a full 27 sections (i. e. more than 17,000 acres) of public land.

"The Constitution does not permit government to discriminate against religions that treat particular physical sites as sacred, and a law prohibiting the Indian respon-

dents from visiting the Chimney Rock area would raise a different set of constitutional questions. Whatever rights the Indians may have to the use of the area, however, those rights do not divest the Government of its right to use what is, after all, its land. Cf. Bowen v. Roy, 476 U.S., at 724 -727 (O'CONNOR, J., concurring in part and dissenting in part) (distinguishing between the Government's use of information in its possession and the Government's requiring an individual to provide such information)...

"(IV) The decision of the court below, according to which the First Amendment precludes the Government from completing the G-O road or from permitting timber harvesting in the Chimney Rock area, is reversed. In order that the District Court's injunction may be reconsidered in light of this holding, and in the light of any other relevant events that may have intervened since the injunction issued, the case is remanded for further proceedings consistent with this opinion.

It is so ordered."

Notes

[1]NAGPRA indicates that agencies should make determinations of "cultural affiliation" between contemporary people and material objects - including human remains and funerary objects - that can be demonstrably tied to the ancestors of contemporary peoples. The goal of the current study is broader than this, focusing generally on what has been termed the "cultural association" between particular tribal communities and particular lands and natural resources. While documentation of "cultural association" may serve as a basis for assessments of "cultural affiliation," these two concepts should not be confused or conflated.

[2]On traditional prohibitions on the naming of the dead, see for example Bright (1979).

[3]While Kroeber may have overstated this point somewhat, it is worth noting what he said of the Shasta as they apparently existed prior to contact:

"The functions of this so-called chief were governmental only in so far as they could be exercised in relation to property. He acted as mediator in quarrels by influencing the adjustment of the payments due for injuries... the chief avoided participation in warfare so far as possible, but became prominent as soon as terms of peace came to be discussed-that is, when monetary settlement was undertaken" (Kroeber 1925: 297).

[4]There are a number of passing references to these kinds of nominally internal disputes within the ethnolinguistic groups of the region, such as "The Scott and Shasta Valley divisions, or villages within them, were sometimes in embittered feud" (Kroeber 1925: 286).

[5]Shasta Tribe members were adamant that they were not subdivided into "bands," though some tribal members have employed that term historically. Instead, they suggest that the constituent villages of the Shasta were simply understood to be in geographically differentiated groupings that were administered by headmen.

[6]Accounts of payment of material goods as redress for acts of violence are found throughout the region. For example, Sapir (1910: 179-81) recorded a detailed narrative regarding the traditional method of settling violent disputes through the public redistribution of dentalia and other wealth to the families of victims.

[7]Dorsey notes that

"A child belongs to the village of its father. This seems to be the rule among all of the tribes, though a few exceptions have been found...A man had to marry outside of his village, as all the women in that village were his consanguinities" (Dorsey 1890: 228).

Interviewees consulted for this study used the term "half marriage" to describe a situation wherein a man moved to a woman's community. This was rare, and was probably only considered appropriate during times of dislocation as the result of epidemics or starvation (07).

[8]LaLande (1991) and Gray (1987) have placed *'alke takh* near Wagner Butte.

[9]Karuk tradition identifies some 13 peaks that are said to be especially sacred within their ancestral territory; of these two were said "to be for everyone" while the rest were nominally controlled by certain families. None of the peaks mentioned by interviewees was in the immediate vicinity of Oregon Caves.

[10]Shastas also identified Crater Lake as part of their traditional territory.

[11]People with Illinois Valley ancestry were sometimes identified as "Shasta" in interviews with individuals other than Shasta Tribe members, but this appears to reflect intermarriage between Illinois Valley and Klamath River Shasta families after removal to Siletz and Grand Ronde (16).

[12]Many contemporary consultants depicted the Bear Creek Valley, from Medford to Ashland, as an area of overlapping tribal claims. Shasta interviewees depicted the area as uniformly Shasta territory, while Siletz and Grand Ronde interviewees described the area as being largely Takelma with specific resource and ceremonial sites that were shared by the Shasta, Takelma, and Athabaskan groups. A large multi-tribal ceremonial and trade center was said to have been found in the Ashland area, while adjacent waterways were fishing areas of some importance to the Shasta and others (13, DW). Pilot Rock was identified as one of the most sacred sites to the Shasta. In turn, Pilot Rock, Table Rock and Mount McLoughlin, were identified as a local triumvirate of sacred places that were acknowledged by all upper Rogue River tribes. Vision quest cairns were mentioned around the Bear Creek basin that are oriented toward these peaks, as well as Mount Shasta.

On the issue of Shasta claims, Dixon (1907: 387) reports that the Shasta and the Rogue River tribes

"had contended since time immemorial for the Oregon area now claimed by the Shasta [Bear Creek Valley, upper Applegate Valley and upper Rogue River]. At a period about a hundred years ago, as nearly as could be estimated, the Shasta declare that they finally drove the Rogue River people completely out of the territory in dispute and that they were themselves in occupancy of it when the white

trappers first penetrated to the region. That the Rogue River Indians still claimed the area as theirs, however, is shown by the treaty of Sept. 10, 1853, by which they ceded this section and also a portion of what was, I believe, unquestionably Shasta territory lying within the State of California."

Some contemporary consultants contend that Dixon did not understand that Palmer and the other treaty negotiators had tried unsuccessfully to have the headman of the upper Bear Creek valley, Tipsu Tyee, cede his territory as part of this treaty. In the absence of his signature, the territory was ceded as part of a treaty that excluded the Shasta chief (07).

[13]Members of the Shasta Tribe have more recently rejected the term "band," preferring instead to identify these each as geographically delimited village groups within the larger Shasta Nation: "These are geographical names, not names of "Bands" or "Tribes" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 1).

[14]On the basis of local archival and oral history sources, Card (1966: 3) suggests that "at some time after the Shasta group of Athapascans began to intrude upon Takelma lands, there were some intermarriages with the Shasta resulting in a new Takelma branch." While containing some ethnographic inaccuracies, Card's account probably has some basis in fact, and suggests that the populations at contact were highly integrated. These pre-contact social connections no doubt contributed to the alliances that quickly formed between Shastas and Rogue River basin tribes during the 1850s (Beckham 1972; Dixon 1907: 389).

[15]It is possible that some of this transition coincides with the arrival of certain Athabaskan speaking groups. A characteristic "Gunther pattern" develops on the coast only during this later period, suggesting more direct influences from coastal groups to the north and south along the coastline on coastal Athabaskan populations of the lower Rogue basin.

[16]There is some hint in original sources that the status of middle Rogue River Basin headmen was less the product of lineage and more the product of accumulated wealth than was the case with the Klamath River Shasta, but the degree of this difference is difficult to discern on the basis of available sources, and was probably subtle historically if it existed at all.

[17]For an overview of archaeological evidence of Athabaskan arrival and integration into Hokan and Penutian tribes, see Chartkoff and Chartkoff 1984. Sapir (1922: 10) and a succession of subsequent linguists have noted sharp linguistic differences between Takelman and the languages of adjacent Athabaskan communities, suggesting that the Athabaskan populations were relatively recent arrivals in the region.

[18]Still, a small number of distinctions apparently set apart Takelma and Athabaskan communities, if published ethnographic accounts are accepted as valid indicators.

Unlike their Takelman neighbors, Rogue River Athabaskan communities exhibited greater reliance upon upland game, used ceremonial drums and a "dry" sweathouse, and practiced a distinctive wealth display ceremony. As Gray (1987: 63) notes, these differences were sublte and may have manifested differences in local environments, demographics, and forms of economic or ritual specialization that were generally found within the region.

[19]Working with mixed Yurok, Hoopa, and Karuk families in the early 20th century, O'Neale's noted that her consultants hailed from a number of lower Klamath River villages, from as far upstream as the villages of Asisufunuk and Inam, near modern-day Happy Camp. O'Neale describes extensive inter-tribal connections between the peoples of the lower Klamath River: "they visited each other, participated in each-other's religious ceremonies and intermarried" (O'Neale 1932: 9). Ritual practices, material culture, and patterns of resource use were likewise similar among the tribes of the lower river.

[20]A number of researchers, most famously Kroeber (1925: 280) also suggested strong historical ties between the Shasta and the Achomawi (or "Pit River") as well as other smaller Hokan-speaking groups in northern California, with whom they maintained social, ceremonial, and economic ties.

[21]Salt was reportedly gathered in the upper reaches of Galice Creek. Harrington's consultants mention gathering a "brown salt" at a place called Yukyakhwan, for personal use and for trade (Harrington 1981, Reel 28: 499).

[22]For a detailed, if necessarily speculative, overview of Applegate and Illinois subsistence practices, see Pullen (1996: IV).

[23]Hewes (1947: 89), for example, suggested that

"less given to fishing were the smaller inland groups like the Galice Creek and Applegate Creek Athapascans, and the little-known Takelma and Latgawa."

[24]On the distribution of settlement in Illinois Valley, Pullen concludes

"the Shasta Costa or Chasta Costa...lived along the lower Illinois River and the Rogue River between present-day Agness and Foster Bar. (Berreman, 1937, p. 29) The distinction between the Gu-sla-dada at the head of the Illinois River and the Shasta Costa along the lower portion of that river was perhaps caused by the difficulty of travel through the rugged canyon carved by the middle portion of the Illinois River" (Pullen 1996: IV-1).

[25]The orthography for this term was provided by Robert Kentta, and is the Siletz cultural program's standard spelling for this term.

[26]A cursory review of Bureau of Land Management General Land Office records for the State of Oregon under the name Anderson revealed a concentration of homesteads taken by members of this extended family in the 19th and early 20th century, all in the general vicinity of Selma. Reports of the Rogue River and Siskiyou National Forests speculate that the McCaleb Ranch Site (35JO32) may have represented a portion of Talsalsan, a position that might be supported on the basis of comments made by certain interviewees.

[27]Speaking of a riffle on the Rogue upstream from its confluence with the Illinois River, Molly Orton reported to Harrington that

"when the eels were being caught up at the place upstream of Shasta Costa, they said the blood of eels is flowing, meaning the river had turned into eel blood when they were cleaning eels" (Harrington n.d., Reel 26).

[28]These multi-tribal gambling contests may be reflected in oral traditions recorded over a century ago. One Shasta story speaks of gambling with the people of the Rogue Basin with gambling sticks: "People were gambling, and the Rogue-River people won everything..." (Dixon 1910: 25). This tale mentions wagering with strands of bead money, but also includes mention of wagering people, including wives. This tale also mentions gathering eaglets, fishing at a weir, and participating in a sweat lodge during the trip to the Rogue River country. Shasta games are described in such source as Kroeber (1925: 295-96).

It is interesting to note that Kroeber (1925: 107) reported that the Karuk stood out among northern California tribes in that they had beaver-teeth dice, used in gambling games. Kroeber suggests that these were probably obtained through direct or indirect connections with Oregon tribes, who used these dice in multi-tribal gaming.

"Gambling" was itself conceived of a social and ceremonial act, tied to upland ritual activity. One's control over supernatural powers could, in the traditional view, shape the outcome of contests that would be considered random by Western reasoning. The preparation of sticks used in gambling games, for example, required a level of spiritual preparedness comparable to the vision quest:

"In making the sticks, much ceremony is observed. They are generally made by two men together, who, after strict continence for five days, go off into the mountains alone. Here they sing and pray, and are not allowed to eat meat or fresh fish, being restricted to a very little acorn-meal and dried fish. In eating, they have to eat out of small, well decorated baskets, and may drink water only if mixed with a little acorn-meal. On their return with the finished sticks, the men are obliged to remain continent for another five days, before using the sticks, and must during this time bathe frequently" (Dixon 1907: 441).

It is important to note, as mentioned elsewhere in this document, that there were places visited to obtain "gambling luck" in the same mountain areas that were traversed by Karuk and Shasta on their way to the upper Illinois Valley.

[29]Gray (1987: 23) believes that this village was probably Salwaxk'an, a community at the confluence of the Rogue and Applegate Rivers, identified by Harrington's tribal consultant, Frances Johnson (Harrington 1981: 410, 462). It is unclear whether this is the case. This interpretation would disagree with the accounts of some modern tribal consultants. It is possible that there were simply two villages with phonetically similar names. Or, the name may have been misapplied to the Rogue-Applegate confluence; Goddard (1903), for example, reports the village at this confluence as "Leatnidan."

[30]Hints of these southwestern Oregon carving styles might still be recovered by a consideration of the distinctive carving styles of northwestern California (see Kelly 1930). Some tribal descendents have taken on canoe carving projects, including those carried out in Illinois Valley with the assistance of George Fence.

[31]Typically, all of the males living in a village were related along their father's line, but access to wealth was uneven within a community. Objects emblematic of wealth, such as red-headed woodpecker scalp headdresses, dentalium necklaces, obsidian blades, and white deerskins were used to obtain wives from other villages, creating certain motives for individualized, as opposed to group, exchanges (Drucker 1937: 245-247). Consultants suggest that potential wives and their families were in many cases the object of these status displays.

[32]Some sources suggest that Sucker Creek was named due to the presence of a popular sucker fishing site at the confluence of Sucker Creek and the Illinois River (Pfefferle 1977). LaLande, however, suggests that

> "The name "Sucker Creek" resulted during the 1850s when large numbers of men, many of them from the state of Illinois, flocked to the placer deposits of that stream, a tributary of the Illinois River. The disparaging nickname "Sucker," for a person from downstate (southern) Illinois, was used during the mid-19th century by folks from Missouri and elsewhere; former residents of the "Prairie State" did not appreciate the term" (LaLande 2001: 60).

[33]It is likely that the Alsea term was a name only used after the relocation of both Alsea and Rogue Basin tribes to the Siletz and Grand Ronde Reservations (07). LaLande (2001: 6) notes that the Applegate River was

> "Named in the late 1840s for Lindsay and Jesse Applegate, who are said to have stopped at the mouth of the river when laying out the Southern Emigrant Road ("Applegate Trail") in 1846 (or for Lindsay Applegate during a 1848 trip through the area). The Takelma Indians called it "S'bink" (Beaver) River, and the Shastas termed it "Iskatawayeki." The Athapascans called it "Ta'khoo-pe" (meaning uncertain, but it may translate as "pretty place"), which is the origin of the word Dakubetede."

There has been some suggestion that the river's reputation as a source of beaver inspired Ogden of the Hudsons Bay Company to visit the area.

[34]The white deerskin dance is one of the major ritual events of the Karuk, and related to the world renewal ceremony traditionally held each year in Karok villages. These ceremonies often brought together people from multiple village communities to close out the year that had passed and to insure the return of the fundamental elements of daily life in the next. See Drucker (1936).

[35]The village of Shammai, near the confluence of Seiad Creek and the Klamath River, appears to have played an important role in the oral traditions of Karuk and Shasta people. Some of these oral traditions allude to the highland ridges of which Oregon Caves is a part. For example, one story of Shammai speaks of a man who tries to sing a love medicine song to five sisters. They consistently reject him, running into their house when he approaches. Finally, the youngest girl approaches him, but feeling rejected the man walks away into the mountains crying. His tears form the creeks draining into the north bank of the Klamath River, probably the Indian and Clear Creek drainages. Ultimately, the man turns into a big mountain, speculatively identified as Preston Peak (Keishishyan, literally "big mountain") by Kroeber and Gifford (1980).

Other stories indicate the central importance of the Shammai area in traditional subsistence along the Klamath River. Sweet William of Ishipishi recounted the story of "Salmon and Fire at Shammai." In this story, an "immortal" makes salmon from gravel and teaches the people to make fire. Then, this being gives names to all the kinds of salmon and teaches the people to make scaffolds and other devices for catching salmon on the riffles of the Klamath River. In a subsequent story, possibly set at Shammai, Osprey invents various tools for fishing and other purposes (Kroeber and Gifford 1980: 70-72).

[36]Tribal consultants noted that the term "Yreka" was a term applied to Mount Shasta. Likewise, Kroeber (1916: 68) reported of the term "Yreka" that it is "the word meaning mountain and the name of Mount Shasta in the Shasta language: wairika, properly waiika."

[37]LaLande (2001: 33) describes Grayback Mountain as follows:

> "A prominent peak on the Illinois-Applegate divide of the Siskiyou Crest; possibly named because of the grayish hue of the peak's exposed granitic rock or because of the appearance of a stand of dead timber on its slopes. But more probably, according to Lewis L. McArthur (personal communication), Grayback Creek was named for the lice ("graybacks") that plagued the early miners. During the Civil War, "Grayback" was also a term applied by Union forces (and used by pro-Union newspaper editors in southern Oregon) to Confederate soldiers. (Grayback Mountain may have had spiritual significance to the Shasta Indians as the "source" of summer thunderstorms; see Dixon [1907])."

Robert Kennta noted that the word "grayback" has been applied to people who don't bathe, a connotation that may relate to the common "grayback louse."

[38]This consultant adds that eating bear was uncommon among the Karuk and possibly other area tribes due to dietary prohibitions. To speak of "eating bear" in their oral tradition then, is implicitly to speak of a time of food scarcity or starvation:

"Karuks don't normally eat bear. They were brother and sister at one time. They committed incest and the creator turned one into a man and the other into a bear [and the bear ran into the mountains, which is their place]. If you are starving you can track them" (03).

[39]Indeed, Pullen included in his study of land use practices in the Applegate and Illinois Valleys information from tribes more broadly dispersed than those provided here. Pullen included ethnographic accounts from

"the Shasta, Karok and Yurok immediately to the south; the Tolowa, Tututni, and Upper Coquille to the west, and the Takelma and Umpqua to the north" (Pullen 1996: I-2).

In the current report, it is argued that cultural ties existed between these groups, but that a number of them, especially the coastal groups, exhibited marked differences in both environmental practices and cultural expression.

[40]Observing general regional patterns of travel, Waterman (1925) concluded that ties between tribes were especially strong in northern California, such as the Tolowa and Karuk, due the extensive trail networks following mountain ridges in the region.

[41]Ed "Chief" Frye of the Powers Ranger District of the Siskiyou National Forest generated a working map of the trail network in this area decades ago. While containing valuable detail regarding other portions of the Siskiyou National Forest, his data were incomplete for the Illinois Valley portion of the trail network, however, and the resulting map adds little to the discussion presented here. It is unclear whether this map was ever included in a publicly available report (Frye n.d.).

[42]The obsidian found in the adjacent Siskiyou National Forest has been found to be of the kind found at Glass Mountain, in the Medicine Lake Highlands (LaLande 1977: 12).

[43]Hoxie Simmons reported to Jacobs that the Klamath had raided in the Applegate Valley and had taken slaves among the Applegate during these raids (Jacobs n.d.).

[44]This migration between different root- or bulb-digging patches appears occasionally in archival accounts on the topic of gathering from the 19th century. Indian Agent Samuel Culver, noted:

"Formerly they subsisted in the main upon roots, of which there was a great variety and quantity, each kind had its locality and time of ripening, or becoming fit for use....They did not find these roots upon any one tract of country, but there would be an abundance in one locality one month, and of another variety at another place during the ensuing"(Culver, 1854).

[45]Schenck and Gifford provided a detailed account of the gathering of sugar pine cones among the Karuk and Shasta:

"When it is time to gather the cones, each owner invites his family and friends to come with him, and then, when the cones are gathered, they are divided equally among the relatives and guests. Tanuaxanuwa, "Let's go and bite the nuts," is the Karok phrase for the expedition to gather sugar pine nuts. They make a hook, wurannaru, of a long pole of fir with a stick tied on it at an acute angle with hazel withes. The climber hooks this on the first limb of a sugar pine tree, and with this help climbs up the tree. Then he hooks another limb if necessary and thus climbs as high as he wishes. With a smaller hooked stick called teita, he hooks a branch near a cone and shakes it until the cone falls. In the meantime, the others on the ground are "making medicine" and singing, "Cut it off, Beaver, cut it off!" Or they sing, "Cut it off, Pitchy-hands (gray squirrel), cut it off!" The climber has made his medicine (sung the charm) while climbing the tree" (Schenck and Gifford 1952: 378).

[46]Flicker, woodpecker, and Steller's jay feathers were essential components of Shasta ceremonial regalia, and all were acquired in mountainous areas (Dixon 1907: 403-05).

[47]This sentiment appears from time to time in the ethnographic literature of the region. For example, O'Neale reports that women of the lower Klamath River had various "secret locations" for gathering plant materials for basketry and other uses. Near the river one might

"get good quantities, they tell me, but the one who goes far back into the hills to an unfrequented spot feels an added assurance" (O'Neale 1932: 9, 21).

[48]Karuk stories related by Bright (1977) describe Coyote stealing fire back from upriver tribes, probably the Shasta, while the people are away in the mountains hunting. Similar stories are recorded among the Shasta.

[49]Dogs were apparently trained to navigate upland environments as part of the specialized upland elk hunt. Harrington's consultants noted:

"The Jacksonville, Takelma people, and down that way, in the times when they still used bow and arrows only, used a buck's head with deer's forelegs hitched to Indian's thighs, wearer stooping over on all fours and raising head in imitation of deer, thus getting close to deer and maybe shooting several all at once...The Indian dogs I saw were elk dogs. These dogs did not bother deer. A man would stay by the fresh elk track and dog would go along the track alone. Elk was lying down up on ridge, and got up slowly as dog approached. The elks tried to go, but the dog wouldn't let them. The dog would bite them behind and make the elks turn and wheel, trying to fight the dog. Hunter meanwhile approached and shot. As elk fell, the dog at once bit the elks in the throat and thus killed the elk. The Indian then butchered the elk, giving the dog the blood and some meat and grease" (Harrington, Reel 25).

[50]Lewis (1973) has written extensively on the scale and functions of traditional burning among northern California tribes. For a local historian's overview of traditional burning practices on the middle Klamath, see Hotelling 1978.

[51]One story recorded among area tribes suggests that the first fire was set by such beings as Coyote and Turtle in these areas, making fire available to all people yet to come (Farrand 1915: 210). A Karuk story alluding to the Siskiyou ridge describes a great flood that submerges the lowlands, leaving only the highest mountain peaks exposed. Ahsai, the ground squirrel, preserves fire by carrying it on his back as he swims, looking for a peak on which to deposit fire:

"At last he saw one just projecting. It was Kichiim (Siskiyou), the highest mountain (kipihan taapash) in the world. There he swam, and on it he left the fire; but his back was burned black." When the water recedes, Ahsai casts fire to the people so that they might be able to eat cooked food in the time yet to come, saying "I will always live here now. I will remain away from my own country" (Kroeber and Gifford 1980: 56-57).

Occasionally, the peoples of southwestern Oregon also ignited fires as part of their upland ceremonial complex, ritually lighting fires at the base of mountains and "following them up the mountain."

[52]Harrington's tobacco research principally addressed ethnobotanical practices confined to the Klamath River riparian. However, his publications on that topic (Harrington 1932) provide valuable data on uses of a number of species found at higher elevations and offer a nuanced discussion of plant use that may place upland plant data in its cultural context.

[53]First fish ceremonies receive attention in many general treatments of northern California tribes, such as Swezey and Heizer (1977). Kroeber notes,

"A first-salmon ceremony was shared by an array of tribes in northern California. The central act was usually the catching and eating of the first salmon of the season; after which fishing was open to all. These features make the ceremony one of public magic" (Kroeber 1922: 315).

Some Shasta sources similarly describe a "Salmon Calling Ceremony," involving ritual efforts to usher the salmon back to the rivers of the Klamath Basin (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 4). Chiefs were apparently responsible for calling the salmon to their respective territories:

" "[Chief] Sa-nak-a-ha took care of the river. He saw that each did their part to take care of the river. He sang for the salmon to come up the river at the mouth of the Shasta so the fish would go up each arm of the rivers.

Chief An-na-nik-a-hok also known as Captain John was a signer of the treaty. He sang for the salmon to come up the Scott River. His area included the Scott River Canyon to Graveyard Gulch" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 9).

[54]It is possible that this is the Siskiyous Mountains adjacent to Oregon Caves, though this is unclear; the allusion to five ravines manifests the sacred number of five, and may not clearly appear as five ravines on modern maps.

[55]Sapir's Takelma consultants noted that mountain spirits were said to dwell at Aldauyakwadis and Alsawentadis, while plants used to cure fevers were gathered on the slopes of a related sacred peak, Alsawentadis (Sapir 1907b: 45). The exact locations of these peaks has not been conclusively established, but they are widely depicted as being near the Illinois River.

[56]Other aspects of the puberty ritual also involved ascents into the mountains. During their first menses, young women were sent into the mountains to gather the wood to be used in the menstrual hut, though they probably did not ascend as high as the study area for this purpose:

"Every day she must go up into the mountains and bring back several loads of wood, which are used for the fire for the evening dance. She must also bring a small quantity for every house in the village. She is accompanied on these excursions by two or three young girls, and, should she meet any one on the trail, they at once turn aside, and allow her to pass" (Dixon 1907: 458).

[57]Mountaintops receive frequent passing mention in the oral traditions of area tribes, typically associated with the actions of spirit beings. The home of Coyote was depicted as "far off in the mountains" (Dixon 1910: 13). Duck Hawk, A'ikren, lives atop Saddle Mountain in Karuk oral tradition. When the duck hawks are away on their migration, according to Harrington, the Karuk suggested that the birds had ascended into heaven. In one Karuk story reported by Harrington (1932: 31-34) these birds can serve as spirit guides for people traveling to and from heaven.

[58]The subject of shamanistic traditions in this part of the world has received frequent, if fairly general discussion in the anthropological literature. As summarized by Kroeber:

"In northern California, and centering as usual among the northwestern tribes, beliefs as to the source of shamanistic power take a peculiar turn. Among peoples like the Yurok the guardian spirit in the ordinary sense scarcely occurs. The power of the shaman rests not upon the aid or control of a guardian, but upon his maintenance in his own body of disease objects which to non-shamans would be fatal. These "pains" are animate and self-moving, but are always conceived as minute, physically concrete, and totally lacking human shape or resemblance. Their acquisition by the shaman is due to a dream in which a spirit gives them to him or puts them in his body. This spirit seems most frequently to be an ancestor who has had shamanistic power. The dream, however, does not constitute the shaman as such, since the introduced "pain" causes illness in him as in other persons. His condition is diagnosed by accepted shamans, and a long and rigorous course of training follows, whose object is the inuring of the novice to the presence of the "pains" in his body and to the acquisition of control over them. Fasting and analogous means are employed for this purpose, but the instruction of older shamans seems to be regarded as an essential feature, culminating in what is usually known as the "doctors' dance." This dance is therefore substantially a professional initiation ceremony. There is no doubt that it provided the opportunity for the establishment of shamans' societies as organized bod-

ies; but this step seems never to have been taken in California... among the Shasta the shaman controls spirits as well as "pains," but the name for the two is identical (Kroeber 1922: 300-01).

[59]Especially among the Shasta, sources suggest that women typically assumed shamanistic duties, especially those that were related to healing. For example, Carpelan and Hall suggest:

"The women were the medicine people. If there was a woman in the family that was a medicine person, the man in the family could not be a medicine person. Shasta's had dream doctors, herbal doctors, sucking doctors, and talking doctors. Each knew about each other's work, they knew how to do each other's work, but they would specialize in one type, they would know what to do through their dreams when they were young" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 3).

[60]For example, Karuk man Robert Spott reported to Putnam that among the Karuk

"Bush-dance doctor, when a child is unhealthy[y], he go far upon the mountains in the evening and pray to the heaven with his power so this child's sickness will go. And he pray again so the child will have a long and so good lucky life. Then he break the limb of the pine forest and comes home. And have the sick child lay beside the fire and danced all night around the sick child" (Putnam 1917: 281).

[61]The cultural sensitivity and archaeological "invisibility" of these religious practices, so important in terms of the compliance mandates of federal agencies, provides unique challenges for research on these topics (Deur 2002a).

[62]One Karuk and Shasta story speaks of a four brothers ascending to a lake in the high mountains and being tested and killed by Maruk-arar; the fifth brother, Kun_ cha'a, ascends the mountain, outwits Maruk-arar, and brings his brothers back to life. From this time, Kun_ cha'a possessed both power and wealth, an apparent outcome of engaging and being equal to the power of Maruk-arar and his mountain abode. Similar stories of younger brothers rescuing their elder siblings from hazards at mountain lakes are found in the oral traditions of other area tribes (Dixon 1907: 492-93).

[63]Takelma oral tradition included a tale indicating that "Thunder...is caused by the drumming of a raccoon-like animal (probably the "civet-cat"), while the lightning is his fire"; individuals could bring an end to thunder by making dogs bark, which scared away this noisy animal (Sapir 1907a: 34, 49). This does not necessarily contradict other descriptions of Thunder as a powerful being dwelling in the mountains, but may represent two separate tale cycles alluding to the same event.

[64]Some consultants also noted "we used to get heavier snowfall" and it was more of a challenge historically than it is today (07).

[65]Bigelow Lake apparently was a lake along this route. The lake is apparently named in reference to the Bigelow family, which herded cattle in the subalpine meadows of

Grayback Mountain in the summertime, and probably used the Bigelow Lakes area as a camp site. Of the Bigelow family, LaLande notes

"(Sometimes spelled "Biglow") Oz and Bert Bigelow were Applegate Valley stockmen who ranged their cattle in the Grayback Mountain area around the turn of the century. The Bigelow family first settled in the Williams Creek area in the 1860s and came to own an extensive livestock ranch" (LaLande 2001: 12)

[66]Consultants also noted that the powers obtained from the Grayback Mountain massif can be applied in the modern world. Traditional practitioners have apparently discussed how to use these powers took keep the people alive through "the end times" - an apocalyptic future presaged by the Ghost Dance that has been prophesized by members of the Karuk, Pit River, and other tribes of the region. A number of recent events have contributed to the concern that we are approaching "the beginning of the end" including a prophesy that spoke of the tribulation being heralded in by a time when "you could walk across the mouth of the [Klamath] River on all of the belly-up salmon - that's the beginning" (03). The dramatic salmon mortality in this river during the summer of 2005 is taken by some as a sign that this end is approaching.

[67]A Yurok story reported by Kroeber (1975: 445) describes Thunder as the being who was responsible for creating prairies on mountain ridge tops. This raises interesting questions regarding the relationship between shamanic traditions seeking to intercede with Thunder in subalpine areas and the role of mountain prairies in the provision of medicinal plants, deer snare and basketry materials, and foods used in times of scarcity.

[68]Specifically, Kroeber suggested of the term "Shasta":

"The current derivation of the word, as given, for instance, by Maslin, is from a tribal name meaning "stone house or cave dwellers." This erroneous tradition seems to go back to a hasty misunderstanding of a statement by Steele on page 120 of the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1864, to the effect that "the Shasta Indians, known in their language as Weohow - it meaning stone house, from the large cave in their country - occupy the land east of Shasta River," etc. It will be seen that the alleged meaning does not apply to "Shasta" at all, but to the native name "Weohow" for which the Americans use Shasta" (Kroeber 1916: 58).

Dixon's discussion of the term may be of some interpretive value:

"The earlier forms-such as Saste, Shaste, Sasty, Shasty, Chasty, Shasti, Shastika have given place to the form Shasta.... The origin and meaning of this term . . . are both obscure. So far as my information goes, it is not a term used by the Shasta for themselves, either as a whole or in part, although there is some doubt as to whether or not the term may not have been used to designate a portion of the stock, i.e., that about the eastern portion of Shasta Valley. Its use, however, as such, is recent. It is not a term for the Indians of this stock in the languages of the surrounding stocks, whose names for the people are known, although in use by both Achomi'awi and Atsug'vwi. It is emphatically denied by the Shasta that it is a place-name for any section of the territory occupied by them, and indeed there is

some question as to whether it is even a word proper to their language. After persistent inquiry, the only information secured which throws any light on the matter is to the effect that about forty or fifty years ago there was an old man living in Shasta Valley whose personal name was Shastika (Stisti'ka). He is reported to have been a man of importance; and it is not impossible that the name Shasta came from this Indian, an old and well-known man in the days of my informant 's father, who was living at the time of the earliest settlement in this section, in the [18]50's. Inasmuch as the suffix ka is the regular subjective suffix, we should have shsti as the real name of this individual, from which the earlier forms of Shasty, etc., could easily have been derived. The derivation from the Russian CHISTY, meaning 'white, clean,"-a term supposed to have been applied by the settlers at Fort Ross to Mount Shasta, is obviously improbable. The matter is further complicated by the difficulty of clearing up the precise relationships of the so-called "'Chasta" of Oregon, and of explaining the recurrence of the same term in the name of the Athabascan tribe of the Chasta-Costa of the Oregon coast" (Dixon 1907: 384).

[69]Kroeber wrote of bear doctors, which were widespread throughout the California tribes he studied:

"The bear doctor was recognized over the entire state from the Shasta to the Diegueño... The bear shaman had the power to turn himself into a grizzly bear. In this form he destroyed enemies... Generally bear shamans were thought invulnerable, or at least to possess the power of returning to life. They inspired an extraordinary fear and yet seem to have been encouraged. It is not unlikely that they were often looked upon as benefactors to the group to which they belonged and as exercising their destructive faculties chiefly against its foes. In some tribes they gave exhibitions of their power; in others, as among the Pomo, the use of their faculties was carefully guarded from all observation. Naturally enough, their power was considered to be derived from bears, particularly the grizzly. It is the ferocity and tenacity of life of this species that clearly impressed the imagination of the Indians, and a more accurately descriptive name of the caste would be "grizzly-bear shamans" (Kroeber 1922: 303).

[70]The Josephine County Historical Society was reported to have documentation of these finds (19).

[71]The arrival of guns through trade networks as well as direct contact with non-Indians would have significant consequences in the 1850s, as the Rogue War began. As Nesmith (1879: 14) recounted of his early experiences in this conflict,

"many of the settlers and miners having traded their arms to the Indians, who were much better equipped for war than their white neighbors. The rifle and revolver had displaced the bow and arrow, and the war club with which the native was armed when the writer of this knew and fought them in 1848" (Nesmith 1879: 14).

[72]On the basis of such accounts, Beckham (1978; 1975: 81-82) indicates that some of the violence against settlers was brought about by their scuttling of key subsistence resources and sites, including oak groves, grass seed gathering areas, deer and elk grazing areas, or fish-bearing waterways.

[73]This may explain such ambiguous archival references as Harrington's (1981: 395) claim that the Shasta "even came to Jacksonville or Ashland or Table Rock in the old times, at war time they came in."

[74]Comparable implications have been drawn from an analysis of social organization and 19th century survival rates among the Tolowa (Thornton 1984).

[75]Accounts of "Rogue River" Indians assisting in attacks south of the Siskiyou divide are not uncommon, e.g.: "Mosier and Reaver (or Reavis) were murdered near Yreka, California, by Rogue River and Shasta Indians" (Drew 1860: 3).

[76]The terms "headman" and "chief" are used interchangeably here, though not without a recognition that they hold different connotations in this context.

[77]Shasta Nation genealogical materials suggest that these headmen were assigned to the different villages of the region at the onset of the War. This point is disputed by other tribal groups, but warrants mention here:

"The Shasta had a head chief and his village was near the present day town of Gazelle, California. The head chief could place his sons in areas where he felt he needed to have total loyalty. During the wars at contact time, Chief Big Sky placed his sons at different areas. "Joe" at Jump Off Joe Creek just north of Grants Pass, Oregon, "Sam" at Sam's Valley near present day Rogue River. Oregon, "John" at Applegate Valley, Oregon, and Big Ike along the Upper Klamath River" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 2).

If this genealogical information is correct, it would suggest that Chief Sky's sons were among the more prominent chiefs in the Rogue Basin at the time of contact. One was Chief Jo "Apso-Kah-hah" ["Horse Rider"], who was said to control the area from Grants Pass to Grave Creek during the war (Hall 1990: 138-39). Philip Kearny, who fought against the Rogue River Indians, was reportedly taken in and cared for by Jo's village in 1851; when he departed, Kearny was accompanied by Shasta guides. "The Head Chief, Big Sky, was killed soon after the arrival of the miners" in the late 1840s or early 1850s" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 7). According to the same source, Toquarhear ["The Wealthy"], also known as "Chief Sam," lead the band in the Sam's Valley area north of Table Rock. His son was Tecumtum ["Elk Killer"] while his son's wife, Usuni, is said to be from the Shasta village of Ussi on the Klamath River just upstream from Happy Camp. Their son John "Jake" Adams' family were among those removed to Siletz (Hall 1990: 139). Ida-kar-i-wak-a-ha or "Big Ike" was another of Chief Sky's sons and a signatory of the November 4, 1851 treaty (Carpelan and Hall 2000).

[78]LaLande notes of Chief John that

"Hart-tish was one of two contemporary local Indian leaders known to whites variously as "Chief John," "Tyee John," and "Applegate John." The other "John," Teecum-tom, put up a fierce resistance to the encroaching miners and farmers during the 1850s. He surrendered to the U.S. Army in 1856, near present-day Agness, on the lower Rogue River. The home territory of both of these men apparently included much of the Applegate Valley" (LaLande 2001: 36).

[79]Some sources, such as Douthit (2002) seem to conflate the two individuals.

[80]A park on the edge of Applegate Lake was recently named "Hart-tish Park" to commemorate Applegate John: "The name commemorates one of the last chief of the Dakubetede Indians. Hart-tish was one of two contemporary local Indian leaders known to whites variously as "Chief John," "Tyee John," and "Applegate John"" (LaLande 2001: 36).

[81]As Douthit (2002), some accounts clearly underestimate the pre-War familiarity of Indian and non-Indian residents. As Nesmith (1879: 214) recalled, during Lane's negotiations:

"The Indians and whites were so close together that they could easily converse. The most of them knew General Lane, and when they found that he was in command of the troops, they called out to "Joe Lane" and asked him to come into their camp to arrange some terms for a cessation of hostilities."

[82]This information, alone, is of some ethnographic value, in that it suggests knowledge of and access to the study area by tribal members first encountered along the Savage Rapids portion of Rogue River.

[83]There are a number of other accounts of this event in written documents, most based on the oral traditions of Shasta elders of the 20th century. Shasta elder Clara Wicks recalled an account of this event in 1976, when she was 97 years old, as told by her grandmother:

"they were warned of soldiers approaching. Their Chief asked them not to fight because the white people were like a trail of ants. Their wagon trains were endless, they would live together in peace. One soldier [was] sent from Fort Jones to request they be put on a reservation, after being rejected by the Indian Chief, Soldiers soon followed to invite all the Indian people to a Beef dinner at the Fort. The Women were left home, and the men went to meet the soldiers. The men did not return home after several days, and the entire Shasta Indian male population (500 or 600) were poisoned with strychnine. The soldiers buried them in a large pit." (Clara Wicks 1976, in Winthrop 1986: 40).

Elsewhere, Betty Hall of the Shasta Nation has provided detailed summaries of elders' accounts:

"At the barbecue that followed, the bread and meat was laced with strychnine, tens of thousands of Shasta People died that day. The local volunteer militia went and slaughtered the old men. women and children left in the villages and burned all the villages. For five years, people were held in concentration camps in Fort Jones. During the Fall, they would be released from the Concentration Camps so they could gather their food for the winter. This was allowed until they were taken to Siletz Indian Reservation in Oregon. Thirty women, five couples and 175 warriors who escaped into the mountains were allowed to stay.

"Many Shasta People fled into the mountains surrounding Scott Valley. This was winter time and many did not survive. Chief Sunrise survived in the Scott Bar Mountains for two years before he felt it

safe to come back to Scott Valley. Chief Ike (Ida-kar-Iwak-a-ha) went back to the Upper Klamath and Bogus area with his family and villagers. Later there were small communities where Shasta People were allowed to live. In these areas, the Shasta People were not very visible, and the farming and gold mining was not very prosperous.

"Many of the Shasta women were taken by white men and forced to raise their families. Many of the children made the choice not to tell their children about the poisoning. My family is one that kept the traditions and told about the poisoning. When my mother met one elder, the first question she asked when Mom walked in the door was: "What happened?" Her family was one that did not tell their children what happened. The elder said that her grandfather would sit and cry. They would ask him what was wrong, he would tell them that it was too horrible" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 10-11).

[84]In the same year, John Ross was part of a party that visited Crater Lake and laid claim to the "discovery" of that lake.

[85]William B. Hay received a donation land claim on the Fort Hay site in 1854. James Kerby arrived in 1854, ironically at the height of the conflict in the Illinois Valley, and took a donation land claim in the Kerby area the following year. Kerby sought to develop a townsite on his land claim, which ultimately became the town of Kerby.

[86]Nesmith (1879) provides an account of the negotiation of the September 1853 treaty, which was conducted under tense circumstances and almost erupted into armed conflict during the negotiations.

[87]Joseph Lane wrote to James Nesmith in 1879:

"when the great Indian war of 1855-6 broke out, and you were again in the field fighting them, poor old Jo was dead, and you, or some other commander, at old Sam's request, sent him and his people to the Grand Round Reservation. Old John and Adam, and all others except Jo's and Sam's people fought you hard, but the Rogues, proper, never forgot the impression we made upon them in the great Council of September 10, 1853. It was a grand and successful Council; the Rogue Rivers, proper, fought us no more; they did not forget their promises to us" (in Nesmith 1879: 221).

[88]This raises one of many compelling "what if" scenarios in Oregon history. Had the Klamath and Modoc - with their relatively large populations, ample horses and weaponry, and capacity for long-distance military raids - decided to play an active role in the Rogue Indian War, the scale and intensity of the fighting may have been considerably greater. Indeed, in light of the smallness and isolation of the white population in the state at the time, the war may have been much larger, longer, and of much greater national significance.

[89]The proposed relocation of highly successful Indian combatants to a site relatively closer to the core of Oregon's non-Indian population was quite controversial at the time. For more detail on this, see, e.g. O'Donnell 1991.

On July 30, 1840, Oregon territorial governor Joseph Lane proposed to the state legislative assembly the outright purchase of American Indian land title as a prelude to Euro-American resettlement of the state. Some ten years later, Oregon's state legislature approved legislation that initiated this process, immediately extinguishing Willamette Valley tribes' land claims and appointing commissioners to negotiate treaties toward the same end with other Oregon tribes. This task fell principally to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Joel Palmer, who was responsible for choosing the site of the Coast Reservation to house Indian populations displaced by this policy.

[90]There have been a number of accounts of traditional methods of warfare and combat within this region. Kroeber (1925: 298), for example, suggested of the Shasta that

"War was chiefly conducted by raiding hostile villages. A preparatory dance would be held for several nights. The members of the prospective party stood in line, carrying bows or knives, and stamping one foot: Position and step are characteristic of all the dances of the northwestern tribes. The warriors were elaborately painted with circular spots. They sometimes wore elk skin or rod armor similar to that of the Hupa and Yurok, and a headband or helmet of hide, such as the Hupa and Karok seem also to have known."

[91]John Adams and his immediate family appears in a number of anthropological and historical sources from the period. For example, Hoxie Simmons mentioned John Adams in the course of her interviews with John Harrington:

"It is an old Indian saying that if an Indian kills 10 grizzlies then a grizzly is certain to kill the Indian. The only exception to this saying is John Adams' father, who at Rogue River killed 40 grizzlies with bow and arrow (Harrington, "n.d." Reel 28).

[92]Griffen family, for which Griffen Park is named, was said to be part of the group who organized this detainment of the surviving members of Limpy's band.

[93]Huntington noted that the "expense and difficulty" of transporting supplies and personnel between the Willamette Valley and the coast was seen as a potential problem, and thus the Grand Ronde valley, in the eastern Coast Range, was added to the northeastern edge of the Coast Reservation (Huntington 1864: 106).

94Summarizing the development of the Grand Ronde reservation, a congressional report notes

"The Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community and their ancestors have resided in the Willamette Valley of Oregon for over two thousand years. Ancestors of many present day members of the Grand Ronde Confederated Tribes came from the Nehalem, Tillamook, Nestucca, and Salmon River people of the Pacific Coast just south of the Columbia River. Others came from the Umpqua and Rogue River bands of southwestern Oregon and northwestern California.

"Between 1853 and 1855, the descendants of these prehistoric people signed seven treaties with the

United States government, all ratified by the United States Senate. These treaties extinguished aboriginal title to all lands in present day Oregon located between the Pacific Coast and the Cascade Mountains. In return, President James Buchanan signed an Executive order to establish the Grand Ronde Reservation for members of the fourteen Western Oregon tribes who signed the treaties. The Grand Ronde Reservation originally consisted of 69,120 acres of land" (US Senate 1988: 1-2).

[95]It is interesting to note that homesickness following geographical displacement is a recurring theme in oral traditions that address the pre-contact past (T. Kroeber 1980: xxviii-xxix).

[96]Chief John was later eulogized and celebrated by Indian and non-Indians alike for his role in the War and the survival of his people after removal to Siletz:

"Of all the Pacific Coast Indians Chief John ranks as the ablest, most heroic and most tactical of chieftains. Our army officers in pursuit, and in fight with him all testify to his remarkable strategy, daring and dash...The career of Chief John, his exploits in war and surrender, his impatience and royal demeanor, when under military custody, on the reserve, his respect for and assumed equality with Lieutenant Phil. Sheridan, his custodian, in command, with the story of his enforced removal by ship to the California prison, and his attempted capture of the ship on the journey when opposite the mouth of Rogue River, all form a narrative of thrilling interest" (Hermann 1917: 67-68).

[97]Claims of the medicinal value of "the waters" flowing out of Oregon Caves were ubiquitous within writings regarding the monument in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As the travel magazine, The West Shore (1888: 31) suggested:

"Near the lower entrance flows a stream of ice-cold water, possessing medicinal qualities. This stream, called Logan creek [now Cave Creek], has its source in the caves, rushing out of the lower entrance."

While these accounts bear interesting parallels to American Indian views of water from such sources, this is consistent with European and Euro-American traditions and it appears unlikely that claims of "medicinal waters" were influenced by indigenous knowledge and belief.

[98]For a detailed recounting and analysis of this history, see the forthcoming administrative history of Oregon Caves National Monument by NPS Historian, Steve Mark.

[99]Some written accounts indicate that guns used in dowries for Indian women in the early 1850s were partially responsible for the well-armed Rogue Indian bands that posed such a threat to U.S. troops and militias during the battles of mid-decade (e.g. Daily Courier 1935: 1).

[100]Jerry Hall, Co-founder of the Confederated Tribes of the Lower Rogue, notes "My grandma thought she was Tututni — born and raised in Rogue River...She's reclassified as Karuk — her grandmother came from the Klamath River" (Eugene Weekly News 2002).

[101]Indeed, Atwood (1978: 3) asserts on the basis of oral history research:

"Almost all early residents on the Rogue River had Indian ancestry. When community pioneer histories flourished, and bankers, farmers and merchants had their biographies recorded, families with Indian heritage were ignored. Even recently, I heard people say without malice, "Oh, they were all Indians in there," with a finality that suggested there was little else to know."

[102]Travel between Williamsburg and Kerbyville was frequent, tied to dances, gambling opportunities, and other social events that linked the two communities - this travel was probably accomplished over former tribal trails, though it is impossible to confirm this point.

[103]In some cases, too, groups of men from large and proximate tribes, such as the Klamath, Modoc, or Yurok were reported in the area, often to the consternation of local settlers. In 1863, Oregon Sentinel articles mention Indians, probably Modoc, occasionally descending into Bear Valley and raiding settlers (see Oregon Sentinel 1863). Such actions intensified the call for a military presence in the Klamath Basin and the negotiation of a treaty that would place the tribes from east of the Cascades on a reservation. One year after this account, in 1864, the Klamath Tribes treaty was negotiated and signed, placing Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin Paiutes on the Klamath Reservation and severely restricting group travel to the Rogue Basin.

[104]This period of northern California tribal history is covered by such sources as Schulmeyer (1963).

[105]On the scope and nature of the Indian Shaker church, see Barnett (1957). On the nature of the Indian Shaker movement in far northern California, see Gould and Furkuwawa (1964).

This movement was arguably foreshadowed by the Ghost Dance movement that unified the tribes of the Klamath River and vicinity in the 1890s. As summarized by Mooney,

"The great underlying principle of the Ghost dance doctrine is that the time will come when the whole Indian race, living and dead, will be reunited upon a regenerated earth, to live a life of aboriginal happiness, forever free from death, disease, and misery. On this foundation each tribe has built a structure from its own mythology..." (Mooney 1965: 19).

This religious movement passed from tribe to tribe, originating with Paiute communities in Nevada and diffusing throughout the northern California and southern Oregon in the years that followed. Each tribe that received the Ghost Dance interpreted it somewhat differently, in light of their own pre-existing traditions, as well as the tone of their interaction with white communities. The Shasta recall:

"In the late 1890's and early 1900's, the Ghost Dance came through the area. The Paiute Tribal lead-

ers brought the dance into the area. The Chiefs and Head Men took the Ghost Dance to other parts of the Shasta's aboriginal lands. Charlie and Margaret Wicks took it to the Upper Klamath, Bogus, and Shovel Creek areas. Others took the Ghost Dance to the different reservations in Oregon" (Carpelan and Hall 2000: 13).

Accordingly, the Karuk report:

"The information obtained from the Karok, who live along the Klamath river from Happy Camp down to Orleans, is as follows: The dance was made in order that the dead might return. It originated in the east. The Karok obtained it from the Shasta. In Karok territory it was first held at Happy Camp" (Kroeber 1904: 32).

Though the Ghost Dance had largely disappeared in the early years of the 20th century, elements of the Ghost Dance can still be detected in some modern religious movements among tribes of the Klamath River basin. On the role of the Ghost Dance in California, see, e.g. Kroeber (1906, 1922: 316-20).

There is a diffuse literature on these treaties and their implications. See, e.g., Kappler 1904; Heizer 1972, Johnson 1966, California Department of Parks and Recreation 1987.

Consolidation of Shasta and Karuk communities appears to have been widespread during this period. Speaking in 1946, for example, Mary Ike reported to E.W. Gifford that "Some Karok moved to Scott's Valley in recent times, but it formerly belonged to the Scott's Valley Shasta" (Kroeber and Gifford 1980: 275).

The presence of a small Karuk population created unique challenges when the lands and resources of this large reservation were later subdivided between the Yurok and Hoopa Tribes under the 1988 Hoopa-Yurok Settlement Act (Underwood 2000).

Litigation continues to this day, sorting out the details of federal recognition and tribal claims that have emanated from the Tillie Hardwick, et al. v. United States, et al decision (Civil No. C-79-1710-SW [N.D. Cal. 1983]). Some of these efforts center on attempts to place certain lands into trust status for these tribes; lands have typically been purchased within areas of historical settlement.

The relationship between American Indian communities and the counterculture of the period has been addressed in a number of sources and summarizes by Brand (1988). The formation of multi-tribal communities specifically within the Siskiyou region, and the relationship of these communities with New Age, libertarian, and other non-Indian social movements in northern California has been treated by Salter (1981).

Zen teacher Eli Jaxton-Bear is the widely-publicized founder and spokesman of the Leela Foundation, "a non-profit organization dedicated to world peace and free-

dom through universal Self-realization" Born Elliot Jay Zeldow, he indicates that he acquired his new name as part of ceremonies undertaken with "magic mushrooms with a Mescalero Apache shaman" at nearby Thompson Creek, on the Applegate River, in the 1970s. Thompson Creek drains off the eastern flank of the Grayback Mountain massif, roughly 8 miles east of the Monument boundary. He jokingly refers to his roots as a member of the "psychedelic Jewish Indian tribe" based on this experience (Jaxton-Bear 2006).

The Siletz Constitution instead establishes general goals for the tribe that warrant mention here. As stated in the Constitution,

" We, the members of the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians of Oregon, being a federal Indian tribe and organized pursuant to the Act of November 18, 1977, 91 Stat. 1415, and the Act of June 18, 1934, 48 Stat. 984, hereby adopt this Constitution and establish our tribal government in order to:

(1) Continue forever, with the help of God, our unique identity as Indians and as the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians of Oregon, and to protect that identity from forces that threaten to diminish it;
(2) Protect our inherent rights as Indians and as a sovereign Indian tribe;
(3) Promote our cultural and religious beliefs and to pass them on in our own way to our children, grandchildren and grandchildren's children forever;
(4) Help our members achieve their highest potentials in education, physical and mental health and economic development;
(5) Maintain good relationships with other Indian tribes, the United States, the State of Oregon and local governments;
(6) Support the Government of the United States and encourage our members to be loyal citizens;
(7) Acquire, develop and conserve resources to achieve economic and social self-sufficiency for our tribe;
(8) Insure that our people shall live in peace and harmony among themselves and with all other peoples" (Confederated Tribes of Siletz 1994).

In recent years, the federally unrecognized Shasta Nation and the federally recognized Karuk Tribe have been at odds regarding the extent of their respective traditional lands, as well as the treaty basis for these claims. One common point of contention is that the Karuk used a number of legal reference points in their efforts to obtain federal recognition, including "Treaty R," the unratified treaty of November 1851 (see Appendix). The Shasta suggest that this treaty only applied to the Shasta and that it does not give the modern Karuk special status within territories mentioned in that treaty, including much of Siskiyou County, California. This debate has been intensified by the opportunity for Indian gaming.

Overviews of the use and significance of "prayer seats" among far northern California tribes can be found in Wylie (1976).

Some tribal members express concern that USFS resource managers often move in and out of positions with the area's National Forests, creating discontinuities in USFS-tribal relationships.

While the National Park Service played little role in facilitating this excavation, some interviewees viewed the NPS as being implicated in the effort - possibly due to the participation of NPS staff in public events surrounding this excavation or simply through a common conflation of the NPS and USFS in public discourse.

The Siskiyou Field Institute and Rogue Community College have partnered to purchase a ranch in the Illinois Valley near Selma and close to Deer Creek. The site consists of settlement areas as well as "ceremonial areas" that are believed by some to line the river in this area. The site is to be used as the planned "Illinois Valley Field and Research Station," and to serve as a base of operations for education and research activities in the Illinois Valley area, including the Kalmiopsis Wilderness. A portion of the former Deer Creek settlement site is apparently part of a ranch property that was recently purchased for use by the Siskiyou Field School. A product of the larger Siskiyou Regional Education Project, this Field School aims to provide students of southwestern Oregon with educational opportunities addressing regional ecology, history, and related themes. The Southern Oregon University's Native American Studies program is actively involved in this effort.

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A Karuk woman carries a burden basket, of the sort used by all tribes of the region to carry heavy loads. Sometimes these loads were carried over considerable distances along footpaths traversing the ridges of the Siskyiou divide. Siskiyou County Historical Society.