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People and the River:

A History of the Human Occupation of the Middle Course of the Rogue River of Southwestern Oregon Volume I

Kay Atwood, Dennis J, Grey



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As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering the wisest use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to assure that their development is in the best interest of all our people. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in Island Territories under U.S. administration.

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Front Cover: The picture is of Adeline Billings, a Karuk Indian woman who was the wife of one of the first miners and settlers in this area; she represents the bridge between the two cultures.

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PEOPLE AND THE RIVER:
A HISTORY OF THE HUMAN OCCUPATION OF
THE MIDDLE COURSE OF THE ROGUE RIVER OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON
Volume I

Prepared for
USDI-Bureau of Land Management
Grants Pass Resource Area
Medford, OR 97504
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Kay Atwood
Dennis J. Gray

1995

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PART I: The Indians and the River

Chapter II: Environment: The geology, topography, vegetation, floods, and especially the fisheries of the Rogue River have long influenced where humans have lived and the how they made their livings. Native Americans made homes and found sustenance on the broad terraces between the mouth of the Applegate River and Grave Creek. Falls and riffles provided good fishing at these locations, and there was easy access to staple vegetable crops in the valleys and foothills along the river. Further downriver, in the canyon below Grave Creek, only the occasional river terraces allowed them sufficient space and access to resources to maintain encampments.

For the Euro-American settlers, the broad terraces of the project area below the Applegate River provided the fertile soils and access to markets that were necessary for an agricultural economy. These same locales today still sustain agricultural activity and, increasingly, residential development. The mineral wealth of the river corridor drew miners to the region at an early date. Miners were less in need of open space than farmers; they settled where they could be near the minerals they mined. Small benches, rocky bars, or high terraces provided the necessary settlement prerequisites for the itinerant miner, as well as for the later corporate enterprises. For native and settler alike, the periodic floods provided reminders of the rivers force and the transitory nature of human endeavors.

Chapter III: Archaeological Methods, Theories, Issues:

Archaeology is the primary means of learning about the Indian history of the river corridor. Archaeologists have worked in this area for over twenty years, defining the local chronology and those issues which guide research. Sites along the river indicate human presence for at least 8,000 years, and possibly longer.

Within this long time period, the changes which occurred in southwestern Oregon Indian societies are a matter of on-going debate. The archaeological record suggests that there was both long-term cultural stability, as well as significant change. Small, mobile groups of people used the rivers' resources for thousands of years. At some point in time cultural practices changed, and a less mobile, more sedentary way of life emerged.

Today, there are significant research issues which guide archaeological work along the corridor. These issues include further describing the earlier and later ways of life, as well as explaining the causes for cultural change; understanding past climate and environmental changes and their effects on the people

who lived here; documenting the migration of new peoples into the area, especially those who came from the north, speaking Athapascan languages; and the resolution of technical issues specific to the area, such as the utility of stylistic dating.

Chapter IV: The Ethnographic Period. Based on accounts of native survivors, early anthropologists have sketchily described the Indian way of life at the time of contact with Euro-American settlers, in about 1850. With some caution, archaeologists can use these cultural descriptions to help explain the archaeological record.

At the time of contact, the Takelma, a Penutian-speaking people, resided in a territory that centered on the upper and middle stretches of the Rogue River. The principal villages of the Lowland Takelma were centered along the Rogue River, extending from the present-day town of Gold Hill downriver to perhaps Grave Creek. Athapascan-speaking peoples also inhabited portions of the river corridor and its tributaries, including the Applegate River and Galice Creek. Despite differences in language, the Takelma and the Athapascan groups shared many similarities in terms of material culture (i.e. tools, clothing, architecture, etc.) and subsistence economy.

The Takelma relied upon acorns, camas (a root crop), deer and elk, and fish, as well as a host of other plants and animals for food and materials. During the winter, they lived in permanent villages located at low elevations near rivers and streams. During the other months of the year, they would move to temporary camps in the surrounding uplands to hunt and to gather plants. The local village was the principal social and political unit, and wealth helped determine a person's status within the group. The religious and ceremonial aspects of life were not easily separated from daily tasks, and there was no great separation between the spiritual and the secular.

Chapter V: Native Americans and the River: Several major archeological sites along the Rogue River provide evidence of the long history of the Indian people in this region. This history is divided into four major time periods: the Paleo-Indian, from the time of documented entry into this area about 10,000 years ago until about 8,500 years ago; and the Archaic, which is divided into Early, Middle, and Late phases.

The earliest periods are only slightly known from archeological evidence. At Stratton Creek, a fragment of spearpoint may date from the Paleo-Indian period. Both Marial and Stratton Creek provide artifacts from the Early Archaic period, from about 8,500 to about 7,000 years ago. These scant archaeological traces indicate a way of life that was more mobile than later periods, with small groups of people moving themselves among various resources during the year.

The subsequent Middle Archaic period lasted some 5,000 years, until about 2,000 years ago. The sites of Marial and Stratton Creek document both the cultural stability of this period, as well as the increasing pace of change as the era closed. Throughout this era, both sites continued to function as seasonal base camps for hunting and processing game and for making and repairing stone tools, and to represent a mobile, foraging way of life.

Yet cultural change is also evident during the Middle Archaic. It may have been incremental at times, but by the end of this era the stage had been set for a rapid expansion into the more sedentary village way-of-life, with well defined cultural territories and intense utilization of resources. New technologies for processing and storing food were being refined during the Middle Archaic, and populations were increasing. Larger populations led to increased group cooperation and a more complex social structure; together with developing technologies, these changes laid the foundations for a new economic order.

Archaeologically, the beginning of the Late Archaic era in southwestern Oregon is marked by the advent of the bow and arrow approximately 2,000 years ago. The transition from the mobile, forager subsistence pattern to the more sedentary collector pattern intensified during the Late Archaic. Other cultural hallmarks of this era include expanded trade networks with both neighboring and distant groups, and societies in which social distinctions were increasingly marked by wealth.

Archaeological excavations, such as those at the Marthaller and Ritsch sites, stand out as clear examples of the Late Archaic way of life. There is a marked increase in the number and variety of tools, indicating more intensive resource use and longer periods of occupation at a given location. Fishing appears to be increasingly important, and sites reveal considerable heavy "furniture", such as milling and grinding stones, as well as substantial architecture. Clearly, these sites of the Late Archaic had become villages, in the sense that people spent substantial amounts of time at these locales and returned to them year after year.

The reasons for the change into the more sedentary pattern during the Late Archaic are not clear. Perhaps the best explanation to fit the data is the interaction of a variety of factors, including: the changing environmental conditions of the Middle Archaic that produced a more productive and predictable food supply in the river valleys by the beginning of the Late Archaic; a growing population that required an intensive utilization of resources within more restricted territories; the evolution of food processing and storage techniques, and of land management practices (e.g., field and forest burning); and

expanded contacts through trade with societies outside of the area.

The ethnographic way-of-life, documented for the period of contact with Euro-Americans, may have differed from that of earlier portions of the Late Archaic for several reasons. Prior to the full-scale invasion of the Indian's ancestral territory beginning in 1850, indirect Euro-American influences may have profoundly changed native economic and social patterns. For example, the effects of European diseases on Native American cultures have been well documented. Although no direct evidence exists for such epidemics in southwestern Oregon, they may well have occurred early on and significantly altered the structure of the native societies.

There are a number of sites along the river within the project boundaries that date to the Late Archaic. Of that number, a few can be directly associated with the ethnographic era. The sites of Yawa-kh, Sumulkh, and Talda'cdan all have direct, specific ethnographic references. Less well documented evidence, but none the less suggestive, exists for the association of the village of Da-ku-tee with the Marthaller site, or possibly the Ritsch site; and the village of Hat'onkh with the site recorded near Jump-Off Joe Creek.

Early conflicts between the Native Americans and the occasional fur trappers and traders who ventured through the region in the 1820's and 1830's set the tone for future relations between the two cultures. By 1850, settlers were beginning to enter the Rogue River region in increasing numbers to take up land. With the discovery of gold on Jackson Creek in late 1851, the trickle of immigrants turned into a torrent. Within the space of a few months, miners had stake claims throughout southwestern Oregon and boom towns had sprung up along the rivers and creeks. Increasingly, the Indians found themselves dispossessed from their ancestral lands.

Conflicts between the cultures escalated until warfare broke out in the Rogue Valley during the summer of 1853. In the following spring of 1856 the final engagements of the war were fought. Following surrender, those Indians who had survived war, privation, and disease were forced to face another trial, removal to a reservation. The early years at these new reservations were a continuation of the degradations and deprivations that had ravaged these traditional societies for the preceding decade. Here they were forced to live in an unfamiliar environment among people with different backgrounds and traditions, and suffered many privations.

The twentieth century has been a long struggle from the edge of extinction to the promise of a new era for descendants of the original inhabitants of the Rogue River. The members of the

Siletz and Grande Ronde fought back from the official termination of their tribal status in the 1950's to reclaim a portion of lands allotted to them in the nineteenth century. Today, tribal governments increasingly control their political and economic future, and they have developed programs to revive cultural traditions and to protect sites and landscapes of sacred value.

PART II: The Historic Era

The Rogue River's long story is about people who have sought its wealth, isolation and beauty for at least 8,000 years. The modern chapter of the stream's history begins early in the nineteenth century when Euro-Americans arrived in southwest Oregon for the first time. Chapter six reviews the section of river which extends between the Applegate River and Grave Creek, and Chapter Seven traces the history of the rugged stretch of river between Grave Creek and Mule Creek. Chapter Eight surveys the entire study area since World War II.

Chapter VI: Applegate River to Grave Creek: Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay Company chief trader, led an expedition of trappers into the Rogue River Valley in the spring of 1827. The first known explorer to journey through the region, Ogden's party was one of several trapping and exploring groups to traverse the area prior to a local mid-century gold discovery. Others included the U.S. Navy Exploring Expedition of 1841 and James Clyman in 1845. In 1846 the Applegate expedition passed through Southern Oregon while laying out the route of an emigrant road. These newcomers' activities directly conflicted with the subsistence living patterns of native peoples and within a few decades the ancient culture disintegrated as seasonal rhythms were broken forever.

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 brought Willamette Valley farmers-turned-miners south over the California-Oregon Trail into the Rogue country. Prospectors explored the Rogue River and its tributaries on their way south and following the 1851 gold discovery near Jacksonville miners swarmed over streams throughout the region. The abrupt influx of miners into the Rogue country devastated local Indian bands.

Indian Mary Park in Josephine County marks the location of a late 19th century inequity -- a sad injustice to people who had already forfeited everything. The land comprising the park once belonged to "Umpqua Joe" who operated a ferry near the site. He was allowed to remain on his land following removal of other Indian peoples as a reward for warning Galice miners of an impending Indian attack. After Joe's death in 1886, his daughter, Mary, who had been born on the land about 1856, received a grant with homestead rights from the federal government. Following her death, however, local authorities determined that she had no title to the land and her heirs were

not recognized. This action constituted the last local instance in which an Indian land-holding passed to Euro-American hands.

After Indians were removed from the Rogue country in 1856, the region was fully opened to miners and farmers. Mining developed at a steady pace along the Rogue as important gold discoveries were made. Rich sites were found in bench gravels in the vicinity of Pickett Creek, Hellgate Canyon, and Galice and by the end of the nineteenth century extensive hydraulic mines operated at several locations along the river.

The Flanagan Mine, located on the west bank of the Rogue River about one mile upriver from Robertson Bridge, exemplifies large hydraulic mining operations. Consisting of about 200 acres, the Flanagan Mine site includes several mining faces, a large area of tailings and the partial remains of water ditches.

Another long-active mine site, the **Robert Dean Placer Mine**, was established on September 8, 1900 by Lydia Dean and H.A. Corliss on the right bank of the river near Rand. By 1910 the claim included one and three-quarters miles of ditch, a reservoir, hydraulic giant and pipe, two cabins and six placer excavations. The mine was run by Dean family members until 1940.

The Almeda Mine, just below the mouth of Grave Creek, was one of the most extensively developed mines in southwestern Oregon, with large quantities of copper, gold, silver, lead and zinc extracted from nearly one and one half miles of underground workings. During its principal period of operation between 1905 and 1916, production at the Almeda Mine was valued at more than a hundred thousand dollars. Financial difficulties forced closure of the mine in 1917.

On the heels of the miners came the farmers. The Donation Land Claim Act, passed by Congress in 1850, offered settlers free, farmable land. In its amended form, the act promised 320 acres of land to a married couple and 160 acres to a single person if they would reside on the property and construct improvements within a proscribed time. Several families chose land along the Rogue River between the mouth of the Applegate River and Pickett Creek and near the present site of Robertson Bridge.

By 1875, farms were well established at Taylor Creek, at the mouth of Jump-off Joe Creek, at Shan Creek, Limpy Creek, and Dutcher Creek. After 1883 and the railroad's arrival at Grants Pass, permanent settlement increased steadily. By 1900 houses, barns, fences and roads characterized the gently rolling land along the Rogue from the Applegate River to Pickett Creek.

Several floods affected residents along the Rogue during the last half of the nineteenth century. During the winters of 1861

and 1890 particularly severe floods inundated fields along the river plain west of present Grants Pass and destroyed improvements, crops and roads from the Applegate to Jumpoff Joe Creek.

By the early 20th century a rapidly improving road system and increased auto travel combined to make the canyon more accessible to tourists. Soon the beauty of the Rogue Canyon was broadly recognized as visitors explored the back country. Zane Grey, writer-adventurer who publicized the river's wild beauty, brought wide recognition to the river with the publication in 1924 of Rogue River Feud, and in 1928 with his personal account, Tales of Fresh Water Fishing.

During the 1920's and 1930's fishing lodges appeared in the Rogue Canyon and adjacent areas. Some of the best quarters could be found at "**Speed's Place on the Rogue.**" This attractive, rustic lodge was developed in 1928 near Galice at the former Galice Consolidated Mine headquarters and remained open for several years.

The Depression brought difficult times to the Rogue River Canyon. Residents mined, cut wood and grew their own food to survive. In 1933 the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) opened a camp near the forest guard station at Rand in 1933. The Corps, organized to provide work for citizens needing economic assistance, substantially improved transportation and communication. Under supervision of the U.S. Forest Service, the crews built miles of truck trails, fought fire, and built bridges within the remote reaches of the river canyon. Most CCC men left the area by 1941 to serve in World War II.

Chapter VII: Grave Creek to Mule Creek: Along the stretch of river between Grave Creek and Mule Creek, miners freely roamed the Rogue Canyon after the removal of native peoples in 1856. Men and equipment were scattered along Grave Creek, Whisky Creek, and China Gulch. Only a few men, however, lived permanently in the Canyon during the 1860's and early 1870's. The few small terraces above the river were just wide enough to hold a shelter and equipment and most of the miners moved frequently. Chinese miners worked many locations in the Rogue Canyon after 1855 and continued to work placer deposits on river terraces long after Euro-Americans had extracted the more easily mined gold.

About 1880, placer miners who had settled in for a season about three miles downriver from Grave Creek, planned a sturdy, permanent dwelling. They selected a site for their cabin on Whisky Creek about 1000 feet above the river and began construction of a twenty-by-twenty foot residence. This dwelling, known now as the **Whisky Creek Cabin**, housed a succession of miners for almost seventy-five years. While flood, fire and

demolition have eliminated most dwellings in the Rogue River Canyon, the Whisky Creek Cabin remains a distinct, rare resource.

Large-scale hydraulic mining increased near Mule Creek when the Red River Gold Mining and Milling Company, an Indiana based corporation, purchased several claims at the mouth of Mule Creek in 1906. The company operated for six years before closing in 1912. The impact of early twentieth century hydraulic operations is still evident in the Rogue corridor in huge piles of mine tailings, ditch remainders, and scattered lumber left from improvements and wooden flumes.

Hardrock or lode mining, which had begun in both the Galice district and the Mule Creek district before 1900, developed rapidly after 1900. Lode mining, like hydraulic mining, required substantial capital and frequently demanded the backing of corporate groups. Processing ore from lode mines required that it be drilled or blasted from the vein, loaded into cars and taken to the surface.

Although placer and lode mining continued through the 1920's, the Depression brought an influx of people into the Canyon. As other sources of income declined these newcomers were enticed by an increase in the gold price in 1934 and the chance to carve out a subsistence living in the Rogue Canyon. Men such as J.C. ("Red") Keller and Lou Martin spent years working river crevices and bars.

World War II brought an end to most of the subsistence living created by the depression era miners. The sale of gold was halted in 1942 and military service or job opportunities in war-related industries took many of the younger men away. Most never returned to the Rogue to live. In the years following the war tourism increased as anglers, hikers and boaters flocked to the river.

People who settled on the few accessible places in the Rogue River Canyon were isolated from the rest of the world, but not from each other. They worked long, hard, bone-wearying hours and most of their energy was spent acquiring food, shelter, and clothing. These people survived with very little money in a "subsistence" economy, in which they grew, hunted, fashioned or bartered for the bare necessities of life.

The gently sloping land near the mouth of Mule Creek had supported people intermittently for thousands of years. Here the Billings family established a ranch and a community where, isolated by the rugged terrain and unnavigable river, they and other residents exploited the resources around them, including fish, game, fuel and gold. These families raised their own stock and food, crafted most of their own tools, and traded or bartered for what they could not manufacture. In 1883 the Oregon and

California Railroad construction reached a point on the West Fork of Cow Creek, offering a closer and more convenient supply point for residents along the Rogue River and through the surrounding hills.

George Billings, whose mother, Adeline, was a Karuk Indian, was eligible for a homestead allotment, and in 1895 settled permanently at Mule Creek. About 1900 he built a larger home using lumber milled from trees cut from his land. Completed about 1903, the residence stands on what is now known as the **Rogue River Ranch**. In 1908 the Billings family built a large barn to house pack mules and equipment. Parties, elections and church services were held for the family and neighbors on the upper floor of the barn.

In 1931 George Billings sold the ranch to Stanley Anderson, a Hollywood businessman. The new owner enlarged the house, added a caretaker's residence, bunkhouse, tackhouse, woodshed, storage shed, and restored a blacksmith shop. In 1970 the entire two-hundred acre parcel was sold to the U.S. Government under the National Wild and Scenic Rivers program.

Chapter VIII: Postwar to Recent Years (1945-1995): After World War II, the Rogue between the Applegate River and Mule Creek changed in important ways. Upriver, large farms were divided into smaller parcels and road construction made transportation easier within the settled areas. In the Rogue Canyon, Civilian Conservation Corps roads allowed new access to previously isolated areas and trucks replaced the pack trains. Galice gradually developed into a supply point for fishing, boating, and rafting groups. At Marial, older members of the large Billings clan died in the years following the war. The post office at Marial closed in 1954. Now anglers, boaters and hikers visited the canyon each season and lodges flourished at Black Bar and Marial.

As the tourist business increased, interest rose in making river passage easier. Although excellent boatmen had maneuvered the difficult rapids and tumultuous water through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several rocky locations formed difficult barriers. Following World War II, Glen Wooldridge combined his skill at boatbuilding and the use of dynamite to open the Rogue to traffic by increasing the blasting activities which had extended over decades. Gradually the river was fully opened to commercial fishing and raft trips.

Floods continued to occasionally cause serious damage along the Rogue. Flows were high enough during the major flood years of 1955, 1964 and 1974 to destroy bridges, roads, built improvements and to inundate agricultural lands and stream courses. The completion of dams at Lost Creek on the upper Rogue and on the upper Applegate River, have greatly reduced the

chances of major floods on the middle and lower portions of the Rogue. While protecting soil and improvements, the dams have also dramatically altered the river's ecological balance.

Following World War II, the U.S. government took a new role in overseeing human uses of the Rogue River Canyon. A federal agency had been present in the canyon since the creation of the U.S. Forest Service in 1906. By 1920 there were two Forest Service Guard stations within the river canyon, one at Whisky Creek and one between Meadow Creek and Horseshoe Bend. Fire detection and trail construction were major tasks assigned to the Forest Service.

The Bureau of Land Management, established in 1946 out of the Department of the Interior, took over administration of non-National Forest timber lands within the watershed in the late 1940's and assumed responsibility for managing the river corridor. The Wild and Scenic River Act was passed in 1968 and the Rogue was subsequently listed. In order to restore the canyon to natural conditions the agency began identifying mining claims and cabins which were illegally held. Most of these dwellings stood on mining claims and were used as vacation homes. Cited under "illegal trespass," title to these lands was purchased or claimed from owners. In 1995 few, if any, of these structures were left along the river.

The Wild and Scenic River designation of the river was assigned between the mouth of the Applegate and Marial, on Mule Creek in Curry County and this portion of the river corridor was placed under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Land Management. The segment was divided into two designations for management purposes; Recreational and Wild. The Recreational section of the Rogue extends from the mouth of the Applegate River to Grave Creek. The Wild section begins at Grave Creek and continues to Watson Creek, a distance of thirty-two miles. (Bureau of Land Management responsibility ends at Mule Creek.)

The Rogue's national reputation as an excellent salmon and steelhead fishing stream, as well as a river with outstanding white water boating and rafting opportunities, brings thousands of visitors each year. Fishing, float trips, camping, hiking, picnicking, swimming and sightseeing are all enjoyed within an area of great natural beauty.

The Rogue River's story has evolved over thousands of years. For centuries prior to 1820 native peoples adapted successfully to their environment. With Euro-American occupation came the destruction of the sites used by Indians for subsistence activities. The qualities that drew people to the area centuries ago continued to attract. Although the modern period reflects only a moment in history, the ways in which we use and care for

the Rogue will determine what remains for future generations who are drawn to its banks for sustenance or seclusion.

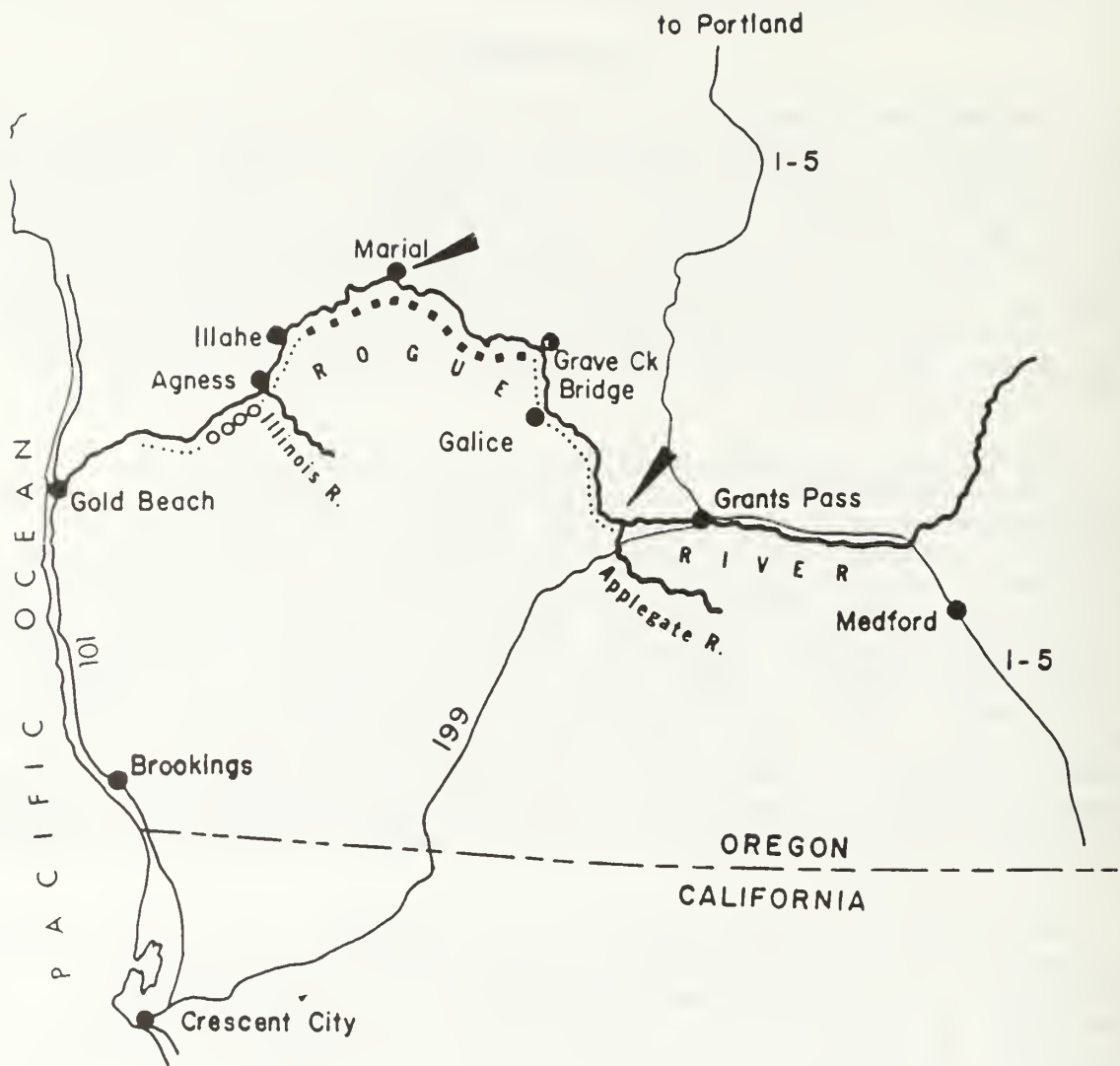
PART I: THE INDIANS AND THE RIVER

I. INTRODUCTION

The Medford District of the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) contracted with Cascade Research of Ashland, Oregon, in September 1994 to summarize the history and prehistory of the BLM managed Wild and Recreational section of the middle course of the Rogue River. This overview is the third and concluding phase of a study of cultural resources undertaken by the BLM and Cascade Research. Previous studies have focused on a review of documents and literature concerning the history and archaeology of the study area, and the field recording of a sample of sites that exist along the river.

The purpose of this overview is to synthesize the information generated in the two previous studies and to place the documented cultural resources along the river into an historical context that links human activity with the natural environment of the Rogue River over the past 10,000 years. This study is directed to the broad themes of economic, social, and technological change. When feasible and appropriate the focus has been narrowed to individuals, specific sites, or isolated events, which serve to illustrate a particular way of life or an era of time. It is the intent of the authors to provide the managers of public lands with a document that will be of use for future planning, as well as to inform those who have an interest in history of the cultures and people who have called the Rogue River their home.

The study area specified in the contract, 46.5 miles along the Rogue River in southwestern Oregon, extends from the confluence of the Rogue and Applegate rivers (approximately five miles west of the city of Grants Pass in Josephine County) to the settlement of Marial at Mule Creek in Curry County 48.5 miles inland from the Pacific coast (Figure 1). The boundaries of the Wild and Scenic River designation (generally one-quarter mile on either side of the river) also bound the current study area. This portion of the Rogue River is divided into two designations for management purposes: Recreational and Wild. The Recreational section of the Rogue River is the portion that is readily accessible by road or railroad and may have some development along the shoreline (Purdom 1977). The Recreational section of the river managed by the BLM (termed Hellgate Recreation Area) extends from the mouth of the Applegate River to Grave Creek (27 miles). The Wild section of the Rogue (defined as free of impoundments and generally accessible only by trail, with shorelines essentially primitive and water unpolluted [Purdom 1977]) begins at Grave Creek and continues to Watson Creek, a distance of 32 miles. However, the Bureau of Land Management's jurisdiction of the Wild section of the Rogue River only extends to Mule Creek, approximately 19.5 miles downriver from Grave Creek.



LEGEND

- ■ ■ ■ Wild River
- ○ ○ ○ Scenic River
- Recreational River

Figure 1 Project Location Map (After Purdom 1977)

II. ENVIRONMENT

Introduction

Environmental knowledge is crucial to understanding the forces that determined where people lived and how they made their living, as well as the economic developments that have affected the land along the Rogue River. The availability of mineral resources, the variety of plants, the abundance of wildlife, the constraints of the terrain and the climate, and the power of the river itself all influenced the location and duration of human occupation along the river's shore.

The Rogue River begins its journey to the Pacific Ocean at Boundary Springs within Crater Lake National Park on the western slope of the High Cascades at an elevation of approximately 5,260 feet above mean sea level. From its headwaters, the Rogue flows generally southwest to the broad Rogue River Valley near the City of Medford at an elevation of about 1,300 feet. At this point the river gradient flattens and the river only drops 500 feet in elevation over the next 40 miles to the town of Galice. Five miles west of Grants Pass, the Applegate River joins the Rogue and it shortly turns to the northwest toward Galice, approximately 20 miles downriver. Six miles north and downriver of Galice the river is joined by Grave Creek where the Wild section of the river begins. From this point (approximately 700 feet above sea level) the river makes a sharp bend to the west; first to the northwest and then to the southwest before emptying into the Pacific Ocean (Purdom 1977).

Topography and Vegetation

The section of the Rogue River managed by the Bureau of Land Management encompasses a variety of geologic formations, vegetation regimes, and geographic landforms that add to the complexity of human settlement patterns within the boundaries of the project area. From the mouth of the Applegate River, at the upriver boundary of the project area, to the Hellgate Canyon area, the valley formed by the river is generally more broad and open than further downriver, although there is rugged terrain and narrow canyons in this section of the river as well. The broad river terraces along this upper, drier stretch of the Rogue River support a vegetation regime dominated by oak woodlands, Pacific madrone, and manzanita. Mixed evergreen and conifer overstory (e.g., big-leaf maple, Pacific madrone, black cottonwood, ponderosa pine, and Douglas-fir) are interspersed with the oak woodlands (white oak, black oak, and canyon live oak) on the north facing slopes of the more mountainous sections along the river; dense riparian vegetation is common along the shoreline. Below Galice, on the Wild Section of the river within the Rogue River Canyon, the terrain is steeper with only occasional large terraces. Although the forest species are similar, aspect is a

more significant factor along this part of the river; the north facing slopes are dominated by a mixed conifer forest, where the drier, southern aspect terrain supports more drought tolerant overstory species (e.g., oak and Pacific madrone) (Purdom 1977).

Geology

Gold-bearing geologic formations are present within much of the project area. The remains of extensive hydraulic placer mines in the Recreational Section of the river, as well as lode mines in the Galice-Alameda area attest to the fact. Only in the Wild Section of the river between Horseshoe Bend and Marial, within the Dothan Geologic Formation, are gold deposits absent (Purdom 1977). The only gold found in this area comes from gold-bearing gravel washed down from lode deposits further upriver. The geology of the area is complex and has influenced the course of the river and its gradient, as well as areas of human settlement. (For a detailed description of the geologic history of the Rogue River, see Purdom 1977).

Fauna

The Rogue River is home to a variety of wildlife. Black-tail deer, black bear (also formerly grizzly bear), elk, cougar, as well as smaller mammals such as squirrels, chipmunks, raccoons, weasels, skunks, and mice inhabit the forest and valleys along the river. A number of amphibians and reptiles, including salamanders, newts, frogs, lizards, and pond turtles dwell along the river's edge. Significant bird species found within the project area include ospreys, blue herons, ducks, bald eagles, woodpeckers, grouse, and quail (Purdom 1977).

Outside of the gold-bearing formations found along the Rogue River, the presence of anadromous fish (steelhead trout and salmon) have had the greatest effect on the human use and occupation of the Rogue River region. From a primary, dependable source of protein for prehistoric inhabitants to a tourist industry in the twentieth century, salmon have supported and encouraged the settlement and use of the river by a wide variety of people.

How far back in time Native American people utilized this riverine resource is an unsolved question, although the numerous village sites located on bars and terraces near riffles and falls along the river suggests a long history of dependance on this food source. The history of the modern recreational boom on the Rogue River can also be attributed to the once prolific anadromous fish runs. Floating the Rogue River originated (as did the construction of lodges along the river) in response to the demand of anglers. Indian village and fishing sites, recreational summer homes and commercial lodges, and transient

use of the river all have been predicated upon the fisheries of the Rogue River.

Climate

The climate of southwestern Oregon has not been static. During the Holocene (the past 10,000 years) shifts in temperature and precipitation affected the type and extent of vegetation, the viability of stream and river flows, fish and animal populations, and human access to higher elevations. Although direct evidence of the past climate and environment is lacking for southwestern Oregon, the broad patterns of climate change experienced throughout the American West can serve as a model. In general, at the beginning of the Holocene, temperatures were rising and the climate was warmer and drier than today. This trend continued until sometime after 6,000 years ago, when wetter and cooler conditions began to appear. During the past few thousand years modern climate patterns and vegetation regimes have prevailed. However, during this period the environmental forces have not been constant. Fluctuating cycles of drier or wetter conditions, varying in duration, characterize the modern climate pattern.

The effects of a prolonged drought over thousands of years during the early part of the Holocene in southwestern Oregon would have created differences in the environment from what we know today. Since early inhabitants were closely linked to the existing environment, these differences affected their way-of-life. Warmer temperatures and less precipitation than today, for example, would have promoted the spread of the oak/chaparral grasslands of the interior valleys towards higher elevations, and may have affected the quantity and predictability of a staple food, acorns. Other Native American staple food supplies (e.g., camas) may have been restricted to higher, more moist elevations (Hannon 1992). Lower snowpack levels and resulting runoff could have affected both the number of seasonal anadromous fish runs (salmon and steelhead trout), as well as their distribution. Spencer (1991) postulates that lower stream flows in the spring and summer would have made steep stream gradients and low falls effective barriers to migrating fish, restricting their inland range. Warmer stream water temperatures would also have limited fish populations. Thus, the only dependable major fish run may have occurred only during the winter, and might not have reached as far inland as historic fish migrations.

This long period of drier and warmer conditions in southwestern Oregon began to change at some point in the mid Holocene. The onset of wetter, cooler conditions gradually changed vegetation patterns, as well as the quantity and distribution of game animals and migrating fish. For example, higher year-round stream flows would have benefitted migrating fish populations, and the harsher winters would have driven many

game animals to the lower valleys. The longer winters and heavier snowpack restricted use of the higher elevations by native peoples to a shorter part of the year. Increased precipitation made for a more abundant and predictable acorn crop, as well as allowing camas to spread to moist areas in lower elevations. These changes from dry to moist conditions in southwestern Oregon may have made the low elevation, interior valleys more attractive for human settlement; more resources were now available on a predictable basis. These environmental conditions became the basis for increased human use of the study area.

The present-day climate along the Rogue River, although subject to cyclical fluctuations, can be generally characterized as having mild, wet winters and hot dry summers, making year-around settlement possible throughout most of the project area. Rainfall is greatest along that portion of the river closest to the coast. Rainfall at Illahe (about 18 miles downriver from Marial) averages 80 inches of rain per year, while at Grants Pass only 26 inches are received annually (Purdom 1977). Most of the precipitation falls in the winter months. Light snowfall is not uncommon within the project area, and heavy snows occasionally occur. Considerable fluctuation in annual temperatures and precipitation is predictable.

Floods

Periodic flooding within the Rogue River basin has had devastating consequences on the cultural environment. The rare combination of a warm southwesterly storm system with several inches of rain and an existing snowpack has, at times, produced a massive melt and runoff causing major floods along the Rogue River and its principal tributaries (Highsmith 1979). High water has occurred frequently on the Rogue through the years, and indications are that floods similar to modern ones occurred historically.

Accumulated snow in December, 1852, subsequent warming weather and heavy rains in January, 1853 combined to cause severe flooding in the Bear Creek Valley and along the Rogue River in what is now Josephine county. In March, 1859 the Rogue River and other southwestern Oregon streams swelled following severe rains and "caused a flood in almost all streams" (Crescent City Herald 1858). The flood of December 1861 was the largest flood of record on the Rogue River. In that year severe flooding inundated fields along the Rogue River plain west of Grants Pass and destroyed improvements and crops along the Rogue River in the agricultural section from the Applegate River to the mouth of Jump-Off Joe Creek. Major floods of record also occurred in 1890, 1927, 1955, 1964, and 1974. Less severe flooding--though still causing major damage--took place in 1864, 1881, 1893, and 1903.

River flows were high enough during these major flood years to destroy bridges, roads, built improvements, mining structures, and to inundate agricultural lands and stream courses. No written record exists of flood impact on human improvements, soil, vegetation, or aquatic life before Euro-American settlement and development, although certainly catastrophic one-hundred year floods occurred then, as in the recent past. These periodic floods either deposited layers of silt and sand over the sites of Native American encampments preserving them for future archaeological investigation, or alternatively, eroded the cut banks and terraces along the river, sweeping the cultural remains of centuries downriver to the sea.

The construction of dams in the 1970's at Lost Creek on the upper Rogue River and on the upper Applegate River have greatly reduced the chances of major flooding episodes along the middle and lower portions of the Rogue River, although not without a cost to the ecological balance of the river. Periodic flooding helps to cleanse the gravel that serves as spawning grounds for anadromous fish, as well as thinning out the riparian vegetation along the river shore (Purdom 1977). From a culture history point-of-view, the lessening of flood action may well serve to protect fragile archaeological sites from further erosional damage or from burial under sands and silts deposited in areas of slack water.

The forms, forces, and fluctuations of nature have influenced human occupation along the shores of the Rogue River for thousands of years. From the broad open valleys on the upper reach of the project area, to the narrow river canyon below Grave Creek, the river, the underlying geologic formations, the topography and natural vegetation, and perhaps most important, the fisheries of the Rogue River, have affected where humans have lived (settlement patterns) and the means by which they sustained themselves (subsistence patterns). From the mouth of the Applegate River to Grave Creek the broad terraces located by falls and riffles near good fishing, with access to staple vegetable crops in the valleys and foothills of the Rogue River Valley, provided the most favorable settlement habitat for the Native American way-of-life. Only the occasional riverside terrace further downriver in the canyon allowed them sufficient space and access to resources to maintain encampments.

For the Euro-American settlers, the broad terraces of the upper reach of the project area below the Applegate River provided the fertile soils and access to markets that were necessary for an agricultural economy. These same locales today continue to sustain agricultural activity and, increasingly, residential development. Miners were less in need of open space. They settled where they could near the source of their subsistence, gold. Small benches, rocky bars, or high terraces provided the necessary settlement prerequisites for the itinerant

miner, as well as for the later corporate enterprises. In recent decades the secluded cabins and small settlements of gold miners have yielded to supply centers, fishing lodges, and campgrounds of the modern recreational era. The force and power of the river has been altered in modern times. Dams no longer allow periodic floods to devastate the works of a society or to restore the river's natural balance. Although our industrial society has partially tamed the force of the river, the environment will continue to influence human occupation and use of the area in the future, as it has for past ten thousand years.

III. ARCHAEOLOGICAL METHODS, THEORIES, AND ISSUES

Introduction

The portion of the Rogue River within the current study area is centered within a larger geographical area stretching from the Pacific Ocean on the west to the High Cascades in the east, and from the Klamath River in northern California to the Umpqua River basin situated to the north. Throughout history, the native people of this region have shared a similar environment and culture history. Prior to examining the specifics of the history of the project area a brief review of archaeological methods, and the current theories and issues regarding the lifeways of the native inhabitants of the region and how they may have changed over time, will provide the necessary context to evaluate the archaeological remains and ethnographic record along the Rogue River.

Archaeological Methods

What little is known of the lifeways and economic systems of the people of southwestern Oregon during the 10,000 years of the Archaic period is derived from archaeological investigations, climate and environmental models, and extrapolations from ethnographic and historic records. All of these sources suffer from a lack data. Only in the past few decades has sufficient archaeological information been generated to even begin to assess the culture changes that have occurred since the beginning of human occupation of the region. The further removed in time from the present, the more difficult it is to document and characterize the way-of-life. However, in recent years the pace of archaeological research in southwestern Oregon has increased dramatically, to the point where the broad outlines of the past have emerged from the shadows.

One of the first tasks of archaeologists in any region is to develop a chronology. Archaeologists must sort through the remains of vanished peoples and make sense of the stylistic and functional changes in their tools over time. Only when archaeological sites within a region have been firmly dated can the more complex process of reconstructing a picture of past lifeways be undertaken. Developing a cultural chronology for southwestern Oregon has been a primary goal of many investigators over the course of the past sixty years.

Several techniques are available for establishing the dates of archaeological sites along the river, and identifying the artifacts associated with specific time periods. These include stratigraphy, radiocarbon dating, cross-comparison of stylistically-dated artifacts, and obsidian hydration analysis. These dating methods are briefly described below.

Stratigraphy: This is the relatively simple principal that older artifacts will be recovered from an archaeological site at a greater depth (or level) than younger artifacts. Much of the energy that archaeologists spend in excavating a site is based on this technique. Careful excavation of archaeological sites can often determine the original relative position of artifacts, and hence, the chronological relationship among them. Once stratigraphic layers are determined, the relative age of artifacts associated with them is apparent. In southwestern Oregon, however, stratified sites are the exception rather than the rule. There are many natural agents, such as borrowing rodents, that change or modify the cultural deposits in the ground. Determining the absolute dates of artifacts, or groups of artifacts, requires one of the other dating techniques described below.

Radiocarbon dating: Radiocarbon dating measures the rate of decay of an isotope of carbon (C-14) that is present in all living organisms. When a plant or animal dies, the C-14 present in the organism begins to decay. This rate of decay can be measured, thus dating the death of the organism in absolute terms. Bone, shell, and plant materials (e.g., charcoal from a fire hearth) that are directly connected with archaeological artifacts or deposits are collected during the excavation of a site. Analyzed C-14 samples are used to date the stratigraphic levels within a site, as well as the artifacts associated with those levels. Radiocarbon dating is the most reliable technique archaeologists have for dating artifacts and sites. In southwestern Oregon, however, the seasonal cycle of winter moisture and summer heat promotes the rapid decay of most organic materials. As a result, many sites do not have materials suitable for radiocarbon dating.

Artifact cross-comparison: This is a dating technique that builds on the absolute dates generated by radiocarbon analysis. Once a distinctive style of artifact (e.g., a particular projectile point¹ style), or groups of artifacts (known as an artifact assemblage), have been dated at a number of sites within a region, a similar artifact or artifact assemblage discovered in a context devoid of either stratigraphic relationships or radiocarbon dating potential can be dated to the same era based on stylistic

¹ Projectile point is the generic term for chipped-stone artifacts used to tip an arrow, dart, or spear. Archaeologists distinguish arrow points from dart or spear points by the overall size and weight of the artifact, as well as by the width of the hafting element (i.e., the portion of the point that was attached to the shaft).

similarities. A good example is the Clovis spear point of the Paleo-Indian era. A number of these distinctive projectile points have been recovered in the southwestern United States associated with radiocarbon dates of between 10,500 and 11,500 BP. Thus, the isolated finds of stylistically similar Clovis points in Oregon are assumed to date from the same time period.

The use of artifact cross-comparisons has played a major role in the development of the chronology of southwestern Oregon due to the lack of well-stratified sites and the paucity of radiocarbon dates. However, as we shall see, this heavy reliance on the artifact cross-comparison dating technique within the region may have obscured the complexity of the archaeological record in southwestern Oregon.

Obsidian Hydration: When obsidian² is broken or flaked, which happens during the manufacture of stone tools, a fresh surface of the stone is exposed and water then begins to be absorbed into the exposed surface. This absorption of water (hydration) creates a rim or band on the surface of obsidian that can be detected under high-powered magnification. The longer the surface has been exposed, the thicker the hydration rim. In order to measure the thickness of the hydration rim, a small section of an obsidian artifact is cut, removed, and ground to a thickness of between 30 and 50 microns³, and then the hydration rim is viewed and measured under powerful magnification. There are factors (not all of which are completely understood) that affect the rate of hydration. The two principle factors affecting hydration are the original source of the material and the average annual temperature of the location where the artifact has been deposited. Because different kinds of obsidian hydrate at different rates, knowing the original source location is critical for accurate comparison. Chemical analysis of obsidian can accurately determine where the material originated. Although hydration rates have been used principally as a relative dating tool, recent work (e.g., in the Elk Creek drainage on the upper Rogue River [Nilsson and Kelly 1991] and in northeastern California's Medicine Lake Highlands to the south [Cassidy 1992]) has

² Obsidian is a volcanic glass favored by Native Americans for making chipped-stone tools due to its flaking qualities and the resulting sharp edges produced. The nearest sources of obsidian are located in eastern and central Oregon and northeastern California.

³ A micron is a millionth part of a meter (39.37 inches).

produced absolute chronologies that appear consistent with other means of dating archaeological sites.

Prior to examining some of the current theories regarding chronology and culture change in southwestern Oregon, one final technique of value to archaeologists needs to be examined: the ethnographic analogy. Ethnography is the study of the culture of a community or a group. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, anthropologists began efforts to reconstruct the lifeways of the Indian peoples as they existed prior to the arrival of Euro-Americans. Added to this systematic study of the Indian cultures of the region are the historical observations, diaries, and notes of early explorers and settlers who recorded fragments of the native peoples' way-of-life. Both the ethnographic records and the historical accounts relating to Native Americans of the region have been synthesized in recent years (Gray 1987 and LaLande 1990). These ethnographic and historical accounts provide archaeologists with a valuable tool; a glimpse of the way-of-life prior to the intrusion of western culture. A discussion of the ethnographic lifeways of the Indians of the region is presented in Chapter IV.

Regional Cultural and Chronological Models

The archaeologically accepted date for human entry into the Pacific Northwest is at the end of the last Ice Age between 12,000 and 14,000 years ago. A radiocarbon (C-14) date of 13,200 BP (Before Present) was obtained from cultural deposits at Fort Rock Cave in central Oregon. By 11,500 BP small groups of people had spread across the continent pursuing the herds of large game that inhabited North America in the moist, post-glacial environment. These highly nomadic, big-game hunters, known as Paleo-Indians, used a distinctive style of spear point named for the small town of Clovis, New Mexico near where they were first discovered. These large, finely made Clovis spear points have been found associated with large mammal species (megafauna), such as mammoth, horse, camel, and giant bison that once roamed the continent. Isolated Clovis points (although not associated with megafauna) have been reported in southern Oregon from near Roseburg, Butte Falls, Hyatt Lake, and the Oregon-California border, confirming the presence of Paleo-Indians in the region during this early period.

With the warming of the climate in the post-glacial period and the resulting change in vegetation, as well as the extinction of large animal species, the nomadic, big-game hunting way of life of the Paleo-Indians gradually shifted to a more broad-based hunting and gathering existence that archaeologists term the Archaic period. The Archaic way-of-life, which began around 10,500 BP, lasted (in the Pacific Northwest) until contact with Euro-Americans in the nineteenth century. The economy of this period was based on a wide variety of plant, animal, and fish

resources. New techniques for gathering, processing, and storing foods were developed over the span of the Archaic era, as were new technologies in weapon systems. Settlement patterns, domestic architecture, social structures, and land management practices reflected the changes in the natural environment and the pressures of a steadily increasing population.

Within this generalized historical framework, the changes that occurred in southwestern Oregon Indian societies are a matter of on-going debate. The lack of data in the region concerning the Paleo-Indian era allows little room for disagreement. The generalized, nomadic hunting patterns documented elsewhere across North America are assumed by most researchers to have applied to southwestern Oregon as well. It is for the long span of the Archaic era, from perhaps 10,500 BP to the contact with Euro-Americans (ca. 1830-1850) that differing models have been developed to explain the changes in population, land use patterns, social organization, food resource utilization, and technological developments. The following discussion focuses on three different interpretations of the archaeological record in southwestern Oregon during the Archaic era.

Region-Wide Cultural Patterns: This model of the archaeological record for southwestern Oregon and northern California was first proposed by Thomas Connolly (1986) to explain what he saw as both consistency and change in artifact assemblages across the region for the past 9,000 years. Connolly examined artifacts from a number of sites located from the Pacific coast to the foothills of the Cascades, and from the Umpqua River in Oregon to the Klamath River basin in California. Based on this analysis, he proposes three different patterns in southwestern Oregon representing two distinct ways of life.

The oldest and longest lasting of these patterns, deemed the Glade Tradition, was defined on the basis of an artifact assemblage composed of broad-necked projectile points (both side-notched and stemmed), leaf-shaped projectile points, and contracting stem points. Other artifacts defining this tradition include stone bowl mortars; hammer/anvil stones; thick, chipped-stone endscrapers; and river cobbles with worn edges (Connolly 1990). The projectile points are assumed to represent the use of the thrusting spear and the dart and atlatl (the atlatl is a wooden shaft used to propel a spear or dart).

Connolly argues that these archaeological remains are representative of a way of life that was characteristic of small bands of people who were mobile hunters and gatherers (also termed foragers). These small groups were oriented to the resources of land (e.g., hunting game and collecting plants), rather than placing a heavy reliance on the region's fisheries. Due to the fact that these small groups were more or less

constantly on the move in search of game and ripening plant crops, they did not invest time or energy in either the construction of substantial houses or villages, or in preserving and storing food for later use. Rather, their settlements were temporary and scattered over a territory large enough to sustain their needs during the course of the changing seasons.

Based on the stylistic similarities of artifact assemblages, radiocarbon dates, and obsidian hydration analyses, Connolly postulates that the Glade Tradition may have persisted in remote areas of the region until the Late Archaic era. However, beginning about 1,700 BP another way of life, substantially different from the preceding Glade Tradition, made its appearance in the interior region of southwestern Oregon and northern California. Connolly refers to this new lifeway as the Siskiyou Pattern. The Siskiyou Pattern is similar to the way-of-life as practiced by the region's Indian groups at the time of contact with the first Euro-Americans. During the Siskiyou pattern era, people resided in semi-permanent villages located along the major river courses of the region. Their existence depended on seasonal fish runs (salmon and steelhead), as well as on hunting and a more intensive utilization of a variety of plant resources. Although mobile foraging parties still roamed the upland areas during part of the year, food preservation and storage in winter villages became the dominant economic pattern.

The artifact assemblage from sites representing the Siskiyou Pattern reflects economic, social, and technological change. Instead of large, broad-neck dart points, the smaller, lighter, narrow-neck points used to tip arrows dominate; stone bowl mortars are replaced by milling stones and hopper mortar bases; the first use of ceramics are documented; stone net weights are used for fishing; and people dwell part of the year in semi-subterranean pithouses⁴ (implicit in this new pattern is an increase in regional population). Connolly (1990) attributes this rather dramatic change in lifestyle in part, to increased contacts with people from east of the Cascades.

The Gunther Pattern, which occurred somewhat later on the coast, paralleled the development of the Siskiyou Pattern in the interior. Radiocarbon dates from sites along the southern Oregon and northern California coast date the beginning of this pattern to approximately 1,100 BP. In most respects, the Gunther and Siskiyou Patterns are quite similar. The primary differences relate to projectile point form (small, concave-base projectile

⁴ Pithouse is the term used by archaeologists to describe the remains of the housing used by Native Americans of the region. Winter dwellings of Indians in southwestern Oregon were plank or bark covered structures built over shallow excavations. It is these excavations or pits that identify where houses once stood.

points are prominent on the coast), and to the use along the coast of more artistic forms of ground-stone implements (pestles, clubs, and mauls). On the coast, as inland, an increase in population is presumed and semi-permanent villages became the norm. The geographic extent of the Gunther Pattern, as well as the date of its inception, corresponds with the territory inhabited by speakers of the Athapaskan and Algonquian languages who are thought to have arrived in the region between 1,500 and 1,000 years ago (Aikens 1993).

Regional Cultural Chronology: Based on archaeological investigations within the Elk Creek drainage on the upper Rogue River, Pettigrew and Lebow (1987) (later refined by Nilsson and Kelly [1991]) have proposed a cultural chronology for southwestern Oregon that is primarily based on stylistic changes in projectile point forms over time. These researchers analyzed the artifact collections from dated sites in the Rogue River and Coquille River drainages of southwestern Oregon, as well as data collected from a number of excavated sites along Elk Creek.

Their view of the culture history of the region divides the Archaic era into four time phases, beginning after the Paleo-Indian era ca. 10,500 BP (Figure 2). (The following summary simplifies the chronological scheme proposed by Pettigrew and Lebow, but retains their essential defining attributes). The earliest Archaic period is termed the Applegate Phase (10,500 to 8,500 BP) and is based on the artifacts recovered from only one site, 35JA53, located in the Applegate River drainage. Artifacts and characteristics of the site (and phase), include large, broad-stemmed projectile points, edge-worn river cobbles (thought to have been used in hide working), low obsidian use, and very few end-scrapers (used for processing game and hides). No radiocarbon or obsidian hydration dates are associated with the data. Dating of the site was based on geological information and cross-comparison of projectile point styles with artifacts from outside of the region. However, recent excavations along the Umpqua River (O'Neill 1992) have uncovered similar projectile points, as well as edge-worn cobbles, beneath a layer of Mt. Mazama volcanic ash, which dates that site to before 6,800 BP.

Following the Applegate Phase is the Marial Phase, which is proposed for the period between 8,500 to 4,500 BP. This era is represented by large, leaf-shaped projectile points, a significant number of end-scrapers, and a relatively high use of obsidian for the manufacture of chipped-stone tools. During the earlier part of the phase, edge-worn cobbles are prevalent; in the latter half of the phase their frequency declines. The overall size of the leaf-shaped points also decreases in the later stages of the phase. A distinctive projectile point, the McKee Uniface, is also associated with this time period. Dating of this phase relies heavily on the radiocarbon samples from the

Marial site on the Rogue River within the current project boundaries.

The termination of the Marial Phase and the beginning of subsequent Coquille Phase is presently ill-defined, but has been provisionally set at 4,500 BP. The Coquille Phase, which lasted until approximately 2,200 years ago, is defined primarily on the basis of a continued decrease in the size of leaf-shaped projectile points and the appearance of a distinctive dart point with a broad neck width made from locally available stone material (jasper and chert). This Coquille dart point does not appear in collections in neighboring regions, and according to Pettigrew (1990:67), may reflect the immigration of Athapaskan-speakers into the region. Other traits of this era include a dramatic decrease in the use of obsidian as a tool stone, but the continued presence of a large number of end-scrapers.

The terminal era of this chronology is the Rogue Phase, dating from 2,200 BP to contact with Euro-Americans. The Rogue Phase is associated with the introduction of the bow and arrow into the region and the parallel development of smaller, narrow-necked arrow points. End-scrapers decrease in number, and the use of obsidian remains at a low level (Pettigrew and Lebow 1987:11.61). A utilitarian form of fired-clay, ceramic vessels and figurines have been recovered from the excavations of village sites on the upper Rogue and Klamath Rivers, dating from the middle years of this phase. It is also during the latter 1,000 years of this period that permanent villages were established in the Elk Creek drainage, although Pettigrew and Lebow (1987) suggest that semi-subterranean housepits, and an associated cultural pattern of semi-permanent residence, may have a much longer history in the region, perhaps extending back as far as the Marial Phase in the Applegate River valley.

The Forager/Collector Model: In this model of land-use and food-gathering patterns, Winthrop (1993) looks at the two different ways of life during the Archaic era; the early mobile, forager pattern, and the later sedentary, collector pattern. Due to a lack of archaeological data relating to the early Archaic era, Winthrop's model focuses on the Middle Archaic (7,000 BP to 2,000 BP) and the Late Archaic (2,000 BP to 150 BP). The difference between the two patterns is that during the earlier period people moved among resources, using them as they became available and living in temporary shelters; in the later period, collectors emphasized the processing and storage of foods at permanent home bases (i.e., villages). The intent of this research was to demonstrate the shift (and when it occurred) from the long-lived mobile, foraging pattern of settlement and subsistence to the more sedentary collector pattern.

Winthrop analyzed the archaeological information from 83 sites in southwestern Oregon (43 from the Rogue River basin and

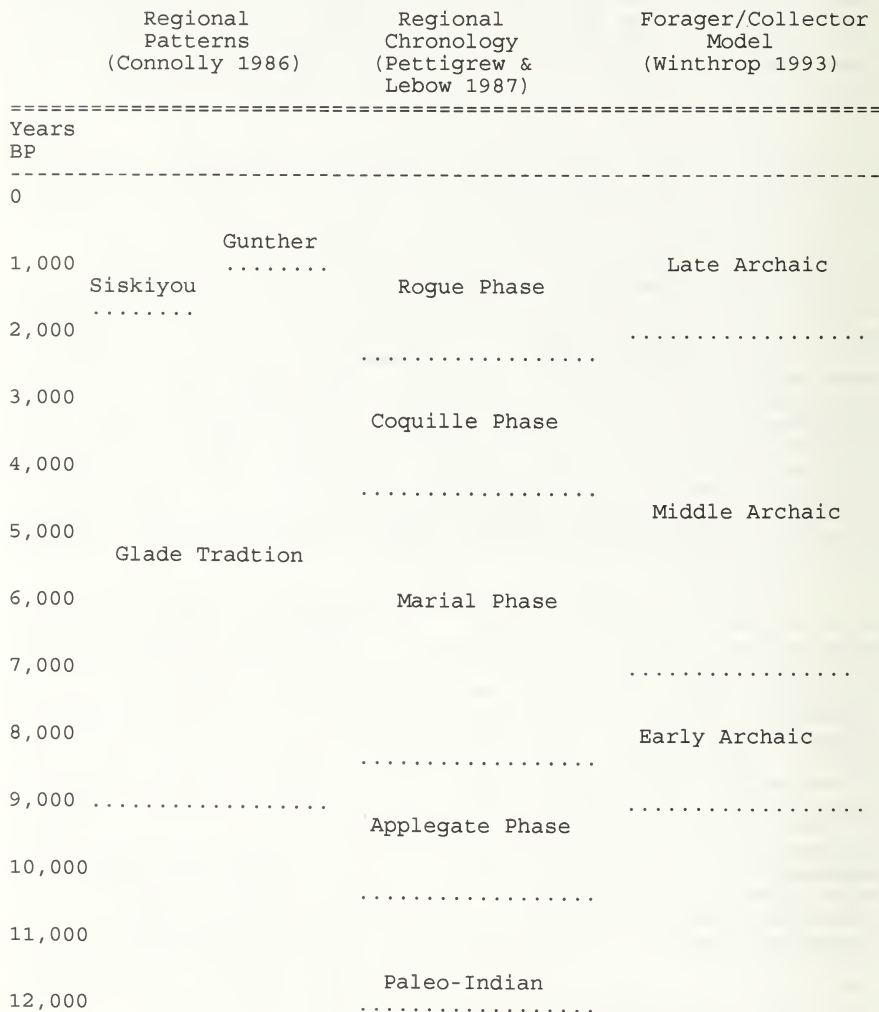
40 from the Umpqua River basin), sorting the data into chronological periods (Middle or Late Archaic). The artifact assemblages were also sorted (based on a number of criteria) into one of three functional categories: village sites, seasonal basecamp sites, or temporary, specialized tasks sites. The operating premise of this functional classification was that the housing and land-use patterns of the mobile forgers would be reflected only in seasonal camp sites and specialized tasks sites, while the more sedentary collector pattern would be expressed in village sites, in addition to continued use of upland seasonal camp sites and specialized tasks sites.

By comparing the functional site types with the chronological data (projectile point styles, radiocarbon dates, etc.) Winthrop was able to show that there was a correlation of site types with time periods, thus establishing that the mobile, forager pattern was the dominant settlement and subsistence pattern during the bulk of the Middle Archaic era. Through analysis of the data from the Rogue River basin, she postulates that the shift from the forager pattern to a collector regime probably began around 3,000 BP along the main stem of the Rogue River, and spread throughout the region during the last 2,000 years (Winthrop 1993:208). Although people still used seasonal upland base camps and specialized task sites (see the ethnographic period discussion below), the land-use patterns in the Late Archaic were tied to permanent village sites. During this period people invested time in substantial architecture (i.e., pithouses); land management practices (e.g., controlled burning to improve game forage and plant production); and more intensively utilized, processed, and stored the plant and animal resources within their home territory.

The reasons for this shift from a forager to a collector pattern are not entirely evident. Although environmental data relating specifically to southwestern Oregon during the Archaic era is lacking, changes in the climate perhaps played a significant role. As discussed in the previous chapter on the environment, the climate of much of the Middle Archaic period in region is believed to have been much drier and warmer than at present. The drought conditions began to abate towards the end of the Middle Archaic, when the collector pattern makes its initial appearance. This change to a cooler and wetter climate by 3,000 BP probably made the interior valleys of the region much more productive in terms of plant resources, as well as in the dependability of seasonal fish runs. These changes perhaps encouraged the development of a more sedentary, collector lifestyle along the principal rivers of the region. Natural population growth, as well as cultural ideas brought by the arriving Athapaskans, may also have stimulated and accelerated the shift that is seen by Winthrop to have originally developed with the resident population of the region.

FIGURE 2.

CHRONOLOGICAL PERIODS IN SOUTHWESTERN OREGON



Issues in Regional Archaeology

The archaeological record of southwestern Oregon presents a number of conflicting issues that await resolution. At this point in our understanding of native cultures of the region, the following research issues are perhaps the most pressing.

1. Environmental Change: A reliable regional model of climatic and environmental change over the past 10,000 years is badly needed. Hunting/gathering societies were intimately connected with the natural environment. The availability of food resources and the seasonal accessibility of those resources were significant factors in the survival strategies of the region's native inhabitants. A clearer definition of past environments and a knowledge of the time frame of climate change are necessary to understand the economic and social life of native societies.

2. Stylistic Dating: Due to the paucity of radiocarbon dates (especially in the Early and Middle Archaic periods) and the lack of data from well stratified archaeological sites, cross-comparison of projectile point forms has played a major role in dating sites in the region. However, this technique is not without controversy. As noted in the above discussion concerning region-wide cultural patterns and a regional chronology, there is a lively debate between those who see a long record of stability, with only slight changes in point styles (cf. Connolly) and those who detect a much greater degree of variability in projectile point styles that can be tied with specific time periods (cf. Pettigrew and Lebow).

3. Cultural Change: The timing and causes for the shift from a mobile, forager way-of-life to the collector pattern center on permanent villages. There is a general consensus among researchers that both of these patterns are represented in the archaeological record in southwestern Oregon. However, the timing of shift, the reasons why, and the exact nature of each of the two lifeways is still in doubt. Pettigrew and Lebow (1987:10.22) believe this pattern may have begun quite early during the Marial Phase, ca 5,000 BP, as evidenced by housepits in the Applegate River drainage and similar developments at about the same time in surrounding regions. Connolly (1986), on the other hand, doesn't see the change until much later, beginning around 1,700 BP. And Winthrop (1993) strikes a position mid-way, with the development of village life beginning possibly as early as 3,000 BP along the Rogue River.

The causes associated with this fundamental shift in the settlement and subsistence patterns are also under scrutiny. Was the collector regime developed by the long-

time inhabitants of the region as postulated by Pettigrew and Lebow? Or were outside influences and/or the influx of newcomers to the region responsible for the change, as advanced by Connolly? Perhaps a combination of these two schools of thought is closer to the truth. How important were environmental factors? Did increases in population necessitate a new economic and social order? The answers to these questions will undoubtedly raise new ones as archaeological research in the region continues.

4. Athapaskan Migration: By the time of the arrival of the first Euro-Americans in the region the Athapaskan-speakers were well established on the southern Oregon and northern California coast and inland as far as the Applegate River. Linguistic studies have dated their arrival in the area to between 1,500 and 1,000 BP. However, the route they traversed from the original homeland in western Canada and Alaska to southern Oregon, either along the coast or inland and then over the Cascades, is not yet resolved. Archaeologically, are they associated with the onset of the collector settlement pattern and the appearance of the bow and arrow? What was the nature of their influence on the existing, resident population of the area? Did they displace other native societies who had inhabited the land before them?

The archaeological resources within the current project area along the Rogue River may hold the key to many of these questions concerning the Athapaskans. This stretch of the Rogue River was the borderland between the Athapaskans and the Penutian-speaking Takelma, who are believed to have resided in southwestern Oregon for at least 5,000 years (Aikens 1993).

IV. THE ETHNOGRAPHIC RECORD

Introduction

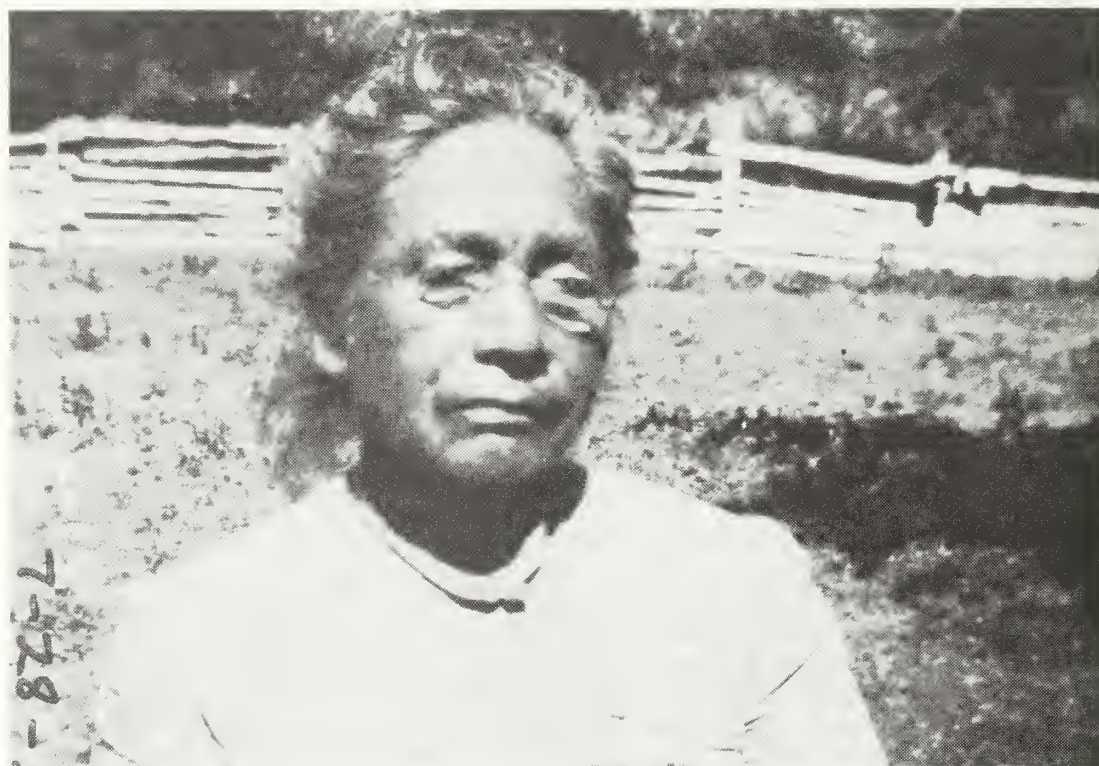
Although what we know of the native way-of-life prior to the arrival of Euro-Americans is, at best, fragmentary and based on the memories of only a few elderly informants, those memories have provided an outline of the seasonal subsistence patterns, insights into the religious and ceremonial practices, snapshots of daily life, and an understanding of many of the tools used in everyday, routine tasks. With some caution, archaeologists can project those same patterns and lifeways back in time to help explain the archaeological record. Caution is needed because the lifeways captured in the ethnographic accounts and historical documents reflected only a moment in time. Change is the one constant in the history of human development; what was true in 1840 was probably quite different 1,000, 5,000 or 10,000 years earlier.

The Takelma

The ethnographic record for interior southwestern Oregon is limited due to the rapid displacement of the Native American cultures of the region after the "Rogue Indian Wars" of the 1850s. Early in this century Edward Sapir (1907) undertook the first research on the Takelma Indians of southwestern Oregon; he was followed in the 1930s and 1940s by John Peabody Harrington (1981), Philip Drucker (1940), and Homer Barnett (1937). Their conversations with Francis Johnson (a Lowland Takelma) and Molly Orton (an Upland Takelma) have provided us with glimpse of traditional Takelma life. The writings and field notes of these and other ethnographers have recently been synthesized by Gray (1987). This ethnographic synthesis is the basis for the following description of the Takelma Indians who inhabited the region in the vicinity of the current project area before the arrival of Euro-Americans.

In the late prehistoric period the Takelma, a Penutian-speaking people, resided in a territory that centered on the upper and middle stretches of the Rogue River and extended east up Little Butte Creek to the crest of the Cascades. To the south, they occupied portions of the Bear Creek Valley as far as the Talent/Ashland area; on the west, the Applegate River Valley and Galice Creek marked the boundaries with their Athapascan-speaking neighbors, the Dakubetede and the Taltuctunte. The Athapaskan Shasta Costa group resided along the banks of the Rogue River, also to the west of the Takelma, below Grave Creek. The Hokan-speaking Shasta shared the southern portion of the Bear Creek Valley with the Takelma. Shasta territory extended south and east into northern California along the Klamath, Shasta, and Scott Rivers (Holt 1946). The groups bordering Takelma territory

to the north were the Molala and the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians.



Frances Johnson
Takelma Informant

Courtesy of
American Philosophical Society

The Takelma, as defined by language dialect, were divided into two, and possibly three distinct groups. The principal villages of the Lowland Takelma were centered around the Rogue River, extending from the present-day town of Gold Hill downriver to perhaps Grave Creek. The Upland Takelma winter village home territory was further upriver in the lower Bear Creek Valley near Table Rock and perhaps as far east as Ashland, Oregon. The drainage of Little Butte Creek was also considered Upland Takelma territory. A third dialect group of Takelma may have inhabited the upper reaches of the Rogue River drainage in the vicinity of Trail and Elk Creek, although little is known of this sub-group (see Figure 3). All of the Takelma shared a common way-of-life and a similar natural environment, though local differences in the availability of certain resources may have resulted in slightly different subsistence and settlement patterns.

The staple plant foods of the Takelma were acorns and camas. A variety of root crops, manzanita berries, pine nuts, tarweed seeds, wild plums, and sunflowers augmented their diet. Acorns from the black oak were preferred over others, and were collected in the fall of the year. The acorns were shelled and then

pounded into meal by means of a pestle used with a hopper-mortar base (a bottomless basket placed on a flat rock). The meal was then leached with hot water over a clean bed of sand to remove the bitter taste from the acorn prior to boiling the meal with hot stones in a tightly woven basket. The camas bulb, of which there were several varieties, was collected in flat, well-watered areas adjacent to the Rogue River. The camas bulbs were harvested with the aid of a digging stick made of mountain mahogany. The bulbs were cooked in a rock-lined earth oven, then mashed into a dough, formed into cakes, and stored for winter use.

Anadromous fish (especially salmon), deer and elk, as well as a variety of small mammals (e.g., rabbit and squirrel) and certain insects provided protein in the Takelma diet. People fished during seasonal spawning runs that occurred in the summer, winter, and spring for different species of salmon, although not every fish-bearing stream had runs of fish every season. Favorite fishing locations were at falls and rapids along the Rogue and its tributaries. Fish were taken with dip-nets, hook and line, and spears. Salmon were skinned and split through the backbone; the head, tail and entrails were removed, and the meat roasted on spits of split hazel branches. Cooked salmon was then pulverized and stored for winter use. The Upland Takelma hunted deer in several ways, including stalking with a deer head disguise, running down deer in winter snows, snaring, and using dogs to drive deer into fences set with nooses. The Lowland Takelma seemed to have been more dependant upon riverine resources and would often trade salmon for deer hides and meat with their Upland Takelma kin.

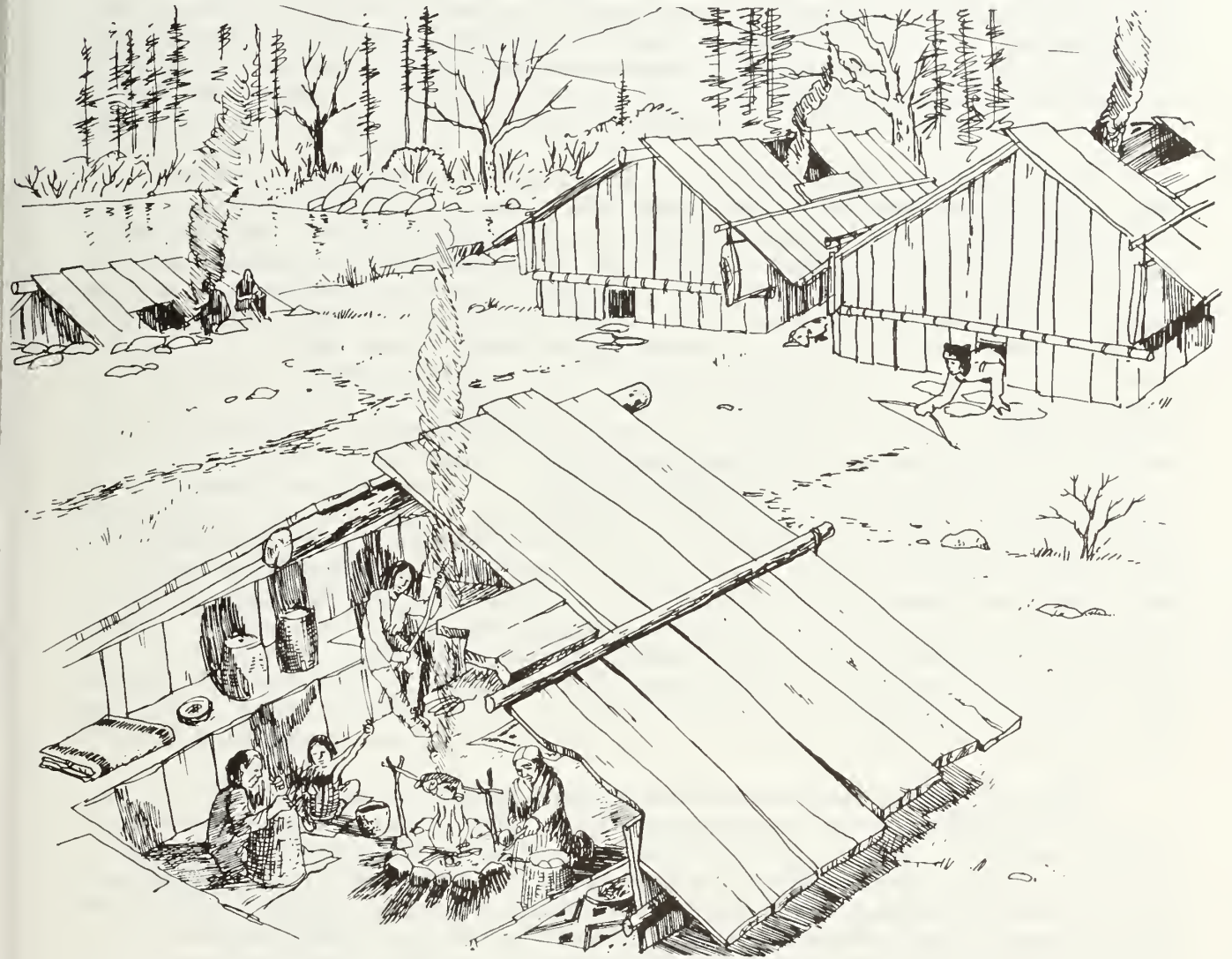
The settlement pattern of the ethnographic-era Takelma was closely related to their subsistence regime. The permanent winter villages were located in the low elevation river valleys of the region in close proximity to predictable and significant food resources (i.e., near good fishing locations and/or root crop fields and acorn groves). The winter villages provided storage for surplus food goods, and served as a firm geographic locus from which the inhabitants would range out to secure other resources on a fairly predictable seasonal basis. During the warmer months of the year the Takelma would temporarily move to seasonal base camps in the surrounding uplands to hunt, to gather crops as they ripened during the summer season, and to procure other resources not available near their winter villages (e.g., lithic raw material for the manufacture of chipped-stone tools).



Dipnetting for Salmon (Artist's Conception)

The winter dwellings of the Takelma were described as rectangular in shape and semi-subterranean to a depth of between 18 and 24 inches. The framing consisted of upright posts in the corners, connected by cross beams to which exterior siding was attached. The siding was either of split sugar pine planks (reserved for the wealthier class) or with slabs of bark (for the less fortunate and also ascribed to members of the Upland Takelma group). The roofs were of a single gable design covered with planks and sometimes with earth. A fire hearth was located in the center of the structure with a corresponding smoke hole in the center of the roof. Kroeber (1953:905) gives the exterior dimensions as being 12 feet wide and 15 to 20 feet long, with no interior partitions. During the warmer months of the year, when

staying at upland base camps, the Takelma constructed temporary shelters of brush or boughs around a central fire pit. The Takelma also built sweathouses, generally one to a village. The men's sweathouse was rectangular in shape, semi-subterranean, and earth covered. The women's sweathouse was smaller and temporary, consisting of a stick frame covered with woven mats.



Housepit Village (Artist's Conception)

The plants and animals exploited by the Takelma not only furnished food, but also the raw materials from which to make the daily necessities of life. Buckskin was used to make shirts, leggings, moccasins, and blankets, while elkhide was fashioned into protective body armor for warriors in battle. A multitude of basket styles were made from the roots of sugar pines; they held everything from babies to boiling water. Baskets were

indispensable in the gathering of vegetable crops and were also used for food storage. The ethnographic record is silent on the subject of clay pottery, even though an expedient form of pottery termed Siskiyou Utility Ware has been recovered in a number of late prehistoric sites along the Rogue and Klamath Rivers. A few other articles of everyday use are mentioned in the various accounts of domestic life. Needles were made of hard wood or bone; thread from sinew. Combs were made from a split stick into that were inserted porcupine quills for teeth. Pipes of wood or stone were used for smoking tobacco (the only plant cultivated by the Takelma), and string and rope were made from the iris plant. Spoons were fashioned either from wood or elkhorn; small wooden paddles were used to stir cooking foods.

The seasonal and annual fluctuations of the staple food sources of the Takelma, combined with need to gather widely scattered plant and animal foods in the upland areas, served to isolate families and communities at various times. These factors restricted the development of any strong central authority in the region. Instead, the local village community was the principal social and political unit. Ranking by wealth was a characteristic of Takelma society. The possession of exotic goods such as large obsidian blades and dentalia shells enhanced status among the kin groups of the Upland Takelma. A position of wealth in Takelma society carried with it certain responsibilities as well as privileges. A wealthy man was expected to support and benefit his poorer relations in times of economic distress, in addition to providing for their marriages and legal obligations. In return, a wealthy individual would receive the labor of his beneficiaries in food gathering activities and domestic chores, as well as their support in times of political turmoil. Legal disputes were settled on the principle of demanding compensation for injuries sustained; up to and including murder. The services of a go-between were retained by the aggrieved parties to facilitate the negotiation process.

The religious and ceremonial aspects of Takelma life are not easily separated from the more mundane daily subsistence tasks. In the world view of the Takelma, the forces of nature and the fate of humans were determined by supernatural spirits. Many of these supernaturals were associated with organic elements such as plants and animals that were believed to be the transformed manifestations of primeval earthly inhabitants. On the local level, some supernatural beings were directly associated with particular natural objects, including rocks, trees, and mountains. It was to these specific objects that offerings of food, valuables, and prayers were often made. Subsistence occasions of importance for the Takelma included a celebration of the new acorn crop, as well as a first-salmon ceremony. The puberty rites for young women are well documented, and were an important ceremony and celebration practiced within the community. Upon the death of a member of the village, the body

was washed, painted, dressed, and flexed, prior to its removal from the dwelling through an opening in the wall or roof. A male relative would carry the body to the grave site, where it was interred in a small, oval-shaped grave. The mourners placed items of value (chipped-stone blades, dentalia, etc.) into the grave.

A powerful figure in Takelma society was the shaman (Goyo). He or she (for both men and women were shamans) was deemed responsible for causing illness and death, as well as preventing the same. Additionally, shamans were employed to intercede in the affairs of nature, for example by inducing rain in time of drought or halting a severe winter storm. Shamans were generally distrusted, so much so that some villages would not permit their residence. Shamans obtained power from one or more guardian spirits. In affecting a cure on an ill patient, the shaman would communicate with his or her guardian spirits through song and dance, aided by several helpers. The guardian spirits would direct the shaman to the location of the "pain" that was then physically removed by the shaman. Success of the operation would depend upon the power of the shaman; the use of more than one shaman on a specific case was not unknown.

In addition to shamans, another class of healer operated within Takelma society, the S-omloholxa's. They differed from the Goyo in several ways. The S-omloholxa's appealed to a different set of guardian spirits; they could cure illness, but not inflict it; they did not dance or require the services of helpers in singing the medicine song; and they cured a patient by rubbing the afflicted part of the body rather than "catching the pain". The limits of the S-omloholxa's curative powers are unclear, but it seems that in cases of serious illness, only the spirit power of the shamans had a chance of success.

The Athapaskans

At the time of contact with Euro-Americans, Athapaskan-speaking people inhabited the coastal areas of northern California and southwestern Oregon, as well as inland territory along the main stem of the Rogue River and its principal tributaries, the Illinois River, the Applegate River, and Galice Creek. The southern Oregon Athapaskan language is related to the Na-Dene linguist family. This related group of languages is found from Alaska and western Canada, where it is spoken by the Tlingit and Haida groups, to the American Southwest and northern Mexico, where it includes the Apache and the Navajo languages.

The Shasta Costa band of Tututni Indians occupied an area along the lower Illinois River, as well as adjacent to the Rogue River from Agness to Big Bend (Beckham 1978). Within the project area, they may have also inhabited the Rogue River Canyon as far west as the western boundary of Takelma territory near Grave

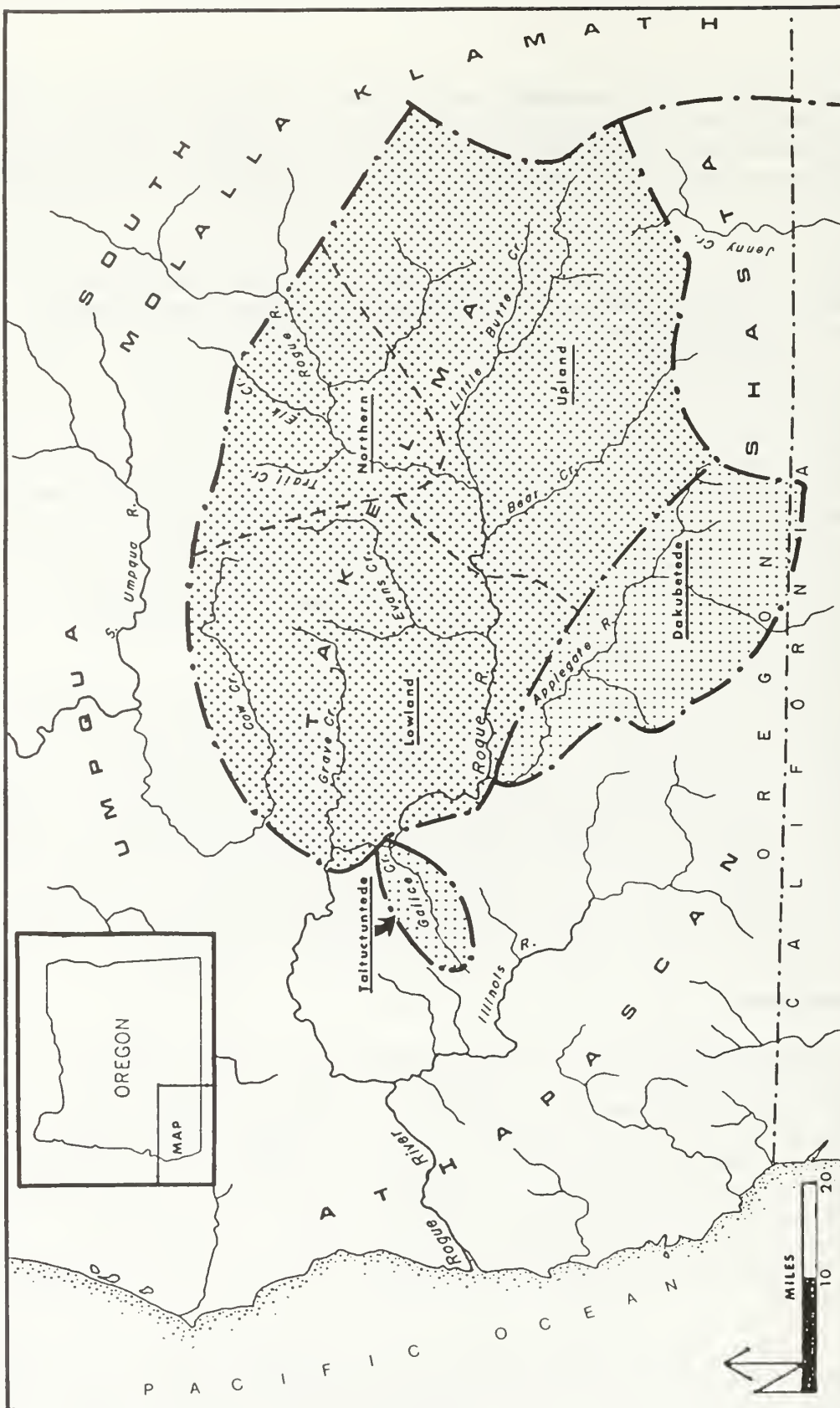


Figure 3 Territorial Boundaries in Southwestern Oregon

Creek (Gray 1987). The Applegate Athapaskans, known as the Da-ku-be-te-de, lived along nearly the entire course of the Applegate River, from near its headwaters in the Siskiyou divide, to its confluence with the Rogue River. The territorial extent of the Galice Creek Athapaskans (the Tal-tuc-tun-tu-de) was limited to the confluence of Galice Creek and the Rogue River, as well as the surrounding area drained by Galice Creek (Gray 1987). The Shasta Costa Indians may have been quite numerous, as Dorsey (1890) lists 33 villages within their territory. Only three permanent villages were noted in the Applegate River drainage for the Da-ku-be-te-de (Jacobs n.d.), none of which were on the Rogue River. The principal village of the Galice Creek Athapaskans (Talda'cdan) was located on both sides of the Rogue River at the mouth of Galice Creek.



Canoe on the Rogue (Artist's Conception)

The material culture (i.e., tools, clothing, architecture, etc.) and the subsistence economy of the Athapaskan-speakers of southwestern Oregon, was very similar to that described above for their neighbors, the Takelma. One ethnographer (Drucker 1940) stated that the Galice Creek culture was "...so permeated with Takelma elements as to be scarcely distinguishable from the culture of these alien people." Whether in fact it was the Athapaskan culture that was permeated with Takelma elements, or the other way around, has yet to be determined. However, the point is that for the most part, the native inhabitants of the region shared a common way-of-life in a similar environment. Groups were distinguished from one another by their language, their historical traditions, and by different subsistence regimes that correlated with the food resources that were available to them within their home territories.

One of the more significant differences between the Athapaskans and their Takelma neighbors revolved around religious figures. Like the Takelma, the Athapaskans (at least those dwelling on Galice Creek) had two classes of shamans. One, similar to the Takelma Goyo, healed through the power of their guardian spirit with a combination of herbal medicines, chants, dances, and sleight-of-hand. The other form of religious figure, quite different from the Takelma S-omloholxa's, was the formulist. The primary duty of the formulist was the formal recitation of appropriate ritual words in all situations that involved a formal religious procedure (e.g., first salmon rites, life crises, etc.). Formulists gained their power through a knowledge of formulas; they acquired their knowledge through learning, as opposed to shamans, whose power was revealed through the supernatural. The formulists differed from the Takelma S-omloholxa's in that they were more powerful than the Galice shamans and they had the ability to inflict suffering on their fellow humans. The Galice formulists were also more powerful than shamans and were sometimes used as instruments of revenge against personal enemies.

V. NATIVE AMERICANS AND THE RIVER

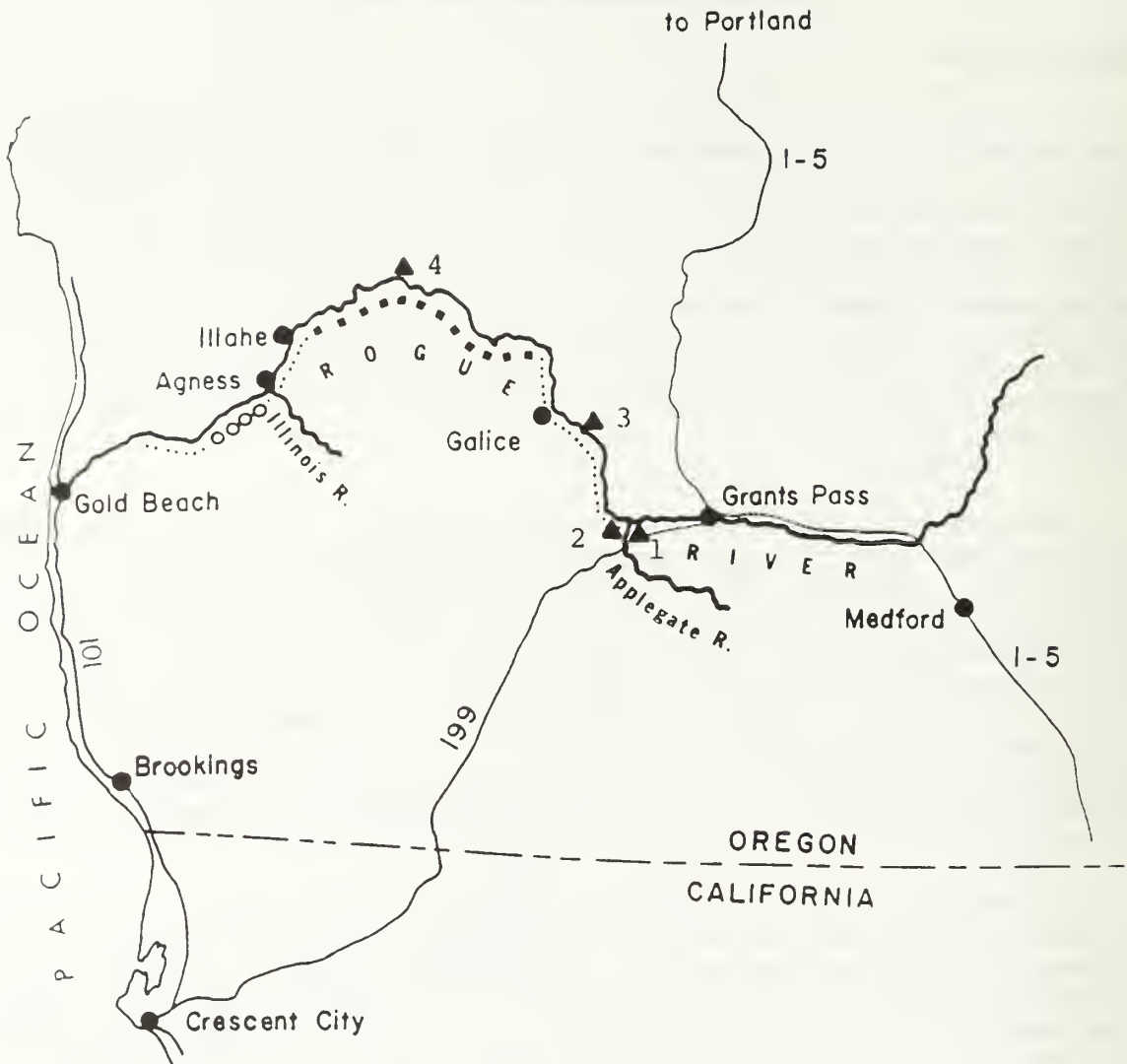
Introduction

Archaeological investigations within the current project boundaries, although limited in scope, have had a significant influence on our understanding of the cultures that occupied the Rogue River basin over the past ten thousand years. Four major archaeological sites have been partially excavated in or near the Rogue River scenic corridor. These include the sites at Marial and Stratton Creek, the Marthaller site, and the Ritsch site. In addition, a recent review of pertinent historical documents, and a field inventory (Gray 1994 and 1995) of a sample of known or suspected archaeological sites, augments the ethnographic record. These sources provide time depth to the way-of-life described in the last chapter.

In order to present the archaeological record of the native cultures who lived along the Rogue River we will use the generalized chronological framework employed by Winthrop (1993). This framework begins with the Paleo-Indian period, then divides the longest time span, the Archaic era, into an Early, Middle, and Late sequence. Within the span of the human occupation of the Rogue River region, the four sites mentioned above serve as examples for the various eras. The information from these sites illustrates the material remains from different time periods, and helps assess some of the issues that have been raised by the cultural/chronological models reviewed in Chapter III.

It has only been in the last twenty years that archaeologists have begun to investigate the remains of native cultures along the Rogue River within the project area. Beginning in the late 1970's with the excavation of the Ritsch site near the mouth of the Applegate River, excavations continued through the decade of the 80's with work at the nearby Marthaller site and with a series of excavations downriver at Marial. More recently, investigations were undertaken at the Stratton Creek site. The location of these sites spans the length of the project area, giving us a geographically representative sample of habitation sites along the river (Figure 4). These four sites also represent at least eight thousand years of human occupation for this stretch of the Rogue River. The sites at Marial and Stratton Creek were occupied repeatedly during the entire course of the Archaic era. While the Marthaller site was perhaps utilized during the Early and Middle Archaic, it, along with the Ritsch site, provides solid evidence of occupation during the Late Archaic.

The following discussion of the archaeology of the project area draws on the techniques, concepts, and issues discussed in previous chapters.



▲ ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

- 1 Ritsch
- 2 Marthaller
- 3 Stratton Creek
- 4 Marial

LEGEND

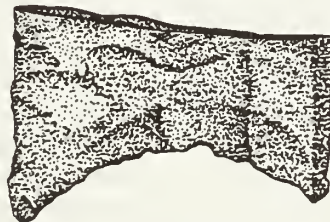
- Wild River
- oooo Scenic River
- Recreational River

Figure 4 Location of the Excavated Archaeological Sites within the Project Boundaries

Paleo-Indians (12,000 BP to 10,500 BP)

This time period is the most poorly represented era, not only along the Rogue River, but in southwestern Oregon as a whole. Only a few isolated Clovis points have been located in the region, and those have been dated solely by the cross-comparison with similar, dated points from outside of the area. At this point in our understanding of the Paleo-Indian culture, it is probably safe to assume that the nomadic big-game hunting way-of-life existed somewhere within the project area. However, due to the changing nature of the river as it alternately erodes and builds the landscape along its path, the chances of documenting this earliest of eras are slim.

Recent excavations at the Stratton Creek site (Ross and Blalack 1994) within the project boundaries have offered a tantalizing clue to this Paleo-Indian epoch along the river. At approximately two meters (six feet) below the surface, the broken base of what may be an obsidian spear point of the Paleo-Indian era was recovered. Although not a classic Clovis spear point, the size and shape of the fragment indicates it may date from this early period. Unfortunately, no radiocarbon dates are associated with this possibly ancient tool. Whether this find truly indicates the presence of the Paleo-Indian tradition along the Rogue River is debatable; at the present time it is all we have.



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*"Paleo" Projectile Point Base from Stratton Creek
(Ross and Blalack 1992)*

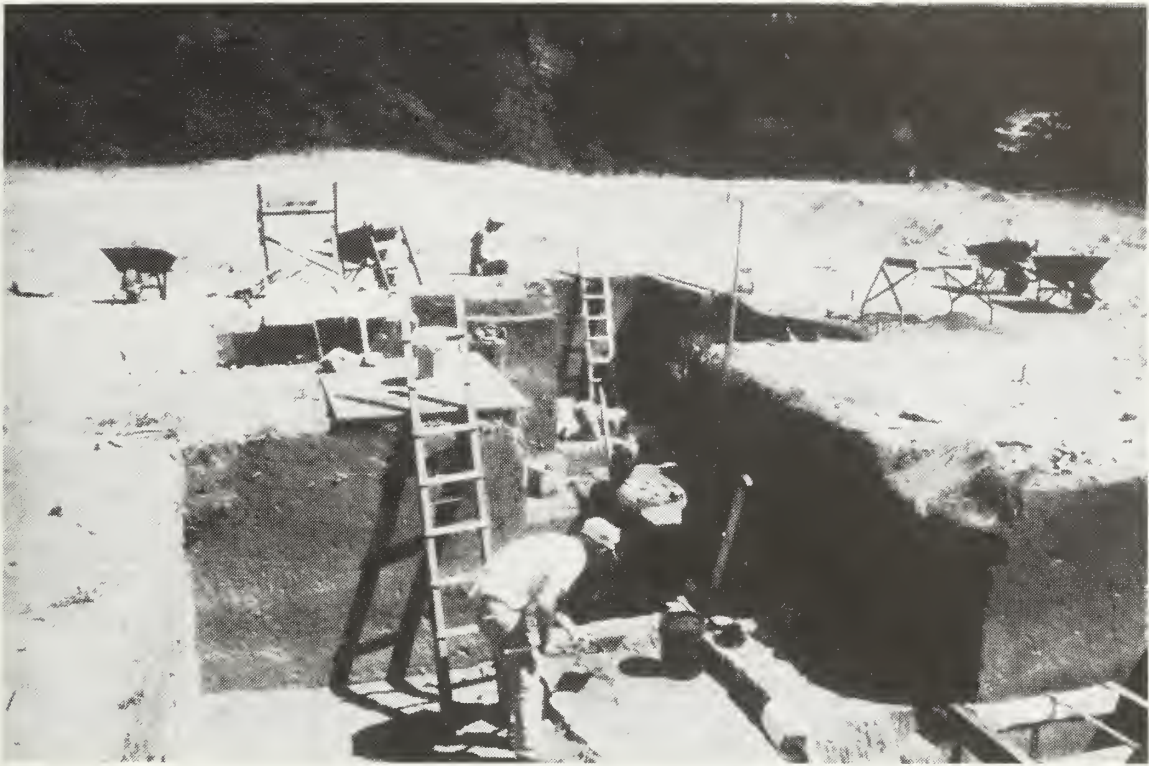
The Early Archaic (10,500 BP to 7,000 BP)

During the early centuries of the Early Archaic, evidence of human activity along the Rogue River is nearly as scarce as it was during the Paleo-Indian times. From 10,500 to 8,500 BP (what has been termed the Applegate Phase of the Rogue Valley chronology), the archaeology in the project area lies almost silent. Perhaps the point fragment from the lower levels of the Stratton Creek site may relate to this era, or there may exist more deeply buried artifacts at Marial. However, firm indications of this early time period in the region along the river remain illusive.

The archaeological site at Marial at the extreme western end of the current project area, provides us with not only the earliest, firmly dated site in southwestern Oregon, but also a site that was occupied time and time again down through the centuries into the Late Archaic. The information potential of the archaeological remains at Marial are truly monumental. As of today, only a superficial glimpse of life at Marial over the past 8,000 to 9,000 years has been uncovered.

Before describing the contribution of the Marial site to our understanding of the Early Archaic period, it is necessary to digress from the chronological format in order to explain the cultural deposits that have been discovered at this important site. A brief description of the history of excavation at the site and importance of the information gained thus far will help to place the Marial site in its proper context.

The archaeological deposits at Marial, located on lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management near the mouth of Mule Creek, had been the object of vandals during the 1970's. In 1978 the BLM conducted limited testing of a portion of the site in order to determine the nature of the cultural materials present and the extent of the damage caused by illegal digging. Subsequently the site was protected with heavy wire mesh buried in the sod over the site (Deich 1983:2). In 1982 the BLM, in conjunction with volunteers, conducted more extensive archaeological testing at the site. Seventy square meters of the site were excavated in 19 test units spread across the site. Excavations reached a depth of more than three meters, and revealed the presence of two distinct stratigraphic levels. The upper cultural level (from the surface to 90 centimeters below the surface) contained artifacts (small arrow points and larger side-notched and shouldered dart points) associated with the Middle and Late Archaic periods; the lower cultural deposit was radiocarbon dated to 6485 BP and yielded a variety of leaf-shaped dart points. A large number of end-scrapers, as well as drills, knives, ground- and battered-stone cobble tools and nearly 10,000 waste flakes from the manufacture of chipped-stone tools were also recovered during the excavation.



Excavation at Marial 1983

Due to the potential significance of the Marial site (i.e., the early radiocarbon date and the existence of distinct cultural layers), further excavation was planned for the summer of 1983. This time, Oregon State University was the lead agency, assisted by the BLM and volunteer organizations. The 1983 excavations confirmed the presence of the two cultural levels as postulated in 1982 and determined that cultural material was present to a depth of at least 350 centimeters; a meter deeper than the radiocarbon date of 6485 BP. This season of field work also defined a Late Archaic occupation area, characterized by small, barbed arrow points, south of the older deposits along the edge of the terrace above the Rogue River.

Oregon State University returned again in the summer of 1984 for a more in-depth excavation of the older deposits in the central portion of the terrace. The test units of the previous year were reopened and expanded. A total of seven distinct stratigraphic occupations, six of which were in the central portion of the terrace, were defined. Most of these occupational levels were easily distinguished within the excavation units; the dark, organic soils containing large numbers of artifacts were separated by layers of relatively artifact-free, light-colored sand (Figure 5). During the 1984 season four additional radiocarbon samples were collected from different levels throughout the excavation. The earliest radiocarbon date of 8,560 BP came from below Cultural Zone 6 at a depth of 430

centimeters (14 feet) below the surface; a few artifacts were recovered below the radiocarbon sample. The excavation terminated at 450 centimeters below the surface on top of a gravel deposit.

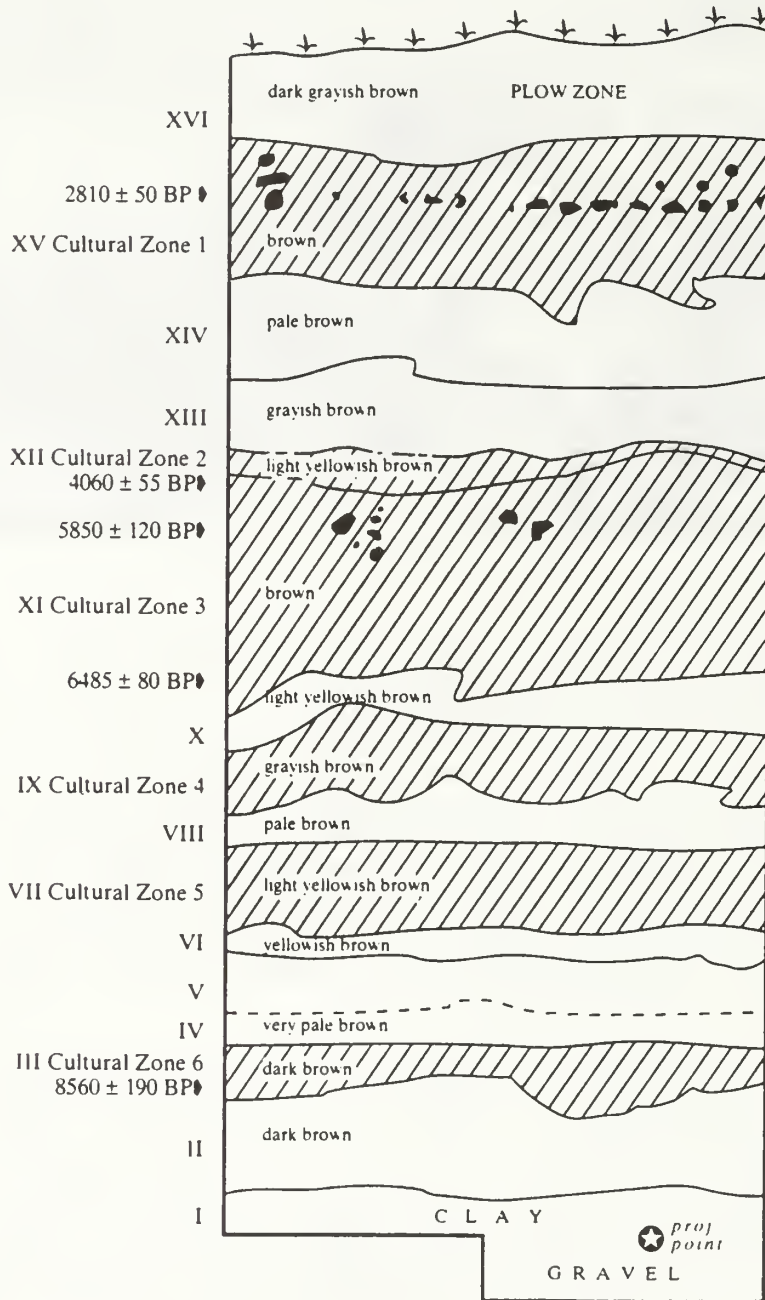


Figure 5 Idealized Profile of the Marial Stratigraphy Aikens 1993

The 1984 excavations greatly expanded the artifact collection from the site, in addition to firmly dating most of the occupation levels. The emphasis of the researchers at this phase of investigation was to build a reliable projectile point chronology for the site, tied to radiocarbon dates and stratigraphic levels. Brief descriptions of other artifacts and associated cultural material (e.g., animal bone fragments) were presented in the final reports.

In 1985 OSU and volunteers returned briefly to Marial to test the Late Archaic deposits along the terrace edge, south of the major portion of the site. A radiocarbon date of 710 BP was obtained from a fire hearth uncovered 1.5 meters below the surface. The recovered artifacts (i.e., projectile point styles) appear related to the Late Archaic era (Clark 1988).

Returning again to the Early Archaic era along the Rogue River, the data recovered from the lower levels of the Marial excavations (Cultural Zones 4, 5, & 6) gives us the first glimpse into the lives of the people who lived at the mouth of Mule Creek. These three levels represent the time period from 8,560 BP to approximately 7,000 BP (a radiocarbon date of 6,486 BP was obtained from the lower level of Cultural Zone 3). Cultural material recovered from these levels includes leaf-shaped and broad-stemmed/shouldered dart points, end-scrapers, cobble tools used in the manufacture of chipped-stone tools, waste flakes from stone tool manufacture, and a small number of animal bone fragments. No cobble tools related to plant processing (e.g., pestles or grinding slabs) were recovered from these levels, nor were any features or indications of habitation structures noted. It should be kept in mind, however, that the total volume excavated in these levels was considerably less than in the upper cultural zones. The great depth of the excavation (over 14 feet deep) necessitated stair-stepping the walls of the excavation units to prevent cave-ins. Thus, the lack of features and some classes of tools in these lower levels may be due to the limited sample size.

The cultural deposits unearthed and the artifacts recovered from the Early Archaic portion of the Marial site conform with proposed models for settlement and subsistence of this era. The presumed mobile, forager pattern is well represented by the artifact assemblage of Cultural Zones 4, 5, & 6. Hunting and butchering of upland game, as evidenced by the dart points, end-scrapers, and animal bone fragments, appears to have been the primary subsistence activity during these occupations. Functionally related to these activities is the manufacture and repair of chipped-stone tools, as represented by the waste flakes and battered cobble tools. The artifact-bearing layers at this depth of the site are relatively thin, compared with later occupations at the site, suggesting either limited use of the location, or low populations. This limited occupation, combined

with the lack of habitation or storage features, also supports the theory that small mobile groups of hunters restricted their use of any one area to relatively brief periods of time before moving on to exploit resources at other locations.

If we look at the occupational history of the site in these early centuries, another pattern of land-use related to environmental factors is suggested. Each of the artifact-rich layers at the site are separated by relatively sterile layers of sand deposited during flood episodes. During the 1,500 years of sporadic occupation represented by the lowest three Cultural Zones, there were periods of time (perhaps hundreds of years) when little, if any, human activity occurred at the site. After the effects of a major flood, or years of annual flooding, it is reasonable to assume that the favorable conditions that attracted people to the terrace alongside Mule Creek would have been diminished. The sandy soils that covered the terrace immediately after a flood(s) probably inhibited the growth of vegetation attractive to game animals, and thus to the hunters who pursued them. The loss of one favorable hunting/camping site would not have greatly affected these mobile foraging groups, for their way-of-life was predicated on movement among numerous sites and a variety of resources. Gradually however, a more favorable regime of plant and animal life would have been reestablished, prompting the return of foraging groups. Then, for generations, the site at Marial served once again as a camping spot on the continual round of food and resource gathering. This cycle of periods of occupation followed by periods of abandonment was repeated throughout the history of Marial and is one of the factors that makes the site of such importance to archaeologists.

Supporting evidence for the mobile, forager way-of-life along the Rogue River comes from another site excavated by Oregon State University in 1992. The Stratton Creek site is located on a terrace above the Rogue River near the mouth of Stratton Creek, approximately 31 miles upriver from Marial. Like Marial, the Stratton Creek site had been the scene of repeated episodes of illegal looting over the years. In 1989 the BLM, in cooperation with the Rogue Valley Archaeological Society, conducted test excavations to determine the dimensions of the cultural deposits and the extent of damage caused by the looting. Test excavations (Ottis 1991) indicated the presence of cultural material to a depth of at least 150 centimeters (five feet), and the presence of artifacts that dated the site to the Middle Archaic period. Based on these results, additional excavation at the site was recommended.

During the summer of 1992, staff and students from Oregon State, along with volunteers from the local area, conducted a large scale excavation of the site. Cultural material was found to a depth of 250 centimeters (eight feet). Three cultural zones (or strata), based on soil type and artifact densities, were

identified during the excavation. The top 40 centimeters of the site had been heavily mixed by historic farming activities and illegal looting. Artifacts within this zone were deemed to have lost much of their contextual integrity due to these disturbances, and were lumped into one group designated as Stratum I. Stratum II extended from 40 centimeters below the surface to approximately one meter (three feet) below surface. Both Stratum I and II were composed of relatively dark sandy soil. Stratum III began at about one meter below the surface and continued down to bedrock, nearly two and one-half meters below the ground surface. The soils in Stratum III were lighter in color and more compact than the preceding strata, and artifact densities were much lower. No radiocarbon dates were obtained during the course of the excavations, hence dating of the site relied on the cross-comparison of projectile point styles with the artifacts from the Marial site, as well as from a small sample of obsidian hydration dates.



Stratton Creek Excavation, 1992

The Early Archaic period may be represented by the artifacts recovered from lowest levels at the site within Stratum III. According to the project researchers "comparative cultural material suggests a date around 10,000 [BP] for the earliest components (Ross and Blalack 1992)". Artifacts associated with Stratum III included broad-neck, corner-notched and stemmed dart points; leaf-shaped (lanceolate) projectile points; one point possibly identified with the Paleo-Indian era (as discussed above); heavy choppers made from river cobbles, hammerstones used to make chipped-stone tools, and pieces of incised shale. The incised shale pieces recovered from Stratum III are, at the least, indicative of artistic expression; whether there was a functional or religious significance to these pieces is unknown.

The artifact assemblage from Stratum III is similar in function to that discussed for the lower levels of Marial. Hunting and butchering of game (projectile points, scrapers, and choppers), and the manufacture of chipped-stone tools (hammerstones and waste flakes) point to the use of the site as a seasonal hunting camp. The lack of features or evidence for substantial architecture, as well as the deficiency of tools directly associated with the processing of plant foods (e.g., pestles or grinding slabs) also tend to suggest a short-term, sporadic occupation of the site by mobile foragers during this time period.

The obsidian studies on samples from the Stratton Creek site have provided some interesting information. A total of 29 pieces of obsidian (tools and waste flakes) from the lower two strata of the site were analyzed as to their point of origin. Of those 29 samples, 20 artifacts originated from Spodue Mountain in the northern Klamath Basin, 2 items were from Silver Lake/Sycan Marsh (also in the northern Klamath Basin), and 7 specimens were from Grasshopper Flat in northeastern California. These obsidian source locations have been noted at a number of sites throughout southwestern Oregon, and indicate a fairly extensive trade/travel network that existed for thousands of years.

Of the 29 samples submitted for sourcing analysis, a subset of 20 from the Spodue Mountain source were also subjected to obsidian hydration analysis. Fourteen specimens of this subset came from Stratum III; six from Stratum II. The hydration measurements for the Stratum III samples ranged from 3.6 microns to 9.7 microns, with an average reading of 4.77 microns. The six obsidian samples subjected to hydration analysis from Stratum II returned readings ranging from 3.9 to 5.3 microns, with a mean of 4.56 microns; statistically similar results. These readings appear to contradict the site stratigraphy (i.e., normally one would expect significantly higher micron readings from Stratum III than Stratum II). Comparing these results with the absolute dating sequence generated by obsidian studies in the Elk Creek

projects further upriver⁵, dates the majority of the obsidian samples from Stratton Creek in the 5,000 BP to 6,000 BP range; the early part of the Middle Archaic.

A closer examination of the hydration results and the stratigraphy from Stratton Creek suggests some possible resolutions to what appears to be contradictions among the proposed projectile point chronology, the site stratigraphy, and the obsidian dating results. Keeping in mind that a sample of 20 hydration readings is a very small sample from which to draw firm conclusions regarding the dating of any site, the following hypothesis are offered to explain the obsidian hydration data.

1. Four readings were greater than 5 microns and probably date from the Early Archaic. From Stratum III they were: 9.7 microns from level 16; 8.0 microns from level 15; and 5.4 microns from level 19. In Stratum II, a reading of 5.3 microns was returned from a tool fragment recovered in level 9 at the interface of Stratum II and III. This early reading from Stratum II may indicate that this tool was made from obsidian that had been brought to the site by earlier inhabitants, discarded, and then reused at a later date. The early hydration reading on this specimen probably reflects the first use of the tool stone during the Early Archaic, not in its later position in Stratum II.

2. In Stratum II, two other readings from level 8 near the interface between Strata II and III produced rather high readings of 4.7 and 4.9 microns. These samples appear to be associated with a major rock feature (Feature 8) composed of a pavement of river cobbles arranged in an oval pattern sloping down towards the center, giving an impression of a shallow depression (Ross and Blalack 1994). The construction of this rock feature may well have disturbed the underlying, older cultural deposits, thus displacing the obsidian from its earlier position. Alternatively, the obsidian could have been displaced by the excavation of an earlier (1991) test unit that was noted in the northwest corner of 1992 unit (Ross and Blalack 1994).

3. The remainder of the hydration readings (N=14) range from 3.6 to 4.5 microns, with a mean of 4.01. This translates to an average date of approximately 4,500 to 5,000 BP, solidly in the Middle Archaic period, or the

⁵ Using the absolute dating sequence from Elk Creek, which is located at a higher elevation with colder average annual temperatures, is less than ideal. However, the lack of radiocarbon dates associated with the obsidian artifacts at the Stratton Creek site leaves the Elk Creek data the geographically closest location for obsidian dating comparison.

latter part of the Marial Phase of the regional chronology as proposed by Pettigrew and Lebow (1987). The fact that the few (N=3) Stratum II readings are statistically the same as the deeper Stratum III samples can perhaps be attributed to mixing of the soils due to natural causes (rodent activity and or root growth), or to sampling error.

In summary, the obsidian data from the Stratton Creek site suggests that obsidian was imported from the northern Klamath Basin and northeastern California during the Early and Middle Archaic time periods. The majority of the obsidian tested from the site dates to the Middle Archaic (ca. 4,500 to 5,000). [No samples from Stratum I were analyzed.] The few samples that have readings greater than 5 microns tend to confirm the proposition that the Stratton Creek site was occupied, at least sporadically, during the Early Archaic. The obsidian data also indicates that the strata that have been defined at the site on the basis of soils and artifact densities may not directly relate to the site chronology. In other words, the upper levels of Stratum III may represent the early part of the Middle Archaic; while only the lowest levels date to the Early Archaic. The lack of a distinct stratigraphy within Stratum III was noted by the researchers. There were subtle soil color changes recorded throughout Stratum III; however, they were not correlated with distinct cultural occupations. A larger sample of obsidian hydration dates from each stratum, as well as a more detailed examination of relationship between the site stratigraphy and recovered artifacts, would greatly clarify the chronological issues at Stratton Creek.

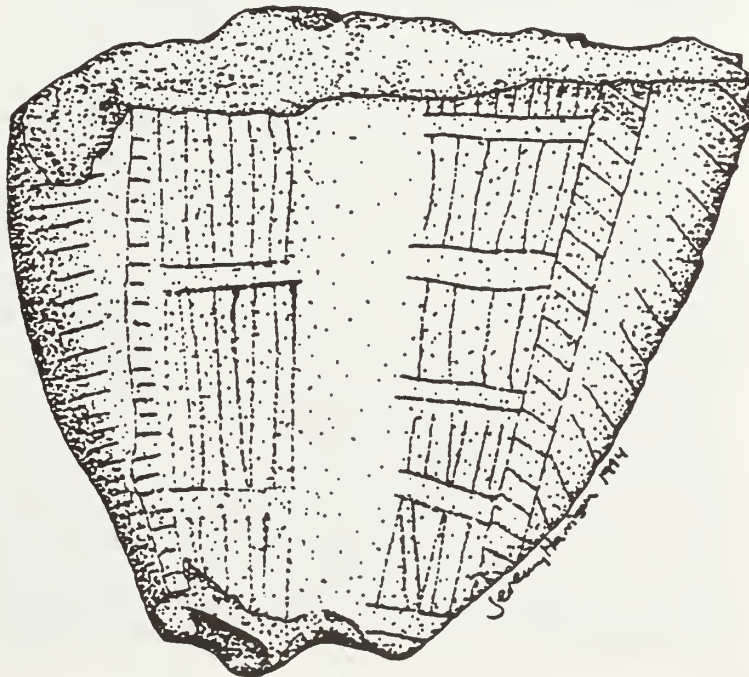
The Middle Archaic (7,000 BP to 2,000 BP)

A convenient environmental marker for the beginning of the Middle Archaic in southwestern Oregon is the volcanic eruption of Mt. Mazama, which is dated to approximately 6,800 BP. The violence of the eruption of Mt. Mazama had a profound effect on the landscape of the High Cascades, and deposited thick layers of ash over regions to the north and east. On the west side of the Cascades, the upper reaches of the Rogue and Umpqua Rivers were choked with pumice and ash. As to the effects of this event on the middle and lower stretches of the Rogue River within the project area, little is known. Use of the Marial site may have been abandoned for a short time after the eruption, although by approximately 6,500 BP we once again find evidence of site reoccupation.

The sites at Marial and Stratton Creek once again provide evidence for human occupation along the river during this long period of transition from the mobile, forager way-of-life to the more sedentary existence of the collector pattern. The transition from the Early Archaic to the Middle Archaic at 7,000 BP is a somewhat arbitrary division; no great technological,

economic, or social changes occur at that date. Rather, the rate of change appears to accelerate during the Middle Archaic, as compared with earlier times.

A radiocarbon date of 6,485 BP was obtained from a charcoal sample from the lower portion of Cultural Zone 3 at Marial during the 1982 BLM excavations, and its position was confirmed during the 1983 OSU field season. Another radiocarbon date of 5,850 was obtained from a sample located in the middle portion of the same zone. Cultural Zone 3 is the thickest layer of cultural deposits (approximately 50 centimeters) with the highest artifact density recorded to date at the site. Both the number and variety of artifacts recovered in Zone 3 mark a change in site usage during this early period of the Middle Archaic. Although the predominate projectile form consisted of a variety of leaf-shaped dart points, the recovery of a number of other chipped-stone and cobble tools suggests a more intensive occupation. In addition to projectile points and end-scrapers, the number of tools made from river cobbles reached its zenith in Zone 3. These cobble tools related not only to the manufacture of chipped-stone tools (e.g., hammerstones and anvils), but also for the first time to the processing of plant foods (e.g., grinding slabs and pestles). Other artifacts associated with this time period included the distinctive McKee unifaces, incised shale pieces, graters (chipped-stone tools used to incise bone, wood, or soft stone), an atlatl weight, a baked clay ball, a grooved cobble that may have served as a fishing line sinker, as well as numerous small pieces of animal bone.



Incised Shale From Stratton Creek (Ross and Blalack 1992)

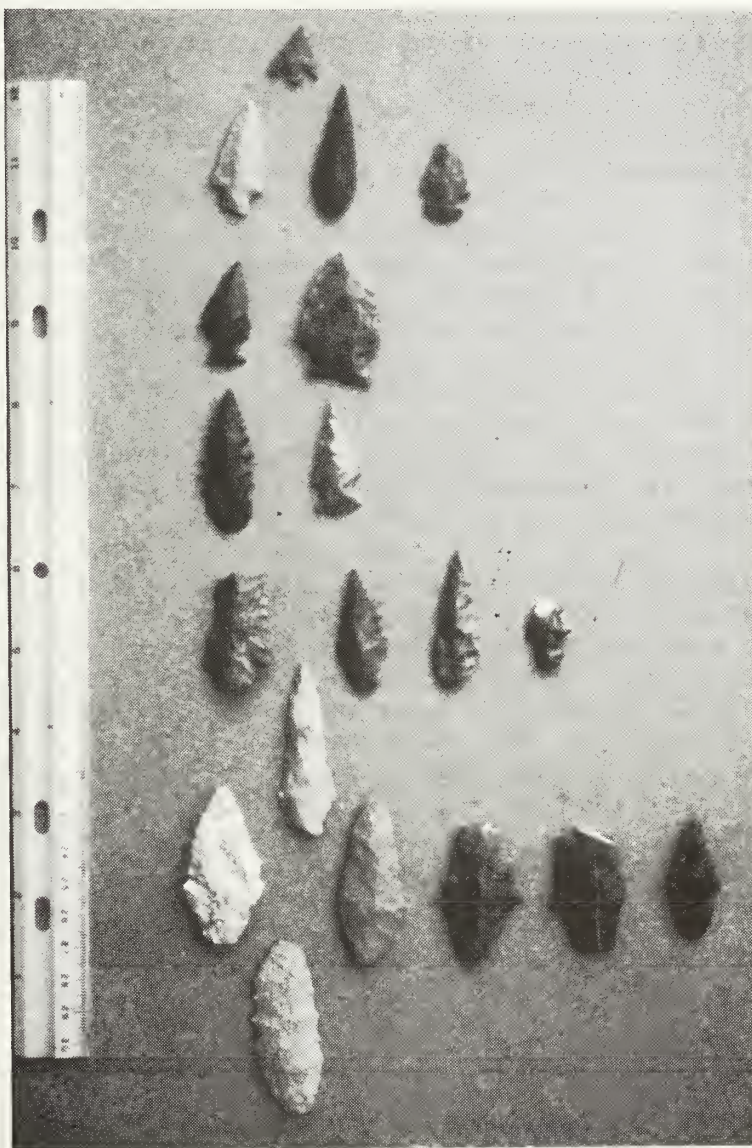
Also uncovered within Zone 3 was the first evidence of possible substantial architecture at the site. At 180 centimeters below the surface of the excavation a feature was uncovered consisting of a cluster of river cobbles placed together forming a solid round platform, a little less than a meter (three feet) in diameter, and slightly concave in the center. The researchers speculated, based on the presence of a number of heat spalls split off from the river cobbles, that this feature may represent the floor of a sweathouse. An ethnographic account of Takelma sweathouses (Sapir 1907) documents that heat for sweathouse was obtained by pouring water over heated stones. This would account for the cobble spalls associated with the feature. The radiocarbon date of 5,850 BP was obtained from a sample near this feature (Schreindorfer 1985).

Zone 2, immediately above Zone 3, was radiocarbon dated to 4,050 BP. This cultural layer was differentiated from the previous zone by a new style of dart point, a stemmed/shoulder form. All of these dart points were manufactured from local materials (e.g., jasper or chert) and are similar in description to the Coquille Series Corner-Notched points defined by Nilsson and Kelly (1991) for the Elk Creek area. In addition to the continued presence of cobble tools and animal bone fragments, one large, sandstone pipe bowl was recovered at the interface of Zone 2 and 3. The pipe bowl was decorated with etchings on the side in a cross-hatched pattern (Schreindorfer 1985). The use of tobacco has been documented ethnographically for groups in the region; the presence of the pipe bowl at this depth indicates that this may have been a long-lived tradition.

Zone 1 may represent the transition from the Middle Archaic to the Late Archaic eras dating from approximately 3,000 to 2,000 BP. This cultural layer was located below the historic plow zone of the site, and extended to a depth of nearly a meter. It was characterized by dark silty soils with the highest density of fire-cracked rock for any of the zones at the site. Fire-cracked rock results from the use of river cobbles in the preparation of various cooked foods. One ethnographically documented method for cooking foods involved the heating of stones in a fire hearth, then transferring the heated stones to a basket. The heat from the stones would then boil or cook whatever liquid or food was in the basket. After using the stones in this manner, they would eventually break into pieces too small to be reused. These discarded cooking stones are referred to as fire-cracked rock in archaeological sites. The densities of fire-cracked rock are assumed to represent the intensity of site occupation over time.

Projectile point forms were the most varied in Zone I. They consisted of a variety of stemmed/shouldered and leaf-shaped dart points, as well as smaller corner-notched, side-notched and base-notched arrow points. This admixture of dart and arrow points suggests that Cultural Zone 1 was occupied for a significant

period of time before, during, and after the adoption of the bow and arrow, generally assumed to have come into use in the area around 2,000 year ago. A radiocarbon date of 2,810 BP was obtained from a sample recovered in the lower half of the zone. As with the previous occupation levels of the Middle Archaic, animal bone fragments, as well as cobble tools relating to plant processing and chipped-stone tool manufacture, were recovered. A stone platform feature, similar to the one described for Zone 3, was located near the bottom of Zone 1. This feature was uncovered during the 1982 field season and was described as: "... a roughly circular stone platform about a meter in diameter" (Deich 1983).



Projectile Points from Marial (Oldest Points at Bottom)

At Stratton Creek the lower strata of the site appears to date primarily to the Middle Archaic era. Although no radiocarbon dates were obtained from the site and the site stratigraphy is less than clear, the artifact assemblage and the obsidian hydration dates from Strata II and III at Stratton Creek closely relates these deposits to the upper three cultural zones at Marial. The predominant projectile point styles in Stratum II at Stratton Creek are leaf-shaped dart point forms. The researchers (Ross and Blalack 1994) identified 22 variants of these leaf-shaped or lanceolate style projectile points. Several of these forms persisted over a long period of time, while others are only represented by a single example. Broad-necked, and side- and corner-notched dart points, as well as stemmed/shouldered dart points, similar to those recovered from Marial, are well represented at Stratton Creek.

In addition to the various forms of projectile points, a large number of artifacts related to the processing of game animals (end-scrapers and cobble choppers) were recovered from the site, along with graters, chipped-stone drills and knives, and cobble tools (i.e., hammerstones) used to manufacture other stone tools. Several rock features were reported at the interface of Stratum II and III. Although most of the rock features had no discernable pattern and were not ascribed a function by the excavators, one feature (#8) was compared to the rock features uncovered at Marial. This feature was described as "... flat, round river cobbles arranged in an oval pattern sloping down towards the center, giving an impression of a shallow depression (Ross and Blalack 1994)." No speculation was made as to its possible function.

Very few animal bone fragments were recovered during the 1992 excavations by OSU, however, during earlier testing in 1989 animal bone fragments were recovered from test units to a depth of perhaps one meter (Ottis 1991). The 1989 testing also noted the dramatic decline in obsidian use that occurred over time at the site. The ratio of obsidian waste flakes to flakes of local materials (e.g., jasper or chert) was 1 to 6.5 in Stratum III, but declined to 1 to 16 in Strata I and II. This change in the use of stone material between the earlier and later periods has been noted at other sites in the region (cf. Pettigrew and Lebow 1987). The decline in obsidian use in the later periods at the site is an intriguing question that remains to be answered.

Excavation reports from both 1989 and 1992 field seasons document the large amount of fire-cracked rock that was encountered in Strata I and II. The quantities of fire-cracked rock fell dramatically in Stratum III, the oldest portion of the site. Large quantities of fire-cracked rock are generally associated with more intensive site occupation. Therefore, this class of artifact supports the hypothesis that the site was used only sporadically during the Early Archaic. Ground-stone

artifacts relating to plant processing (e.g., mortar stones and pestles) were recovered only from the Late Archaic deposits in the upper levels of Stratum II and within the disturbed deposits of Stratum I, indicating that the later inhabitants at the site had shifted to using a broader spectrum of available food resources.

The archaeological remains related to the Middle Archaic time period from the Marial and Stratton Creek sites confirm many of the chronological and economic concepts proposed in the regional models as set forth in Chapter III. Throughout the 5,000 years of the Middle Archaic, as represented by these two sites, there appears to be a great deal of stability in the cultural record. Both sites appear to have continued to function as seasonal base camps for hunting and processing game, and making and repairing stone tools. Evidence for the exploitation of the Rogue River fisheries is almost non-existent. Site use for processing plant foods only appears towards the end of the era. The existence of the mobile, forager pattern is further supported by the lack of evidence of substantial residential structures (i.e., pithouses), although the rock features found at both sites hint that perhaps people were spending longer periods of time at these locations. The archaeological evidence from these two sites strongly supports the notion that hunters and gatherers, for most of this period, continued to pursue a highly mobile way-of-life, moving among the resources of the region.

In addition to cultural stability, cultural change is also evident during the Middle Archaic. It may have been incremental at times, but by the end of this era the stage had been set for a rapid expansion into the collector, village way-of-life. New technologies for processing and storing food were evidently being refined during this era, and populations were increasing. A larger population, and hence group cooperation and a more complex social structure, together with developing technologies, laid the foundations for a new economic order.

The increasing rate of change is well expressed in the archaeological record at Marial and Stratton Creek in projectile points forms. Even though the points were intended for the same weapon systems (the spear, and dart and atlatl) point styles changed over time. These changing projectile point styles may reflect technological improvements in the weapon systems, different point types used for different types of game or hunting conditions, or merely stylistic fashions that changed with the times. In any case, these changing artifact forms are an indication of innovation and cultural adaptability.

Other changes noted in the archaeological record at Marial and Stratton Creek towards the end the Middle Archaic are the use of stone tools to process plant resources, an increase in the variety of chipped- and cobble-stone tools, and higher densities

of fire-cracked rock. The changes in these artifact classes argue for more frequent and perhaps longer periods of use of the sites towards the end of the Middle Archaic, as well as a more extensive use of available resources. People were beginning to spend more of their time and energy at these sites, a precursor to the collector pattern.

The trend is clear. The life of the mobile foragers was beginning to change. It appears from the archaeological record that the evolution towards the collector/village pattern accelerated during the last two thousand years of the Middle Archaic. Whether there were villages with substantial architecture along the river during the latter part of Middle Archaic as postulated by Pettigrew and Lebow (1987) and Winthrop (1993) has yet to be proven, although research to date has been extremely limited. What is clear, is that the stage was set by the events of the late Middle Archaic for the change to a new mode of existence based on different technological and economic concepts; a new way-of-life was about to begin along the banks of the Rogue.

The Late Archaic (2,000 BP to 250 BP)

Archaeologically, the beginning of the Late Archaic era in southwestern Oregon is marked by the advent of the bow and arrow. The exact timing of this technological innovation in weaponry is a subject of debate, but a date of approximately 2,000 years ago is close. The advent of this new weapon is indicated by smaller and lighter projectile point forms, as compared with the heavier projectile points used on thrusting spears or with the atlatl and dart. The transition from the mobile forager subsistence pattern to the more sedentary collector pattern intensified during the Late Archaic. Other cultural hallmarks of this era include expanded trade networks with both neighboring and distant groups, and societies in which social distinctions were increasingly marked by wealth. The migration of Athapaskan-speaking people from northern latitudes to the coast of southern Oregon and northern California, and inland to portions of the current project area, took place during the Late Archaic. These events transpired during a time when the climate and vegetation patterns of southwestern Oregon were similar to those of today.

There are several excavated archaeological sites within the project boundaries that were occupied during the Late Archaic. However, one of the better documented excavations of a Late Archaic occupation occurred along the Rogue River just east of the upriver boundary of BLM jurisdiction, approximately a mile east of the confluence of the Applegate and Rogue Rivers. The Ritsch site was located during the course of a cultural resource survey in response to a proposed sewer treatment project for the city of Grants Pass. A preliminary test excavation at the site revealed the presence of a buried housepit floor and associated

artifacts approximately one meter below the modern ground surface. Subsequently, the site was partially excavated in late 1976 by students from Oregon State University, led by Dr. David Brauner.

Two, and perhaps three components, or levels of occupation, were identified at the site. Component I extended from the surface down to a depth of approximately 50 centimeters. The upper portion of this component was heavily disturbed by historic farming, yet contained a substantial quantity of chipped-stone and cobble tools, as well as fire-cracked rock. The lower portion of Component I escaped the ravages of the plow. Taken together these two layers of Component I were characterized by a variety of chipped-stone tools, including scrapers, graters, projectile points, and waste flakes from tool manufacture. Tools made from river cobbles were also recovered, such as hammerstones, choppers, edge-worn cobbles and net-sinkers. The presence of notched net-sinkers (evidence of fishing activity at the site), was unique to this component of the site. Another artifact unique to Component I was a form of concave-base, triangular-shaped arrow point. Animal and fish bone fragments were also recovered from this component. A radiocarbon date of 460 BP was obtained from a charcoal sample near the bottom of Component I in an area that may have been a surface dwelling (Wilson 1979).

A layer of soil containing a relatively low density of chipped- and cobble-stone tools extended for 50 centimeters below Component I. Small base- and corner-notched arrow points were common in this zone. The researchers believed that this portion of the site represented "...light periodic use of the site between the occupation of Component I and Component II and accounts for approximately one thousand years of the sites' history (Wilson 1979)." Below this zone, at approximately one meter below the surface, the floors of two semi-subterranean housepits were encountered. This level of the excavation was designated as Component II. One complete house floor was excavated and nearly half of the other before the field season was completed. In addition, the "living surface" area surrounding the excavated house features was exposed by the archaeologists. Radiocarbon dates taken from the fire hearths of the houses dated them to 1,400 and 1,470 BP; these are statistically equivalent dates. These are the oldest, firmly dated housepits yet excavated in southwestern Oregon.

The floor of house number 1 was described by Wilson (1979) as being circular in shape with a diameter of 3.5 meters (11.5 feet). It had been excavated into the then existing ground surface to the depth of 50 centimeters, with a central fire hearth dug 10 centimeters into the central portion of the floor. No evidence remained of the construction of the above ground portion of the house. A few chipped-stone tools (projectile

points, a drill, a scraper, and some utilized waste flakes) were located within the house fill. In addition, two hopper-mortar bases, a number of cobble-choppers, an incised bone fragment, a bone awl, two salmon vertebrae, as well as numerous pieces of fire-cracked rock were associated with the floor of house number 1.

House number 2 was only partially excavated. It too was circular, although somewhat larger; four meters in estimated diameter. The depth of the house floor beneath the old ground surface, and the placement of the fire hearth were similar to house number 1. The artifact assemblage from house number 2 was comparable to that of house number 1, although fewer formed stone tools were recovered. No hopper-mortar bases or bone implements were present. It was speculated that any useable artifacts had been removed by the occupants prior to abandonment.

The area outside of the house floors yielded a greater number of artifacts than the interior of the housepits. This "living surface" extended from 100 to 130 centimeters below modern ground surface, and encompassed an area between the two house floors. A similar artifact assemblage of projectile points and other chipped-stone tools, as well as tools crafted from river cobbles were recovered from this area of the excavation. A majority of the projectile points were small, triangular-blade, corner- to base-notched arrow points. Quantities of fire-cracked rock, as well as a few pieces of animal bone (deer) and shell (river mussel) were noted by the excavators. A radiocarbon date of 1,150 BP was obtained from this area that was described as a "general or multi-use area (Wilson 1979)."

Below the house floors and the "living surface" between them, excavations uncovered cultural material to a depth of 1.9 meters below ground surface. Artifact densities were light and the tool types similar to those noted above. At the bottom of this cultural zone a circular fire hearth, with no associated artifacts, was exposed. There was not sufficient charcoal remaining within the hearth to obtain a radiocarbon date, nor were any diagnostic projectile points recovered from this stratum.

How early the first occupants originally used the Ritsch site area is speculative; the recovered data from below Component II is inconclusive. However, by 1,400 BP the site was being actively occupied by people who invested a significant amount of energy in constructing semi-subterranean house structures, and who were exploiting a variety of locally available resources, including plants, upland game, fresh-water mussels, and fish. By approximately 500 years ago, a fishing industry using woven nets (evidenced by net-sinkers) had been established at the site and it overshadowed the hunting orientation of earlier times. The presence of concave-base projectile forms in Component I led

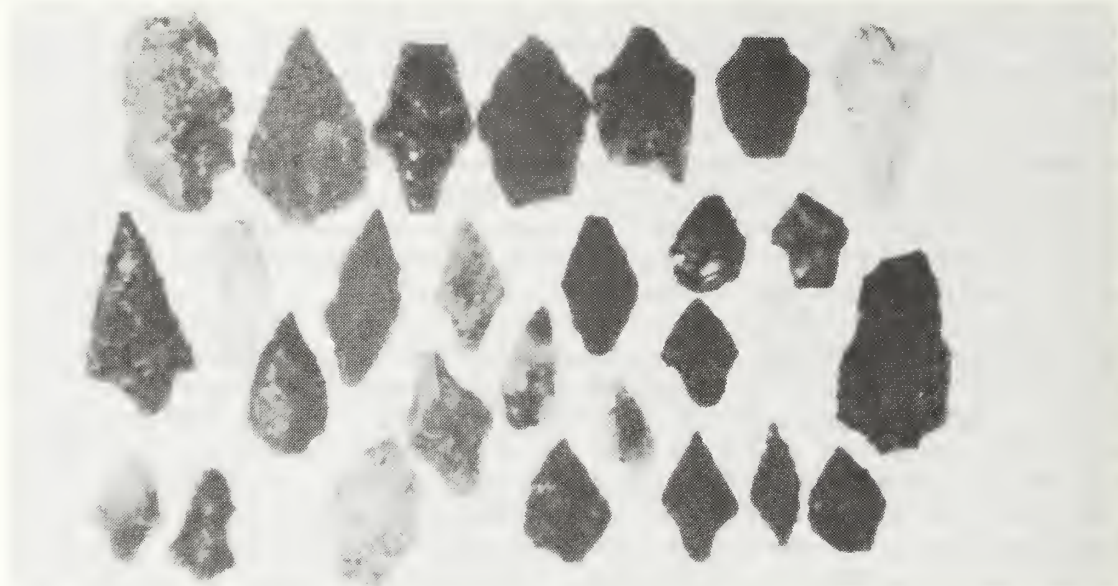
Wilson (1979) to speculate that there was a strong affinity with, or influence from, coastal groups with similar artifact forms.

Another Late Archaic site, the Marthaller site, lies along the banks of the Rogue River less than two miles downriver from the Ritsch site and west of the mouth of the Applegate River. The Marthaller site is located within the scenic corridor managed by the BLM. Illegal looting of the site prompted the BLM, in conjunction with the volunteer group, the Oregon Archaeological Society, to conduct a large scale testing of the site in 1981 to evaluate the significance of the site and the extent of damage caused by the ongoing vandalism.

A total of 42, five foot square units were excavated during the 1981 field season. The depth of the cultural material extended to approximately 140 centimeters below the modern ground surface, although the bulk of the artifacts were recovered from the top 90 centimeters. The chipped-stone tool assemblage from the site was fairly extensive; tools were manufactured from locally obtained lithic materials (chert and jasper), as well as from imported obsidian. Scrapers, drills, graters, a large number of waste flakes from stone tool manufacture, in addition to various partially modified flakes and tool fragments were recovered from the excavation. Over 150 identifiable projectile points were analyzed as part of the project. Approximately 50 percent of the projectile points were deemed to be arrow points dating to the Late Archaic (small basal- and side-notched points, as well as triangular concave base forms). It was primarily on the basis of these arrow points, as well as a few other artifact forms similar to coastal sites, that the researchers dated the site to a period between 500 BP and contact with Euro-Americans ca. 1827 (Steele 1984).

A review of the description of the other 50 percent of recovered projectile points suggests that perhaps the Marthaller site may have been occupied for some time prior to 500 BP. A large number of leaf-shaped projectile points and broad-necked shouldered and stemmed points, generally assumed to be associated with the use of the dart and atlatl, were noted in the final report (Steele 1984). Although the descriptions of these points are somewhat generalized by today's standards, and their location within the cultural deposits is not documented, many of the specimens appear to fit the description of projectile points assigned to the Coquille Phase (4,500 to 2,500 BP), the Marial (8,500 to 4,500 BP), and possibly even the Applegate Phase (10,500 to 8,500 BP) of the local regional chronology (cf. Pettigrew and Lebow 1987; Nilsson and Kelly 1991); Alternatively, these dart points may represent the continued use of atlatl into the Late Archaic, or the recycling of old projectile points. Unfortunately, no radiocarbon samples from the site were submitted for analysis, nor was obsidian hydration

analysis available at that time. The lack of any clear cultural stratigraphy also hinders the resolution of the site chronology.

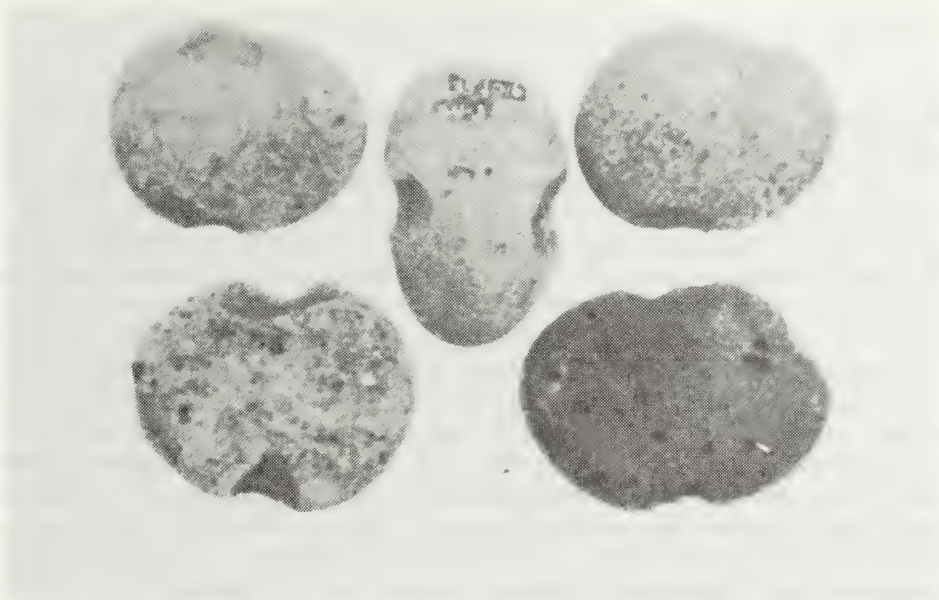


Dart-Points from the Marthaller Site



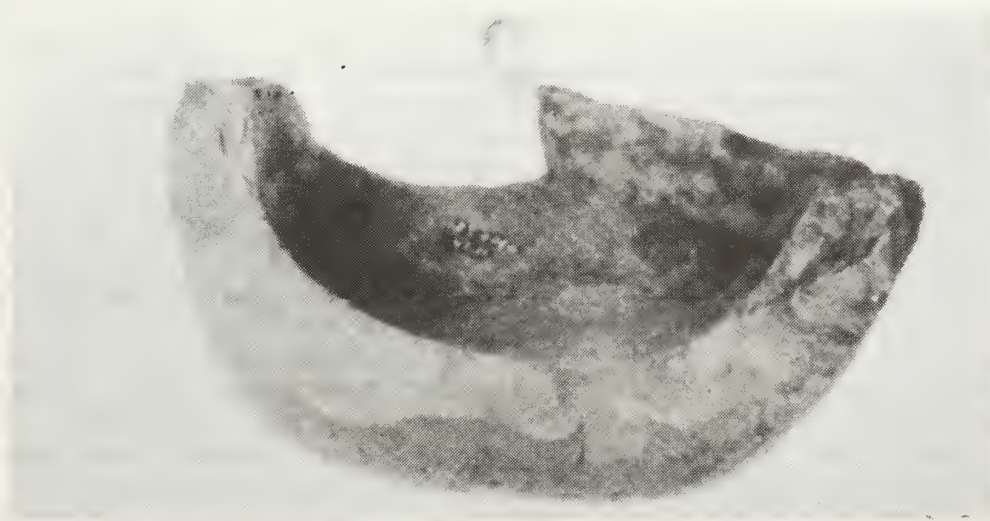
Early Projectile Points from the Marthaller Site

That the Marthaller site was the location of a Late Archaic settlement related to the collector/village pattern is not in doubt. The presence of numerous grinding slabs, hopper-mortar bases, and pestles represents a significant investment in the manufacture of heavy plant processing tools. Other artifacts attesting to a sedentary way-of-life include notched net-sinkers, a stone pipe, soapstone bowl fragments, hammer and anvil stones, polished and flaked cobble tools, and a number of abraders used to straighten and smooth arrow or dart shafts. The shells of fresh-water mussels and mammal bone (e.g., deer) fragments were also present in the cultural deposits.



Net-sinkers from the Marthaller Site

Three fire hearths were discovered at the site during the course of excavation; two were at a depth of approximately 60 centimeters, and another was at 90 centimeters below the surface. No housepits features were recorded at the site. The lack of housepits raises the possibility that the Marthaller site, although apparently quite large and repeatedly occupied, may not have been a classic semi-permanent winter village site like those described in the ethnographic literature. Rather, the location may have served as a more temporary, but heavily used, fishing and plant gathering base camp. An account of the area recorded by the ethnographer Melville Jacobs in the 1930's from Native American informants stated "...right at the mouth of the Applegate there were a lot of people. That's where they were dip-netting salmon...that time they lived in a summer [emphasis added] camp" (Jacobs [nd]).



Stone Bowl Fragment from Marthaller Site

The other two excavated sites within the study area, Marial and Stratton Creek, also provided evidence of use during the Late Archaic. During the 1985 field season at Marial, the southern portion of the occupied terrace was extensively sampled. The artifacts recovered during this phase of the archaeological work at the site, combined with limited testing of this portion of the site during previous investigations, documents the human occupation of the site during the past 1,000 years. The projectile point forms recovered from the plow zone of the central terrace, as well as from the southern portion of the terrace are predominately small basal-notched arrow points (Gunther-barbed) of the Late Archaic. Other chipped-stone tools recovered included drills, scrapers, graters, and fragments of partially fashioned multi-purpose tools. A few cobble and ground-stone tools, including shaft abraders, as well as a net-sinker were also reported from the site (Clark 1988). Numerous small fragments of animal bone, in addition to a few fresh water mussel shells were recovered during the 1985 excavations.

A radiocarbon date of 710 BP was obtained from a fire hearth uncovered at a depth of 1.5 meters below the surface in the southern part of the terrace (Ross 1987), indicating that this portion of the terrace has built up much more rapidly than the center of the terrace where the older, stratified cultural deposits of the Early and Middle Archaic periods are located. This discontinuity between the location of the older deposits in the center of the terrace and younger Late Archaic material on the southern edge of the terrace has yet to be explained. In the realm of speculation, it is possible that the Late Archaic occupation at Marial represents a different cultural group (i.e., Athapaskan-speakers), whose knowledge of the past use of the area did not extend back for generations. Thus, their settlement may have been predicated on functional needs (e.g., a heavier reliance on fishing) rather than on historical or traditional patterns.

To date, none of the investigations at Marial have documented the presence of a permanent village site with housepits. However, there is historical information that sheds some light on this subject. The response to a question during an interview (Atwood 1976) with Ivin Billings, a life-long resident of Marial, may explain the lack of these features:

Question by Kay Atwood: "Did you dig up Indian artifacts in this area [lower field] once in a while?"

Ivin Billings: "Yes...way down on the lower end...they camped down there...the whole part of the lower end. The pits were still there. We had to plow them up and rake dirt in to smooth them up."

It appears that historic plowing (noted in the top levels of the excavations) may well have destroyed any evidence of Late Archaic housepits floors on the terrace.

The same fate may have befallen any evidence for housepits at the Stratton Creek site. There, the top 40 centimeters of the cultural deposit was heavily disturbed by farming. However, the 1992 excavations did recover a number of basal-notched arrow points of Late Archaic vintage in the disturbed top stratum (Stratum I), and in the uppermost levels of Stratum II. Stratum I also contains dense quantities of fire-cracked rock, indicative of intensive, repeated occupation. Whether the Stratton Creek site served as a temporary base camp or as a semi-permanent village during the Late Archaic is, at this point, difficult to determine. Perhaps future investigations at the site or detailed analysis of the recovered artifact collection will address this question.

Archaeological excavations within the project area have documented the presence of the collector/village subsistence and settlement pattern during the Late Archaic. The artifact assemblages from the Marthaller and Ritsch sites stand out as clear examples of this pattern. Compared to assemblages from sites dated to the Middle Archaic, there is marked increase in the number and variety of chipped- and cobble-stone tools, indicative of more intensive resource use and longer periods of occupation. The presence of stone net-sinkers and fish remains clearly demonstrates that the people of the Late Archaic were exploiting the fisheries of the Rogue River. The presence of heavy milling and grinding stones at these sites shows that people were making investments in non-portable tools, in addition to the time and energy that was spent constructing substantial dwellings. Clearly, the sites of the Late Archaic era in the project area had become villages in the sense that people spent considerable time at these locales and returned to the same locations year after year.

The archaeological evidence for the collector/village way-of-life during this period in the form of housepits is confined to the radiocarbon dated features at the Ritsch site at 1,400 BP. This date is within the time frame of the Siskiyou pattern as postulated by Connolly. Pettigrew and Lebow (1987) advanced a theory that small housepit village sites may have originated much earlier in the region, possibly as early as 5,000 BP. Although no evidence from the excavated sites along the Rogue River substantiates this hypothesis, the excavation of several rock features at both Marial and Stratton Creek, dating to the Middle Archaic, hint at the possibility. Never the less, the preponderance of material evidence that defines the collector/village pattern--from housepits to fishing implements--appears in the archaeological record in the project area during the Late Archaic.

The reasons for the change into the collector pattern during the Late Archaic are not clear. Connolly has linked the change from a long-lived, forager pattern to outsiders, either the intrusion of the Athapaskan-speakers (the Gunther Pattern), or to influences from east of the Cascades. Pettigrew and Lebow argue that the development was a natural progression over time within the region, as evidenced by the historical changes in artifact forms (especially projectile points).

Perhaps the best explanation to fit the data that is available at the present time, is the model presented by Winthrop (1993). Implicit in her model is the interaction of a variety of factors. These factors include: the changing environmental conditions of the Middle Archaic that produced a more productive and predictable food supply in the river valleys by the beginning of the Late Archaic; a growing population that required an intensive utilization of resources within more restricted territories; the evolution of food processing and storage techniques, and land management practices (e.g., field and forest burning); and expanded contacts through trade with societies outside of the area.

Were the Athapaskan-speakers responsible for the development of the collector/village pattern along the Rogue River? Certainly they brought with them ideas, technologies, language, and customs that were different from those of the long-time occupants of the area. Many of these traits were no doubt borrowed or imitated by the resident population. But the Athapaskans in turn must have been influenced by the people who had a long history of adaptation to the landscape and resources of southwestern Oregon. The current archaeological data points to an evolutionary process that developed in place over the long span of the Early and Middle Archaic. The pace of change accelerated during the Late Archaic, partially in response to expanded cultural contacts, and resulted in the way-of-life that was practiced by both Athapaskan groups and Takelma speakers at the time of the appearance of the first Euro-Americans in the Rogue Valley.

The Ethnographic Era (250 BP to 150 BP)

The following is a discussion of archaeological sites along the river that relate to the ethnographic record. This discussion is based on the research of several anthropologists earlier in this century (see Chapter III) who gleaned their information from a handful of Native American informants, primarily elderly women. These women were small children during the time of the destruction of the native way-of-life in the 1850's. Their recollections of the traditional Indian lifeways (some of which they learned from their parents and grandparents), along with their knowledge of village locations and other placenames of importance, are the only first-hand Native American

accounts that we have. The way-of-life that they described applies with certainty only to the relatively recent past. Thus, the ethnographic-period discussion is limited to the one hundred year time frame prior to 1850.

The ethnographic way-of-life may have differed from much of the Late Archaic for several reasons. Prior to the full-scale invasion of the Indian's ancestral territory beginning in 1850, indirect Euro-American influences may have profoundly changed native economic and social patterns. The effects of European diseases on Native American cultures have been well documented throughout much of North America back as far as the 16th century. Although no direct evidence exists for such epidemics in southwestern Oregon, they may well have occurred early on and significantly altered the structure of the native societies. The presence of Euro-Americans in large numbers--to the north in the Willamette Valley and to the south in California--prior to the gold rush in southwestern Oregon, also had indirect impacts on the cultures of the region. Euro-American goods began to enter the area through trade, and population shifts and subsequent regrouping of Indian cultures occurred throughout the West. These factors and others no doubt affected life in this period for the native inhabitants who lived along the Rogue River.

Our knowledge of archaeological sites that date to this time period along the river is derived from several sources: field surveys conducted by the BLM during the past two decades, information supplied by local artifact collectors and property owners, and from the recently completed literature review and field survey that were undertaken as a earlier phases of this study.

The boundaries of BLM management include the Recreational and the Wild sections of the Rogue River. The Recreational section of the river extends from the mouth of the Applegate River downriver to Grave Creek, below the town of Galice. This portion of the river includes portions of the ethnographic territories the of Penutian-speaking Lowland Takelma, and the Athapascan-speaking Da-ku-be-te-de of the Applegate Valley, as well as the Tal-tuc-tun-te-de people, whose primary village was located at the mouth of Galice Creek. Downriver from Grave Creek, the Athapascan-speaking Shasta Costa probably inhabited sites within the Wild section of the river as far west as the mouth of the Illinois River.

Taking the Recreational section of the river first, a few ethnographically described village locations have been identified with archaeological remains; several other identified sites may also relate to this time period. The Marthaller and Ritsch sites (discussed above) near the mouth of the Applegate River may be the location of the ethnographically described village of the Da-ku-be-te-de people. Two different Native American informants

placed the village of Da-ku-tee (also spelled La'kho-ve) at the mouth of the Applegate River (Jacobs n.d. and Harrington 1981:347). The Marthaller site seems like the most probable corresponding location, due to its size and the density of cultural material recovered during the test excavations. The researchers of that excavation (Steele 1984) suggested that the site may have been abandoned prior to contact with Euro-Americans, due to the lack of recovery of any historic trade goods. However, only a relatively small sample of the site was excavated, and historic trade goods (e.g., metal, glass, or trade beads) are seldom found in large quantities in sites in southwestern Oregon. The Ritsch site may also date from this era, although there again, no historic trade goods dating to the contact era were recovered. The Ritsch site, however, had a relatively low artifact density and was buried beneath layers of sediment, which would argue against it being the major village site of the Applegate Athapaskans. At this point, there is no "smoking gun" to directly associate either site with the village of Da-ku-tee, although both sites do fit the location description of that village, and both were occupied into the Late Archaic.

A few miles downriver from the Marthaller site, the area from Finley Bend to Pickett Creek, just below the Robertson Bridge (a 6.5 mile stretch of the Rogue River), contains a number of archaeological sites that have been documented or reported. Although there is no direct correlation with ethnographically described placenames or villages, the noted or described artifacts and/or features at these locations point to a Late Archaic occupation, probably by the Lowland Takelma. Two of the sites were described by a local resident (Wallmann 1994 personal communication) to have contained housepits. A site recorded by the BLM in 1977 (Deich) contained deep midden soils, in addition to notched net-sinkers and fire-cracked rock; two additional sites recorded during the field inventory phase of this current project also exhibited deep midden soils, fire-cracked rock, and notched net-sinkers. Towards the downriver end of this section of the river corridor, a complex of sites on a broad terrace was reported. These included one site area from which obsidian wealth-display blades, a pestle, a soap-stone pipe, and a stone paddle-club were reportedly unearthed in the 1940's. All of these locations along this stretch of the river have been disturbed by historic farming activities and/or modern construction projects.

Moving a few miles downriver to near the confluence of Jump-Off Joe Creek and the Rogue River, three sites identified in the ethnographic accounts within Lowland Takelma territory were recorded during the field inventory phase of the current project. These included the villages of Hat'onkh near Jump-Off Joe Creek, and Yawa-kh and Sumulkh near Hellgate Canyon. The Hat'onkh site was tentatively identified based on the correspondence between the ethnographically described location and presence of midden

soils, fire-cracked rock, and chipped-stone debris spread across a broad, high terrace along the Rogue River. A small, fresh-water mussel shell midden may have been associated with this site; it is located on the shore of the river directly opposite Hat'onkh.

The villages of Yawa-kh and Sumulkh are more firmly associated with the ethnographic record. Not only do the locations of these sites conform to the Native informants' descriptions, these sites also contain features and artifacts dating to this era. At the Yawa-kh site, local relic collectors report that in the 1950's there were 16 intact housepits at the site. The ethnographic accounts describe Yawa-kh as "...a good sized town." (A portion of the site was dug by artifact collectors in the 1970's). Artifacts recovered at that time included an iron adze blade, a rolled copper bead, and a piece of clay pottery. This site was inspected during the course of the current project. The excavations and backdirt piles from this early vandalism are still evident, and fire-cracked rock and chipped-stone flakes were noted eroding from the sides of the old excavation units.

The site of Sumulkh, on the opposite shore of the river from Yawa-kh, also contained a number of housepits that were intact in the 1950's. In the last few decades highway and residential construction has destroyed much of this site. BLM site information from the 1970's reported the presence of projectile points, fire-cracked rock, notched net-sinkers, and historic glass trade beads. During the field inventory phase of this project, the site was revisited; thick midden soils, fire-cracked rock, a basal-notched projectile point, a notched net-sinker, and the possible location of one housepit were noted. Although both the Yawa-kh and Sumulkh sites have been severely damaged, there still remains a potential for future scientific investigation of the intact portions of these sites.

The last site in the Recreational section of the river corridor tied to the ethnographic period is the village of Talda'cdan (or Talustun) near Galice Creek. The village, according to the ethnographic accounts, was located on both sides of the Rogue River, and was the principal village of the Athapaskan-speakers who occupied the Galice Creek drainage. The site was recorded by the BLM (Deich 1977; Winthrop 1993a). Artifacts noted at the site included waste flakes from stone tool manufacture, fire-cracked rock, animal bone fragments, and fresh-water mussel shells. Unfortunately, large portions of this site have also been vandalized.

The ethnographic data and the archaeological information for the Wild section of the Rogue River between Grave Creek and Marial is limited. There is a Lowland Takelma reference for what may be Rainie Falls, Taktkamaykh. Informants referred to it as

"a portage of canoes and big waterfall way down Rogue River (Harrington 1981:509)." This would have been at or near the western boundary of Takelma territory. Although Dorsey (1890) provides a list of Shasta Costa placenames on the Rogue upriver from the mouth of the Illinois River, their relation to specific locales within the Rogue River Canyon are undetermined. Archaeologically, a few sites have either been reported by relic collectors or noted by BLM personnel between Grave Creek and Marial. The lack of suitable landforms (large terraces above high water levels), combined with the difficulty of access within the canyon may have precluded intensive settlement. There are reports of archaeological remains at several of the larger bars and terraces near creek mouths; however, no dates have been ascribed to these sites.

There are a number of sites along the river within the project boundaries that date to at least the Late Archaic. Of that number, a few can be directly associated with the time period immediately preceding the destruction of the traditional way-of-life in the 1850's. The sites of Yawa-kh, Sumulkh, and Talda'cdan all have direct, specific ethnographic references; in addition, historic trade goods have been reportedly recovered from two of these sites. Less well documented evidence, but none the less suggestive, exists for the association of the village of Da-ku-tee with the Marthaller site, or possibly the Ritsch site; and the village of Hat'onkh with the site recorded near Jump-Off Joe Creek. The other sites, either documented during the field inventory or reported by collectors, cannot be dated to such a narrow time frame.

The locations of these Late Archaic, ethnographic-era sites provides us with some insights into land use patterns that help to predict the location of additional sites along the river. One interesting pattern appears to be the pairing of sites on opposite sides on the river. This pattern occurs at the mouth of the Applegate (the Marthaller and Ritsch sites), and at four, and perhaps five other locations along the Rogue between the Applegate River and Galice Creek. Most of these sites are also located alongside a tributary creek of the river. It is the sediments (rocks and gravel) that are discharged from tributary creeks during flood episodes that form the rapids and riffles of the Rogue that in turn create the pools that provide excellent fishing potential. Two of these locations, at the mouth of Galice Creek and the villages of Sumulkh and Yawa-kh, appear to have been occupied concurrently during the ethnographic era.

Intuitively, it seems that the area between the confluence of the Applegate and Rogue Rivers and Galice Creek was intensively occupied during the Late Archaic and/or ethnographic eras; thus, populations may have been relatively high. However, solid evidence for this hypothesis is still lacking. We have yet to firmly date most of these sites to a narrow time frame.

Perhaps the sites were all occupied during the 100 years of the ethnographic era. Even if that is true, we do not know if use occurred each year at every site, or whether sites in different locations were utilized on a sporadic or rotating basis depending upon resource availability, environmental conditions, or cultural traditions.

Archaeologically, population estimates based on the number of housepit features reported at various sites can, at times, be misleading. An example from the upper Applegate River Valley is instructive in this regard. At site 35JA42, five housepit depressions were discovered during the course of an archaeological inventory. After excavation, it was determined that, in fact, the village was only one house in size. It seems that the occupants of the site rebuilt a single new house each year, abandoning the previous year's dwelling (Brauner 1983). Although the surface indications pointed to a small village site, the reality was a single family residence. Thus, the size of the resident population and the intensity of the settlement within the project area based on presumed village size must await a more exhaustive examination of the archaeological data.

Due to the rapid dislocation of the Indian population after Euro-American contact, estimates of the indigenous population of the region vary widely. However, Beckham (1971:9) puts the total population of Native Americans living in southwestern Oregon at the time of Euro-American contact at nearly 10,000. If only a fraction of this number resided in the project area, it is likely that several thousand native people lived along the middle stretch of the Rogue River. Although by today's standards this appears to be a relatively low population density, in 1870, twenty years after the beginning of Euro-American settlement of the region, Josephine County's official population stood at only 1,204 (U.S. Bureau of Census 1870). Native populations, prior to contact with Euro-Americans, may well have rivaled or exceeded those of the early historic period.

War and Diaspora (1850 AD to the Present)

Early conflicts between the Native Americans and the occasional fur trappers and traders who ventured through the region in the 1820's and 1830's set the tone for future relations between the two cultures. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 prompted a flow of would-be miners from the Willamette Valley to head south through the Rogue Valley on their way to the southern gold fields. This intrusion through Indian territory was only the beginning. By 1850 settlers were beginning to enter the Rogue River region in increasing numbers to take up land, spurred by the passage of the Donation Land Act that (amended) granted 160 acres (320 for married couples) to homesteaders. With the discovery of gold on Jackson Creek in late 1851, the trickle of immigrants turned into a torrent. Within the space of

a few months, miners had stake claims throughout southwestern Oregon, and boom towns had sprung up along the rivers and creeks. Increasingly, the Indians found themselves dispossessed from their ancestral lands.

Conflicts between the cultures escalated until warfare broke out in the Rogue Valley during the summer of 1853. As noted by the historian Steven Beckham (1971) the reasons for the Indians resentment of the miners and settlers were well founded:

Above all else, the Indians in the region had been reduced to starvation and to surviving virtually as refugees in their own homeland. The miners' 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. Further, the whites with their modern weapons had taken a heavy toll on the deer and elk in the region. Repeatedly the Indians had been driven from their old villages as farmers moved in to file for lands under the Donation Land Act of 1850, or as miners decided to overturn the river bars in search of gold.

The hostilities of 1853 were brutal but brief. The Indians of the interior Rogue Valley signed a treaty ceding most of the Rogue Valley in return for a reservation near Table Rock. That same year over on the coast, gold was discovered in the beach sands along the southern Oregon coast. The rush of miners to the coast had the same effect on the coastal Indian groups; violence and warfare ensued.

Life on the Table Rock Reservation during 1854-55 had devastating consequences for the native population. Lack of food, a severe winter, and diseases ravaged the people. In October of 1855, when a group of Takelma returned to their old village at the mouth of Little Butte Creek on the upper Rogue River, they were attacked by a group of volunteer militia. Eight Takelma men and 15 women and children died in the attack. This event led to breakdown of any pretense of coexistence between the cultures. The Indians at the Table Rock Reservation, sensing that survival was no longer possible in their homeland, headed for the security of the Rogue River Canyon and the coastal mountains to the west. Their flight from the reservation was not without revenge; they attacked miners and settlers along the Rogue River from Gold Hill to Galice Creek. The final battles of the war now moved into the country surrounding the middle course of the Rogue River, a rugged terrain of steep slopes and narrow canyons.

Within the project boundaries, the attack by the westward fleeing Indians on the mining community of Galice in late 1855 has been well documented. On October 17, Indians attacked the mining encampment at the mouth of Galice Creek, a strategic point for access to the Rogue River Canyon. The forty or so miners and packers at Galice defended their settlement during the day long battle, but suffered a number of casualties, including the death of four of the defenders (Beckham 1971). The Indians withdrew to fight another day.

Moving west to the rugged mountainous terrain north of the Rogue River, the Rogue River Indian groups established camp on a high ridge. Discovered by the pursuing volunteer militia and regular army troops during the last days of October 1855, battle ensued. The Indians held the high ground and inflicted heavy casualties on the enthusiastic, but poorly trained troops. The Battle of Hungry Hill, as it was known by the defeated, was a major victory for the Indian forces. The final military campaign of 1855 against the beleaguered Indian forces commenced in the later part of November. Regular troops and volunteer militia advanced from Grave Creek, down the Rogue River Canyon and eventually encountered the Indians below Whiskey Creek. Nearly 150 Indian men and their families were camped on the south side of the river at Black Bar. The soldiers attempted to launch a surprise attack on the encampment from the north shore, but were given away by the noise of their axes as they felled trees to build rafts. The Indians opened fire on the exposed positions of the volunteers, defeating their pursuers for the second time in a month. With the onset of winter weather, hostilities within the canyon came to an end.

In the following spring of 1856 the final engagements of the war were fought. Within the project area, Indian forces from the Rogue Valley suffered their first defeat since leaving the Table Rock Reservation. A combined force of nearly two hundred volunteers reached Ditch Creek on the north shore of the Rogue and fired into the Indian camp on the opposite shore. Perhaps as many as thirty warriors were killed during the all-day assault at what today is named Battle Bar. This victory by the militia, combined with the hardships suffered during the long winter, forced the surviving Indians to capitulate. One final desperate battle was fought at Big Bend on the lower Rogue River, when surrendering Indians were attacked by volunteer forces. The end of May, 1856 saw the cessation of formal hostilities. Throughout that the summer and the following winter, "licensed" Indian hunters killed and captured scattered Indian survivors throughout the region (Beckham 1971).

Following surrender, those Indians who had survived war, privation, and disease were forced to face another trial, removal to a reservation. This process had begun earlier with Takelma and Shastan people who had not fled the reservation at Table

Rock. In the winter of 1856, 400 Indians from Table Rock were marched 200 miles overland to the newly established reservation of Grande Ronde in Yamhill County in the Willamette Valley. There, they resided with Indians from the Willamette Valley and the lower Columbia River (Beckham 1978). Those bands that surrendered in the spring of 1856 at Big Bend, including survivors from Takelma and Shasta Costa villages, were loaded onto a steamer at Port Orford and transported, via the Columbia and Willamette Rivers and then overland, to their new home, the Siletz Reservation near the Oregon coast. One group of survivors from the Applegate Valley (35 men, 90 women, and 90 children) led by their leader "John", made the trip to Siletz in a different fashion; they were forced to march 125 miles up the Oregon coast (Beckham 1971).

By all accounts, the early years at these new reservations were a continuation of the degradations and deprivations that had ravaged these traditional societies for the preceding decade. Forced to live in an unfamiliar environment among people with different backgrounds and traditions, the Indians of southwestern Oregon lived and died in despair. Disease ravaged the populations at both reservation. At Siletz the population fell from 2,026 in 1856 to 483 in 1900. The story was similar at Grande Ronde; 826 people in 1857 and only 398 surviving in 1910 (Beckham 1978). Most of these deaths occurred shortly after the survivors of the Rogue River hostilities arrived at the reservations, as noted by the Agent (Metcalf) at the Siletz Reservation in 1858:

According to the census taken of those people [Rogue River Indians] twelve months ago, they numbered five hundred and ninety, out of this number two hundred and five have died; thirty-five have returned to Grande Ronde, and three hundred and fifty remain, many of whom are sick...(Beckham 1978).

The Euro-American ideals of "civilization" were forced on the survivors. Christianity, speaking English, and farming were the goals of the reservation system. Children were separated from their parents and placed in boarding or day schools to keep them from the being influenced by the elders (Beckham 1978). Gradually the native languages, oral traditions, customs, and knowledge of the traditional ways-of-life were diminished with each generation.

The twentieth century has been a long struggle from the edge of extinction to the promise of a new era for descendants of the original inhabitants of the Rogue River. The members of the Siletz and Grande Ronde fought back from the official termination of their tribal status in the 1950's to reclaim a portion of lands allotted to them in the nineteenth century. Today, tribal

governments increasingly control their political and economic future, and they have developed programs to revive cultural traditions and to protect sites and landscapes of sacred value. Although the smoke of sawmills and smudge pots has replaced the haze of village campfires and meadow burnings, the memory of the people for their homeland along the Rogue has not diminished. Even while a new culture occupies what was once their land, the old ties have not been broken. It is this long-lasting identification with the land of their ancestors that has provided the Indians of the Rogue River Valley with the ability to cope with the challenges of the changing modern world.

PART II: THE HISTORIC ERA

Introduction

Part I of People and the River reviews nearly 8,000 years of history of the Rogue between the Applegate River and Mule Creek. During these millennia Native Americans successfully sustained life in villages or at seasonal camp sites along the stream. Part II traces Euro-American occupation of the canyon for the past one-hundred and sixty years. Although it covers a much shorter period, this overview adds a distinct new chapter to the Rogue's story. The years between 1850 and the present are filled with human ventures -- exploration, gold mining, war, agriculture, settlement, recreation, and governmental management. These endeavors emerge at various times and places, establishing repetitive themes which weave through this segment of the river's history.

In Part II, which covers the years 1827 to the present, the stream's middle course is divided into two parts. Chapter Six reviews the section of river which extends between the mouth of the Applegate River and Grave Creek, an area more accessible, and hence, more settled, than lower reaches of the canyon. Chapter Seven traces the history of the rugged and isolated stretch of river between Grave Creek and the mouth of Mule Creek. In this reach, human occupancy has generally been more sparse. Chapter Eight surveys the entire study area in the years since World War II.

The Rogue River's long story is about geology, floods, flora and fauna. It is also about people who have sought its wealth, isolation and beauty for at least 8,000 years -- the canyon residents for whom life has centered along the stream. Along the river's banks human's have sought shelter, warmth, and food. Its bars and terraces have been used over and over; its fish have provided nourishment for food or sport; its rock walls have shielded people who sought seclusion or protection. This modern chapter of the Rogue's story begins early in the nineteenth century when Euro-Americans arrived in southwest Oregon for the first time.

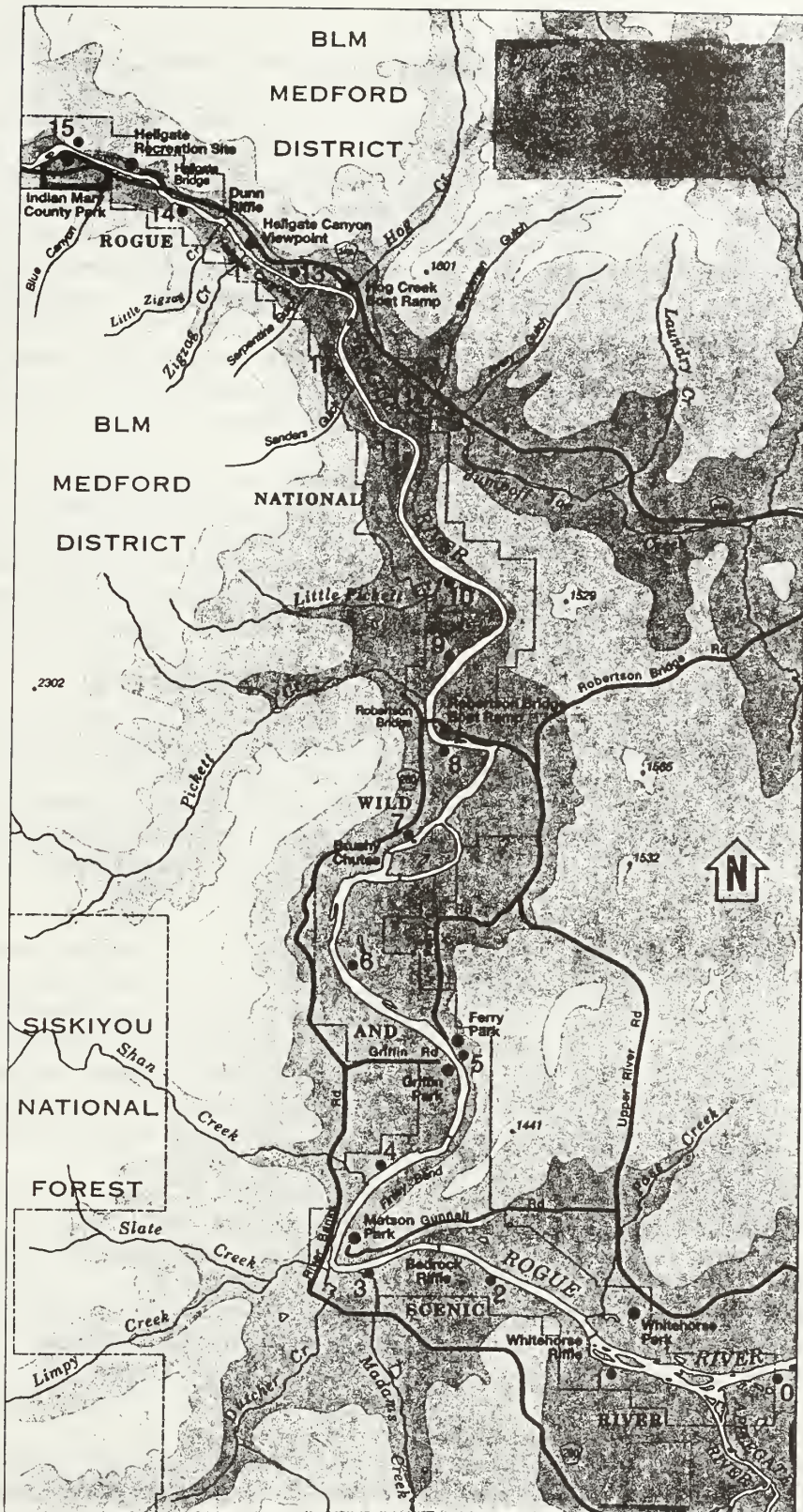


Figure 6. Map of the Rogue River from the Applegate River to Hellgate Canyon

VI. APPLGATE RIVER TO GRAVE CREEK

Exploration

In the spring of 1827 Indians gathered anxiously at their camp a short distance downstream from the mouth of the Applegate River. They used the site regularly in the summer and fall while dip-netting salmon and processing game and cooking camas. This spring the fire hearths, grinding slabs, pestles, and scrapers again awaited summer use. A day earlier, this small band had been stunned to see a large group of strangers ford the Rogue about three miles to the east.⁶ Who were these sallow-skinned men, women and children who now invaded the valley?

The newcomers' shouts had shattered the silence. Some of them rode horses -- animals unfamiliar to the native inhabitants. Their clothing of fur and bright-colored fabric astonished the observers. The Indians heard loud explosions and saw deer fall at the sound. Most disconcerting of all were the leather tents pitched near the stream. These intruders behaved as if they intended to stay.

Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay Company employee and leader of the group, was equally wary of the Indians. Although he was nervous about taking too much time in the region, his assignment to trap beaver meant that the streams must be explored. Disconcerted by the unfamiliar topography, Ogden hoped to learn of the rivers and trails from the Indians. Soon after fording the Rogue he wrote:

... Indians have all scattered themselves and we cannot procure one to Guide us this places us in rather an awkward situation and I feel rather at a loss how to act... I sent three men down the main Stream in quest of a Guide and they succeeded in procuring one, this certainly should the fellow not escape be of a great advantage to us he appears rather alarmed and wild we must endeavour to tame him... (Davies 1961:91)

Ogden crossed the Rogue River on March 9th, 1827 approximately one mile east of its confluence with the Applegate River (LaLande 1987:65). Some of his scouts briefly separated from the main party to view the mouth of the Applegate River which lay near the Indian's camp, now known by archaeologists as the Marthaller site.

⁶ Ogden's party consisted of nearly two dozen trappers, their Indian wives and children, totalling nearly one hundred people as well as large numbers of pack horses.

Following Ogden's visit, Hudson's Bay Company trappers seasonally traversed the Rogue Country in search of beaver. The company policy focused on exhausting fur resources throughout the northwest in order to discourage American trappers and ensure British control of the region. While the number of beaver removed from the Rogue is unknown, frequent trapping undoubtedly reduced the number of fur-bearing mammals along the stream. Ogden reflected on the effects of trapping while in the Rogue country (Davies 1961:91)

We have this day [March 11, 1827], eleven Beaver it is almost a sin to see the number of Small Beaver we destroy and to no purpose some of the Females taken have no less than five young and on an average three each in a month hence their young would be sent in to the world this is the affect of Traps it spares neither Male or Female almost equal to death all are distroyed.

For thousands of years the Rogue corridor had sustained life for native peoples who found abundant fish, game and edible vegetation along the river and in the nearby hills. Now, traps gripping broken bodied mammals were pulled from the stream.

Ogden's journey was the first known fur-trading expedition through the Indians' territory and the first effort to extract the natural resources of the area. As the years passed, the relentless trapping had a distinct economic and environmental impact, initiating a new era which directly conflicted with the subsistence living pattern developed by native peoples.

During the twenty-five years between Ogden's 1827 expedition and a local gold discovery in 1851, the native inhabitants saw many strangers traverse the Rogue country. Trappers, government explorers, entrepreneurs, and gold miners regularly used the path once known only to the Indians. Gradually this ancient north-south route was developed into the Oregon-California Trail.

In 1829 Ogden's fellow Hudson's Bay Company trapper, Alexander Roderick McLeod, crossed into the Rogue drainage, probably reaching the mouth of the Applegate River (Beckham 1971:32). During the 1830's and 1840's others passed through Southern Oregon, trapping, hunting, and occasionally clashing with inhabitants. Steven Dow Beckham (Beckham 1971:32) noted that by 1833 "Perhaps as many as 250 had passed over it and through the Rogue Valley..."

In 1833 fur trapper Michel LaFramboise descended the Oregon Coast to California, and later led his men north through the Rogue River Valley. John Work, another Hudson Bay Company brigade leader, left the Sacramento Valley in mid-summer, 1833 for Fort Vancouver and camped near the Rogue River, leaving the

area on October 3, 1833. The same year American trapper Ewing Young led a party through the Rogue Valley. Young returned to Oregon over the same route in 1834 and in 1837 led a large cattle drive over the trail from California to the Willamette Valley.

In September 1841, members of the U.S. Navy Exploring Expedition, led by George F. Emmons, traveled through the Rogue River Valley as they explored the land route between the Columbia River and San Francisco Bay. Expedition members recorded their impressions of the area as they passed through. As others had done previously, the expedition crossed the Rogue a short distance east of the mouth of the Applegate River. On September 25th, Titian Ramsay Peale, artist and naturalist, wrote (Poesch:1962:191):

Reached and crossed "rogues River" before night, pitching our tents on its South bank. Some Indians approached in canoes, but were not suffered to enter the camp. The river was at the camp about 90 yards wide, and three feet deep with a gentle current, and an even, gravelly bottom.

American trapper James Clyman led a large party across the Rogue River on his way to California in 1845 -- the last documented fur brigade through the area before the establishment of the Applegate Trail. In June, 1846 Jesse and Lindsay Applegate, Levi Scott, and others forged a wagon route along the Oregon-California Trail before turning east through the Cascade mountains toward Klamath Lake. In the late fall of 1846 Jesse Applegate returned over the trail leading one-hundred wagons back over the southern route to the Willamette Valley. Crossing the Rogue River at the well-used ford they headed north to Grave Creek where heavy rains, illness and exhaustion overcame the travelers. After suffering through a wet winter, surviving members of the party reached the Willamette Valley.

Prior to contact with Euro-Americans in the early 19th century the Indian people survived for thousands of years in a successful balance with nature. The fur-traders instilled fear and distraction and within a few decades the native culture disintegrated as the seasonal rhythms were broken forever.

Mining

Shortly after the last beaver were pulled from the Rogue, a new source of wealth was found in the water. The 1848 gold discovery in California brought Willamette Valley farmers-turned-miners south over the California-Oregon Trail into the Rogue country. They traveled any time of year and they came in hordes. Prospectors explored the Rogue River and its tributaries on their way south and early in 1852, gold was discovered near the present

town of Jacksonville. Soon miners swarmed over streams throughout the region.

Like the trappers who took beaver, or "soft gold" from the water, the miners wrested wealth from the river. Mining intensified the pattern of resource extraction begun by the fur-traders. At places where Indians had fished for salmon, men now demolished the streambanks in their search for gold. Permanent Euro-American occupancy of the Rogue country abruptly took hold as gold miners broke new trails through the hills and along the river's edge. The sounds of metal on rock signaled new residents in the canyon.

While the earliest miners used picks, shovels and pans along the Rogue, more advanced equipment soon followed. Rockers -- wooden cradles with one open end -- were manipulated by hand and processed several cubic yards of dirt in a day. Sluice boxes, which were troughs usually ten to twelve feet in length, were placed end-to-end with a drop between each section. Riffles on the bottom caught the gold. (Follansbee; Pollock 1978:170) In operations of any size, several men were needed for digging ditches, building flumes and operating the equipment.

Although mining yielded generous returns during the early years the richest prospects were soon exhausted. New technologies of hydraulic and dredge mining eventually boosted placer mining productivity in the area. Remaining evidence of



Galice, ca. 1910

Siskiyou National Forest Photo

extensive hydraulic mining can be seen in several locations along the Rogue in the form of tailings, rock walls and ditches. Tailing piles are especially apparent near Galice.

Established early in the 1850's, Galice was named for Louis Galice, a French placer miner who first prospected the creek which bears his name. Galice Creek and its tributary gulches were intensively mined and the small community quickly became an important center for the region's mining population. Here the Galice Store, succeeded by the Barlow Store, sold food and goods to miners and packers.

A devastating flood in 1861 caused great damage at Galice and to the rest of the river canyon. Deep snow, followed by warm rain, flooded the bench land along the river. One traveler described the Rogue in flood (Philip Eastwick in Atwood 1978:233):

...All the rapids and falls of the river are lost sight of, and the river assumes the character of a boiling, surging mountain torrent filled with strong eddies and whirlpools, and carrying down with it immense quantities of drift wood to the ocean."

The flood destroyed placer mining operations along the river as it washed out dams, ditches, and sluices. While damage to buildings and equipment was serious, the ravaged streambanks and altered creek channels provided fresh locations for miners to work. A newspaper account focused on the destruction:

Of the eight houses at the mouth of Galice Creek, but one is left standing. All the dams on that stream have been swept away. At Skull Bar, eight houses have disappeared, and but two remain on the Bar, one of which is the store of J.V.R. Witt; his goods are undamaged. At this place the water, Sunday noon, was 45 to 50 feet above low water mark. Five houses floated by within an hour (Oregon Sentinel December 21 1861).

The abrupt influx of miners into the Rogue country devastated local Indian bands. Miners' ruthless treatment of the native people and their steady assault on the environment brought chaos to the canyon. Streambank fishing sites were destroyed by mining and upland camps disappeared when trees were stripped from the hills. The rapid loss of their fishing and hunting grounds brought bitter clashes between the Indians and United States government and volunteer forces between 1851 and 1856. The major conflicts which occurred along the Rogue during these years are described in Part One of People and the River. By spring, 1856 the Indians were defeated. The stragglers who survived the doomed struggle were taken to a place they did not know. They no

longer cut willow and alder for baskets and their stone implements lay abandoned at the camps beside the river.

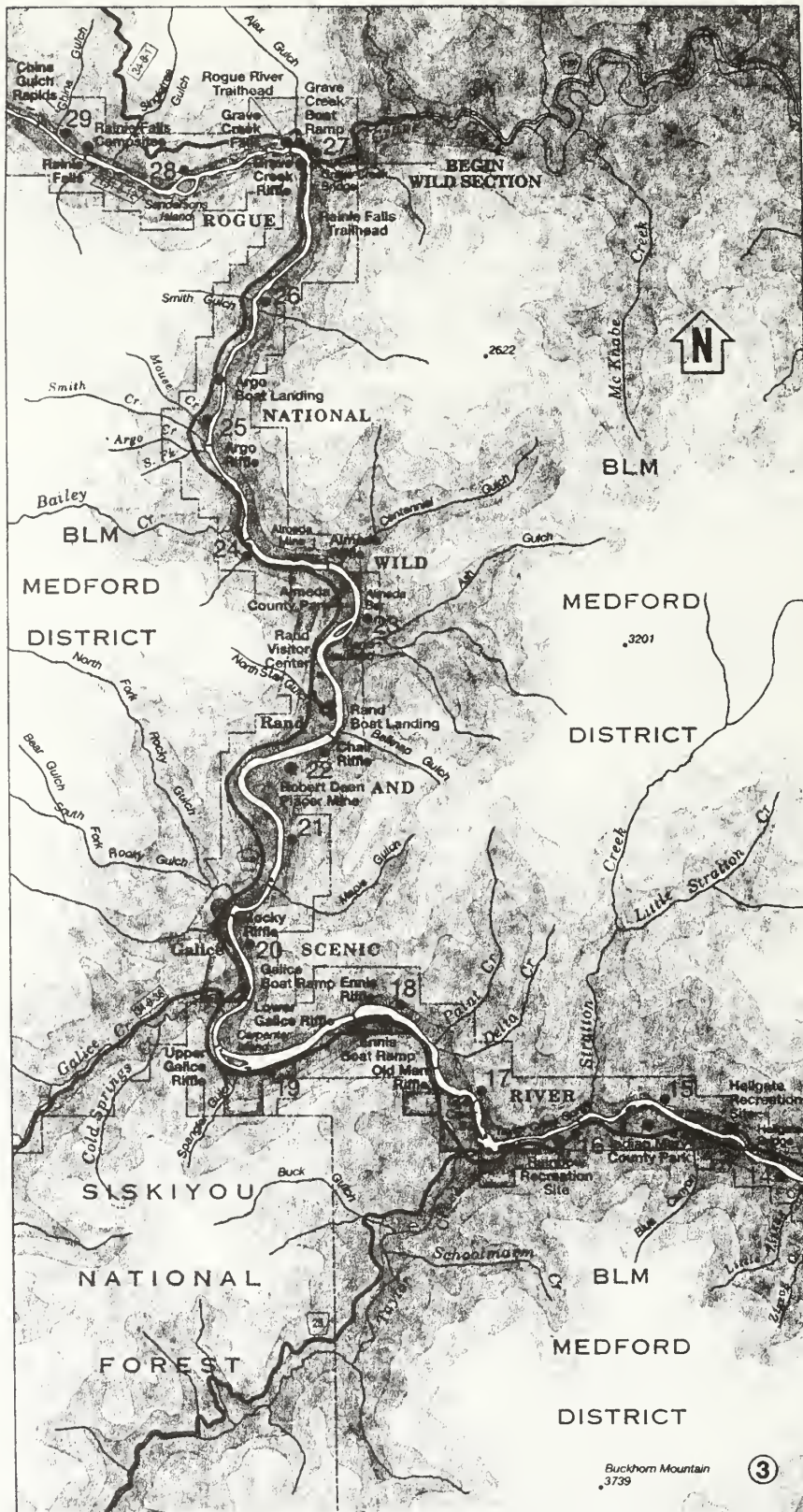


Figure 7. Map of the Rogue River from Hellgate Canyon to Grave Creek

Forty years following the outrage which forced Indians from their homeland, another inequity occurred -- one more dismal injustice for people who had forfeited everything. Indian Mary Park remains, ironically, as both the location where the episode occurred, and as the site which commemorates the individual who suffered the loss.

For many years prior to the construction of Hellgate Bridge in 1913, a ferry operated at the present site of Indian Mary Park. There, from approximately 1860 until his death in 1886, "Umpqua Joe" farmed, ran the ferry, and lived nearby. According to local legend, Umpqua Joe, who had warned Galice miners of an impending Indian attack, was allowed to remain with his wife and small daughter on the land, after other local Indians were removed. Umpqua Joe's continued residence there was one of the few instances where native people were allowed to continue their tradition.

Following her father's death in 1886, his daughter, Mary, who had been born on the land about 1856, received a grant with homestead rights from the federal government. She continued to run the ferry until she moved to Grants Pass in 1894, when she leased it to William A. Massie. Following Mary's death, local authorities determined that she had no title to the land and her heirs were not recognized. This action constituted the last instance in which an Indian land holding passed to Euro-American hands.

The land which Umpqua Joe's family had occupied for fifty years was eventually developed as a park by Josephine County. Galice Store owner Frank Carpenter's home was purchased by the county and moved to Indian Mary Park to serve as the caretaker's house.

After Indians were removed from the Rogue country in 1856 the region was fully opened to miners, farmers and entrepreneurs. Mining developed at a steady pace along the Rogue as important gold discoveries occurred. In late 1874 the Mammoth and Yank Ledges (also known as the Big Yank Lode) were discovered with placer ground extending across the bed of the Rogue River. In less than a month 200 claims were taken on these immense veins and the roads were choked with teams heading toward the new workings.

Quartzville, a new town at the mines, was surveyed into lots and Yankville was established a mile above the site. (Both communities were situated in the vicinity of Rand and Almeda Park) (Walling 1883). When the ledge was discovered and competition for ground increased, miners on Galice Creek met at Sanders Store to regulate quartz mining in the district. In forming the Yank mining district the committee composed a preamble:

We, the committee appointed to draft resolutions beg leave to present to this meeting the following resolutions, concerning the quartz ledge discovered some three miles below the mouth of Galice Creek on the 8th day of August, A.D., 1874, by "Yank" McNair and Co. Resolved, First, this quartz ledge shall be known as the Yank ledge (Grants Pass Bulletin January 29, 1937).

Although official formation of the Almeda Mining Company did not occur until the end of the century, early exploration of the mine's location occurred with discovery of the Yank Ledge. Eventually the site would become one of the most extensively developed mines in southwestern Oregon, yielding valuable quantities of copper, gold, silver, lead and zinc (Libby 1967).

Hydraulic mining continued in several locations along the Rogue in the early twentieth century as developing technology made it profitable to mine the lower grade placer deposits. The Old Channel Hydraulic Mining Company worked a terrace for two miles along the Rogue River at Galice Creek. Nearby, the Galice Consolidated Mines Company owned much of the creek's placer ground. (Beckham 1978: 107)

Other rich mining sites were found in bench gravels at various places on the Rogue River in the vicinity of Pickett Creek, Hellgate Canyon, and Galice. The Flanagan Mine, the Robert Dean Placer Mine and the Hellgate Placer Mine exemplify extensive hydraulic mining operations near these locations.

The Flanagan Mine, located on the west bank of the Rogue River about one mile upriver from Robertson Bridge consists of about 200 acres (Oregon Metal Mines Handbook 1952). This extensive mine site retains several extant resources including a number of mining faces, a large area of tailings and the partial remains of water ditches.

Dr. William Flanagan, prominent Grants Pass physician, came to Grants Pass in 1884 and opened a medical practice which he pursued until his death on February 18, 1930. In addition to holding interest in this extensive hydraulic mining operation, William Flanagan served as mayor of Grants Pass and as Josephine County Coroner (Atwood 1983). In 1937 his widow sold a portion of the mine and production most likely ceased by the end of the decade.

Another long-active mine site is located several miles downstream from the Flanagan Mine on the right bank of the river near Rand. The Robert Dean Placer Mine was established on September 8, 1900 by Lydia Dean and H.A. Corliss. By 1910 the claim included one and three-quarters miles of ditch, a reservoir, hydraulic giant and pipe, two cabins and six placer excavations. The mine was run by Dean family members until 1940.

That year there were four and one-half miles of ditch, 2000 feet of eleven to twenty inch pipe, and four hydraulic giants in operation.



Hydraulic Mining, ca. 1900

Four structures at the Robert Dean Placer Mine, including a two-story house and a log building, were dismantled and burned by the Bureau of Land Management in the late 1970's. A recent field survey suggests that subsequent mining activity has obliterated many of the older features. Extant improvements at the placer mine include water ditches, a reservoir, cement headgate and traces of former residences.

Gold-bearing lode mines were discovered at several places near Galice and at sites downriver. Stephen Dow Beckham (1978:107) notes that lode mining, "included fairly extensive milling and processing activities at the Gold Bug, Golden Wedge, Sugar Pine, Almeda, Oriele, and Bunker Hill Mines."

Both large-scale hydraulic and lode mining operations incurred high equipment costs and demanded an increased labor force. These additional requirements usually meant that operators sought corporate backing. After 1900 several mining promoters

appeared in the Rogue River country and formed stock companies to mine on a very much larger scale than had ever before been attempted (Billings 1974). These large lode mines had important economic consequences for the Rogue country. People found immediate work as carpenters, miners and packers assisting on mining and construction projects.

The Almeda Mine was one of the most extensively developed mines in southwestern Oregon, with large quantities of copper, gold, silver, lead and zinc extracted from nearly one and one half miles of underground workings (Libby 1967:6). During its principal period of operation between 1905 and 1916, production at the Almeda Mine was valued at more than a hundred thousand dollars (Oregon Metal Mines Handbook 1952: 17-18). Financial difficulties forced closure of the mine in 1917.



Almeda Mine, ca. 1910

The Yank Ledge, mentioned earlier, and also known as the Big Yank Lode, had been discovered by prospectors in 1874. While the site had raised intense interest, a lack of sophisticated

equipment slowed exploitation. Late in the century the Almeda Mining Company was formed by an Ashland, Oregon group. In November, 1903, the Pacific Miner publicized the Almeda Mine in enthusiastic terms:

[In the Galice District] "exists a mineral ledge of gold, silver and copper that for size has no equal in the State -it is called the Big Yank Mine... about three miles down Rogue River from Galice Creek...Today the Almeda Mining Company, a corporation founded by Mr. Wickham and friends, with a capitalization of \$1,000,000 have a mine second to none in Southern Oregon.

In July, 1906 four lode claims and two placer claims comprising the Almeda Mining Company holdings were conveyed to the Almeda Consolidated Mining Co. The lode claims included the Monte Cristo, the Bonanza Lode, the Live Yankee, and the Yankee Doodle, all claimed in 1899 and 1900. At the times of the conveyance, O.M. Crouch was president, R.C. Kinney and John F. Wickham were officers. Wickham's son, Perry R. Wickham, served as superintendent from 1905 to 1911; P.H. Holdsworth succeeded Wickham as superintendent in 1911 (Libby 1967:6). A promotional brochure published in 1909 described the Almeda Mines' facilities at that time:

Two hundred acres of gold placer ground, with water rights, ditches, and hydraulic equipment, also roads, buildings, mine equipment, including tools, tracks, cars, air compressor and drills, two gasoline and two steam engines, hoist, sawmill, shingle mill and planer, logging equipment, teams and wagons, assay office, and 100 ton smelter.

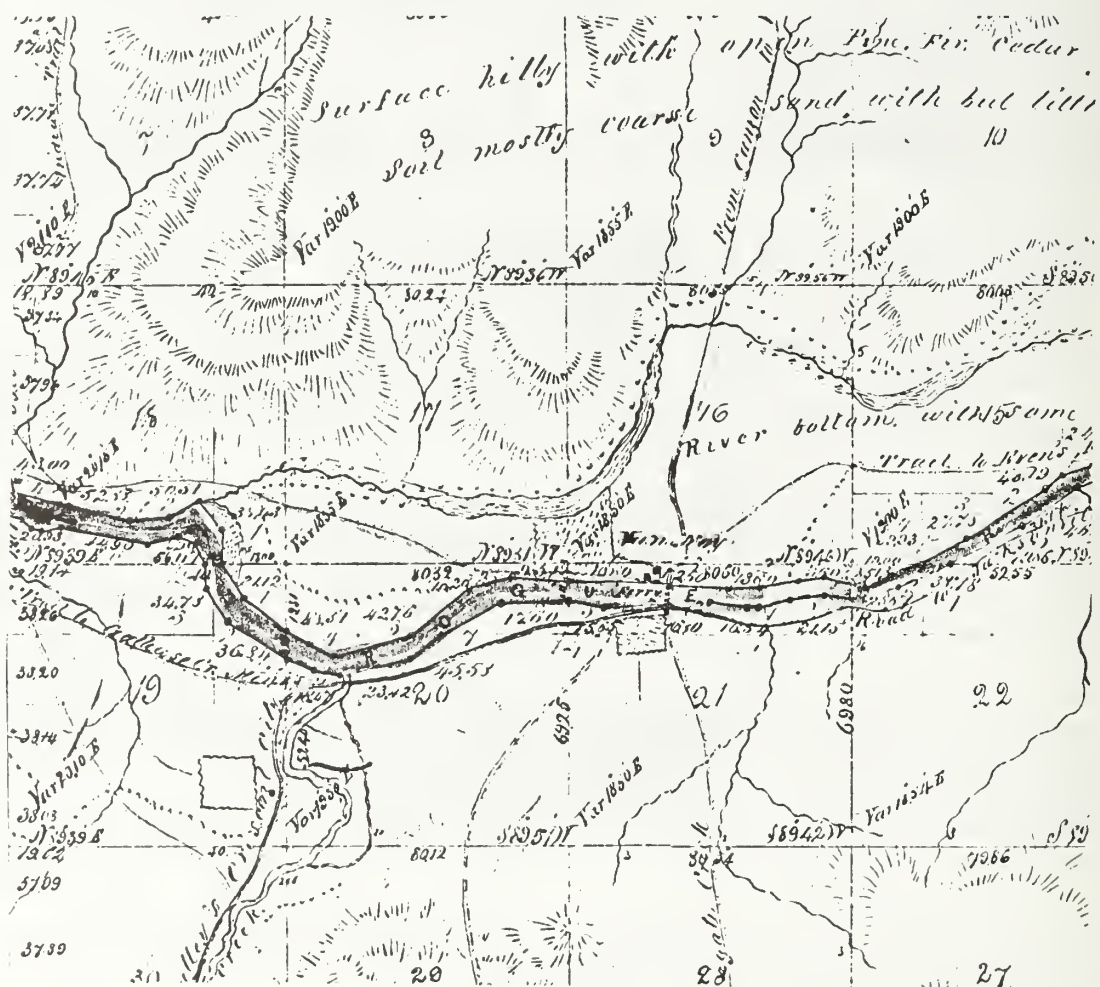
A log bridge was constructed across the river in 1909-1910, and construction materials and equipment were hauled to it from the railroad station at Merlin (Keyte in Hill 1976:63) Many of the mine's employees resided at Rand which was situated a short distance away.

Financial difficulties beset the Almeda Mine and on August 21, 1913 the mine went into the hands of a receiver on petition of the State Corporation Commissioner and by order of the Josephine County Court. On May 2, 1916 newspapers published a notice of a Receiver's Sale, proceeds from which were to pay off indebtedness of about \$259,000 (Libby 1967:7) The last shipment from the mine was made on July 28, 1917. The Almeda Post Office which had opened on February 12, 1912 closed in July, 1920. Termination of work at the Almeda Mine had greatly reduced the area's population (McArthur 1992:14)

The Almeda Mine remained dormant between 1917 and 1937 despite several attempts to reorganize the operation. In the late 1930's the mine was briefly reactivated (McArthur 1992:14). Shipments were made until 1942 when War Production Board Order L-208 ended the sale of gold and the mine closed down. Today the large earth scar which remains at the Almeda Mine is easily viewed from the Rogue or from the Merlin-Galice Road.

Settlement

On the heels of the miners came the farmers. In a place where landscape had long been defined by creeks, swales and hills, newcomers now claimed the level, fertile lands between the mouth of the Applegate River and Pickett Creek for private ownership -- squaring it up, measuring lines on the ground and laying out fields and fences to mark property boundaries.



General Land Office Map, 1854 (T 36 South, R 6 West, W.M)

The Donation Land Claim Act, passed by Congress in 1850, offered potential residents free, farmable land. In its amended form, the act promised 320 acres of land to a married couple and 160 acres to a single person if they would reside on the property and construct improvements within a proscribed time. Between 1852 and 1855 at least fifty-five individuals staked donation land claims in Josephine County.

Several settlers selected land along the Rogue River between the mouth of the Applegate River and Pickett Creek (General Land Office Survey 1854-1855). The rich soil there promised good crops with convenient access to water for irrigation. In August, 1852 James N. Vannoy staked a claim just east of the mouth of the Applegate River, acquiring the land where the river ford was located. Margaret Dimmick, James T. and Thomas Frizzell, and Israel Elliott settled nearby in 1853 and 1854.

Others chose land downriver near the present site of Robertson Bridge. Timolean Love, Moses Pasley and John Dutcher, for whom Dutcher Creek is named, took claims in 1855. George P. Miller reserved his donation land claim in June of the same year (Hill 1976:28-29). The newcomers built houses, barns, granaries, smokehouses and irrigation ditches. In the broad fields and pastures they raised grain crops, corn, apples, pears, cattle, and hogs.

High water occurred frequently on the Rogue during the early years of Euro-American settlement. Accumulated snow in December, 1852, subsequent warming weather, and heavy rains in January, 1853 combined to cause severe flooding in the Bear Creek Valley and along the Rogue in what is now Josephine County. In March, 1858 the Rogue River and other southwestern Oregon streams swelled following severe rains, which "caused a flood in almost all streams" (Crescent City Herald March 24, 1858).

Severe flooding in December, 1861 inundated fields along the Rogue River plain west of present Grants Pass and destroyed improvements and crops in the agricultural section from the mouth of the Applegate to the mouth of Jumpoff Joe Creek. Along the Rogue River below Hellgate the rushing waters washed out cabins and sent mining equipment splintering over boulders.

"FLOODS -- GREAT DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY

Mr. Vannoy lost his ferry, fifty head of sheep, and a lot of other stock, with his house furniture, hay and oats... Mr. R.S. Belknap carried his family to high land, from his house on horses. His valuable orchard is almost entirely destroyed. His loss in fence, hay and grain is heavy. Miller and Gibson have also sustained heavy losses in hay and grain. At the mouth of Limpy Creek, the Dutcher and Shan Evans places are covered

with sediment from six inches to two feet in depth. About thirty acres of Martin's ranch is piled with drift wood from 10 to 15 feet high. The road from Lulle's Ferry to Galice Creek is covered with a continued immense pile of drift (Sentinel December 31, 1861).



Rogue River in Flood

The farms gradually recovered after the flood and improvement of agricultural properties continued. As the population grew, demand for a political structure increased. Josephine County was created by act of the territorial legislature on January 22, 1856, and the county seat was established at Kerbyville. The county's population remained small through much of the century, with a total number of 1,623 counted in the 1860 federal census. By 1870, largely due to a decline in

mining activity, the population had decreased to 1,204 (Atwood 1984: 6).

Much of the county's agricultural development was centered on the broad open meadows near the confluence of the Rogue and Applegate Rivers. Early residents of the lower Applegate Valley received their mail at the Slate Creek Post Office which opened September 30, 1858. (The name of the office was changed to Wilderville on August 12, 1878) (McArthur 1992:907). The Slate Creek School District was formed in 1859 and functioned for many decades. During the 1880's a new school opened at Finley Bend along the Rogue. Named for settler Nicholas Thoss, the school was operated on a subscription basis, which required families to pay a fee in order to enroll their children in classes.

Most roads in the area along the river were very poor due to rugged terrain and harsh weather. Rough intersecting trails led from various mines and farms to supply communities. Fords and ferries were used to transport people and goods across major streams. The General Land Office maps of 1854-1855 indicate the existence of trails on both sides of the Rogue River -- trails which lead to the mines at Galice Creek.

On the north side of Rogue the map traces the "River bottom trail from Vannoys to Gallease (sic) Creek Mines," a route which also provided access to the farms west of Vannoy's Ferry. On the south side of the river, the trail is described as the "Mountain trail to Gallease Creek Mines" and follows the south and west sides of the river, turning north at Finley Bend. Travelers on this side of the river could cross the stream at several locations.

At times impassable, the roads did little to alleviate the isolation of the Rogue corridor from outside contacts. Travelers on the Oregon-California Trail crossed the Rogue River at one of three ferries which were situated about eight miles apart. The closest to the mouth of the Applegate was Long's ferry, (formerly Vannoy's Ferry) established at the place used decades earlier by fur-traders and explorers on the Oregon-California Trail. Following a trip to the Rogue River Valley in July, 1852, a Willamette Valley resident described the river crossing (Oregonian July 3, 1852):

A mile or two before reaching the river, the road forks; and the left hand leads to the upper Ferry, eight miles above. We took the right and crossed at a rope ferry, in a good boat ... the Lower Ferry on Rogue River is eight miles below the Middle Ferry... Applegate Creek flows into the river a mile below the lower, or Long's Ferry. On this creek are eight to one hundred miners, as estimated...

As mining and settlement increased along the Rogue, more dependable transportation routes were required. Upgrading trails to roads took years. On February 7, 1860 donation land claimant George Miller and two other settlers petitioned the County Court for "a county road running down Rogue River from the mouth of Gallice Creek on the south side of Rogue River to Vannoy's ranch," (Josephine County Road Records I:117) On May 9, 1860 local citizens petitioned the county "for a county road running from Gallice Creek to the County line between Jackson and Josephine County on the north side of Rogue River." The petition was approved and three citizens named as viewers. For the next four decades the roads were slowly improved one small section at a time. Many years passed before a passable road would reach from Galice to Almeda.

By 1875, farms were well established at Taylor Creek, at the mouth of Jump-off Joe Creek, at Shan Creek, Limpy Creek, and Dutcher Creek. The William Crow family, for example, settled two sites along the river. Living first near Galice until the mid-1870's, the Crow family moved to the mouth of Jumpoff Joe Creek (Keyte in Hill 1976:63). At Stratton Creek, where Indians had butchered game thousands of years earlier, and where later generations had fished, cattle and hogs now grazed.

Frame houses and hewn-frame barns gradually replaced older log houses and sheds. In 1872 Hezakah Robertson purchased a portion of the George Miller Donation Land Claim from Edward Neely. In 1890 Robertson's first modest dwelling was replaced by a sturdy frame house. In 1877 Thomas Hussey settled approximately one-quarter mile south of the river near Grade Creek and built his first home, replacing it in 1900 with a new frame house. Nicholas Thoss also settled a homestead in 1877 on the south bank of the Rogue River, approximately one mile east of Finley Bend, and soon began constructing a sturdy farm residence (Atwood 1984).

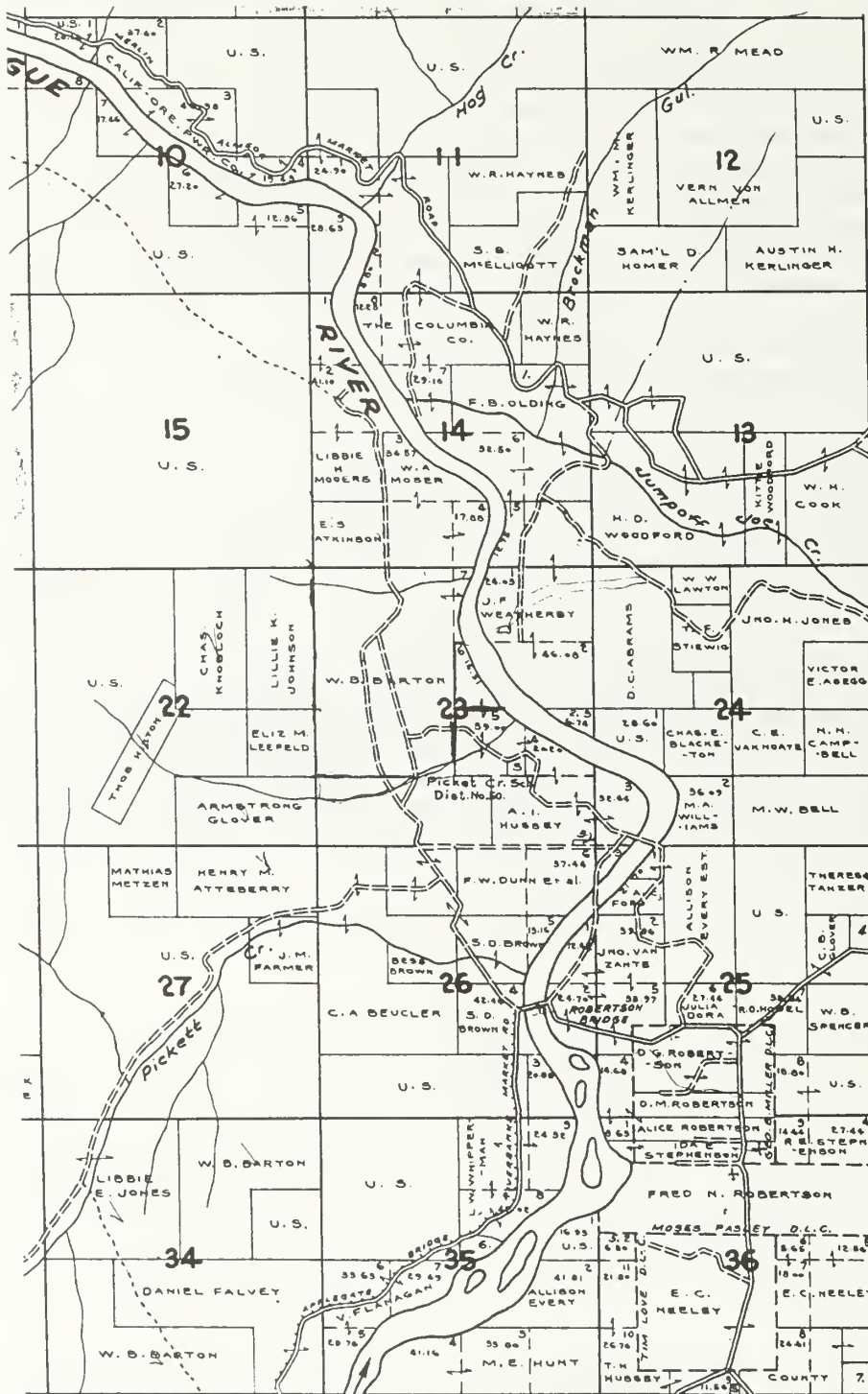
After 1883 and the railroad's arrival at Grants Pass, permanent settlement increased on the broad arable terraces downstream from the mouth of the Applegate. Although grain crops, fruit, cattle, sheep, and hogs comprised most production on area farms, hops were established as a major agricultural crop on valley land west of Grants Pass by the 1880's. The Robertson hop yards were located in the vicinity of Robertson Bridge and the Finley yard lay across the river at Finley Bend. Additional hop yards were located near the confluence of the Applegate and Rogue Rivers (Hill 1976:7).

In mid-January, 1890, agricultural lands again flooded when a large accumulation of snow in the mountains and heavy warm rains combined to flood the Rogue River and tributary streams. This freshet wiped out almost all of the barns and houses along the Rogue and Applegate River plains on both sides of the stream. The

Jacksonville Democratic Times reported on February 6, 1890, that Josephine County had passed through the "greatest rain and flood on record," with much damage done to roads, bridges, mines and farms.

By 1900 the lands along the Rogue River had realized sweeping impacts from mining, settlement and flood. In fifty years, most traces of the ancient Indian culture were gone; houses, barns, cleared fields, fences and roads now characterized the gently rolling land along the Rogue from the Applegate River to Pickett Creek. Roads flanked the river on both sides and ferries crossed the stream at several places. From Hellgate to Mule Creek miners had moved tons of rock, gravel, dug ditches, carved trails, re-routed streams and cleared riparian areas of vegetation. Within the Rogue Canyon small areas of settlement existed -- on meadows above Horseshoe Bend and near the mouth of Mule Creek.

Agriculture continued as a primary component of Josephine County's economic development following the turn of the century. Farms, however, increased in number while their overall acreage declined. In 1900 there were 557 farms in the county with an average size of 172.4 acres. By 1930 the number of farms in the county had jumped dramatically to 1164 -- with an average size of 90.5 acres (U.S. Agriculture Census 1930). These changes were reflected in the division of agricultural properties along the Rogue River between the Applegate River and Pickett Creek. Older residents gradually distributed property among their children or sold out to newcomers. By 1932 for example, the former George B. Miller Donation Land Claim had been divided between four members of the Robertson family. Descendants of the Thoss, Vannoy, Lind and Hussey families continued to work portions of their older farms.



Metskers Map, 1932, T 35S, R 7W, W.M.

At the time of the fruit and hop boom early in the century, many long-time residents sold their land at good prices and left the area. As economic times tightened and the Depression loomed, many more residents left or retained only small subsistence farms. Shan Creek, Pickett Creek, Dixie Creek and Pleasant Grove schools enrolled students regularly until the 1930's. With the Depression and World War II, these schools consolidated with larger districts and post offices closed. In 1931 the former Grants Pass Bridge was moved approximately twelve miles downstream and renamed the Robertson Bridge. The bridge and improved roads meant ready access to Grants Pass and jobs in town. Ferries, which had long operated on the river, saw rapidly decreasing use.

During the first half of the twentieth century, floods intermittently damaged properties along the river. In 1903, for example, many days of heavy rain with rushing water ravaged fields:

The farms below Grants Pass suffered serious injury. nearly all the fences on the bottom lands were carried away and the damage to crops, orchards and hop yards is very great...Only meager reports have come in from the farther portions of the county... The Grave Creek wagon bridge was carried away...(Rogue River Courier January 29, 1903).

In February, 1927 heavy rains fell over the Pacific Northwest and flooding isolated the area for several days. Property damage was severe throughout the area as bridges were crushed and homes destroyed along the Rogue near Grants Pass. Among the casualties was the Hellgate Bridge. A photograph taken at Almeda during the high water indicates the flood's severity. The local newspaper itemized damages:

Rogue River was swept clear of every bridge between Grants Pass and the Pacific Ocean and five miles of the river trail has been destroyed, according to a survey made by the office of the Siskiyou national forest. Flood damage in excess of \$75,000 to bridges, roads, trails and telephone lines in the Siskiyou forest was caused by the recent high water, incomplete reports received by the forest service from district rangers indicate. (Grants Pass Courier March 4, 1927)



Rogue River in Flood at Almeda Mine, 1927

Tourism

Most of the time, however, the Rogue was not in flood and growing interest in recreation brought new visitors to the river. By the early 20th century a rapidly improving road system and increased auto travel combined to make the canyon more accessible to tourists. As early as 1910, a promotional brochure (Grants Pass Commercial Club 1911) for Josephine County noted:

The Rogue River is one of the famous fishing streams of the West. The gamey trout is here, and affords unending delight as well as vigorous exercise, for the man who fishes for its enjoyment....

Soon the beauty and wildness of the Rogue Canyon was broadly recognized and residents and visitors made use of the trails to explore the back country. The Pacific Highway, routed through Ashland, Medford and Grants Pass, brought thousands of visitors through the Rogue Valley. Tourists could reach Galice by leaving the Pacific Highway near Merlin, Oregon and explore previously unreachable areas of the country.

During the earliest years of the century recreational activity was intertwined with work and food acquisition. By the 1920's, however, most of the visitors who came to the Rogue were recreational anglers and outdoor adventurers bound for a trip downriver. The river's excellent fall fishing season had long been advertised in an attempt to encourage settlement in the Grants Pass area.

Zane Grey, writer-adventurer, who publicized the river's wild beauty, brought wide recognition to the river with the publication in 1924 of Rogue River Feud, and in 1928 with his personal account, Tales of Fresh Water Fishing. On a 1925 fishing trip down the Rogue, Grey recognized the beauty of Winkle Bar, and the following year bought it from a prospector who held it as a mining claim. In Tales of Freshwater Fishing Grey described his new acquisition:

The rushing river at this point makes a deep bend round a long oval bar, with rocky banks and high level benches above, and both wooded and open land. Here it flows through a lonely valley set down amid the lofty green mountain slopes. A government forest trail winds out some twenty miles to the nearest settlement. Far indeed it is across the dark Oregon peaks to railroad or automobile road! (Grey 1928:257).

Grey's enormous popularity with the public and his frequent writings about the Rogue focused world-wide attention on the canyon. Between 1910 and 1924, a Zane Grey book was included every year but one on the bestseller list. Many summer visitors to the Rogue Canyon came because they had read of it in one of Grey's books (Korbolic 1992:5)

During the bleak mid-Depression years, a Grants Pass newspaper enthusiastically publicized the river canyon (Grants Pass Daily Courier, April 3, 1935):

The Rogue River claims greatest attention as it has brought to itself a world-wide fame and glory, and is acclaimed as the premier fishing stream of the continent... It is a scenic marvel, a joy alike to amateur photographer, to canoeist, the motor boat enthusiast, the lover of water sport. But the greatest lure of the Rogue is for the angler. Fisherman come from all parts of the United States and from foreign countries to match skill with the leaping steelhead or to do battle with the lordly chinook.

During the 1920's and 1930's fishing lodges appeared in the Rogue Canyon and adjacent areas. Some of the best quarters could be found at "Speed's Place on the Rogue." This attractive, rustic lodge was developed in 1928 near Galice at the former Galice

Consolidated Mine headquarters. The inn's main building had served years earlier as cookhouse, dwelling and office for the mining company.

In 1928 Wallace Robertson, known informally as "Speed," purchased the Gold Leaf and Genevieve placers which included the old mine company buildings. In 1929 Robertson constructed seven cabins near the main house and opened "Speed's Place on the Rogue." The two-story board-and-batten dwelling now served as the main lodge while the cabins provided sleeping accommodations for guests.



"Speed's Place" on the Rogue, 1987

"Speed" Robertson also served as a popular river guide. As an expert fisherman he accompanied Zane Grey on several downstream expeditions. In February, 1933, Robertson sold the resort to Fred MacFarlane who transferred title to his daughter and son-in-law, Zora and Pat Gallagher. Reasonable rates, good food, and comfortable cabins brought many visitors. In January,

1937 a reporter for the Grants Pass Bulletin, described her trip to Galice and recommended a stop at "Speed's Place:"

Within a few miles we come to Frank Carpenter's store...Next is "Speed's Place," a fine attractive auto camp. Probably you will want to stay in one of their cabins, providing you want to stay and see the country (Grants Pass Bulletin, January 29, 1937).

The Gallaghers operated the resort until the late 1930's when the Depression required them to seek work elsewhere. The main building and three guest cabins, surrounded by well-kept grounds, remain visible along the Merlin-Galice Road. Speed's Place on the Rogue, provides a tangible link to early twentieth century tourism, a significant part of the Rogue's story.



CCC Camp at Rand, Aerial View, ca. 1935

During the early 1930's the Depression brought difficult times to the Rogue River Canyon and residents mined, cut wood and grew their own food to survive. In 1933 the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) opened a camp near the forest guard station at Rand in 1933. The Corps, organized to provide work for citizens needing economic assistance, the Civilian Conservation Corps crews contributed substantially to physical improvements within the Canyon area. Under supervision of the U.S. Forest Service, young men from this base constructed miles of truck trails, fought fire, and built bridges within the remote reaches of the river canyon. Soon after the Civilian Conservation Corp opened its Rand camp, the Grants Pass Courier (April 3, 1935) reviewed the camp's history and accomplishments:

Camp Rand is on the meadow where pioneers settled, on the place where the town of Almeda later supplied the miners and trappers. Camp Rand now houses 200 men from the rest of country who are engaged in building roads and bridges...September 30, 1933 was the date of first breaking of ground for Camp Rand, as eighteen men started the camp...



Bridge Over Rogue River at Grave Creek

CCC crews spent much of their time on road construction and introduced important truck roads into the isolated area. Substantial portions of road were completed on the Almeda Road

No. 340 and on a route from Saw Mill Gap by Cold Springs to the West Fork of Cow Creek railroad crossing. CCC crews also worked on the road from Ninemile Spring to Mule Creek, completing four miles in 1934. With WPA crews' assistance, the road reached Bald Ridge and the following year was completed to the Rogue River Ranch at Mule Creek. (Grants Pass Courier, September 1, 1934).

Between late 1934 and 1935 CCC crews completed construction of the 344 foot long suspension bridge over the river near the mouth of Grave Creek. The local newspaper described the benefit to tourists, stating, "Completion of the bridge will open a new scenic loop for sight-seers. They can go by way of Merlin to Galice and on down to the bridge and return to the Pacific Highway via the Grave Creek Road." (Courier 1935) George Morey, member of the CCC unit stationed at Rand, recalled the massive bridge construction project:

During the winter of 1934 and 1935, at the base camp, the road was passable as far as the mouth of Graves Creek. A new swinging bridge was under construction across Rogue River at this point. This bridge was designed for heavy traffic of that time. By the late spring of 1935, the bridge was far enough along to allow traffic to cross the river. The old trail bridge, used for many years by the pack stock, was dismantled and packed the one and one-half miles out to the road (Morey n.d.)

Most CCC men left the area by 1941 to serve in World War II. Miners either joined the military or sought jobs in war-related industries. Along the Rogue as in the rest of the country, development slowed as the war effort claimed residents' attention. The post-war years would bring sweeping changes to the river.



Grave Creek Bridge Plaque, 1935



Figure 8. Map of the Rogue River from Grave Creek to Horseshoe Bend

VII. GRAVE CREEK TO MULE CREEK

Thousands of years ago a band of people gathered in the late autumn sun on a gently sloping terrace above the river. At this site, near what is now called Mule Creek, some of the inhabitants fished while their kinsmen butchered freshly-killed game taken on the upland meadows. After several harvest seasons here, the band would soon move on to new hunting and foraging grounds. In the autumns of later millennia a different people assembled here to build shelters, cook game and grind acorns. Then after many generations, the Indians were gone from the canyon. In 1855 they camped their last autumn at this place by the river where already the ground was trampled by miners and the stone tools scattered over the ground.

Mining

With the Indians gone, miners freely roamed the Rogue canyon and soon men and equipment were scattered along Grave Creek, Whisky Creek, China Gulch and Mule Creek. Like the fur-seekers before them, the miners intently extracted the river's resources. John Mickey, who worked in the Rogue Canyon from 1856 to 1859, was typical of the men who sought wealth from the ground. He and his partners packed into the canyon from Galice. They staked their first claims on Whisky Creek. Here Mickey (Mickey in Atwood 1978: 185) wrote:

We spent a little time on Whiskey Creek prospecting, found a little trace but not much. We were camped at its mouth on the banks of the Rogue River. One day we built a raft and crossed over to the south shore, prospected and found some gold on a bar just opposite Whiskey Creek. It looked promising, so we moved camp, set up a whipsaw and started building sluices... We all went full partners --- Within three weeks we were sluicing, having started sawing on August 12, 1856.

Some miners straggled into the canyon from the Rogue Valley, others followed game or Indian trails from the Grave Creek or Cow Creek drainages. Miners struggling to reach Mule Creek from the west in 1856 had a grueling trip:

The station [Big Bend] is situated on the north side of the river about 20 miles below [Big Meadows]... There is a trail down to the station on the same side, keeping the bluffs and crossing the mouth of what is called the John Mule creek, which is within fourteen miles of said station. The trail is not a very good one and mules should not be packed with more than 150 pounds to go over it....(Crescent City Herald. March 5, 1856).

At Whisky Creek John Mickey and his partners prepared for winter. While some of the company built shelters, Mickey headed out for supplies. His diary indicates that storeowners were impressed with his financial resources:

... The boys were building houses now, expecting to stop here for the winter. They sent me out for winter's provisions --- \$1400 worth in all. The merchants thought I was a storekeeper. The boys had made all this money in about two months, besides building three log houses. (Atwood 1978:185)



Cabin Near Rogue River, ca. 1930

In spite of weeks of hard work at Whisky Creek, the company found better prospects a short distance away and concentrated mining efforts there. John Mickey's diary reveals the back-breaking work required to meet their goals:

We had been prospecting a bar down the river a mile below our present one. We thought it would pay to put water on. Its name was Tyee Bar. The upper bar was not large enough for all of us, so on the 24th we began building a sluice a mile long, to Tyee Bar...We were about ten months building the flume to mine Tyee Bar...The flume crossed canyons, and stuck up on poles twenty-five feet high, and part of the way it was on the mountainside, so we had to lash ourselves by ropes to the trees to keep from falling down the mountainside...Tyee Bar is half a mile long and 300 feet across, from five to 30 feet deep, mostly round boulders from a hen's egg up to a ton...We had all been living in the three houses on Upper Bar. Now we sold them and built a new house on Tyee Bar... (Atwood 1978:187)

Only a few single miners, men like John McGraw and John Adams, lived permanently in the canyon during the 1860's and early 1870's. The few small terraces above the river were just wide enough to hold a shelter and equipment and most of the men moved frequently. Tom East was typical of the solitary men who worked at Mule Creek in the mid-nineteenth century. At various times he worked near Galice, and later had claims on Grave Creek, Alder Creek and at Brushy Bar. When he died in July, 1897 after fifty years in the river canyon he had four creeks named after him.

Few men filed claims -- most panned out what they could by sniping along the bars and exploring the creek banks. One of the earliest recorded claims was taken in 1865 opposite the mouth of Mule Creek, "on the River, in accordance with the John Mule Creek Mining Laws" (Mining Claims A:9). By 1870, the federal census counted about fifteen prospectors in the Rogue canyon between Grave Creek and Mule Creek. These hardy men fished and hunted game as people before them had done, but they also purchased food at Ellensburg (Gold Beach), Roseburg or Galice, hiking out each season to replenish dwindling supplies.

Chinese miners worked many locations in the Rogue Canyon after 1855. Names such as China Bar, China Riffle and China Gulch are reminders of their presence. Chinese miners continued to work placer deposits on Rogue River terraces long after Euro-Americans had extracted the more easily mined gold. In 1870 the federal census taker found a small number of Chinese working the bars near Mule Creek.

When the census was taken again in 1880 there were almost no Chinese miners left along the river. Following the passage by U.S. Congress of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, in which Chinese were declared ineligible for citizenship, almost all Chinese disappeared from southern Oregon. In recent years Chinese objects have been discovered at Tye Bar, Almeda and Little Windy Creek. These articles are important evidence of the Chinese miners who worked the river bars (Gray 1995:6).

Chow Long lived for some years just upriver from the mouth of Mule Creek. Ivin Billings, (Atwood Illahe:98) long-time resident of the Mule Creek area, recalled the cabin where the man for whom China Riffle and China Bar were named lived out his life.



Sketch of Chinese Miner

You have to go up the trail about a mile to get [there] There's no sign of the cabin now . . . [or] where he was buried. The floods have washed it off and the bank is caved in. He was buried right in front of the cabin; right on the bar.

For several generations mining in the Rogue Canyon followed a similar pattern as miners continually moved rock and gravel, using picks, rockers and sluice boxes to extract the gold. Although the richest gold deposits were exploited between 1852 and 1860, mining continued although productivity gradually diminished through the years.

After the placers had been skimmed by hand, hydraulic mining began. Crews dug endless miles of ditches to the sites. Hydraulic mining diverted water from mountain streams into ditches and carried it across ravines and through flumes before dropping it into a pipe and nozzle with which to blast away gravel and soil on bars and slopes. The concentrated water stream washed entire hillsides down and the loose soil was run through ground sluices to extract the gold (Atwood 1978).

John Mickey's diary marveled at the water's power and makes it evident that hydraulic principles were in use on the Rogue River as early as the 1850's.

... We intend to ground sluice till April, then clean up till about July 4th. The Hydraulic is a great invention. It does the work of twenty men and is not half as dangerous as pick and shovel. You just stand back and play the water under the bank till she caves in, then wash it off, then repeat, and down she comes. ... It is wonderful what power there is in water confined.... (Atwood 1978:190).

As surface deposits were exhausted, new gold deposits were found buried far beneath the large gravel bars -- bars which could be a half-mile in length and contain "upward of forty feet of gravel atop the rich paydirt (Beckham 1978:106)." Rapidly advancing technology and improved hydraulic methods made it possible to retrieve the wealth from these deep levels. By 1875 hydraulic methods enabled miners to extract much of the low-grade deposits remaining in the Canyon.

In 1875 Asher and Solomon Marks, Roseburg men, mined several locations along the river in the vicinity of Mule Creek. Packing in extensive equipment and hiring sizeable work crews, the company constructed a high trestle bridge and flume across Mule Creek as well as a long ditch to their mine on the river. (Atwood 1978:100).

Three years later, in 1878, when Army Corps of Engineers Lieutenant Philip Eastwick traveled from Grave Creek to Big Bend while investigating potential navigability of the Rogue, he undoubtedly observed Marks and Solomon among the many miners working sites along the river. Eastwick reported (Atwood 1978:231):

.... Along the banks of the river I found many miners' cabins, and evidence on the bars and rock banks of the river of recent mining operations, and in a few cases of quite extensive hydraulic mines... When water is abundant for mining purposes, the gold mining carried on at many places on this part of the river and its tributaries is very extensive... Many small companies of miners... mine on a small scale along this entire division.

Up-to-date hydraulic methods required more money than had older simpler techniques, and new enterprises were often supported by outside investors. The isolated mine locations demanded freighting and packing large, heavy equipment long distances. Many men entered the river canyon to pack supplies and to labor in the mine work camps. The arrival of the Oregon and California Railroad at West Fork on Cow Creek in 1883 brought a supply center closer to the Mule Creek area and substantially reduced the distance over which the massive amounts of equipment and supplies were packed.

An 1881 newspaper report in the Port Orford Post indicates damages from high water but also describes the extent of mining activity in the canyon that was interrupted only briefly when floodwaters sent debris splintering over the rocks:

At the foot of Battle Bar, Russell and Co. are working with good prospects of success. Low bars in general along the river have been sluiced out; boxes, flumes, ditches reservoirs, cabins etc. went down to the sea during the freshet.

Miners remained busy in the canyon through the final two decades of the nineteenth century. In 1887 the Grants Pass newspaper observed (Courier, May 13, 1887), " There is extensive work going on in the mines on Whiskey Creek, Josephine County. Forty or fifty claims are being worked and good returns are realized." Three years later miners were discouraged when another major flood caused "great damage to the mining interests by the washing out of reservoirs and dams, breaking and filling up of ditches, losses of flumes... etc. The work of months of preparation has been undone in many instances" (Democratic Times February 6, 1890)

Tyee Bar was extensively mined during the later years of the nineteenth century. J.S. Diller noted years of activity at Tyee

Bar Mine -- the place where John Mickey and his company had met success. Diller (1914) wrote:

"The Tyee Bar placer on the left bank of Rogue River, about one and one-half miles below Whisky Run, although not large, embraces a number of acres. Much of the bar was worked over years ago and reported rich."

By 1880 placers at the mouth of Whisky Creek enticed large numbers of miners to the district. Among the placer miners who had settled in for a season were men who wanted a sturdy, permanent dwelling. They selected a site for a cabin on Whisky Creek about 1000 feet above the river and began construction of a twenty by twenty foot residence -- larger than most in the canyon. After days of cutting and notching logs, the men laid the logs for the walls and split piles of sugar pine shakes for the roof.



Whisky Creek Cabin, Notched Logs

About 1890 a flume ditch was begun one-half mile up Whisky Creek from the cabin and completed to a point near the structure. In 1905 the flume were substantially extended to a location about sixty feet above Whisky Creek Bar. For years the flume ditch provided drinking water at the cabin and water power for hydraulic mining on the river.



Whisky Creek Cabin, ca. 1925

P.H. Rushmore filed the first recorded mining claim on the Whisky Creek cabin site on January 5, 1917. Hanson A. Whiteneck bought the claim in 1918, enlarged the cabin and added a full length porch on each side. He installed a fir floor and divided the interior into two rooms -- one to serve as the living quarters and the other as a storeroom. In later years new structures were added to the property, including a woodshed, fruit room, shower and auxiliary sheds.

In 1948 the claim was sold to Mr. and Mrs. L.M. Nichols who retained ownership until the property was acquired by the United State government. The Whisky Creek Cabin was entered into the National Register of Historic Places in 1975 (Abbett 1973). Flood, fire, demolition and neglect have eliminated most old miners' cabins from the Rogue Canyon and the Whisky Creek Cabin remains one of the regions most distinct, rare resources.

For much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, hydraulic placer mines operated on several of the bars and benches above the river level. At Tye Bar, Black Bar, Little Windy Bar and Horseshoe Bar, crews steadily blasted the soil, churning tons of rock and gravel. The Horseshoe Bar Mine, for example, encompassed two twenty-acre claims within ten feet of the river level. Water was supplied to it by a mile of ditch and a pipe which was bridged over the river at an approximate elevation of ten feet. Farther downriver hydraulic mines operated on Winkle Bar and Battle Bar (Diller 1914). In 1891 John

Billings operated a sizeable placer mine at Red River Bar a half mile downstream from Marial.

In June, 1906 the Red River Gold Mining and Milling Company, an Indiana based corporation, purchased several claims at the mouth of Mule Creek. Much of the land they bought had been previously mined by the John Billings and others. The Red River Gold Mining Company operated for six years before closing in 1912. During this brief period the company took between eight and ten thousand dollars worth of gold out of the soil (Mineral Resources 1916). Private interests ran the mining operation for about ten additional years. The later organization constructed an extensive ditch and flume system which brought water three and one-half miles in a four-foot flume from Mule Creek and built several trestles (Beckham 1978:108).

Ben Corwin, whose father William Corwin, was a part owner in the Red River Gold Mining Company after 1906, recalled the long flume and high trestles:

They'd cut [lumber] in the day time, stack up their wood, and in the evening they would turn the water into the flume and float the lumber down to where they were building. They had men down there picking the lumber out and setting it aside. Next day they would go ahead and build another section... The closest place to the ground was three feet and the highest place was 310 feet... (Atwood 1978:104).



Red River Gold Mining Company Trestle, ca. 1912

When the venture was finally abandoned years later, portions of the flume and trestles were torn down for lumber or allowed to disintegrate in place. Pieces of the trestle can still be seen on the hillside above Mule Creek.

By 1920, with low returns and high operative costs, large hydraulic mining operations gradually decreased along the river. Although the Depression years would bring renewed activity as the price of gold increased, much of that effort would be devoted to individual placer or lode mining efforts. The impact of early twentieth century hydraulic operations is still evident in the Rogue corridor in huge piles of mine tailings, ditch remainders, and scattered lumber left from improvements and wooden flumes.

Hardrock or lode mining, which had begun in both the Galice district and the Mule Creek district before 1900, developed rapidly after 1900. Lode mining, like hydraulic mining, required substantial capital and frequently demanded the backing of corporate groups. Processing ore from lode mines required that it be drilled or blasted from the vein, loaded into cars and taken to the surface.

In early years the gold-bearing ore was extracted by the use of an arrastra, a grinding method employed in the Americas since early Spanish exploitation of mines in Mexico. The arrastra pulverized ore between horizontal millstones which were turned by hand or by oxen. More modern technologies eventually reached the area and by 1900 more sophisticated mechanical and chemical means were available to extract and process gold (Beckham 1978:110). Stamp mills employed heavy iron pestles (stamps) which crushed the gold-bearing ore prior to chemical processing. Gold recovery was accomplished by any of several processes, depending on the ore's mineralogical character. Amalgamation, flotation and cyanidation comprised major processing methods (Brooks and Ramp 1968:33).



George Billings at Mule Mountain, 1930

In the Mule Creek area lode mining was primarily conducted in the river corridor at the Mammoth Mine, the Marigold or (Tina H) Mine, the Mule Mountain Group and the Paradise Mine, which were all established between 1895 and 1905. Although Brooks and Ramp assessed lode mine production in the Mule Creek District as relatively modest, the years of effort at those mines was intense. They state that, "[Production] has come mainly from early-day gold-placer operations on lower Mule Creek, Rogue River bench gravels below Mule Creek and along the upper West Fork of Cow Creek" (Brooks and Ramp 1968:189-191).

Gold-bearing quartz mines were distributed in several areas near Galice and farther downriver, occurring in veins of varying widths and classes of rock. In summarizing mineral production in the Galice area between 1854 and the early twentieth century, Stephen Dow Beckham (1978:115) writes:

Mining commenced in this area about 1854 but tapered off within a decade after the richest placers had been worked...Quartz mining...included fairly extensive milling and processing activities at the Gold Bug, Golden Wedge, Sugar Pine, Almeda, Oriele, and Bunker

Hill Mines. Between 1854 and 1912 an estimated \$3 million was extracted in the area.

Although placer and lode mining continued through the 1920's the Depression brought an influx of people into the canyon. As other sources of income declined these newcomers were enticed by an increase in the gold price in 1934 and the chance to carve out a subsistence living in the Rogue Canyon. Shelters could be made of poles, split shakes and discarded materials and game, fish, and plant foods would keep people alive.



Unidentified Miners, Rogue River Canyon

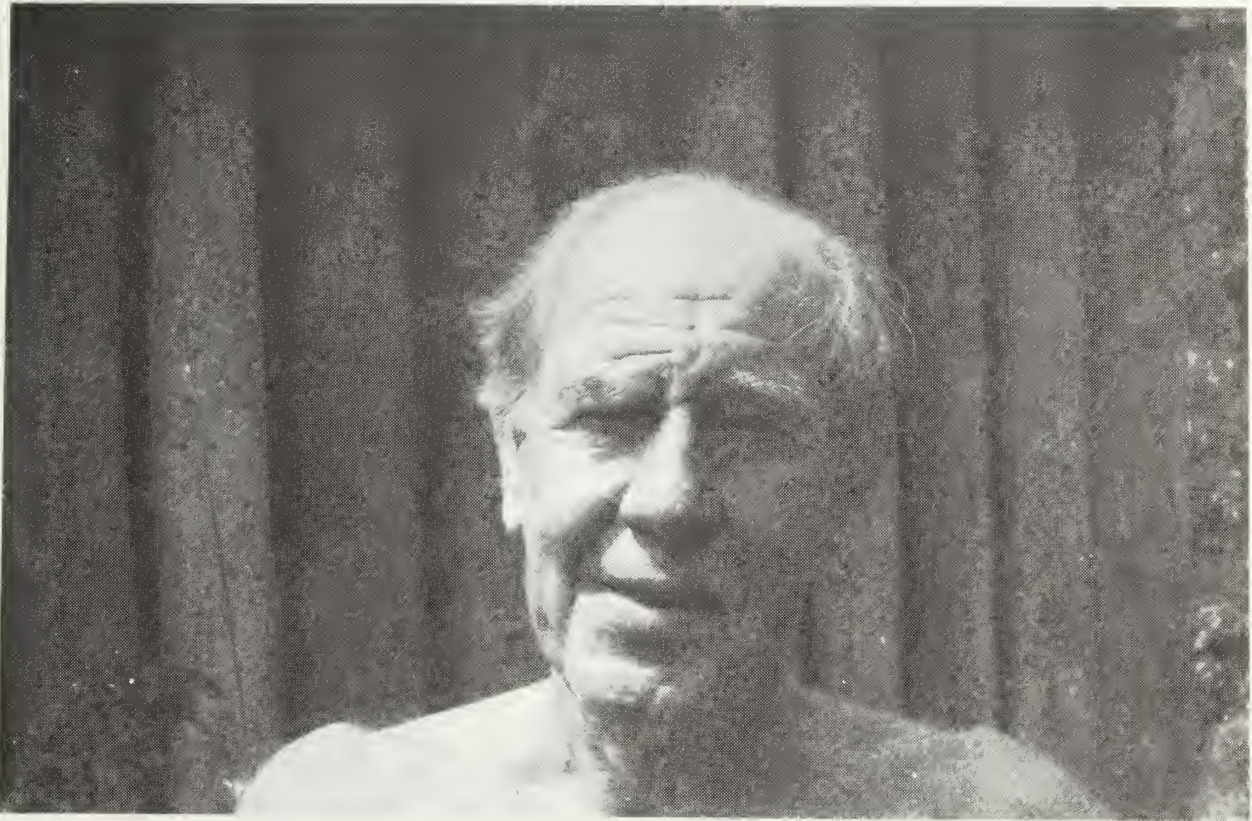
Many individuals and families made modest livings on the creeks and terraces of the Rogue River. In addition to sniping for gold, these residents occasionally found employment with the U.S. Forest Service packing or fighting fire. Fishing and hunting sustained many people who built simple shake and pole cabins or stayed in abandoned shelters.

J.C. ("Red") Keller, born in Grants Pass in 1909, hiked into the river canyon 1934. He lived over fifty years in the place he called home. Skilled at cabin location and construction, Red Keller used materials he found or could fashion from the trees and brush (Atwood 1978:175):

First thing I look for in a cabin site is whether I can get water close. Then pick the site high enough. I have to pick it where I know I can get wood... What you need is a good big dead snag you can fall. I like my site where I can get the sun. That's what I like about Horseshoe Bend. You don't get the sun real early, but

you get all the late sun. Winter, if there was any sun, you got it.

Most people down in there just built their own cabins. One person could build the pole and shake cabin... You stand your poles up and then you put your poles crossways to put your shakes on, and your roof too... Nothing real heavy, but it'll stand up for a long time... Most cabins had dirt floors because no air will come in when its dirt... Sometimes you cooked outside. One place they just took tin cans and sleeved them together and that was the chimney... You'd be surprised how you can fix up a little cabin and have it looking pretty neat in there.



Red Keller, 1976

Red Keller hunted and fished, purchased eggs and vegetables when he could find them and never went hungry. He explained,

I knew how to shoot...I knew how to fish. Generally I'd have fish twice a week. You could hunt deer in the winter and can it. You bone it, cut it and pack it in the jars. Put your lids on and let it come to a boil. Just so its boilin' for three hours...I usually took eggs in. There'd be venison steak and potatoes. I'd

make biscuits. You don't need any grease for them. Watercress took the place of lettuce. I never tried to grow anything because I never figured on being in a place long. Back up in the hills there was a few permanent homesteads. You could buy eggs and stuff out of the garden.

Miners drifted season to season through the hills and along the river's edge. Their main outside contacts were the packers who brought in supplies. For the most part they left no written trace of their existence. A few gave their name to a creek, bar, or gulch, more lie in unmarked graves near cabin sites or along the trail where they were found.



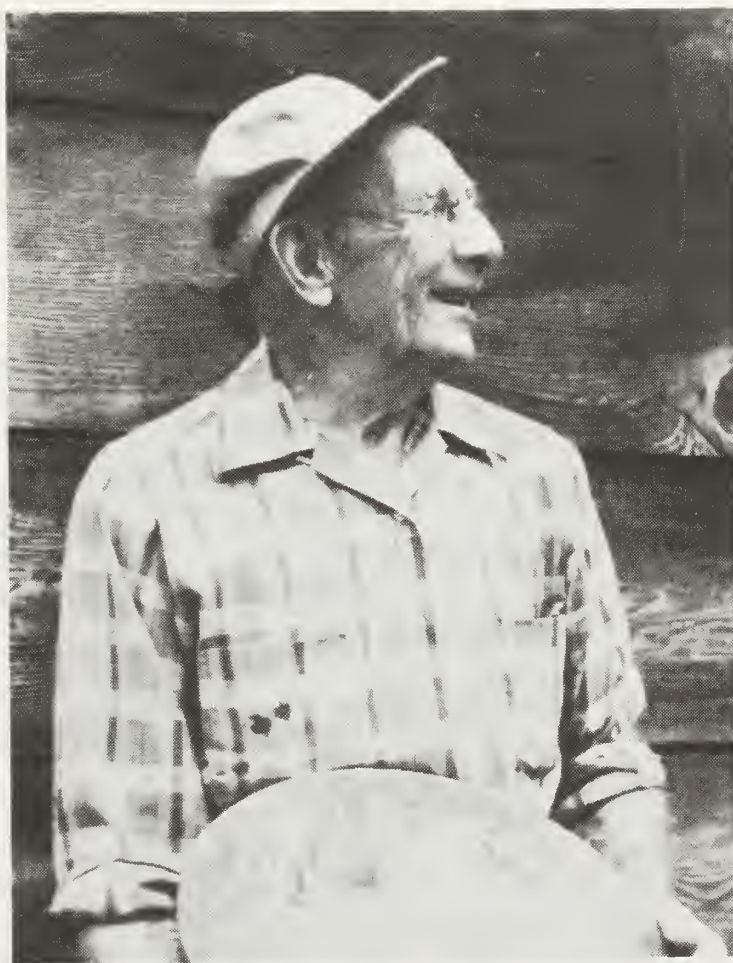
Price Copsey at Cabin, ca. 1915

Red Keller explored many mining locations through the years and lived in many different cabins. As he explained:

Thirty-four was when I first moved in there. I walked down from Almeda. That was the end of the road. I took the trail down about a mile or so. The first winter I stayed at Russian Creek and then I went down to Black Bar to the old Copsey Cabin. I stayed at Galice one

whole winter. I stayed at Slate Slide below Howard Creek one winter... Mostly I just camped on and off.

I've worked up and down the river, from Kelsey Creek to Slate Slide or Bronco Creek. I worked back and forth and kept on hunting crevices. I always had an ax and a shovel, and usually some picks with handles, but small picks ...because we'd move from place to place. After you'd spotted all the places you figure would pay, then you'd go up and get your long toms and screen and start moving things closer...Sometimes when we left we'd just leave the old equipment. We'd just build a new sluice box...It was easier to build new than trying to cart it around.



Lou Martin, 1976

Lou Martin, who came to the Rogue River in the late 1920's, mined first at Howard Creek and later on Rum Creek, Tye Bar and at Rainey Falls. He relished the isolation:

I found out I could be independent, as long as I stayed in a mineralized area, in placer country. I could make my own livelihood. Don't figure you're going to get rich, 'cause nine times out of ten, you're not...You're independent, you punch no clock. If you don't like the way things is going, you pick up your bed and you move across the hill, or to another creek. You have to do a certain amount of work to eat up here... Then if you want to play, you play (Atwood 1978).

There were lots of signs of old miners when I went in there. Especially where they had their camp. Hundreds of them. No matter how much a miner prospects a country there's always a chance of another man coming in and making it... On Howard Creek I could still see where they'd piled their rocks up. There was a lot of old ruins on Howard Creek when I first came in...

Sometimes it would be three or four months that I wouldn't see another human being. As long as you're working, it don't make any difference...when you mine for yourself you don't put eight hours in. It's twelve, fourteen hours a day...



Miners at Mule Creek, ca. 1935

Bob Simmons, Jack Bowen, Bill Brockman, and Clayton and Clifton Sanderson were among others who lived for years in the canyon. The latter were miners and good engineers. In 1939 the twin brothers poured the foundation for their home on the river near Galice, built a shop and developed their own power system. L.A. Damon, Charley Lewis, Arnold Ezard, Charley Tucker, Shorty Borden and Henry Barlow were among the men who built pole and shake cabins in the Mule Creek Canyon during the Depression years. A few of them are buried in the small graveyard at Marial.

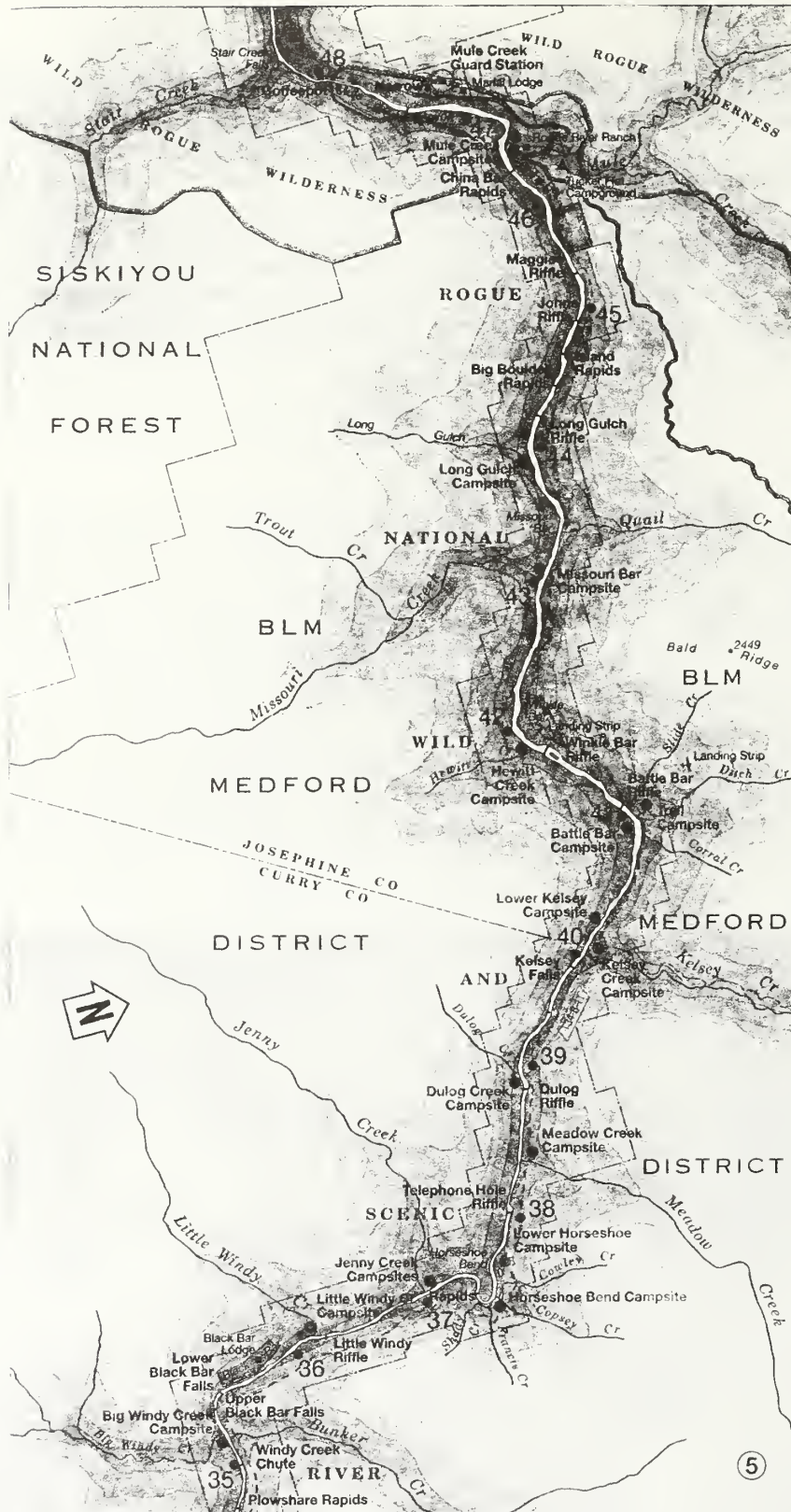


Figure 9. Map of the Rogue River from Horseshoe Bend to Mule Creek

World War II brought an end to most of the subsistence living created by the depression era miners. The sale of gold was halted in 1942 and military service or job opportunities in war-related industries took many of the younger men away. Most never returned to the Rogue to live. In the years following the war new roads eased the long isolation of the area. Tourism increased as anglers, hikers and boaters flocked to the river canyon. The few individuals who wished to continue their life "in the hills" managed to do so with ingenuity.

Settlement

People who settled on the few places in the Rogue River Canyon which would support a house, crops and grazing stock, were isolated from the rest of the world, but not from each other. They worked long, hard, bone-wearying hours and most of their energy was spent acquiring food, shelter, and clothing. These people survived with very little money in a "subsistence" economy, in which they grew, hunted, fashioned or bartered for the bare necessities of life.



Walter and May Criteser

Below Grave Creek, the rugged Rogue River Canyon was sparsely populated. Few settlers are known to have farmed the occasional sloping meadows or small flats above the river. In 1878 Lieutenant Eastwick noted the primitive nature of the country (Atwood 1978).

Back from the river and in the smaller valleys shedding to the river, as well as up to the slopes of the flanking hills, an occasional settlement is found... their manner of living is generally rude and primitive, and but few of the luxuries or refinements, or even

comforts of civilization have yet found their way among them. Whatever land is found fit for cultivation it produces abundantly of all manner of fruit and vegetables... but little grain is raised, and this, together with the other products of the soil, is consumed at home. A principal occupation of the settlers is the raising of sheep and cattle, of which large herds are grazed...

Miner Henry Rosenbrook, known as "Dutch Henry," was among those living in the canyon when Philip Eastwick passed by. Rosenbrook took a homestead at Little Meadows near the Curry County boundary where he raised cattle in the hills. To reach supply centers to the north, he laid out an extensive trail system. Known as the Dutch Henry Trail, the route led out along the ridge between Meadow Creek and Kelsey Creek to Glendale, Oregon, following the divide between the Cow Creek and Rogue River drainages. The trail was regularly used by others seeking supply routes from the canyon. Rosenbrook, who had arrived in the Rogue Canyon in the early 1860's, lived above the river until his death early in the twentieth century.



Rogue River Between Horseshoe Bend and Winkle Bar

In contrast to the few meadows existing upriver, gently sloping land near the mouth of Mule Creek offered promising settlement opportunities. Long a hospitable living site, the area had supported people intermittently for thousands of years. It was here that the Billings family established a ranch and a community which survived for decades. Isolated by the rugged terrain and unnavigable river, these people and their neighbors exploited the resources around them, including fish, game, fuel and gold. They raised their own stock and food, crafted most of their own tools, and traded or bartered for what they could not manufacture (Winthrop 1995).



George, Sarah and Ivin Billings, ca. 1900

The George Billings family picked wild berries, raised their own fruit and dried it for winter use. They hunted deer, elk, and bear, depending largely on venison as meat. Hunting provided a diversion from drudgery as well as food for the table. In huge garden plots they raised corn, squash, tomatoes and onions. Ivin Billings recalled (Atwood 1978):

We grew everything... Lots of times we'd raise winter crops too... By spring those turnips would be big. We fed that to the stock and to ourselves and to the miners. Carrots and beets would stay in the ground all winter. We always had all kinds of fruit. There were three or four peach trees set along the ditch. My mother grafted trees in the front yard and crossed seedling apples down here... We made bacon out of bear... We'd smoke about three or four gunny sacks full and store that in the upstairs attic. We raised hay, oats and vetch. We sold hay and would pack it around. We bought coffee in wooden drums. We'd grind it and sell what we didn't use to miners and farmer around.

In 1881 E.H. Price constructed a small cabin at the mouth of Mule Creek, raising the first known Euro-American dwelling at the location. Although Price eventually relocated downriver at Big Bend his cabin remained standing for several years and housed occasional occupants.



Adeline Billings, ca. 1915

In 1890 George Billings worked at the hydraulic mine run by Solomon and Herman Marks at Douglas Bar. The Indian Allotment Act of 1887 (the Dawes Act), amended in 1891, reduced Indian land holdings at Siletz Reservation, but allowed those of Indian heritage to apply for title to homestead land (Gold Beach Gazette February 2, 1894; Beckham 1978:83). Billings, whose mother, Adeline, was a Karuk Indian, was eligible for an allotment. In 1895 he took advantage of the homestead opportunity and settled permanently at Mule Creek with his wife, Sarah Ann and son, Ivin. They moved to the meadow where Elijah Price's old cabin stood and lived temporarily while Billings built a larger cabin.

The Billings family depended on each other for help during illnesses or when injury occurred. Adeline Billings, who brought her knowledge of medicinal plants with her to the Rogue Canyon, was often called upon for help. Her granddaughter, Marial Billings Akesson remember her curative skill:

Grandmother took care of everybody; babies, everything... After a man was bitten by a rattlesnake, she packed his leg in mud. She went out and got a certain kind of mud and packed his leg. He lived. Her mother had taught her about the use of herbs, roots, and leaves. She knew the medicinal qualities everything had. I remember one time I got awfully sick with bad cramps in my stomach. Grandmother went out and brought in what she called smart weed and made tea. The next morning I was out cavorting like a young squirrel. (Atwood 1978)

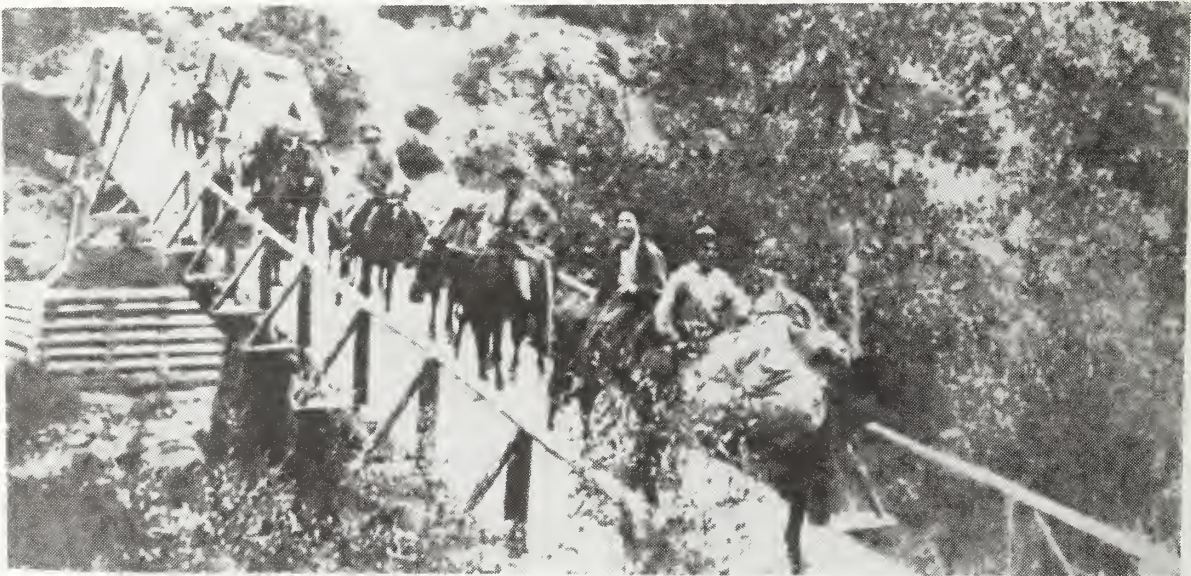


Baskets Made by Adeline Billings

Adeline Billings provided medical care for many canyon residents. In addition to caring for her family and for others she made baskets which she sold to miners. George Billings built most of the tools needed for daily existence on his ranch. Ivin Billings recalled his father's skill:

My Dad made tools right here. He could build about anything he wanted. We made chisels and bars; bars to drill rock; picks and re-steeled picks. We'd take the eye after the pick would wear down till you didn't have any steel left. We'd weld a piece of steel on to each end of the pick and make a new pick out of it... My Dad made all his packsaddles. His lash hooks were made out of oak. They were better than boughten ones...We never threw anything away. Everything was saved.

In 1883 the Oregon and California Railroad construction reached a point on the West Fork of Cow Creek, offering a closer and more convenient supply point for residents along the Rogue River and through the surrounding hills. George Billings realized the possibilities for acquiring equipment and supplies at West Fork. He and others soon cleared a trail through the mountains which led them directly to the West Fork Station. The twenty-one miles to West Fork from Mule Creek could be traveled in seven hours with a loaded mule train and proved much more efficient than the old steep and difficult trail over the Big Meadows to Camas Valley and Roseburg.



Pack Train, Mule Creek

George Billings began a packing business and opened a small store in his cabin. Packing regularly out to West Fork he purchased equipment and supplies and loaded them back to his store to sell to miners and settler families. Blacksmith tools,

farm tools, flour, sugar, kerosene, furniture, coffee, beans, and fabric were packed the twenty-two miles from the railroad. Ivin Billings recalled:

From the time my folks first started the store they would go out to West Fork and buy supplies for the whole country. We'd spend the latter part of the whole summer packing. Day after day, after day, from West Fork and go back the next day. every other day we'd come in with a load.

We packed to the Mule Creek Mines, Blossom Bar Mine, Douglas Bar Mine. We'd always get our supplies at West Fork in the Fall of the year. We'd pack a ton of flour, a ton of potatoes... They got everything in the fall before the snow fell. If the snow got too deep, you couldn't get out.

Railroad construction encouraged postal service in the river canyon. After over a decade of effort, a mail route was established up the Rogue River from Wedderburn to the Big Bend. In addition to postal facilities at Illahe (opened 7 February, 1895) and Agness, (opened 16 October, 1897) a post office opened at Marial on January 29, 1896. The mail was carried from West Fork to Agness by mule team and then transported by boat down the Rogue River. In October, 1903 a post office opened at Mule Creek with Thomas Billings as postmaster. The new station was named Marial for the postmaster's young daughter (Price 1967:10-11).



George Billings Homestead, (Rogue River Ranch) 1915

About 1900 George Billings began work on a larger home for his family, using local materials including lumber milled from trees cut from the homestead. The commodious dwelling was completed about 1903. Now known as the Rogue River Ranch, it lies on gently sloping ground along Mule Creek. The main dwelling, with painted wood siding and wood frame windows, painted red, is highly visible on the broad meadow. Five years after first moving to Mule Creek, George Billings had a substantial frame dwelling of local whip-sawed lumber. Ivin Billings described the house's construction:

Main house, boarding house, trading post, call it what you will. Lumber for the house was all made by hand. We used ponderosa pine growing out on the flat, where the three apple trees are now -- between the two pastures. Had five saws going at one time...ten men. Whipsawed it right here. The outside was built in a couple of years, but the inside took six or seven years...the glass for the windows was packed over from West Fork by horse. The furniture, chairs, sofas and rockers was all handmade by Father.

In 1908 the Billings family built a large barn to house pack mules and equipment. The upper level of the barn consisted of one large room with plank floor and walls. Numerous social events were held here, including dances and church services. The latter, conducted by George Billings, eventually earned the building it's present informal name, "the tabernacle." Miners, packers, and homesteading families crowded into the barn for parties and voted there on election day.



Billings Family and Friends in the "Tabernacle," 1915

George and Annie Billings' family opened their doors to travelers through the Rogue country. Charging a dollar a day for three meals and overnight lodging, they could accumulate enough money to buy the things they could not make themselves. The house held the family of five as well as the guests. A large space upstairs was divided into small cubicles separated by sheets of heavy unbleached muslin. In these partitioned rooms slept travellers who arrived at the end of each day (Atwood 1978:80). Planning for an unknown number of days-end visitors was difficult but there was always enough food. Sleeping accommodations were primitive, however, and rest was not always to be easily had. U.S. Forest Service ranger Henry Haefner recalled a sleepless stay at the Billings place in the 1920's. (Haefner 1975):

... Upstairs was one large room packed full of beds. Bed sheets suspended from the ceiling by wires separated some beds from others... Beds were mainly piles of gunny sacks and old unwashed blankets held up by a network of rawhide thongs across the underside of a frame.. When the place was full at night it was a nightmare. There was almost continuous coughing, snoring, grinding of teeth, talking in sleep, urinating in a can or out the window, and other night noises. There always seemed to be somebody walking around the room or to the window or stairway, which shook the floor and building. Sound sleep for any length of time was impossible.

In 1931 George Billings sold the ranch to Hollywood businessman Stanley Anderson for \$5,000. In later years Anderson and his sons enlarged the house, added a caretaker's residence, bunkhouse, tackhouse, woodshed, storage shed, and restored a blacksmith shop. In 1970 the Anderson family sold the entire two-hundred acre parcel to the U.S. Government under the National Wild and Scenic Rivers program.

Small communities remained as important supply centers in isolated reaches of the canyon until the end of World War II. Miners constituted most of the customers at Galice, but were joined by tourists exploring the scenic river area. At Mule Creek, Marial offered food, lodging, postal service and a river crossing. The post office opened on January 29, 1903. Marial Lodge was constructed during the 1920's to accommodate the area's ever-growing number of anglers and boaters. With an increase in mining population and the completion of a road to the mouth of Mule Creek in the 1930's more people had access to the supply center.

The U.S. government had established its presence in the Rogue Country in the early twentieth century. With the creation of the U.S. Forest Service in 1906, management and protection of lands within the Rogue Canyon became the responsibility of the new organization. In the fall of that year a Forest Service office opened in Grants Pass. The Galice District of the new Forest was administered from Rand, where the District Ranger Station was constructed in 1917 (Cooper 1939). By 1920 there were two Forest Service Guard stations within the river canyon, one at Whisky Creek and one between Meadow Creek and Horseshoe Bend. Fire detection and suppression were major tasks assigned to the Forest Service. Trail construction was also given major emphasis. Improved trails, telephone lines and fire lookouts were soon established throughout the canyon area (Beckham 1978:150).



U.S. Forest Service Crew, ca. 1920

Siskiyou National Forest

Following a severe fire season in 1910, the Forest Service intensified efforts to construct new transportation routes and to improve old paths through the canyon. Long circuitous trails over hills and dangerous slide areas were re-routed and made safe. The Forest Service frequently hired canyon residents and together they built efficient, dependable travel routes. By 1918 work was underway on a primary route known as the Rogue River Trail. The trail would serve crews fighting fire, the mail service, and supply packers into the area. The Gold Beach newspaper reported:

County Judge W.A. Wood and Forest Supervisor N.F. Macduff, of Grants Pass, and an engineer of the Forestry department, went over the plans for the construction of the trail along Rogue River from Mule Creek to Kelsey Creek on the county line, the construction of which will be undertaken as soon as men and materials can be obtained (Gold Beach Reporter October 10, 1918).

Three months later a completion date for the entire trail was planned:

The Rogue River trail from Almeda to Gold Beach, a distance of 78 miles, will be completed by July 1...The trail is being built by the Forest Service. Interest is being shown in the Rogue River trail by anglers of the state and northwest as that section of the country is noted for its good fishing (Gold Beach Reporter December 19, 1918).

In the 1930's the Forest Service was assisted in the Rogue country by Civilian Conservation Corps crews. Under Forest Service staff supervision additional trails, bridges, and guard stations were constructed throughout the district. The work of the Civilian Conservation Corps is addressed in an earlier section of People and the River.

VIII. POST WAR AND RECENT YEARS (1945-1995)

Introduction

After World War II, the Rogue between the Applegate River and Mule Creek changed in important ways. Upriver, large farms were divided into smaller parcels and road construction made transportation easier within the settled areas. In the post-war years the relationship of people to the land changed as jobs -- many of them timber industry positions -- took residents to Grants Pass or Medford. By the 1960's some city dwellers relocated in the rural areas, seeking a respite from the noise and congestion of larger communities.

In the Rogue Canyon, Civilian Conservation Corps roads allowed new access to previously isolated areas and trucks replaced the pack trains. Only a few miners returned to the streams. The few men who did return occupied old cabins or built new ones. Joe Utassey, for example, who lived first in a cave shelter he had dug, moved into a cabin at China Gulch in 1946. Utassey lived into his eighties in the canyon. Other post-war river canyon residents included Robert Fox at Battle Bar, Bill Brockman and Jack Mahoney (Atwood 1978:207).

At Galice the number of miners decreased and its function as a center for this widely scattered population declined. The community gradually developed into a supply point for the fishing, boating, and rafting groups which arrived through much of the year. At Marial, older members of the large Billings clan died in the years following the war. The post office at Marial closed in 1954. Now anglers, boaters and hikers visited the canyon each season and lodges flourished at Black Bar and Marial.

Opening the River

In the years before the advent of power boats, some excellent boatmen carried passengers and freight over the difficult rapids and tumultuous water. Bill Winsor, A.W. Presley, Henry Moore, Amaziah Aubery, Isaac Fry, Claude Bardon, Frank Lowery and Glen Wooldridge distinguished themselves as skilled boat operators. As the number of tourists increased interest rose in making river passage easier.

Canyon residents involved in attempts to transport equipment and supplies by boat had long realized that rocks were serious deterrents to predictable use of the river for freighting purposes. Early in the century mining equipment was boated and winched downriver to hydraulic and lode mining sites. As early as 1906 the Rogue River Courier reported that two boats had brought a heavy load down to a placer mine at Russian Charley Bar:

...the boat was an ordinary Rogue River fishing boat, The load consisted of tools for a blacksmith shop, rubber boots, clothing, drygoods and camp supplies all weighing about a ton. There was also 200 feet of lumber...

The article further quoted one hopeful canyon resident as saying, "At small expense the boulders could be blasted out and the channel cleared so loaded boats could go to any stage of the water except in very high floods to all parties on the lower river."

Of the many who worked the Rogue River, Glen Wooldridge combined his love of the water, skill at boatbuilding, and the use of dynamite to open the Rogue to traffic.



Glen Wooldridge

Young Wooldridge built his first boat with a friend in August, 1915 and descended the Rogue to the coast in the newly constructed craft. Within a short time he decided to build up a guide business, bringing tourists to the popular river.

Through the 1920's and 1930's an increasing number of anglers and vacationers used Glen Wooldridge's guide service, and through these years Wooldridge regularly blasted difficult rocks from his path in the river. In May, 1947, drawing wide publicity for the Rogue, Glen Wooldridge began a motorized trip by boat up the Rogue River from Gold Beach. In the years following the war, Wooldridge's blasting activities, which had extended over decades, increased and the river was fully opened to commercial fishing and raft trips. He remembered (Atwood 1978):

We used Blossom Bar for several years before we blasted it out. We'd never had any experience with powder. Didn't know how to go about it. Just had to learn. We shot it out before we ever tried to go up river... Any place of consequence that gave us any trouble at all we blasted the rocks out.



Blossom Bar

We done a lot of work at Kelsey Falls. We changed the channel from one side of the river to the other... Then we came on up to Horseshoe Bend and Jenny creek... bombed hell out of that. Then at Upper Black Bar we opened that channel around next to the bluff. Above there we opened Wildcat. Done some shooting over on Tyee, over on the north side. Grave Creek Falls had some boulders we boosted out... The blasting was carried on over a long period of years....

The river guide service, of which Glen Wooldridge was a pioneer, has expanded through the years with a steady increase in the number of people seeking an opportunity to float or boat the Rogue. Glen Wooldridge's long career as well as his efforts at blasting boulders from the water, had a permanent impact on the river.

Flood and Storm

On several occasions in the past fifty years severe flooding and winds as well as dynamite have changed the river canyon. Just before Christmas, 1955, heavy winds and rains lashed the Pacific Coast region. Lowlands along the Rogue west of Grants Pass flooded. Eyewitnesses in the Rogue Canyon observed driftwood along the river high on the banks where the flood had deposited it in trees. The force of the water wedged logs into rocks along high cliffs (Pierce 1962:43).

In 1962 the Columbus Day storm brought tremendous winds to the Rogue Canyon. Dr. and Mrs. Allen Boyden of Portland were visiting their river canyon property when the storm hit. One writer described their experience:

The Allen Boydens of Portland, who own a cabin on Horseshoe Bend, were staying in it at the time of the storm of October 12th [1962]. They watched from a clear field while whole groves of virgin timber were flattened or snapped off to the accompaniment of a deafening roar... Several times the river seemed to lift right out of its channel. Tons and tons of water were carried up into the air and then dropped. The same phenomenon was observed also at Winkle Bar (Pierce 1962:43).

Waters rose quickly on the Rogue in December, 1964. Several towns along the river were evacuated, and great property damage was reported in many areas. Ten years later, in January, 1974, waters rose mid-month, again resulting in severe flooding and damage.

Flows were high enough during these major flood years to destroy bridges, roads, built improvements and to inundate

agricultural lands and stream courses. The completion of dams at Lost Creek on the upper Rogue River and on the upper Applegate River have greatly reduced the chances of major floods on the middle and lower portions of the Rogue. While protecting soil and improvements, the dams have also dramatically altered the river's ecological balance. Benefits of flooding, including renovation of riparian ecosystems through renewed spawning beds and sorted gravel sands and fines, no longer occur.

Government Management of the River

The Bureau of Land Management, established in 1946 out of the Department of the Interior, took over administration of non-National Forest timber lands within the watershed in the late 1940's. The agency also assumed responsibility for managing the river corridor. The Rogue River Recreation Withdrawal PLO 1726 of September 3, 1958 -- amended in 1959 and 1963 -- reserved all BLM administered land within one-half mile of the river for the protection and preservation of the scenic and recreation areas adjacent to the river.



BLM Staff with Recreation Sign, ca. 1960

After World War II, settlers appeared along the Rogue in new form. These newcomers were primarily part-time recreational users who occupied existing cabins or built simple dwellings on mining claims. Most of these structures were used as vacation homes or adjunct structures for river guide operations.

The Wild and Scenic River Act was passed in 1968 and the Rogue was subsequently listed. The Bureau of Land Management assumed responsibility for the river corridor. Intent upon restoring the canyon to natural conditions, the agency began a program of identifying mining claims and cabins illegally held. Cited under "illegal trespass," title to these lands was purchased or claimed from owners. With increasing efforts to protect scenic and natural qualities of the Rogue River Canyon, the Bureau of Land Management struggled with the long-standing problem of residential construction on mining claims.

In 1965 the Bureau of Land Management compiled a detailed report of the "occupancy problem" as they understood it. The report summarized the status of residential occupancy on the river in that year. Between Hellgate and Grave Creek the agency found six full-time occupants and six part-time occupants. Three residences had been abandoned, with the cases not closed; eleven cases had been successfully resolved ("Rogue River Occupancy Problem" 1965:II,9).



Cabin in Rogue River Canyon

Between Grave Creek and Marial the report noted four full-time residential occupancies -- four full-time and eight part-time. None of these cases had been closed. The BLM further found that all of the occupancies were involved with mining claims and, "in almost all cases the full-time occupants' use of the land predates the enactment of P.L. 87-851, are elderly persons, and make this their principal place of residence.

Recognizing the complexity as well as the time-consuming aspects of resolving these cases, the BLM planned several actions. The first two steps involved (1) allowing no new occupancy or private use on withdrawn lands, and (2) a gradual reduction in number of existing residential occupancy by issuing life-time leases where appropriate, or issuing short-term non-renewable leases to allow occupants time to re-locate. The third step ordered immediate cancellation of the residency if the occupancy had occurred after October 23, 1962, if the occupant refused to comply with terms of the lease, if the occupant had died, or if the land was needed for a definite project. Throughout the canyon from Grave Creek to Marial, mining cabins and "illegal" recreational dwellings were torn down or burned.

In 1995, thirty years after this report was written, few, if any, of these structures left along the river. As described by Dennis Gray in the "Rogue River Cultural Resource Inventory," (1995) agency staff thoroughly cleared the property:

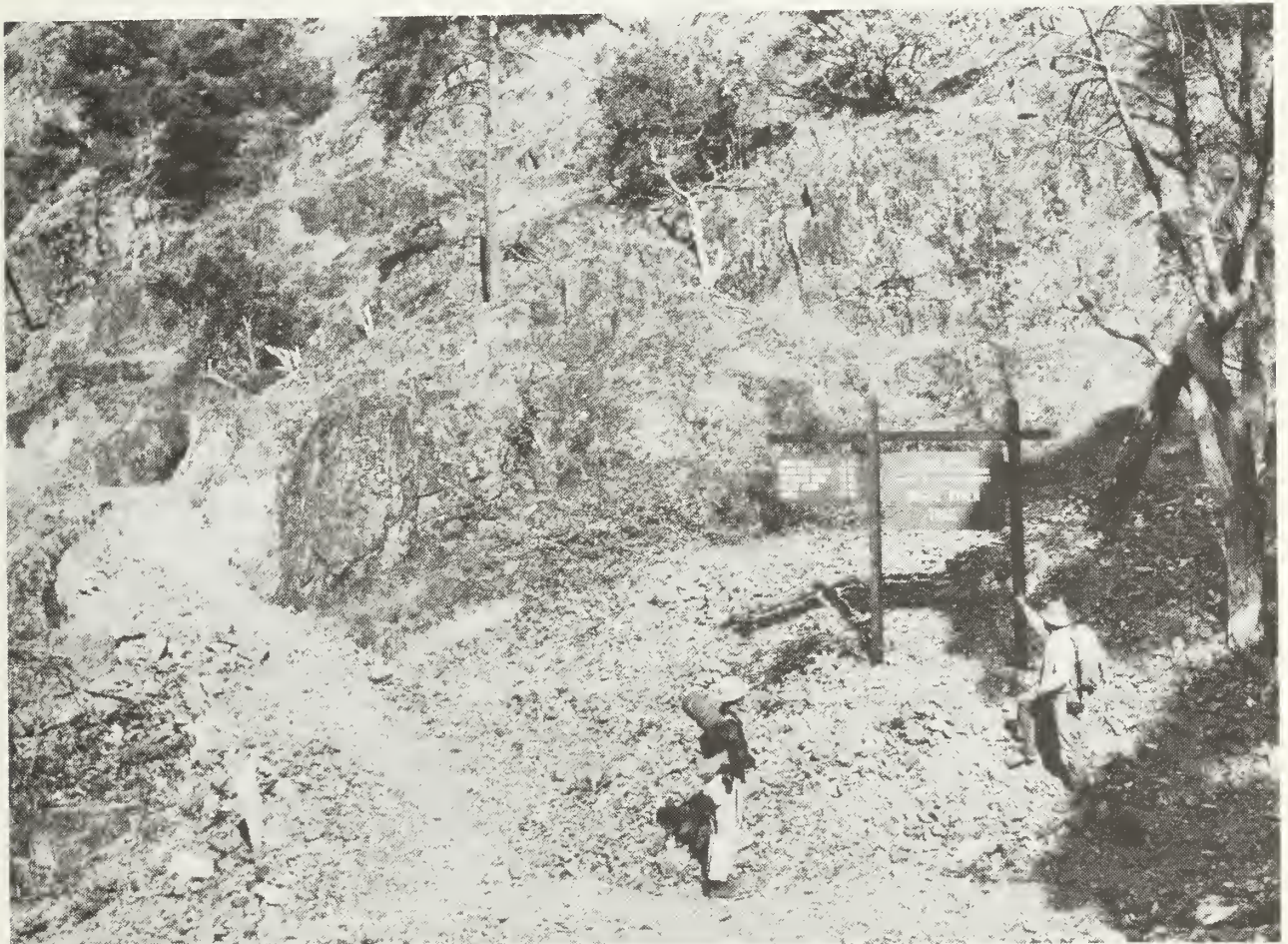
In those cases where the claim was evaluated as invalid, the improvements on the property were removed. The procedure followed by the BLM to remove a structure (after notification that a claim was null and void) was to remove appliances (stoves, water heaters, etc.) and take them to a land-fill, remove the door and window casings, and then pull down the structure. Finally they burned the remains in situ (Gray 1995:8).

The removal of these structures within the Hellgate Recreational and Wild Section of the Rogue River signaled the beginning of a new era for the Rogue River under government management. While private property still exists in substantial areas within the Recreational Section and at a few locations within the Wild Section, approximately 99% of the land within the Scenic Corridor is now publicly owned (or has a scenic easement held). Responsible agencies include the Bureau of Land Management, the State of Oregon, and Josephine County (Gray 1995:9).

With passage of the Wild and Scenic River Act in 1968 and subsequent listing of the Rogue, public awareness and popularity of the river grew rapidly. The Wild and Scenic River designation of the river extends between the mouth of the Applegate and Marial, on Mule Creek in Curry County. This portion of the river

corridor was placed under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Land Management. The segment is divided into two designations for management purposes; Recreational and Wild. The Recreational section of the Rogue extends from the mouth of the Applegate River to Grave Creek. The Wild section begins at Grave Creek and continues to Watson Creek, a distance of thirty-two miles. (Bureau of Land Management responsibility ends at Mule Creek.)

Following Wild and Scenic River designation, visitors flocked to the Rogue Canyon and by the mid-1970's more than 10,000 people per year were using this isolated portion for boating, hiking, fishing and other recreational pursuits (Purdom 1977:8). In subsequent years the river has seen increased recreational usage from a growing local population as well as tourists from other areas. The Rogue's national reputation as an excellent salmon and steelhead fishing stream, as well as a river with outstanding white water boating and rafting opportunities, brings thousands of visitors each year. Fishing, float trips, camping, hiking, picnicking, swimming and sightseeing are all enjoyed within an area of great natural beauty.



BLM Staff with Rogue River Trail Sign

The Bureau of Land Management, with local headquarters at Rand, today devotes extensive study and staff to continual stewardship of river, monitoring visitors, size of parties, use of camping and sanitary facilities, safety, and vandalism in the Rogue Canyon.

In the 150 years since ending of Native culture and the present day, the study area along the Rogue has changed in many ways. In 1845 Indians still fished for salmon on the Rogue. Today shrieking tourists float the river in rubber rafts.

For thousands of years prior to 1820 native peoples adapted successfully to their environment. With Euro-American exploration came an ever-increasing population and advancing technology. The village sites, fishing locations and food-gathering grounds in valley areas along the river downstream from the mouth of the Applegate were transformed into agricultural fields, roads and built improvements. In the river canyon sites used by Indians for subsistence activities, were excavated in a relentless search for gold. Cabins, irrigation ditches and flumes soon crossed the creeks and bars along the river's edge.

In all instances, bars and terraces and meadows along the Rogue were usurped and developed to new purposes. Change came steadily to the river throughout the decades. Mining, agriculture, roads and ferries, floods, and recreation, permanently altered the river landscape. From the mouth of the Applegate to Pickett Creek people still occupy the areas once inhabited by natives. Within the Wild Section of the Rogue Canyon, humans continue to use the river, but in a substantially new way. The gold miners, farmers, and packers are gone. Under U.S. government management the river canyon is now briefly home to the large numbers of rafters, anglers, and hikers who visit the area.

The Rogue River's story has evolved over thousands of years. The qualities that drew people to the area centuries ago continue to attract. The gentle climate, sheltering mountains and isolation historically suited river corridor inhabitants and entice visitors today. Although the modern period reflects only a moment in history, the ways in which we use and care for the Rogue will determine what remains for future generations who are drawn to its banks for sustenance or seclusion.

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