



In the Footprints of Gmukamps

*A Traditional Use Study of Crater Lake National Park
and Lava Beds National Monument*



Douglas Deur

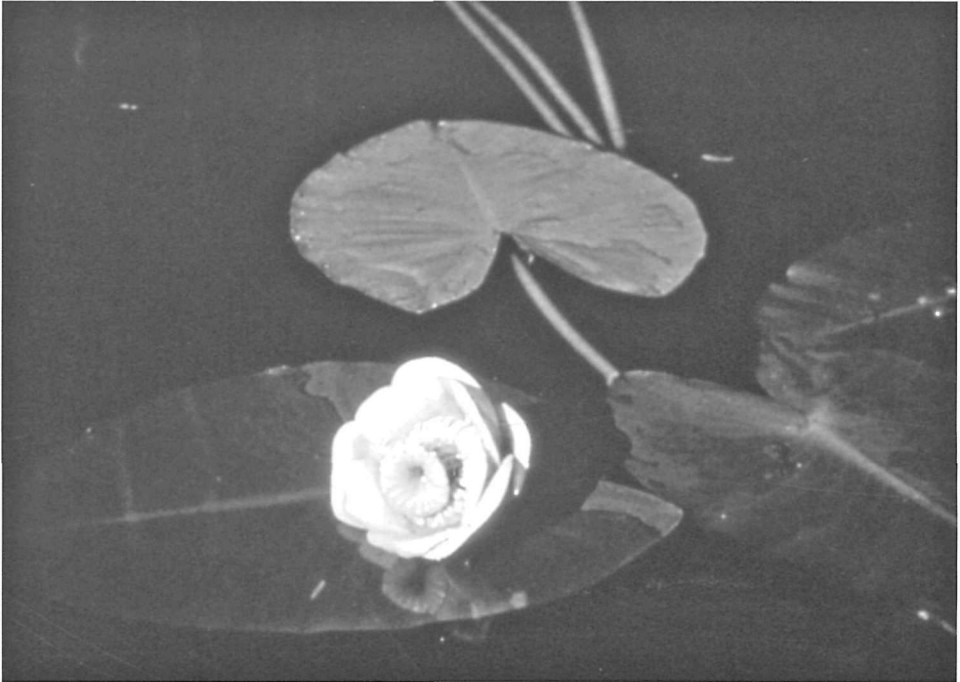
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National Park Service
Pacific West Region
2008



Wocus, the yellow pond lily (*Nuphar lutea* ssp. *polysepala*). The seeds from wocus were a staple of the Klamath and Modoc diet, and continue to be gathered and eaten by many tribal families today. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

Cover photos: (top) In camp at Huckleberry Mountain about 1900. *Hescock family photo*
(bottom) Harvesting wocus *Photo by E.S. Curtis, 1923.*

Back cover Photos: (top) Crater Lake with Union Peak. *Klamath County Museum photo*
(bottom) Many of the caves and buttes in the Lava Beds have been used for ceremonial purposes. *Klamath County Museum photo*

Cover design: Mary Williams Hyde

Image on title page from the Klamath County Museum

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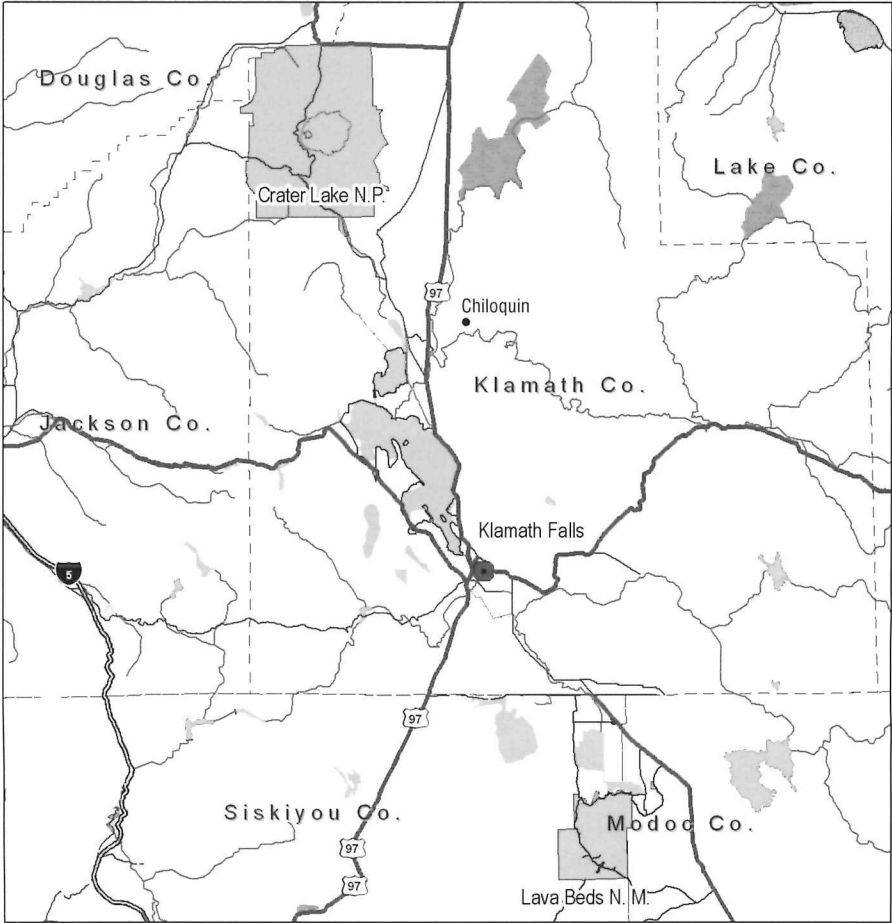
Acknowledgments

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Crater Lake and Lava Beds

General Proximity Map

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior



Map Projection:
UTM Zone 10 North, NAD 83

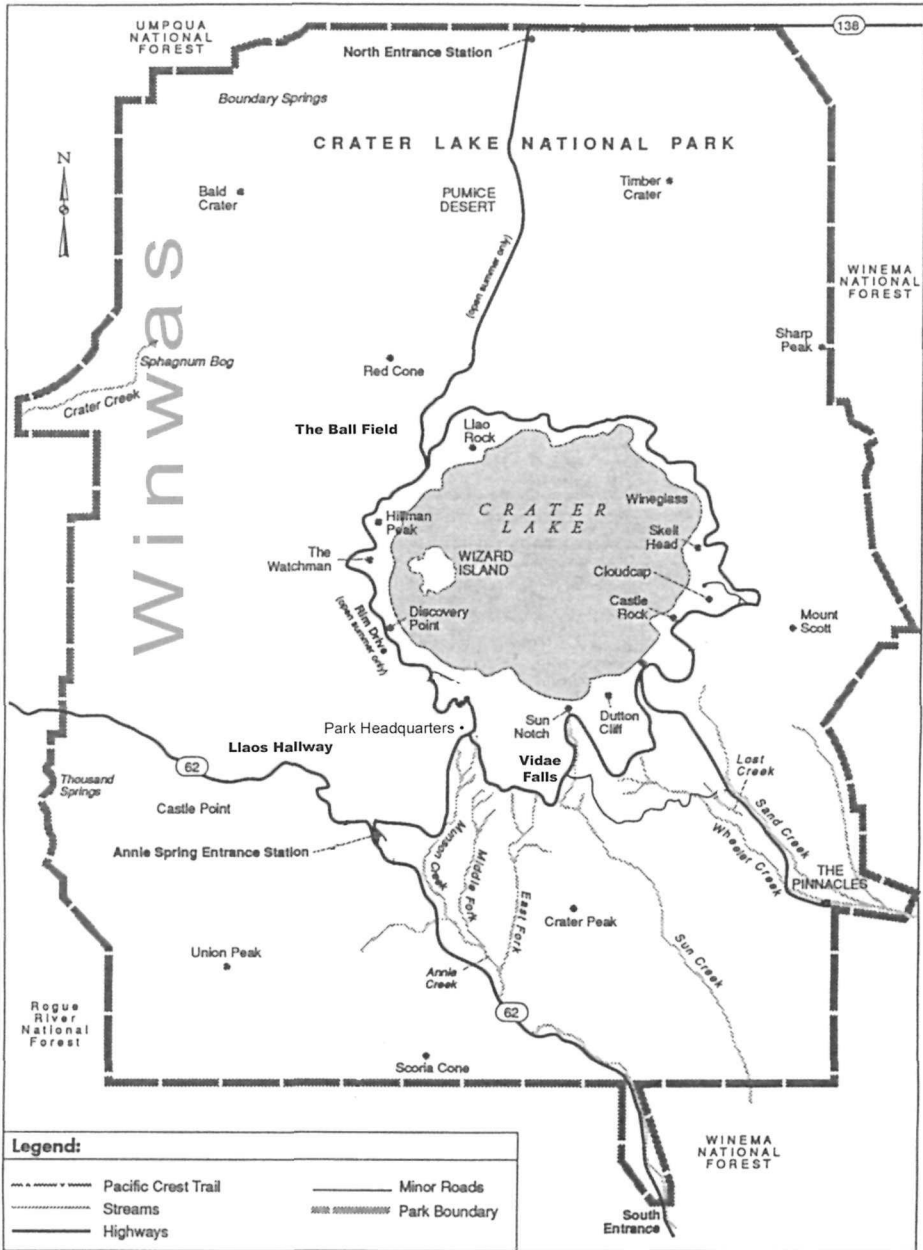


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Crater Lake National Park area map; 1 inch equals 5 miles. The Klamath Tribes administrative office is located 35 miles southeast of Park Headquarters. The Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians has its headquarters in Canyonville, roughly 115 miles by road west of the Park.

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IN THE FOOTPRINTS OF GMUKAMPS



Introduction



For the tribes of south-central Oregon and northeastern California, few places are as important as Crater Lake National Park and Lava Beds National Monument. Sitting on the northern and southern ends of the upper Klamath Basin respectively, these two parks served as centers of both ritual and mundane activities for a number of tribes, most notably the closely related Klamath and Modoc tribes. Today, the descendants of the Klamath, the Modoc, the Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians, and other tribes that visited these places are enrolled principally in the confederated Klamath Tribes, as well as a number of smaller tribes within Oregon, California, and Oklahoma. An ethnographic study, addressing both parks and relying heavily on data from Klamath and Modoc sources, seems a fitting way to summarize the historical importance of these two unique places, as well as the enduring significance of these two parks today.

To be sure, the importance of these two parks is suggested by existing ethnographic sources and is clarified considerably by the accounts of contemporary tribal members. Crater Lake, sitting on the boundary between multiple tribal territories, is widely acknowledged as a landmark of particular religious importance. Tribal oral traditions regarding Crater Lake abound, describing the eruption of Mount Mazama as well as a number of other dramatic events associated with the activities of supernatural beings. In turn, this landmark has served as one of the most important vision quest sites for traditional religious practitioners, a practice that has arguably persisted from not long after the eruption of Mount Mazama into the present day. Places such as Mount Scott have endured as places of traditional and non-traditional ceremonial activity into the present day, as tribal members embrace both old and new religious traditions.

Meanwhile, the Crater Lake area has long functioned as a center of resource procurement for area tribes. Sitting on the western flank of the park, Huckleberry Mountain served as a multi-tribal center of summertime food

gathering and social activity. Women have traditionally gathered huckleberries and other plant materials from campsites at Huckleberry Mountain, while men fanned out to a constellation of hunting and fishing sites inside and outside of the modern park boundary. Hunting and other resource procurement activities have been widespread in other portions of the park as well. Certain families continued to hunt in traditional areas within the park well after park creation. The former boundaries of the Klamath Reservation included portions of what is today the park, facilitating this continued pattern of use. Today, despite myriad changes in the economic and cultural circumstances of park-associated tribes, Crater Lake continues to serve as a place of ceremonial activity, while Huckleberry Mountain endures as a center of traditional resource procurement.

Lava Beds, by contrast, sat at the heart of the traditional Modoc world. First and foremost, Modoc interviewees suggest, the Lava Beds should be thought of as the home of the Modoc people. The northern shore of Tule Lake served as a center of Modoc settlement, and the villages along this shore were politically and socially central to the larger Modoc community. Subsistence sites, especially rich wintertime hunting grounds, extended southward into the rugged volcanic terrain inside the Monument and extending to the Medicine Lake Highlands. The Tule Lake shoreline provided a bounty of fish, waterfowl, and plant resources. Ceremonial sites were numerous as one moved away from the settlement centers of the Tule Lake shoreline, and many are still used today. Caves have provided distinctive types of ritual opportunities, including both solitary vision quests and group ceremonies. Bluffs and buttes of the Lava Beds serve as vision quest sites and as training places for religious practitioners hoping to ascend to the particularly powerful sites in the Medicine Lake Highlands. Many of the places within the park, such as Petroglyph Point, are said to be relics of the world's creation and are imbued with considerable powers.

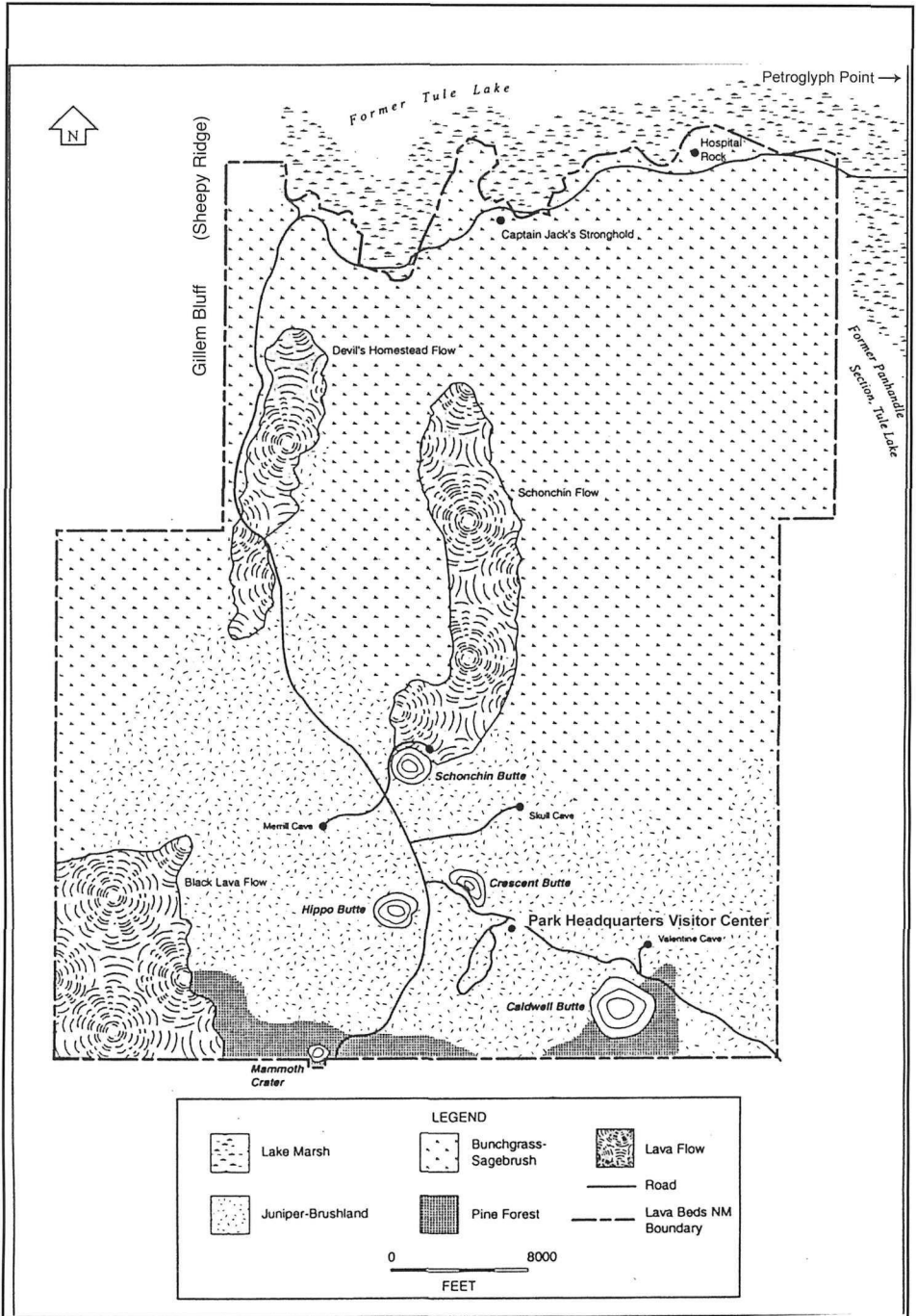
The circumstances of the Modoc War clearly changed the Modoc relationship with the Lava Beds. The history of the war, much of which was fought inside the Monument, is widely known by tribal members and serves as the starting point for modern Modoc history. Following years of displacement, many Modoc began to reconnect with this traditional homeland in numerous ways. Some continued to visit the Lava Beds in the course of nearby work, while others were able to continue visiting for ritual purposes through much of the intervening period. Today, tribal members seek to reinhabit the Lava Beds through ceremonial activities, organized social events, and the largely symbolic procurement of natural resources.

INTRODUCTION

The study that follows represents a relatively unique research effort. The research was not driven by these park's legal and policy mandates but, instead, by a proactive effort to help two National Parks and the tribes associated with those parks to better understand one-another's values and concerns (Deur and Mark 2000). The National Park Service, the Klamath Tribes, and I collaborated early in the research to insure that the resulting volume would meet everyone's needs. Employing ethnographic interviews and archival work, this research helped to identify and document a broad range of topics related to traditional American Indian uses and views of the landscape. Rather than starting with explicit hypotheses, tribal members were encouraged to share what they viewed as the most important information regarding their ties to both parks. As a result, this volume is shaped in part by the priorities and concerns of tribal members. The volume that follows includes a thematic overview of traditional uses, past and present, for both parks – such as plant gathering, hunting, and ritual use. In addition, this volume relays tribal members' concerns regarding the relationship between tribal people and the agency that now manages these lands; some also venture suggestions on how to improve these relationships in the future. While the National Park Service may not be open to all of such suggestions, they are included here in the hope that they might facilitate a dialogue – at once inter-governmental and cross-cultural – regarding issues of mutual interest and opportunities for cooperation. No doubt, both groups recognize the tremendous importance of both Crater Lake and Lava Beds, and both groups will continue to communicate regarding the management and interpretation of these unique places for many years to come. It is my hope that the contents of *In the Footprints of Gmukumps* will help foster this communication. I also anticipate that this volume will assist the tribes in their ongoing efforts to document and preserve their cultural traditions. May future generations of tribal members continue to appreciate and sustain their attachments to these two distinctive parts of their traditional homeland.



“General view of the Modoc Lava Beds,” 1914, by Leland S. Smith, US Forest Service photo, USDI-NPS, *Harpers Ferry Center*



Lave Beds National Monument area map. The Medicine Lake Highlands are about 25 miles south from Park Headquarters.

Methods and Objectives



While a number of tribes possess ties to these parks, Crater Lake sits near the boundary between the traditional territories of the Klamath and southern Molala tribes, while Lava Beds sits squarely within the traditional territory of the Modoc. The Klamath Tribes, a confederated tribe based in Chiloquin, Oregon, represents Klamaths and most Modocs, while also having a number of southern Molala descendants on its rolls.¹ The members of the Klamath Tribes, therefore, were the primary participants in this study. During later phases of the research, individuals with knowledge of these parks were also sought in consultation with other tribes. By the end of the study, members of the Cow Creek Band of the Umpqua Tribe of Indians, the Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma, the Confederated Tribes of the Siletz Reservation, the Pit River Tribe, the Karuk Tribe, and the Quartz Valley Rancheria of California had provided valuable insights, both formally and informally, into the nature of these parks.²

At the onset of research, the National Park Service consulted directly with participating tribal governments regarding the project, especially the Chairman, Council, and Culture and Heritage Department of the Klamath Tribes. During these initial meetings, tribal representatives had the opportunity to review the project plan and recommended amendments – the project’s development involved not only government-to-government consultation, but also a degree of collaboration between the tribe, the NPS, and the author. Once the project proposal met with the Klamath Tribes’ satisfaction, the Culture and Heritage Department produced a list of proposed interviewees and assigned a tribal liaison, Orin “Buzz” Kirk, to facilitate interviews.

Tribal leaders were consulted at multiple stages of the project. The interest in the leadership of area tribal leaders in cultural and historical matters was generally high. This fact is attested to, in part, by the fact that a number of past and present Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen served as ethnographic interviewees - such as Joe Kirk, Jeff Mitchell, Joe Hobbs, and Lynn

Schonchin from the Klamath Tribes and Sue Schaffer from the Cow Creek – and these individuals often provided some of the most detailed and candid interviews on certain topics.

When initially contacted, each potential interviewee was provided with an explanation of the project's genesis, goals, and methods.³ Tribal members who agreed to participate were interviewed in a number of locations - their homes, in tribal offices or other public buildings, in eateries, or in field locations. Interviews addressed a wide range of topics, from historical ceremony and subsistence in the lands now encompassed in the parks, to the nature of modern-day tribal perspectives on park resource management. At the close of initial interviews, interviewees were invited to share their thoughts on past, present, and future NPS land and resource management, with particular attention to any opportunities that might exist for the improvement of parks-tribes relations. The information that they provided makes up the bulk of the report that follows.⁴

In addition to these interviews, I was able to conduct a number of follow-up interviews while visiting the parks with tribal members. I joined tribal members at Lava Beds for the annual Modoc Gathering at Captain Jacks Stronghold, as well as the related Medicine Lake Gatherings just south of the park. I also joined tribal members in the annual Huckleberry Mountain gathering, as well as to join Klamath families visiting this area to pick berries. I helped teach Klamath Tribes children about the two parks at the tribe's annual Culture Camp, and participated in ceremonial activities with traditional practitioners in both parks. I observed Indian-white interactions within both parks within a variety of contexts; and I coordinated with Crater Lake National Park Superintendent, Chuck Lundy, in the assessment of park policy regarding tribes, and participated in the training of seasonal Crater Lake National Park staff regarding the tribes' enduring ties to the park. In addition, I was able to provide information and perspectives to regional Anthropologist, Dr. Frederick York, who used this information to assist Lava Beds National Monument Superintendent, Craig Dorman, as he worked to coordinate burial site protection efforts with the Klamath Tribes. Together, these experiences have all contributed tremendously to the current report.

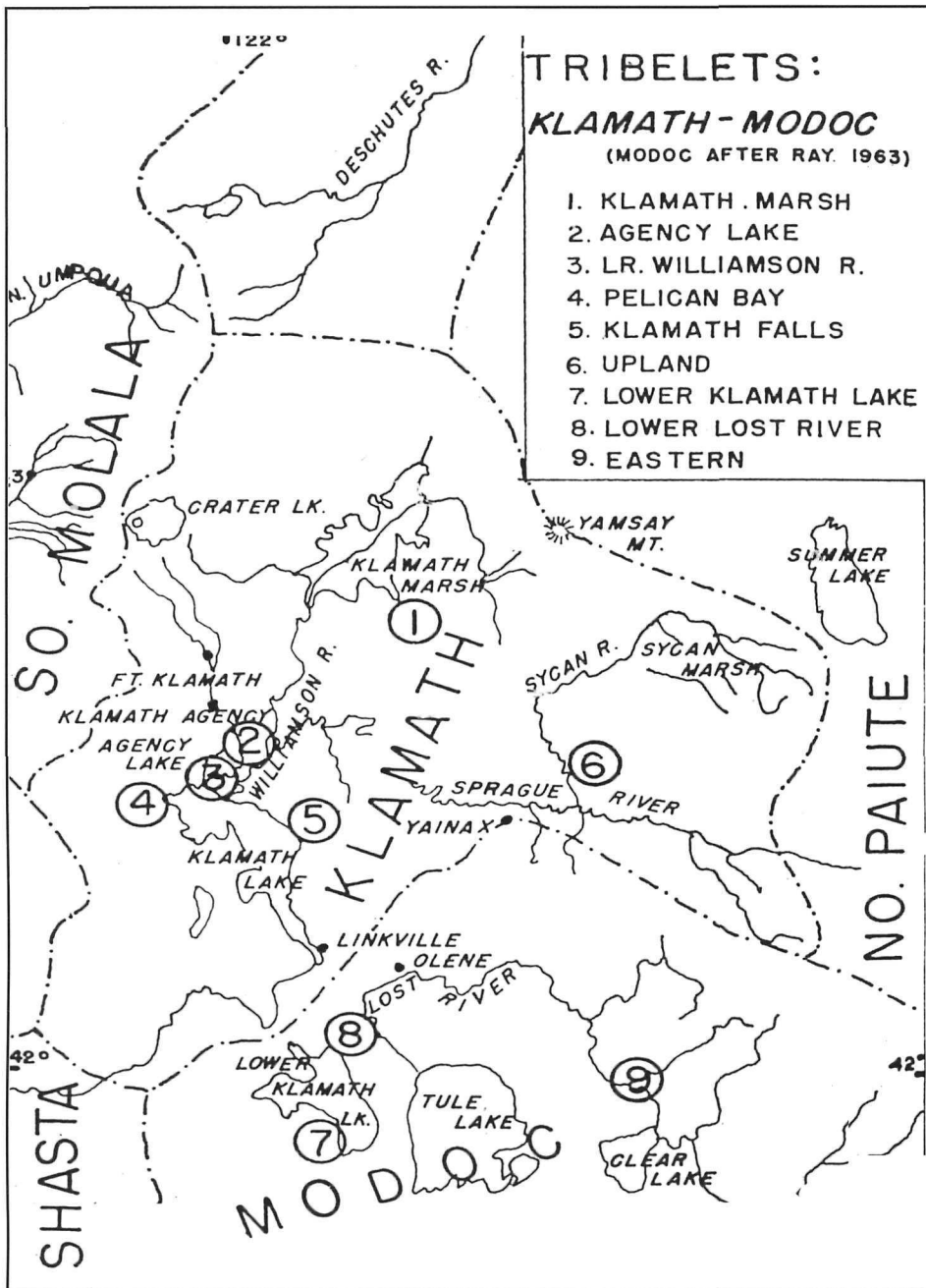
Information from all of these sources was analyzed, organized thematically, and augmented by information available in published and archival accounts. Archival materials were sought in NPS collections (including those at Lava Beds, Crater Lake, Redwood National Park and the Pacific West Regional Office), the Pacific Northwest regional branch of the National Archives in

METHODS AND OBJECTIVES

Seattle, the Oregon Historical Society, the Klamath County Museum, and the archival collections of the Klamath Tribes.

Notes and audiotapes from this study will be stored in the collections of the Klamath Tribes and shall be made freely available to the individuals who have participated in the study. Efforts have also been made to protect the privacy of interviewees. Instead of using interviewees' names or initials for most quotations, a numerical system is used, with each number indicating a quotation from a specific interviewee; the key to these numbered codes is in the possession of the NPS and the Klamath Tribes.

It is the intention of the author, as well as the NPS and tribal staff who supported this effort, that this study will be of enduring value to all parties, and particularly the members of the Klamath Tribes (Deur and Mark 2000). Lava Beds continues to serve as one of the most important ceremonial sites and social gathering areas within the Modoc traditional territories, and still represents an important plant gathering area as well. Crater Lake represents one of the most important sacred places to the Klamath Tribes and many other tribal groups in Oregon and California, while Huckleberry Mountain, a short distance west of the park, continues to be among the most important subsistence and social gathering areas in this part of the state (Deur 2002). Through this study, tribal members were systematically consulted regarding their knowledge of both areas and their preferences regarding its future management at a level far exceeding conventional, compliance-driven consultation. The information gained through this study has the potential to shape the land management decisions of NPS staff, allowing resource managers to avoid future impacts on places of enduring cultural significance, such as burial sites, sacred sites, and plant-gathering areas. In addition, the study can provide park interpreters with information that will allow them to represent park-affiliated tribes' history in a manner that the tribes deem sensitive, accurate, and appropriate. It is also intended that the final report will aid tribes in their ongoing efforts to document and preserve their elders' traditional cultural knowledge, and to keep that knowledge alive for generations yet to come. If this report helps this effort, even in a minor way, then it will have surely been a success.



Map of Tribal territories derived from Spier 1930.

Two Parks, Two Tribes



As previously stated, the constituent tribes of the Klamath Tribes – the Klamaths, Modocs, and Yahooskins – have strong historical affiliations with both park units, and for this reason Klamath Tribes interviewees were the primary sources of information in this study. The Klamath Tribes are a confederation that brought together two linguistically distinct groups (the Klamath and Modoc, whose words and usage differs only slightly in comparison to the unrelated languages of the northern Paiute and Shoshonean peoples, of which the Yahooskins are a part) under one tribal government.

Interviewees for this study typically agreed with the anthropological interpretation of the Klamath and Modoc as two peoples whose cultures had diverged somewhat due to specialization in different environments and subsistence strategies. The Klamath, they note, dwelled along rivers, lakes, and marshes amidst heavily timbered mountains, and were adept fishermen. Large settlements were on average larger, fewer in number, and more sedentary. The Modoc territory consisted of dryer uplands, including the perennially landlocked Lost River basin and adjacent sage and juniper scrublands, facilitating a lifestyle that prioritized hunting, in addition to fishing. These communities were typically more mobile than the Klamath, being tied less to geographically fixed fishing stations and more to a diffuse constellation of hunting and plant gathering sites. The pre-contact condition of the Klamath and Modoc people receives considerable attention in the pages that follow.⁵ The processes that fostered cultural change in the wake of European contact, and resulting changes in the perception and use of the two parks, also will be explored in some detail.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

Patterns of tribal activity have changed considerably since the time of European contact, due to a variety of introduced technologies, diseases,

ideas, and economic activities. A series of epidemics dramatically changed the demographic landscape of southern Oregon and northern California, beginning prior to the direct arrival of Euro-Americans; smallpox alone appears to have passed through the region no fewer than four times - in the 1770s, 1801, 1824-25, and 1838 (Boyd 1990). To be sure, the populations first encountered and documented by Euro-American explorers probably represented only a fragment of the much larger populations that preceded these epidemics. By the 1820s, Euro-American fur trappers were making initial forays into southwestern Oregon and northern California, instigating the first instances of cross-cultural contact for most of the tribes of the region. While contact was infrequent, these exchanges brought new goods and new ideas to the region, while also raising the specter of new strategic threats.

During this same period, the Klamath and Modoc tribes already had become tied into the larger trade networks centered on The Dalles. Through the acquisition of guns and horses, the Klamaths and Modocs were by this time engaging in much expanded raiding of their neighbors for goods and for slaves. Slave raiding on the "Pit River" Achumawi and Shasta tribes on northern California especially intensified during this period. These activities reached a fever pitch in the early to mid-nineteenth century, as horses and guns became readily available through the trading centers on The Dalles and other settlements along the lower Columbia River. During this period, the Achumawi rearranged their social and economic routines to avoid capture and built a number of rock fortifications to use during retreats made during Klamath and Modoc raids (Kniffen 1928). Such trade brought both the Klamaths and Modocs into regular contact with tribes of the lower Columbia, facilitating the diffusion of ideas and technologies in both directions. Slaves were commonly traded for horses, guns, trade beads, and provisions.⁶ These introduced objects and technologies clearly had impacts on patterns of use at both parks, as shall be discussed in the pages that follow.

As permanent white settlements began to appear in southern Oregon, the aloof, sporadic quality of Indian-white relations began to transform markedly. Already, by the late 1830s and 1840s, particularly west of the Cascade Range, French and mixed-blood trappers intermarried with women from the tribes of the region, and many Cow Creek tribal members of today are descendents of these marriages.

The 1840s, however, were a period of dramatic change for these tribes. In 1846, members of the Applegate party charted the route for a new emigrant trail that would soon become a popular point of entry into the region along the Oregon Trail. This trail route passed through the heart of Klamath and

Modoc territory, skirting the northern edge of Tule Lake. Smallpox ravaged the Klamath and Modoc populations in the 1840s, as the Applegate Trail exposed these communities to unprecedented numbers of settlers. As shall be discussed in later sections, inter-ethnic hostilities flared almost immediately as the tribes raided wagon trains for livestock and settlers committed sporadic acts of homicidal violence against the resident tribes.

Within the Klamath Basin, these hostilities culminated in the Ben Wright massacre, an event with broad implications for the history of Lava Beds in particular. In 1853, acting in response to an attack on Applegate Trail wagon trains and purported livestock thefts, vigilantes from Yreka descended upon a village on the east side of Tule Lake at dawn, killing many of its inhabitants. The following year, the Modoc retaliated at Bloody Point, on the east side of Tule Lake, attacking a wagon train crossing the Applegate Trail (O.C. Applegate, Jr. 1973). Ben Wright of Yreka then guided a retaliatory expedition into south-central Oregon, attacking a number of tribal communities. At the culmination of this expedition, Ben Wright and his party entered the village at Bloody Point. Wright called for a peace council with the Modoc, but the following morning drew concealed weapons and killed the majority of the village's inhabitants including, significantly, Captain Jack's father. Wright later distributed scalps and other souvenirs of the attack in the mining camps at Yreka, California.⁷

Not all interaction with the non-Indian world was hostile, however. As settlement burgeoned in the Willamette Valley in the mid-1840s, a small number of men entered into the cash economy, taking positions as agricultural laborers for these frontier settlements. In 1853, the Cow Creek Umpqua became the first Oregon tribe to be federally recognized through the treaty process. However, increased competition for land and resources generated growing tensions between west-side tribes and white settlers and armed conflicts ensued, culminating in the Rogue River Indian War of 1854-56. Following this war, a number of tribes from throughout southwestern Oregon and northwestern California, including some with traditional ties to Huckleberry Mountain, were forcibly relocated to Grand Ronde and Siletz Reservations in the northern Oregon Coast Range (Beckham 1990, 1971).

TREATIES, DISPLACEMENT, AND THE MODOC WAR

The late nineteenth century marked a time of tremendous transition for the tribes of southern Oregon and northern California, as the United States consolidated its control of the southern Oregon hinterland and white agricultural settlement became increasingly ubiquitous. A small number of

Cow Creeks and other west-side tribal members avoided removal and found refuge in high elevation areas of the Cascade Range, resulting in at least a temporarily intensified use of lands and resources in these areas. Cow Creeks and other west-side tribes removed to Grand Ronde and Siletz were no longer able to visit much of their traditional territory at the time. Meanwhile, as shall be discussed, Southern Molala tribal members rapidly integrated into neighboring tribes, most notably the Klamath Tribes.

East of the Cascades, the Klamaths, Modocs, and Yahooskins signed the Klamath Tribes Treaty of 1864, ceding a sizeable portion of their land to the United States, including both the Lava Beds and the western portion of what is now Crater Lake National Park.⁸ Interviewees said that at the time the treaty was written, the non-Indians of the region recognized the economic potential of the upper Klamath Basin for agriculture, but not for timber production. For this reason, the Klamath and Modoc were both pushed off the bottomland “and out into the forest” which comprised the majority of the Klamath Reservation under their treaty. The areas granted to the Klamath Tribes by treaty represented some of the most marginal areas in their territories, and included very few of the heavily settled lakeshore and marsh environments. Only later – in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – was the economic value of the timberland recognized; at this time, timber companies and federal authorities undermined the treaty in an effort to place the Reservation’s lands and resources within the reach of outside speculators. This change in economic potentials and priorities, some note, was behind many of boundary adjustments, timber sales, and other actions that have plagued the Klamath Tribes since the late-nineteenth century and fostered legal action on multiple fronts.



Musksamse Lapli, better known as White Cindy, shown here selling baskets on the streets of Klamath Falls, c. 1900. *Klamath County Museum photo*



The late Klamath Tribes Chairman Seldon Kirk and his grandson Raymond Kirk at the stump of tree which was in Council Grove when 1864 Treaty was signed. Many tribal members recalled this grove of trees, in the vicinity of Fort Klamath, as a local landmark though the trees were logged decades ago. *Klamath County Museum photo*

As stipulated in the 1864 treaty, the majority of the tribal population in the upper Klamath Basin agreed to live solely on the newly formed Klamath Reservation. By 1870, the creation of the Klamath Indian Agency placed tribal members under the direct influence of the federal government. Captain O.C. Knapp has become infamous in Klamath Tribes history as the Indian Agent who contributed significantly to the instigation of the Modoc War. Arriving at the Klamath Agency in 1869 with a military background and little experience or patience with Indians, Knapp was intended to replace the relatively competent Agent, Lindsey Applegate. Knapp soon found himself overwhelmed by the turbulent period, and became notorious for shackling and imprisoning traditional religious practitioners and actively suppressing traditional practices such as cremation. He also refused to address Modoc complaints regarding the logistical difficulties of relocation, a precondition of Modoc participation in the relocation effort established in their negotiations with Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Alfred Meacham. A sizeable number of Modocs who had resisted relocation during the initial move to the Klamath Reservation chose to return to the Modoc homeland, under the guidance of Modoc chief Captain Jack, culminating in their participation in the Modoc War of 1872-73.

Captain Jack's final exodus from the Klamath Reservation, which marked the beginning of the Modoc War, occurred one day after he approached Knapp for assistance and received only verbal abuse. Citing Knapp's incompetence, Meacham removed Knapp from his post and instead hired his own son, John Meacham as Klamath Indian Agent. By this time, however, the hostilities and occasional skirmishes that led up to the Modoc War had already escalated throughout the upper Klamath Basin (Johnson 1947: 61-66; T. Riddle in Gatschet 1890: 35-36).

Fort Klamath was the base of operations for U.S. troops during the Modoc War, and became the site where the Modoc headmen were ultimately executed. This site remained an active military post well after the Modoc War, even as settlers' fears of off-reservation tribal uprisings subsided. Instead, the frequent and illegal occupation of the Klamath Reservation lands by non-Indian cattlemen became a source of growing tension, and some feared armed retaliation on the Reservation (Johnson 1947: 124-25). The Fort Klamath area served as a social gathering area for some tribal members in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as a source of supplies and entertainments that was immediately off-reservation. Tribal members especially visited the "Indian Celebration Grounds," which served as the site of holiday gatherings, horse races and other events; tribal members also participated in a number of largely non-Indian events such as the "July Time" that took place in Fort Klamath each summer."



Klamath Tribes members participating in the July celebrations at Fort Klamath, early 20th century. *Klamath County Museum photo*

THE AGENCY PERIOD

Increasingly restricted to the Reservation and schooled in non-traditional pursuits, the "Agency period," running from roughly 1870 through the 1920s, was a time of dramatic change in the use of traditional lands and

resources, especially those outside of the Reservation. A growing number of men, in particular, became laborers on farms, ranches, and logging operations, both on and off the Reservation, creating scheduling conflicts with traditional resource harvests and alternative avenues toward economic stability. Women's entrance into the cash economy centered more on traditional crafts and subsistence – many sold huckleberries, traditional baskets and buckskin gloves to non-Indians in the Klamath Basin.

The forced relocation of the Klamath Tribes resulted in a transformation of the traditional patterns of leadership. Instead of villages possessing distinctive chieftains, the reservation facilitated the brief emergence of a centralized chiefly authority, with members of the David family serving in this capacity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A small number of tribal interviewees still recognize chiefly roles and authorities within the modern-day Klamath Tribes, though this knowledge and its relevance to modern tribal members has been fading quickly (19).



Certain individuals personified the changes of the “Agency Period” by rapidly adapting to changing circumstances. Jesse Kirk was the son of Kellogue, a signatory of the Klamath Treaty. One of the first students at the Klamath farming school, Jesse Kirk later became a Methodist minister, a language interpreter, and active in tribal government. He died in 1906. *National Archives photo*

Tribal Consolidation

The tribal population that emerged within the Klamath Tribes and other park-associated tribes began to exhibit an admixture of pre-contact tribal groups that persist to this day. Inter-marriage and cultural exchange among these tribes clearly were widespread prior to contact. With such extensive social ties between different groups, the concept of entirely discrete pre-contact “tribes” is in itself deeply problematic. Moreover, the circumstances of the contact period and Euro-American resettlement resulted in the considerable fragmentation and amalgamation of pre-contact tribal communities, locally, regionally, and later, nationally. Thus, while most of the formal interviewees for this study were nominally “Klamath,” they count among their ancestors many Modocs, Paiutes, Shastas, Achumawi (“Pit River Indians”), Upper Umpquas, Southern Molalas, and others. Indeed, Oregon Territorial Governor, Joel Palmer, briefly considered the upper Klamath basin as the site for a reservation for all western Oregon Indians in the years preceding the negotiation of the 1864 Klamath Tribes treaty. The 1881 census of the Klamath Reservation, perhaps the most detailed nineteenth century census of population characteristics, indicated a total of 1,018 tribal members living on the Reservation, including 676 Klamaths (66% of total), 122 Modocs (12%), 165 Yahooskin “Snakes” or Paiutes (16%), and 55 Molalas (5% of total; in Gatschet 1890: lxxvi).

The Molala experienced considerable dislocation during the early history of Oregon. The Molala were noted to be “allies with the Klamaths” during much of their history, and kinship united the two groups (07). Many Molala were relocated to the Grand Ronde Reservation under the Dayton and Molala Treaties of 1855. The political ties between Molala bands appear to have been very loose, however, and many Molala evaded relocation in the wake of this treaty. Many southern Molala, in particular – those with the most direct affiliations with Crater Lake and Huckleberry Mountain – appear to have moved to the Klamath Reservation and married into Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin families during the nineteenth century (see Gatschet 1890: xxvi). According to Klamath Indian Agent O.C. Applegate (1900: 359), “The Molalas, the mountain Indians of Oregon, inhabitants of the Cascade chain, were represented by a small number of people [at the negotiation of the Klamath Tribes treaty], not exceeding 50, when the treaty was made.” By the time of Applegate’s writing, the Molala population had become integrated into the larger Klamath Tribes community and was not being reported as a separate group in Agency documents.

Tribal members' knowledge of Molala history and the process of Molala-Klamath integration varies considerably. Some, especially those people of mixed Molala and Klamath ancestry, have a keen understanding of this history and its implications. Individuals of mixed ancestry, such as Mary Anne and Plummy Wright, provided particularly valuable and detailed information regarding the Klamath-Molala borderlands on the western slopes of Crater Lake and nearby Huckleberry Mountain. Most of these individuals are primarily of Klamath ancestry and identify as Klamath.

A number of families report Shasta and Pit River roots, including descendency from slaves raided by the Klamath and Modoc during the early nineteenth century. They arrived in the area due to both Klamath/Modoc slave raiding of Shasta villages as well as more congenial nineteenth century trade and kinship ties. A small number of families reported partial Takelma, Coquille, Karuk, or Yurok ancestry, tied to inter-tribal relationships of the 18th and nineteenth centuries.

The Klamath Reservation

The functions of the Klamath Reservation became increasingly focused on forced acculturation and confinement during the years immediately following the Modoc War. The retention of land within the Reservation did not insure tribal sovereignty over tribal land and culture. As Stern (1998: 460-61) suggested, "the reservation had been created to effect the acculturation of the Indians within about a generation." After this was complete, the land was to be divided among newly Anglicized Indians. Missionaries and Indian agents became the social architects of the newly formed Reservation. Placed in autocratic control of daily life, they had both the mandate and the means to stifle traditional religious and resource use practices. The Klamaths became captives on their own land. Hunting was prohibited beyond the boundaries of the Reservation, and the Indian agent's written permission was required to leave the Reservation boundaries (Stern 1963):

"You couldn't go anywhere in those days, all the places we used to go. People had to get permission to leave. You had to sneak out to hunt, to fish...you couldn't tell anyone that you were going up the mountain [Crater Lake, for religious purposes]" (42).

Concentrated together within the Reservation's borders, the Klamath underwent dramatic cultural changes under the direction of individuals appointed to convert them to Christianity. In addition, Indian agents and missionaries alike sought to replace their native language with English, and to replace their seasonal resource harvests with the more settled pursuit of agriculture.



The Klamath Indian Agency, shown here, was the center of tribal administration and federal control from the early 1870s until the time of termination in 1954. *Klamath County Museum photo*

The Klamath Indian Agency had as one of its primary goals breaking the ties between the Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin peoples and their traditional land base. The results were clearly not positive. Klamath Indian Agent O.C. Applegate (1902: 307-08) reported significant health problems associated with the transition to a Western diet:

“When I came to this agency as the first employee in October, 1865, they were...subsisting on roots, seeds, and wild fruits, on the game that was abundant throughout the country and the fish which were extremely plentiful in the rivers and lakes...It is painful to have to admit that the changes which have come with civilization, and which have entirely removed the old conditions of life so near to nature, have not brought with them improved health and vigor...”

Traditional tribal land and resource uses waned in both parks, as church and state collaborated in an aggressive program to convert the members of the Klamath Tribes to agrarian modes of production and Christian religious practices. In the process, Klamath Tribes members were largely restricted to the Klamath Reservation. People at this time were “made to feel like they were stealing...when hunting a deer on their traditional hunting grounds” off the reservation (42). Klamath Tribes members were unable to leave the Klamath Reservation without a signed pass from the Klamath Indian Agent through much of this period, a practice that only ceased in the wake of national legislative developments of the late 1910s. Nonetheless, Klamath Tribes members were sometimes able to leave the reservation for sanctioned activities, such as fishing, visiting family, and

working for non-Indians in the southern end of the upper Klamath Basin. Off-reservation travel for these activities provided ample opportunities for detours to places of cultural significance, and a number of families continued to visit Crater Lake and Lava Beds intermittently for ceremonial purposes, individual and group memorialization at sites of historical significance to the tribe, and low-intensity resource procurement.



Klamath, Modoc and Yahooskin children at the Yainax Agency School, one of the schools operated under the authority of the Klamath Indian Agency. As a matter of policy, such schools sought to introduce tribal children to introduced ideas and skills, while cutting them off from traditional values and pursuits. *Klamath County Museum photo*

Clearly, marshes and marshy lake-margins long served as the focal point of much Klamath and Modoc subsistence and settlement. In 1903, the State of Oregon claimed jurisdiction of all “swamp lands” on the reservation and sought to regulate uses of these areas, a move that was contested by the Klamath Tribes (O.C. Applegate 1903: 283; Wilson 1906: 331).

Responding to this dispute, Indian Agent Horace Wilson (1906: 332) supported draining the entire Klamath Marsh to both increase agricultural acreage, and to eliminate continued traditional subsistence opportunities that competed with agricultural labor demands. While this dramatic transformation of the Marsh was not accomplished, these efforts contributed to the incremental conversion of marshes throughout Klamath County – especially those on the lake margins - to cash-based agricultural functions instead where subsistence pursuits had once flourished.

Interviewees were divided on the degree to which their people kept ceremonial traditions alive during this period. Some suggest that ceremonial traditions were largely abandoned, while others suggest that these traditions continued clandestinely and in attenuated form. Perhaps both interpretations are partially correct, with different families and different individuals exhibiting broad variability in the degree to which they perpetuated these values and practices. Most interviewees who spoke on this topic noted that it was typically specific families, rather than lone individuals, who maintained ritual traditions through the twentieth century.



Lee Snipes, a.k.a. "Captain Sky" and Mike Weeks dancing at the 1929 Indian Congress. Traditional drumming, dancing, and dress were generally suppressed by the Indian Agency, but could be brought out of hiding for events that were sanctioned by the Agency. Women often sewed buckskin gloves of the kind seen here, both for ceremonial use but also for sale to non-tribal members. *Klamath County Museum photo*

TWENTIETH-CENTURY DYNAMICS

The twentieth century brought changes that were equally disorienting. Yet, simultaneously, this was a time that witnessed, in some families, a reversal of the effects of 19th century displacements. A modest return migration of

Cow Creeks from Grand Ronde brought some tribal members into renewed proximity to the Crater Lake area. Modocs, returning sporadically at the end of the nineteenth century, began to return in large groups in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Ranching, Forestry, and Other New Occupations

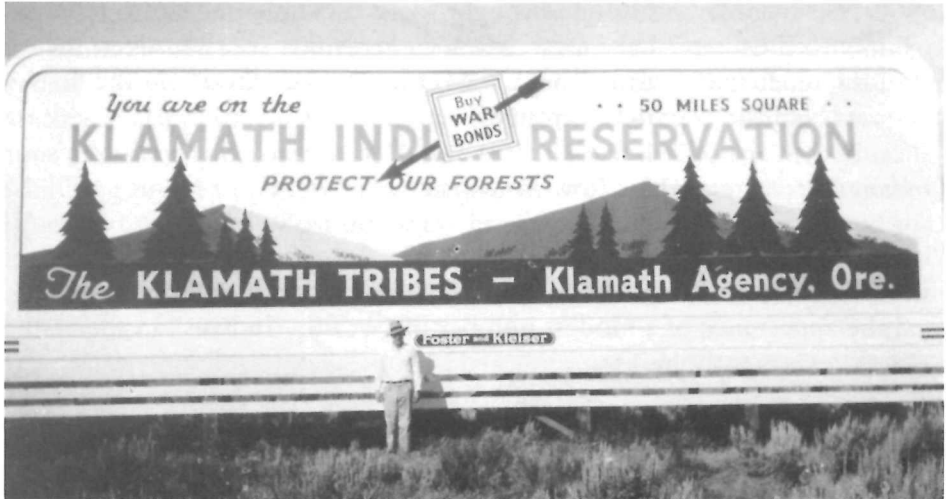
With the arrival of the railroad, cattle ranching became a major industry within the Klamath Reservation. Private allotments and cattle holdings fostered the appearance of a modest number of “wealthy Indians” in the early twentieth century, though most worked seasonally and lived quite modestly (19, 22). A number of men also participated in the roundup of feral horses, which had become widespread on and off the Reservation in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These roundups were a source of considerable income to some families, until the number of horses began to diminish mid-century. The last of these commercial roundups took place in the early 1960s.

While irrigated agriculture never realized the potential envisioned by early Indian Agency advocates, the Klamath Tribes maintained a number of small irrigation projects, most notably the Modoc Point Irrigation District, prior to termination. A modest number of tribal members continued to work for seasonal agricultural operations - especially hay and alfalfa operations in the Klamath Basin, as well as fruit and vegetable farming both in and out of the Klamath Basin. Several Klamath Tribes members worked in the maintenance of the vast irrigation infrastructure on non-Indian lands located elsewhere in the Klamath Basin.

Men who had originally worked for timber operations managed by the Klamath Indian Agency often entered private sector timber occupations, especially in the period following World War II. Some became loggers, log haulers, log scalers, and held positions in small local mills. Much of this employment disappeared in the wake of termination. At different times over the twentieth century, tribal members have maintained small commercial fisheries, selling trout, mullet, and salmon to non-Indians; this occupation has largely disappeared today, primarily due to declining fish populations.

Termination

Intensified federal efforts at cultural assimilation served to reinforce social and economic changes derived from greater integration into the dominant



A highway sign at the entrance to the Klamath Reservation, during World War II. The Klamath Tribes enjoyed a brief period of prosperity during and after the War, as demand for Reservation timber and cattle rebounded nationwide. *Klamath County Museum photo*

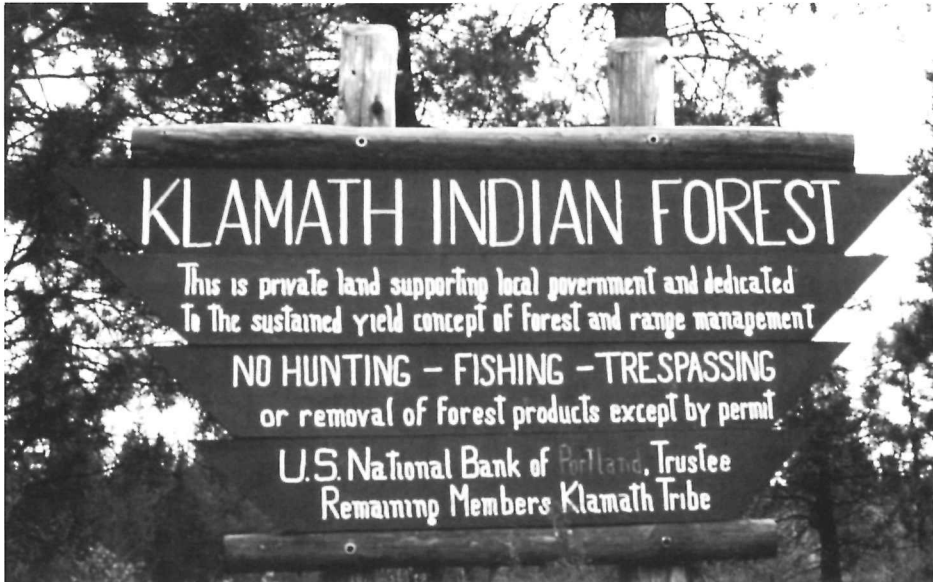
culture and cash economy. In 1954, as part of a nation-wide effort to assimilate American Indian tribes into the cultural and economic mainstream, both the Klamath Tribes and the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians were “terminated” by the federal government, under the Western Oregon Termination Act and the Klamath Termination Act respectively. Termination ended their status as federally recognized tribes, dissolved tribal governments and economic enterprises, nullified most federal fiduciary responsibilities to these tribes, and distributed tribal assets among tribal members and other stakeholders. The social, economic, and cultural implications of termination were both significant and complex, and are generally viewed as dire by Klamath Tribes members.

For many tribal members, the decade that followed represented a disastrous period, as federal employment and benefits disappeared, and access to and control over traditional land bases eroded. Employment with Klamath Agency, including administrative and secretarial positions as well as the reservation’s large timber and ranching operations, had been used in the previous decades to leverage tribal members from more traditional economic and subsistence activities; now, this employment abruptly disappeared along with the land base. Control over irrigation water supporting tribal farms evaporated as well, as Agency infrastructure was privatized and fell into non-Indian control. Cash payments for liquidated tribal assets were distributed irregularly within the tribal community and brought a surge of salesmen and marketing schemes that quickly depleted many families’ cash

settlements. Land holdings retained by tribal members with fee simple title often were lost to taxes or other debts. Some families were separated as individuals left southern Oregon in search of employment; for some, alcoholism, lack of access to health care, and a range of other newly emergent social ills compounded these problems.

At this time, “things began to unravel” culturally and socially (47). Many traditional subsistence and ceremonial practices were discontinued.¹⁰ Simultaneously, for some families, this was a renaissance of traditional food procurement: traditional foods “were essential for our survival during lean times.” Both the Great Depression in the 1930s and termination in the 1950s sent some families back to the marshes, forests, and high deserts to hunt, fish, and gather plant foods.

A number of tribal families opted to resist termination by leaving their combined assets in shared holdings overseen by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, with accounts managed by private banks. This group operated under the title of the Klamath Tribes of Oregon, but is commonly called “the remaining members” within the Klamath community. This group, while containing many members of the former “Klamath Tribes,” was not a federally recognized tribe and the two should not be confused.¹¹



Sign at the entry to the Klamath Indian Forest. This forest land was among the assets that continued to be held in collective ownership by certain members of the Klamath Tribes, following their termination as a federally recognized Indian Tribe in 1954. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

Intensive logging and other resource extraction under the US Forest Service's watch had significant impacts upon the former reservation. Tribal interviewees describe, almost uniformly, dramatic declines in the population of deer and other game species following termination. These declines are commonly attributed to intensive logging of the former Reservation and other adjacent USFS lands, coupled with State of Oregon management of game for largely recreational hunters. A number of springs went dry throughout the Klamath and Modoc territories during this period, a process commonly attributed to trampling by livestock, climate change, and excessive water use for residential and agricultural purposes. Dramatic declines in waterfowl populations are noted throughout the Klamath Basin, but are especially reported on Tule Lake. A combination of habitat loss (due to marsh and lake reclamation) as well as pesticide use, overhunting by non-Indian sportsmen, and a number of other factors is commonly cited as the cause. For some families, this decline in game species resulted in severe economic hardship; Albert Summers, for example, described families having to turn to neighbors for food during years of abrupt declines in game numbers. As Plummy Wright exclaimed, "you can't imagine how much this land has changed!"

Cultural Revival

By the 1960s, in the wake of termination, most park-associated tribal members had become ethnically distinct and often marginal members of the majority society. Despite this, tribal members perpetuated many traditional practices and maintained a remarkably high degree of internal social cohesion. However, the 1960s and 1970s marked a turning point in this process of cultural and economic integration. Since then, there has been a steady rebound in interest in traditional cultural practices among park-associated tribes, and tribes throughout the nation. In part, this reflects a reassessment of American Indian identity. Some are "renewing their relationship with places" in their traditional territories (40). Klamath Tribes members typically spoke of Crater Lake and Huckleberry Mountain more readily, due in part to the relative proximity of these features to the Klamath Reservation and the relative centrality of Klamath (versus Modoc, Yahoooskin, or other Paiutes) traditions within cultural programs until recently.

In 1982, the Cow Creek regained federal recognition. By 1984, they received \$1.5 million in compensation for lands taken in the 1850s without due compensation. In 1986, the Klamath Tribes officially regained federal recognition, but did not regain their Reservation. An effort to regain a land base currently represents one of the most pressing agendas for the gov-

TWO PARKS, TWO TRIBES

ernment of the Klamath Tribes. Since restoration, both tribes have made impressive strides in reversing the adverse effects of termination, and in generating economic and cultural initiatives that have had tangible benefits for many tribal members.

Contemporary park-associated tribes are experiencing something of an economic and cultural revival. Traditional Klamath and Modoc basket designs are now used in other artistic media. For example, beadwork by tribal members, including Lynn and Linda Schonchin, have incorporated traditional designs while being made of colorful synthetic beads and used in new applications such as keychains or the ornamentation of walking canes. Other families have revived basket weaving traditions, flint knapping, and the construction of tule duck decoys. Some tribal members expressed a desire to see tribal crafts of this kind sold by concessionaires at both parks, Crater Lake in particular.



Traditional crafts, such as basketry, were kept alive during periods of dramatic cultural and economic change by individuals with specialized skills. There were several basket makers who kept this tradition alive, producing baskets for sale, for family, and for personal use.

Klamath County Museum photo

The Klamath Tribes Culture and Heritage Department has played a significant role in the retention and revival of traditional cultural knowledge among the Klamath and Modoc. A language program housed in this

IN THE FOOTPRINTS OF GMUKAMPS

Department has brought together the small number of remaining fluent speakers with language specialists who have documented the language in minute detail; these language specialists now teach the language to Klamath and Modoc children. Also, the Culture and Heritage Department's "Culture Camp" is an important event in the lives of contemporary Klamath Tribes children. Every summer, for up to two weeks, children gather at Culture Camp to learn traditional stories, crafts, language skills, and the like. Klamath Culture Camp is sponsored by the Klamath Tribes and organized by the staff of the Tribes' Culture and Heritage Department.



Klamath Tribes children preparing for educational events under the watch of former Culture and Heritage Director, Gerald Skelton, at the Klamath Tribes Culture Camp.

Douglas Deur photo

Tribal Worldview and Landscapes: An Overview



In the traditions of Crater Lake's tribes, as reported in ethnographic sources, spiritual power was believed to be ubiquitous, but especially concentrated within a finite range of places, objects, and beings. Often, in order to obtain such powers for personal or group use, particular places had to be visited. Spiritual power, these sources indicate, was necessary for success in most of life's important pursuits, such as hunting, plant gathering, gambling, warfare, or childbirth. Individuals often engaged in ritual activity before and sometimes after such events to engage these powers. Powers stayed with a person, in a manner like that of a "guardian spirit," and were tied to particular places, organisms, or natural phenomena. Several such powers could be obtained, and indeed had to be obtained, over the course of one's life in order to achieve competence at both sacred and mundane skills. Particularly powerful people within tribal societies – chiefs or shamans – were said to acquire these spirit powers through repeated diligent and reverent engagement with the spirit world. These traditions of power-seeking are fundamental to an understanding of past and present tribal uses of Crater Lake.

THE VISION QUEST AND SACRED SPACE

The vision quest has been, and continues to be, central to many of the religious practices of park-associated tribes. Traditionally, the vision quest involved solitary travel to one or more locations where an individual fasted and prayed. Historically, the vision quest lasted for roughly five days, although travel, as well as an individual's preparation and closeout of the ritual might add several days to this figure. Today, vision quests are often much abbreviated, often lasting a day or two and being wedged in between the time constraints caused by other personal and professional obligations.

As summarized by Klamath Tribes member, Bobby David, many of these activities were conducted "to get power... skills...[and] knowledge" (08).

Vision quests were traditionally performed during puberty; during the vision quest, young people sought visions that provided them with spiritual power and foretold their future social, economic, and ceremonial position with their community. These roles were, in the traditional view, inextricably bound to a person's spiritual power and could not be conceived of as wholly separate domains. As interviewees recalled, people traditionally expected that all young people "fasted and had dreams" — "it was an important part of their life; their whole life is determined by what they see" when on these vision quests (42). During these vision quests, an individual ascended into the mountains, fasted, piled stones, built ceremonial fires, and engaged in ritual bathing. There, these young people "seek guidance from the spirits" that reside in this place and manifest the Creator's actions at, and mandates for, that site (04).

Likewise, individuals might participate in vision quests later in life in order to seek new visions and new powers that will aid them in specific tasks or in specific events within their life. During times of crisis, vision quests were commonplace. Preparations for war or the death of a loved-one each called for distinct types of ceremonial activities, including mountaintop prayers, plunging in cold water, fasting, meditating, and vision seeking.¹² Some vision quests were taken simply "to ask a question" that was of particular importance in one's life (07).

Such activities were also undertaken in a time of personal or group crisis, and have been referred to as "crisis quests" by some researchers. Speaking of the Modoc, Ray (1963: 77) noted,

"Certain crises in the life of an individual were occasions for observance of a quest, involving fasting, isolation, strenuous artificial activities, and ritual bathing. The occasions for such ritualization were puberty, the birth or death of one's child, and consistent and serious losses in gambling...chronic illness, or the death of one's spouse...The framework of the ritual was a quest in which the individual wandered about the woods and hills in areas isolated from human settlements. That which was sought in the quest was a prophetic and satisfying dream. This was achieved by engaging in energy-consuming but economically worthless activities, followed by a short period of sleep. In all but the puberty ritual preparation for the dream required swimming in pools or streams significant because of their mythological associations."

In order to be successful, vision quests require isolation from the sights and sounds of the mundane world, and social isolation: "you must always be alone" (02). Together, these factors allow an individual to focus on matters of particular importance and to communicate with the Creator or other spirits unfettered and undistracted.¹³

Higher peaks were generally considered to be the most powerful places and a source of unparalleled social and cosmological power:

“The higher the peak the better the vision; you had to work hard to get to those higher places and the long climb was important to having a good vision” (04).

Traditionally, the highest peaks could be visited only by individuals who had undergone considerable training in the religious practices of their people and who had conducted vision quests in other, less prominent locations previously. Indeed, some interviewees depicted areas above the timberline as the exclusive domain of religious specialists. Not only did these higher elevation locations possess greater power in their own right, but they also provided views of a larger number of culturally significant sites. Within the viewsheds of the very highest peaks, much of the tribal worlds below were visible, providing mnemonic linkages to much of the corpus of tribal oral tradition and access to most of the landmark-based powers of these peoples. Traditionally, only a small number of individuals, such as shamans or chiefs, acquired the preparatory religious training required to visit the places of highest elevation. Before ascending to these peaks, however, individuals had to undergo ritual experiences at lower elevations, building up the power and knowledge needed for the uplands. Lower elevation sites used for training early in one’s life were often revisited en route to higher peaks to “reconnect with that power” before the ascent.



View of the northern Klamath Basin from Dutton Ridge, Crater Lake National Park. *John Mairs photo*

“You have to remember...it took days to go up [the high mountains]...there were camps and stopping places all the way up...You stopped at those places and prayed as you went...it didn't slow you down. It wasn't like you were going straight to the top in one day anyway” (42).

For many, especially those hoping to achieve a high level of technical competence or social standing, repeat ritual visits to one's original vision quest site and other sites were required.

Both Crater Lake and Lava Beds are visited as part of these kinds of ritual ascents. Interviewees also noted that there were incentives to seek out new powers and to go to places that had not been visited by others before – for this reason, religious practitioners were said to go to remote sites and, taken as a whole, to visit a significant portion of the landscape as part of their ritual practice.

The relationship between lower and higher buttes is a complex one, and one that has arguably changed in the last century and a half. Historically, the Klamath and Modoc typically used lower buttes during earlier stages of their life and ascended to higher buttes over the course of years or decades, reflecting the growing religious competence of an individual as they matured. Over the last century the time devoted to vision quests has been abbreviated among some tribal members. Some reportedly visit lower elevation buttes to conduct prayers or build stone prayer features before moving on, in the hours or days that follow, to places considered more powerful to conduct the bulk of their vision quest activities. Such activities provide symbolic acknowledgment of the juxtaposition of lower and higher peaks within traditional tribal cosmology, while still being responsive to the scheduling realities of contemporary tribal members' lives. Today, many traditional religious practitioners still seek to acquire advanced religious preparation before ascending the highest peaks, but there are no apparent widespread social sanctions that would prohibit tribal members from ascending these peaks without prior religious training.

Sacred lakes, springs, and other water features were said to house spirits or spirit powers that were also sought out during the vision quest. Springs appear to have been important, as interviewees suggested that only water from sacred springs would be appropriate for sustenance during the vision quest fast. For this reason, many of these springs were not just revered, but actively used, during ritual activities in these parks. Families and individuals sometimes maintain an enduring relationship with a particular water source, revisiting the water source over several generations. Historically, and occasionally today, water is sometimes gathered for sick or elderly people at

these places of enduring significance and brought to them as a medicine. Prayers are offered for these people at specific water features and individuals engage in ritual bathing with the water from these sources (see “Cleansing and Ritual Preparation” at Crater Lake). Offerings are sometimes left at these places, such as medicinal plants, eagle feathers, or placed stones, as a remembrance to the individual for whom visitors pray. Traditionally, people placed offerings in a diverse range of settings, either concealed or visible to the casual observer. Today, the potential for disturbance of offerings by non-Indian visitors results in the more frequent use of concealed locations, such as in the crevices of rock formations or gnarled trees.

The stacking of rocks into cairns is an activity consistently associated with vision quests in the past and currently. As Ray (1963: xiii) notes, “A predilection for making artificial rock piles for religious or commemorative purposes and for attributing mythological significance to rock piles of unknown origin is characteristic of the two tribes” (Klamath and Modoc). The stacks were considered a locus of power, linking the site and the quester, and each was said to have a spirit or spirit power of its own. The cairns could serve a number of functions, including as markers of the spiritual journey, connection to ancestors, or as burial or trail markers. It could also act as bond between the powers of the place and the powers of the quester, continuing to do so after the vision quest was completed. Some interviewees indicate that the rock cairns served as proof that a young person has visited a particular place of spiritual power – a form of proof that could always be checked by older members of the community if there were doubts about the legitimacy of a person’s claims to spiritual power. More recently these rock stacks may also hold symbolism of cultural persistence and connection to sites of power (Haynal 2000).



Rock cairns on the rim of the caldera at Crater Lake, in the 1910s. Construction of these rock features has been an essential part of the traditional vision quest. Early trail development brought visitors in close proximity to these features for the first time, often resulting in their disturbance and the displacement of tribal ceremonial use to other portions of the park. *Basil Brown Family photo*

The process sometimes involved carrying large rocks up the mountain as a ritual struggle and test of strength. The stacks, or their constituent rocks, were often oriented toward important peaks, indicating the importance of those sites of power. Cairns could also be added to or rearranged during successive vision quests.

Tribal members report, on condition of anonymity, that the number of stones in a rock stack is often symbolic. A person praying for their family during a time of crisis may, for example, have one stone representing each person in their family in the rock feature, a practice that some continue today. The same practice was said to have been carried out historically at rock art sites, with numbers of “dots” or geometric features reflecting the numbers of people, animals, sites, etc. being engaged ritually.

LANDSCAPE AND INTER-GENERATIONAL CONNECTION

The comments of tribal interviewees for this study indicate that vision quests and other ceremonial activities in the parks furthermore serve to provide tribal members with a means of connecting and communing with their ancestors who formerly used particular ceremonial sites. An individual’s contemporary use of a particular landscape feature for religious purposes provides that individual with a sense of connection to earlier generations that used the same feature. A number of tribal members stress the importance of “seeing the landscape as our ancestors saw it” or “walking in the steps of our ancestors” when visiting places for religious purposes. The physical landscape of the vision quest site and the landmarks visible from these sites have “anchored” human experience over the centuries; even as human societies have changed, the physical landscape has remained relatively constant. Thus, the ceremonial site and its viewshed provide a tangible, physical connection between ancestors and contemporary religious practitioners. In turn, this enhances the cultural, religious, and historical importance of the area to contemporary tribal members.

Tribal members indicate that the landscape provides them with a sense of connection both to ancestors of the distant, pre-contact past, as well as to individuals of the last century — family and friends — who were of personal importance to them. One interviewee, for example, suggests that it is important for him to be able to see places that he knows his family used for religious purposes when he engages in religious activities today. In his experience, religious uses of the parks involve, among other things, visiting these places, engaging in ceremonial activity, and meditating on his family’s enduring ties to that site. Through this process, individuals ritually acknowl-

edge, that as individuals, as families, and as a tribe “we are connected to this place”(42). Accordingly, families exhibit a pattern of recurring visits to particular ceremonial sites, which amends the general patterns of religious geography described above. While the vision quest is a solitary experience, the religious practitioner arguably does not engage sacred places solely as an individual, but often as an individual representative of a much larger family line. They go for a number of reasons: “I go there to sit, look, think, to think about our history” (42). While the riveting changes in tribal societies over the last century and a half may have enhanced this reflexive quality of landscape-based ceremonial activity, both tribal interviewees and the ethnographic literature support the contention that it has been a constituent part of the ceremonial complex since long before Euro-American arrival.



The view of Crater Lake from the vicinity of the Steel Bay Overlook. The landscape serves as a powerful reminder of place-based tribal stories. Modern-day tribal members visiting the park for ritual purposes stress the importance of “seeing the landscape as our ancestors saw it,” from the same vantage points, and lacking visible human impacts. *Taylor David photo, Klamath Tribes*

Today, many interviewees express the sentiment that “the entire landscape is sacred.” Sacredness, they note, is most elevated at historically significant ritual areas such as Crater Lake, but that the surrounding countryside is fundamentally connected to the same ritual geography. “You can’t separate out what was used and what wasn’t...or what was sacred and what wasn’t... it’s like taking the Mona Lisa and trying to carve it up...you can’t just show the nose or the eyes...or whatever – it’s all part of the picture” (06). Moreover, as the historic home of their ancestors, even mundane portions of the terrain possess a certain religious power tied to the actions of these ancestors. While travel to a ceremonial site is desirable for vision quests, for example, tribal members can and do “seek spiritual guidance anywhere” on the landscape as needed (19).

ORAL TRADITIONS

Sacred places tend to be associated with distinctive geological features, such as mountains, caves, and springs, but can also be found in areas that are relatively nondescript. Traditionally, the powers associated with a place are rooted, in part, in the genesis of that place. The oral traditions of area tribes describe a creator that shapes the landscape in and around the Crater Lake and Lava Beds. He called Gmukamps in Klamath and Modoc, but simply called “the Creator” in English. Gmukamps is “the creator of the world and of mankind...the “Old Man of the Ancients,” the “Primeval Old Man”” (Gatschet 1890: lxxix). Gmukamps is responsible for the creation of humans from service berries (*Amelanchier* spp.), and creates all of the lands and resources upon which humans depend for their physical and spiritual well-being. He dons the mask of Marten (“Skell”) sometimes to take physical form in the world, often traveling alongside his younger brother who takes the form of the weasel, Chaskai. Chaskai serves Skell and is often killed in the process – both beings, once killed, are able to revive themselves and commonly seek retribution against their killers. Both were said to live at Yamsay Mountain, though stories attribute their spirit to different locations including Crater Lake, where oral traditions describe their activities. Contemporary interviewees depict Gmukamps as essentially benevolent. He has a host of many other spirits who assist him in his works; some of these spirits are flawed, and their flaws are said to teach people lessons about how not to behave. Contemporary tribal members often do not differentiate between the Christian God and the Creator described in their oral traditions, after several generations of exposure to Christian theology, viewing them as the two cultures’ descriptions of the same entity.

Klamath oral traditions indicate that the Creator, Gmukamps, “traveled through the land and made things right for the people to come.” As Gmukamps traveled, he is said to have “taught the tribes lessons about life...and how to live it” (12). He also scattered useful plants and animals for the people to come and subdued a number of dangerous beings associated with particular places. A place is said to possess distinctive powers “because of what the Creator did there” (42). The landscape, created and touched by Gmukamps, manifests the Creator’s will and power. Gmukamps intentionally fashioned places in this manner so that humans would have access to the spiritual powers and knowledge required to satisfy their physical and spiritual needs. Each of these landscape features manifests a spiritual force, emanating from and residual of Gmukamps’s actions; they also house lesser spirits with powers that relate to the distinctive powers and properties imbued at the time of the landscape feature’s creation. The diverse powers attributed to different places emanate both from the different things Gmukamps did there, as well as the identities of the spirits that continue to inhabit the place.

Lynn Schonchin noted that

“When the creation was completed, the People followed the teachings and they followed the gifts of the Creator. From the formations of the land and the explanations of why it was developed came the basis of instruction that taught where and why things were as they were...Religion, social values and mores were taught to the youth as they grew into adulthood, values such as sharing and caring for extended family members who were in need or want” (in Foster 2003: 9).

At most vision quest sites, it is said that Gmukamps conducted rituals there first, and that this empowered the ground, the waters, and the plants associated with these places.¹⁴ Thus, it is said that “the Creator’s spirit is there.” At the time of his journeys on Earth, Gmukamps was said to have stacked rocks and engaged in other ritual activities, serving as an example to the people who were to follow. Descriptions of the Creator’s actions are encoded in tribal oral traditions, and interviewees suggest that people encouraged one-another to follow the example of Gmukamps in their ritual activities.

Interviewees report that different powers are associated with each place. These site-specific powers, they suggest, are encoded in the oral traditions about the actions of the Creator and other spirits at each site: “the power is related in the stories” (04). “My grandma told me lots of Indian names for the mountains...each one had medicine. You go out to those mountains to get that medicine when you’re young” (42). Each distinctive geological

feature is traditionally said to have its own medicine, and the Creator or other spirits guide people to these places as these medicines are needed: “If we need one of these, we are called there...we are called to a place. It’s not always our choice” (42). “People go to different places – places they need to go” (12). Sometimes, a vivid dream about a ceremonial place indicates that a person should go to a particular location. Little information is recalled today regarding the specific powers or visions that were said to be available from specific landmarks within the two parks, but it is clear that both parks contained numerous places of this type. However, it is believed by some tribal members that these medicines lie untapped in specific places, and that the development of such places will preclude the future use of their unique healing potentials. “If we lose one and it is destroyed, we lose that medicine” (42). The maintenance of potential access to all sites with such medicine is viewed by some as essential to the health of individuals, as well as the well-being of tribal communities as a whole. People who need a particular medicine but cannot acquire it are said to become vulnerable to physical illness, spiritual imbalance, emotional disturbance, and even death.

Curtin (1912: vi) appreciated this connection between oral traditions and sacred places long before this was well understood by many in the larger community of academic anthropologists:

“For the Modocs the valley of Lost River and the lands around Klamath and Tula Lake are sacred...[their] holy places are not in far-off Palestine; they are before [their] eyes in [their] own birthplace, where every river, hill, and mountain has a story connected with it, an account of its origin.”

The functions of many Klamath and Modoc stories are clearly didactic, providing guidance on how to navigate moral dilemmas and personal challenges (Stern 1963a). Some of these stories still continue to guide tribal members’ views and behavior. Two stories that continue to be told by some contemporary Klamath Tribes interviewees, the “War Between the Beasts and the Birds” and “Gmukamps Tears Down the Fish Dam” provide telling examples. In the former story, Bat discovers that he can pass as either a mammal or a bird. During a war that breaks out between the mammals and the birds, Bat continues to change sides, always wishing to be on the side that is winning. In the end, Bat can find no allies and is permanently ostracized by all animals. (Some Modoc versions of this tale place its provenience near Tule Lake.) When bats are seen at dusk, typically flying solo, individuals are thus reminded of this story and, in turn, the costs of Machiavellian disloyalty. This tale continues to be of interest to tribal members, for example, who seek to assess the degree to which they should embrace Indian or non-Indian practices today.

In “Gmukamps Tears Down the Fish Dam,” the people of the Chiloquin area become greedy and, in the hope of catching every fish in the river, build a fish trap that impedes fish passage to villages upstream. The Creator is angered by this, orders loon to destroy the dam, and turns the greedy villagers to stone. These anthropomorphic rock columns still stand adjacent to the important fishing grounds on the lower Williamson River, providing a constant reminder of the outcomes of inequitable resource distribution. This story continues to resonate with many Klamath Tribes members in light of contemporary conflicts over access to water, suckers, salmon, and other resources impacted by adjacent landowners. As more than one interviewee for this study proclaimed, “Those stories show you how to live.” As Jeremiah Curtin (1912) explained to popular audiences reading his collections of Modoc and Klamath texts, “many of the myths in this volume are as sacred for Indians as Bible stories are for Christians.”

HEALING AND OTHER RITUAL SKILLS

The use of sacred places as sources of power is not limited to vision quests; healing and the acquisition of various skills are also associated with the ritual landscape. Sickness and negative emotional states, for example, are depicted within oral traditions as having a material form, like a liquid or a malleable solid (e.g. Curtin 1912: 63). This sickness can be cleansed with water energized by the Creator’s power or healed by the power found in sacred places.

Those who engaged with the healing powers of sacred space were often specialists. Mountains, caves, springs, and other distinctive geologic features were used extensively by “Indian doctors,” the shamans and healers of the Klamath and Modoc, who engaged in ritual activities at these places to acquire or enhance their powers. “A shaman’s power usually came from a place” (42). They might, for example, seek the knowledge or power to heal a particular ailment, seek guidance on major threats to the tribe’s welfare, or foretell and prepare for future events.

Interviewees for this study agreed that there were many kinds of “doctors.” Some danced and some did not. Some were “sucking doctors,” who sucked illnesses out of their patients’ bodies. Some specialized in herbal remedies. Some had special powers to heal or to influence natural phenomena. All of these skills required power, which required having visions at certain locations. Both parks, especially Crater Lake National Park, contained locations that were said to confer such powers.

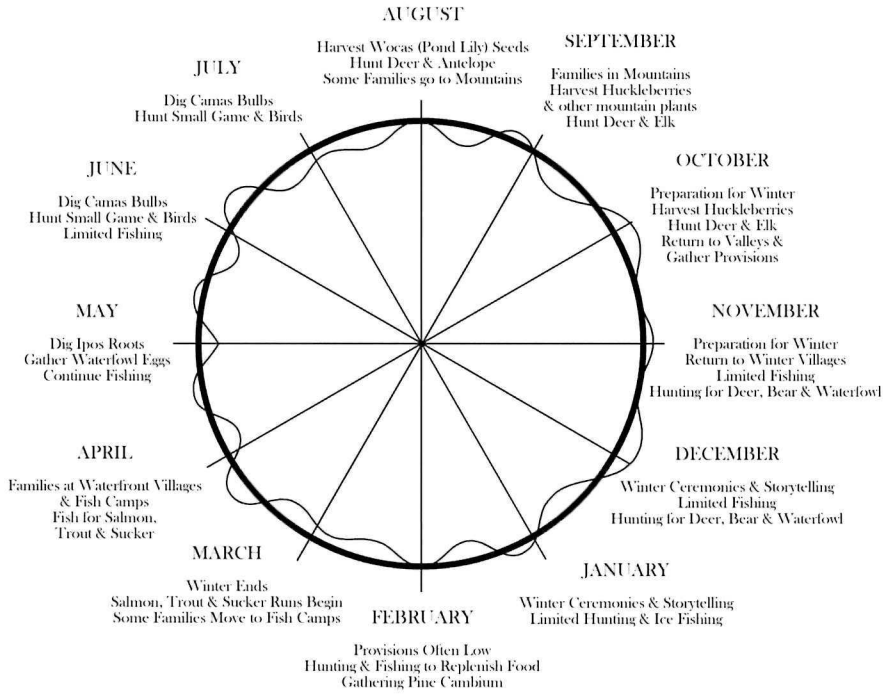
Sweat lodges, structures associated with tribal healing traditions, continue to be of particular importance to some tribal members. The contemporary sweat lodge ceremony is rooted in Klamath and Modoc traditions, but has incorporated healing traditions of other tribes, reflecting the diverse cultural influences and multi-tribal kinship ties of modern tribal members. The healing and cleansing dimensions of traditional religious practice, so important prior to European contact, have reemerged within the ceremonial activities of the general tribal population today. Cleansing is sometimes carried out “to prepare people for life,” rather than serving solely as the first step in an arduous vision quest that might last for several days. Like all other rituals that involve cleansing, the sweat lodge is perceived as cathartic and purifying in ways that are both physical and spiritual. Not only does sweat flow profusely from the body, but through this process one releases everything that may be unhealthy in one’s life - any alcohol and drugs that may have been consumed, unhealthy foods, anger and destructive emotions, spiritual baggage or “sin.” These impurities are cleansed from the body and spirit.

Historically, the powers obtainable from specific locations were required not only to participate in specialized religious activities, such as shamanistic healing, but also for relatively mundane skills as well. It used to be said that “a man without power is nothing” (42). Many of these powers were gender-specific. Men often acquired the powers required to be a skilled hunter. Women acquired spirit powers that allowed them to become skilled basket makers. Both men and women acquired spirit powers to become talented gamblers, or to become skilled singers of religious songs.

RITUAL, SUBSISTENCE, AND THE SEASONAL ROUND

The land was used, of course, for more mundane and regular purposes beyond the vision quest, healing, and other specialized connections with the powers found in sacred places. Resource use was closely tied to the landscape and its native flora and fauna. The territories of the Klamath and Modoc consisted of high-altitude deserts, densely forested mountains, fish-bearing rivers and streams, and vast lakes and marshes that served as the center of tribal settlement and subsistence. Year after year, the seasonal patterns of resource use followed similar paths, the “seasonal round” of resource procurement. In spring, as the snow receded from the land, the Klamath and Modoc emerged from their winter villages to fish for mullet and salmon runs that lasted for up to two months. As these fish runs tapered off in the late spring and early summer, women fanned out to root digging grounds to gather epos (*Carum oregonum*) desert parsley (*Lomatium canbyi*), camas (*Camassia quamash*), and many other food and

A Klamath Year



A generalized view of the seasonal round of resource harvests among the Klamath, as it existed in the 19th century. The Modoc seasonal round involved similar activities and timing.
Douglas Deur

medicinal plants. Bird's eggs were collected along the marshes. July and August witnessed the harvest of wocas (*Nuphar polysepalum*). Families in canoes gathered the ripe seedpods; on the shore, the seeds were parched, hulled, winnowed, and stored for later use. For Klamath and Modoc men, late summer was a time of mountain hunting for deer, elk, antelope, and bighorn sheep. At this time, women picked berries at vast berrying grounds in the mountains, including huckleberries (especially *Vaccinium membranaceum*), wild plum and chokecherries (*Prunus* spp.), gooseberries (*Ribes* spp.), and others. As families descended the mountains, they set fires to clear away the competing brush. This practice enhanced the regrowth of productive berry patches and the lush regrowth of meadows that would draw game animals in the year ahead. The fall was a time to inventory

one's provisions and to remedy any deficiencies with supplementary hunting and the fall salmon and trout harvests. By October, the Klamath and Modoc regrouped in their large winter villages, caching food for winter-time, and engaging in feasts, group rituals, and other large social gatherings. As the winter arrived and snow blanketed the high desert country, the Klamath and Modoc relied on stored provisions, and retold many of the oral traditions. Ice fishing supplemented stored foods, as did deer and antelope hunts carried out by men traveling on snowshoes. The inner cambium bark of pine trees provided an important dessert food as well as medicinal sap and phloem, while also providing modest sustenance during periods of food scarcity (Deur 2007a).



The berries of the black or mountain huckleberry (*Vaccinium membranaceum*) have been among the most important plant foods for the Klamath and other tribes of the area. USDA-NRCS PLANTS Database - *Brinnon and Brown 1913: 699.*

All of the plants and animals on which the Klamath and Modoc depended were recognized as living beings, the Creator's handiwork, and were typically said to possess a spirit. Arguably, from the tribes' perspective, the consumption of these sentient and spirited beings created cosmological tensions and enduring debts. Just as with one's human neighbors, relationships with these plant and animal communities called for reciprocal exchanges and obligations. Ceremonial intervention, honoring these species and their creator, was viewed as a necessity if the staple food plants and animals were to return each year. Major resource harvests were initiated by "first food" ceremonies, including a "first mullet ceremony" a "first wocus ceremony" and a "first huckleberry ceremony," each carried out annually at specific resource procurement sites throughout the tribes' territories. Such ceremonies acknowledged the enduring relationships between particular human communities and particular plant and animal communities, over successive generations – year after year, the plants and animals provided sustenance to

humans, while the humans intervened through both land management activities (e.g., the use of fire) and ritual to insure the health and fecundity of their principal food species. These events consecrated and solemnified the resource harvest. Resource harvest sites themselves became “sacred places” in the view of many tribal members.



Tribal members are concerned that careful management is needed to insure the perpetuation of wocus and other resources that their ancestors enjoyed historically. *National Archives photo*

Tribal members report a number of rituals tied to showing respect for the killed animal and the Creator who provided the animal. Many people continue to say that game species “have a human side” and they maintain the practice of asking their prey for forgiveness or explaining their needs when an animal is killed. Some still avoid killing certain species of ritual importance, such as coyote. Other hunting rituals involve leaving offerings at kill sites or the ritual distribution of meat. These traditions differ somewhat between families, but tend to be learned from male kin, insuring a degree of homogeneity of ritual practice among male relatives. Some drink blood from the heart of the first deer slain each year, while others eat part of its raw liver. A few place testicles or other body parts as offerings at rock outcroppings or in trees associated with the kill site or at nearby power places. As with animals, a number of people continue the practice of making apologies to plants from which materials are gathered or leaving offerings at

plant gathering sites. It is still widely believed that “if you take care of them, they will take care of you” (22).

The practice of leaving an offering extends beyond hunting and plant gathering practices. Just as the construction of rock cairns marks vision quest sites, offerings of food, feathers, and other materials are commonly left at ritual sites and encampments tied to subsistence activities. When at a food gathering site, one must “feed the ground” to show thanks (16). “Dad said you must always respect and feed the land...he would toss some of the food in the four directions as an offering” (06). Often, when prayers are being delivered at a ritual site for an individual that is not present, some offering is left behind.

The redistribution of wild foods is a practice of enduring importance to tribal members. Through the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, young people commonly brought deer meat, fish, waterfowl, huckleberries, epos, and other foods as well as firewood to their elderly or physically challenged kin. Most men interviewed for this study said that people traditionally do not eat meat from their first kill. Instead, they gave the meat to their extended family in a ritual show of food redistribution; a number of families continue to honor this practice. Young people were told to visit their family and neighbors before going out to hunt, fish, or gather plant foods and would “always ask the lady of the house if she needed something” (22). In exchange, these older people might share some knowledge with the young about procurement methods, good hunting or fishing sites, and the like. The practice has great antiquity, interviewees suggest, reflecting food-sharing traditions both within and between families. In addition to accommodating the needs of the less mobile members of the community, this practice ensures the intergenerational transmission of knowledge regarding subsistence tasks. This practice continues today and is widely viewed as an integral part of “what it means to be Indian.” Access to and use of traditional food resources in general is among the most important aspects of cultural persistence today.

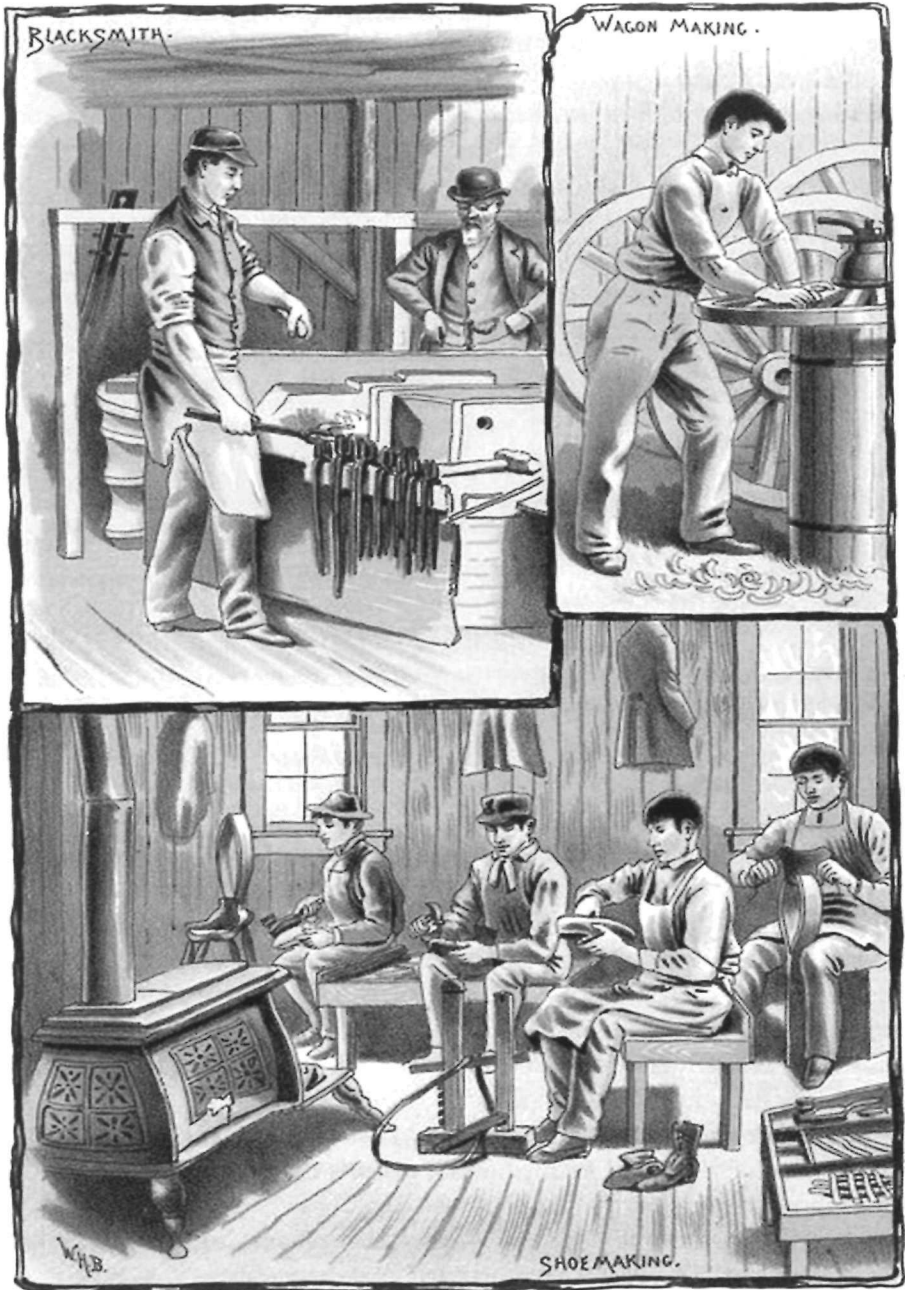
Tribal members note that it is very difficult to sustain a traditional lifestyle because participation in the cash economy is necessary to survive today. Traditional subsistence resources have diminished and access to places of cultural and historical significance has been challenged and regulated throughout their traditional territory (19). In this context, national parks serve as “islands” of undeveloped area amidst vast areas of developed or significantly modified landscapes.¹⁵ People say that they and other tribal members continue to visit one or both of these parks for religious purposes

today, not only due to their historical importance, but also because they represent some of the last largely undeveloped ceremonial areas within their traditional territories.



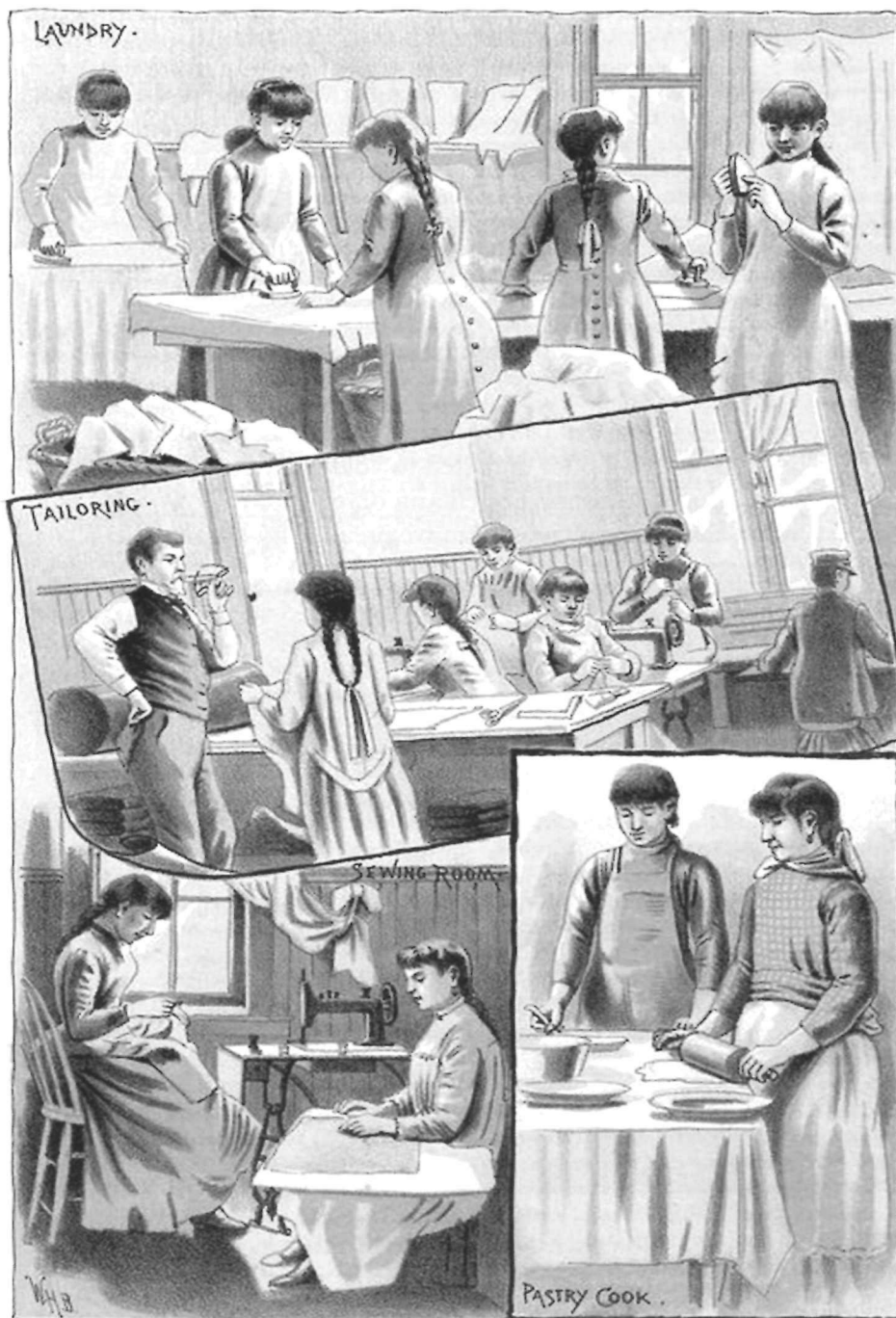
A Klamath Basin family at their temporary camp, in 1904. Throughout the late 19th and early 20th century, temporary camps of this kind were commonly used by Klamath and Modoc families at resource gathering sites, such as fishing grounds or wocus gathering sites – even as non-Indian houses were adopted for use as permanent homes. *Klamath County Museum photo*

People also spoke of the difficulties of maintaining traditional knowledge in light of the realities of boarding schools and tribal termination. A number of interviewees indicated that their families refused to teach them Klamath or Modoc language and custom: “[they] said ‘you need to live with the white people now’” (10). Both residential schools and agency schools forbade the speaking of Indian languages, a practice that continued through the mid-20th century. Many parents only spoke their language when they did not want their children to understand what they were saying, “when they were trying to hide something” (20). “People worked hard to keep my generation from being Indians...[our] parents didn’t want us to have to go through what they had to,” such as the punishments meted out by Indian Agents, boarding schools, and elsewhere for speaking their language and practicing their religion (19).



OREGON.- INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL ,CHEMAWA .

A historical image of boy's training at Chemawa Indian School near Salem, Oregon, one of the boarding schools enlisted to eliminate traditional skills and knowledge, while imparting skills needed for the non-Indian economy. *National Archives*



OREGON.—INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL, CHEMAWA.

A historical image of girl's training at Chemawa Indian School. *National Archives*

CULTURAL REAWAKENING AND RITUAL LAND USE

Despite more than a century of strong assimilative pressures, Klamath and Modoc religious activity has been resilient and has even experienced a reawakening in recent decades. Ritual activities have proven responsive to the contemporary concerns of tribal members, and the vision quest continues to prove responsive to contemporary social and environmental circumstances. Certain places retain their ceremonial significance to tribal members, even those who have adopted, to varying degrees, Christian or secular beliefs and values. This theme of persistence and adaptation within Klamath religious practice has received frequent and recurring attention in the published literature. (See, for example, Deur 2002a; Haynal 2000, 1994; Stern 1956b; Zakoji 1953; Spencer 1952a; Nash 1937.) The breakdown of the rigorous religious training once imparted to young tribal members in the wake of assimilationist pressures presents an obstacle to the ongoing use of places such as Crater Lake, where extensive preliminary training was a prerequisite for ceremonial activity.

Some interviewees for this study express concern that younger tribal members who seek to revive their culture are embracing traditions that are almost entirely introduced, such as powwow dancing and Lakota-style sweat lodge ceremonies. While such activities raise pride in Indian-ness, broadly defined, they are derided by many elders as “a lot of whooping” that is neither traditional nor tied to the land in a way that is consistent with traditional Klamath and Modoc values (20).

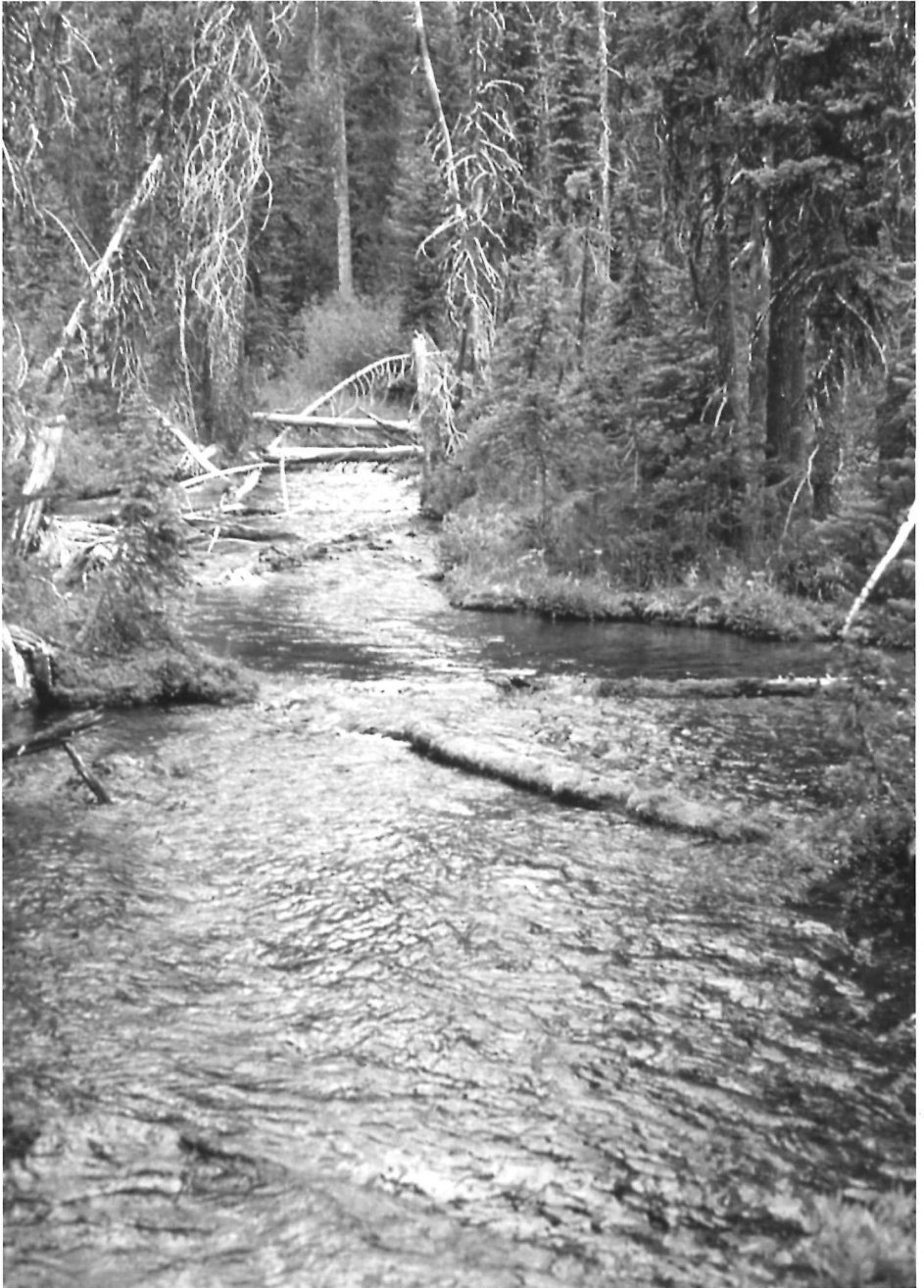
Today, a number of elements have been added to the vision quest from other tribal traditions such as Lakota sweat lodge and vision quest rituals. While a number of tribal members embrace these new hybrid practices, others object to the ritual observance of the traditions of other tribes in places of such religious importance as Crater Lake and Lava Beds.

The landscape is an integral component of contemporary ritual activity. Places of known religious importance – including places mentioned in oral tradition as well as places known to have been visited for vision quests historically – are now sought out by individuals seeking to continue or revive vision quests today. Moreover, many Christian tribal members still visit such places individually or in groups, recognizing that these are “special places” and are culturally appropriate sites for prayer and meditation. Places of historical ceremonial importance are also seen as important for the gathering of medicinal plants and other materials used in ceremonial contexts. Some speak of the importance of “walking in the footsteps of our ancestors” when

gathering such items and consider these items to be more potent if taken from places of ritual significance, including places in both parks. Likewise, in recent years, park-associated tribes have revived “first food” rituals and individuals have continued ritual practices meant to honor and insure the survival of culturally important plant and animal species. Burial sites, village sites, and other places of recognized importance to tribal ancestors take on added symbolic importance in the wake of two centuries of jarring change and are visited as part of modern ritual activity. All of these activities are integral to religious belief and practice within these communities today. While some have been “revived” in the recent past, they are rooted in much older traditions and of profound significance to practitioners. Like all of the world’s religious traditions, they have adopted and adapted as they have been confronted with new ideas and new challenges. Cumulatively, these practices are important parts of what makes Crater Lake and Lava Beds special in the eyes of modern tribal members, as they seek to continue their ceremonial traditions and navigate a rapidly changing world.



Indian women with grinding stones and winnowing baskets. Demonstration at Collier State Park (southeast of Crater Lake and north of Chiloquin), 1964. *Klamath County Museum photo*



Crater Creek, Crater Lake National Park. Located near Sphagnum Bog, this is one of numerous streams flowing through Winwas, a very rugged part of the park's western fringe. While this portion of the park was commonly avoided, certain streams were still visited for hunting and fishing. *Steve Mark photo*

Crater Lake National Park: A Most Sacred Place



Crater Lake sits at what was, in many respects, a border zone between traditional tribal territories.¹⁶ To the immediate east of the park were the territories of the Klamath people, centered on the marshes and lakes of the upper Klamath Basin. To the immediate west and north were the territories of the constituent communities of the Southern Molala, which were located in the high mountain drainages of the Cascade Range. The entirety of the traditional use area discussed in this volume was situated at what appears to have been a vaguely defined border between these two broadly defined tribal territories. The Klamath, in particular, claim traditional ties to areas from the western caldera to Huckleberry Mountain and beyond. While some Klamaths depict the entire park as being within the former exclusive control of the Klamaths, most indicate that is appropriate to view the entire Crater Lake area as part of a multi-tribal geographical area in which the Klamath were numerically dominant, but many tribes gathered for resource procurement. More distant, to the west, dwelt the Athapaskan-speaking Upper Umpqua, with territories centered primarily on the North Umpqua River and the main stem of the Umpqua. And, to the southwest were the Takelma-speaking tribes of southwestern Oregon, most notably the Cow Creek, with territories situated primarily on the South Umpqua River and Cow Creek drainages.¹⁷ While this summary does not exhaust the list of pre-contact peoples who visited the Crater Lake area regularly, these groups were the closest. Other tribes visiting the area had to first pass through these extensive territories claimed by these tribes.

Crater Lake was a prominent landmark for both close and distant tribes. The Klamath, for example, used Mount Scott and other features on the caldera rim as navigational aids when traveling, especially when navigating complex marsh and stream channels by canoe. Some tribes, living distant from Crater Lake, had oral traditions about the lake being a portal to the afterlife. Indeed, Andrew Ortis suggested that the name “Klamath,” not a

Klamath term, may be derived from a common name for Crater Lake that referred to this function of the lake.¹⁸ Interviewees discussed ritual activities tied to the area among the Modoc, Shasta, Pit River (or Achumawi), western Takelma, central Molala, certain Northern Paiute bands and southwestern Oregon Athabaskan-speaking communities. Even the Calapooya, the Yakima, and other distant tribes were said to have had stories of Crater Lake and “honored the lake” ritually. A number of these other tribes clearly viewed the Crater Lake area as ritually significant, and sometimes made the lengthy journey to visit the lake and the surrounding terrain.

The subalpine zone of the Cascade Range in the Crater Lake area was clearly not a place with sharp inter-tribal boundaries prior to European contact. And, this permeability of tribal boundaries appears to have increased in the wake of the social, economic, and demographic upheavals of the contact period. Resource-rich subalpine sites along tribal boundary zones in the Cascade Range typically were utilized by multiple tribes, as was clearly the case historically at Crater Lake and nearby Huckleberry Mountain. These landmarks were no one tribe’s exclusive domain.

A number of Klamath Tribes interviewees recalled the name *giwas* or *giwas e’ush*, the Klamath name for the caldera and lake of Crater Lake respectively. The name *tumsúmne* “flat on top” is sometimes applied to Mount Scott but is said by many Klamath interviewees to be a physical description of the entire mountain, with its relatively level caldera edge.¹⁹

Crater Lake was identified first and foremost as a vision quest site that is “sacred but dangerous” (22). “The old people said Crater Lake was a power place” (23). “It was strictly for vision quests...people didn’t go there for any other reason” (02). When attempting to summarize the distribution of cultural activities in the Crater Lake area, interviewees for this study described two basic patterns. One was centered on the caldera and the higher elevation portions of the park. This pattern of visitation was largely religious in nature and involved a narrow social spectrum, including shamans and traditional leaders. The other centered on the lower-elevation forests and riparian areas within the park. It focused on subsistence hunting and plant gathering. Unlike the ceremonial uses of the high country, this pattern of use involved a wide spectrum of tribal society. Today, the use of the uplands for rituals and other purposes has become somewhat more egalitarian, being seen as appropriate for many traditional practitioners. Subsistence activities continue to involve broad segments of the tribal community, though most of this resource procurement does not occur in the park, but in National Forest lands beyond the park boundary.

Interviewees for this study said that more proximate groups, especially the Klamaths of Klamath Marsh and the northern villages of Upper Klamath Lake, as well as the people of the upper Rogue River, used the Crater Lake area regularly for subsistence and religious purposes. More distant tribal populations typically visited the Crater Lake area only “when they needed something special” like a particular form of religious power or berries that could not be found elsewhere in their territories. Even the eastern Klamath communities were said to “rely more on epos and wild plum” and less on the huckleberries found near Crater Lake, due to simple proximity of resources (20).

While Klamath interviewees demonstrated the clearest historical ties to Crater Lake, such ties were not uncommon among other tribal communities. Ray (1963: 81), for example, noted that

“Most [Modoc] quest sites were within Modoc territory but sometimes distant trips were made. Crater Lake, in Klamath territory, was not infrequently visited.”

When tribal interviewees were asked to identify the general significance of Crater Lake, most interviewees said that the area was important for “religious ceremonies” or is simply a “sacred place.” Interviewees agreed that the ceremonial significance defines this place, and “that’s why they went there!”(04). To understand the religious significance of Crater Lake, it is important to note that, like most sacred places, the oral traditions regarding this place have defined its perceived powers and potentials. As will be discussed in the pages that follow, there are many stories of Crater Lake that outlined the site’s powers and ritual potentials.

The sacredness of the place is said to be etched into its very topography. To illustrate this point, Lynn Schonchin described the ritual significance of Crater Lake geography in the following terms. The Klamath and Modoc recognized five as a sacred number – events in their oral traditions take place in sets of five, for example, and tend to involve characters that are grouped into fives, such as stories surrounding the actions of five brothers. The vision quest often lasted five days and five days of fasting often preceded major rituals. Underscoring the ritual importance of Crater Lake, the Klamath formerly said that there were five principal stream drainages flowing from the sides of Crater Lake. Moreover, Crater Lake was said to be one of the five peaks of greatest religious significance surrounding the upper Klamath Basin. In Klamath oral tradition, Gmukamps the Creator visited each of these peaks as he traveled on a circuit from peak to peak around the perimeter of the upper Klamath Basin, effectively defining the power places and the boundaries of the Klamath world.²⁰ Significantly, when the Klamath were asked to desig-

nate their territory during their 1864 treaty negotiations, they outlined a “peak to peak” boundary that included Crater Lake, and echoed the Creator’s journeys to the sacred peaks at their territorial perimeter.

Some indigenous peoples of Northern California, including the Modoc and Pit River, traditionally viewed Crater Lake as being connected, structurally and spiritually, with a range of ceremonially important volcanic landscapes that extended to the south, and included Lava Beds, Medicine Lake Highlands, Mount Shasta, and Lassen Peak. These tribes have stories of “battles” between Mount Mazama and Crater Lake, describing what appear to be times of simultaneous eruptions. (Some Klamaths also recalled stories of battles between Yamsay Mountain and Mount Mazama, which they interpreted as being stories of simultaneous eruptions witnessed by their ancestors.) Some Klamath Tribes members recall that eruptions of Lassen Peak are visible from within the Klamath Basin, and say that these eruptions have played a role in their oral traditions. Oral tradition suggests that the volcanoes and volcanic vents of these recently active geological features are fed by the same underground source. Likewise, some tribal interviewees for this study recounted oral traditions indicating that many of the lakes in this chain of volcanoes are connected underground, are fed by the same subsurface waters, and are ritually connected. Some said that these various volcanic features possessed the same basic powers and called for the same basic rituals and respect. Accordingly, all of these areas traditionally were viewed as sacred places and there are strong similarities in the ritual uses of each.

In an account of tribal uses and views of the caldera that was perceptive for its time, historian A.G. Walling (1884; quoted in Bakken 1975: 17) wrote

“The Indians view Crater Lake and its surroundings as holy ground and approach it with reverence and awe. It is one of the earthly spots made sacred by the presence of the Great Spirit...In the past, none but medicine men visited it. When one of the tribe felt called upon to become a teacher and healer, he spent several weeks on the shore of the lake in fasting, in communion with the dead, and in prayer to Tamanous. Here he saw visions and dreamed dreams, and when he came down from the mountain, like Moses from Sinai, he was looked up to with reverence as having communed with the Great Spirit and seen the unknown world.”

Klamath Tribes member and historian, Barbara Alatorre (n.d.: 1), summarized the importance of Crater Lake this way:

“Over 7,000 years ago, Klamath/Modoc tribes were eyewitnesses to an extreme, sudden and violent volcanic explosion, which collapsed the mountaintop down, creating a giant crater where its peak used to be. Then the rains came filling the crater with water, and the lake within the crater, called Gii-was, became a holy place to the

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Ma'klaks [Klamath and Modoc peoples]. "Gii-was," now known to the public as "Crater Lake," has been a place of power to the Klamath Tribes ever since that white giant mountain erupted. After the eruption blew the top off, the mountain was named "Tumsum-ne" (mountain with the top cut off).

For thousands of years, tribal medicine men made treks to Gii-was to perform sacred ceremonies in times of prayers to the Great Spirit "Gmo'-Kame's." As a place of power, all tribal people showed their reverence by seeking vision quests near to or at Crater Lake. Upon adolescence, boys and girls made their vision quests to obtain power and direction for their lives. Adults made additional power vision quests also.

Many legends of Crater Lake have been handed down in the Klamath Tribes for thousands of generations. Other tribes of the Northwest heard stories about the sacred mountain of power, but it was respect for the sacred place that bound the Indians to keep the lake secret. Klamath Indians denied the existence of Crater Lake when white men first began to appear in the region in the 1800s.

ORAL TRADITIONS OF CRATER LAKE

Tribal members assert the veracity of their oral tradition as a window into the mundane and spiritual history of the tribe. "The storyteller was a historian...it was a very important role" (17). Yet, the landscape played a crucial role in the storyteller's craft. As in many American Indian tribes, the tribal history of this area was recalled in reference to geographical features on the landscape, perhaps more often than it was tied to abstract notions of linear chronology – notions that are arguably of recent introduction. As such, the landscape served to "anchor" history, providing enduring mnemonics around which groups of events centered. As one of the most visible and visually striking features on the landscape, Crater Lake thus served as the locus of many tribal stories that sought to both instruct and entertain.

Witnesses to the Eruption

Among the stories associated with Crater Lake, many focus specifically on the events associated with the eruption. Most tribal interviewees suggest that their ancestors were present at the eruption and that, as one of the most dramatic events of their shared history, the details of this eruption has been encoded in their oral tradition ever since. The eruption of Mount Mazama is a recurring focus of tribal stories of Crater Lake. One tribal interviewee described the oral tradition on the eruption of Mount Mazama and the creation of Crater Lake as follows:

"The Lake came from a battle between spirits – gods...and when the people saw what happened there they had to run into the water to keep from being burned up. They were being punished for forgetting the right way to live. I heard this story from a lot

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of the old people when I was a little kid ...and later I read books with those same stories” (42).

Variations on this story suggest that the Creator was angry because people became arrogant and challenged his will. As with the Judeo-Christian tale of the biblical flood, the presumed moral decay of the people led to the devastation of both the land and its human occupants. Other versions of the story suggest that there were not one eruption but three that resulted in the creation of Crater Lake.



An artist's depiction of Crater Lake immediately after its cataclysmic final eruption. Painted by Paul Rockwood for the Work Projects Administration, 1939, *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

One variant of the eruption story was retold by Ella Clark (1953), and it is this version that appears to be most widely known and retold among Klamath Tribes members today. The story provides a detailed description of a battle between a Chief of the Above World and a Chief of the Below World (Clark 1953: 53-55). Atop the “mountain that used to be” (i.e., Mount Mazama) there was said to be a hole leading to the below world. The Chief of the Below World fell in love with the daughter of a Klamath chief but was rejected by the girl and her family. The Chief of the Below World attempted to destroy the family, but the Chief of the Above World sought to protect them. The battle that ensued results in cataclysmic geological events, cumulatively forming Crater Lake.

Some interviewees note that the Chief of the Above World was associated with powers that were generally benevolent and restorative, and he protected the interests of human communities. The Chief of the Below World was associated with powers that – while not necessarily bad – were tied to more selfish and destructive forces. Together, they represented not only opposing characters during the eruption, but moral opposites as well.

The details of the battle of described in Clark and in contemporary tribal members' accounts coincide so closely with the eruption of Mount Mazama as described by geologists that many tribal members take this as evidence of their ancestors' witness to these events. Importantly, estimates as to the date of the eruption of Mount Mazama place this date at well over 7,000 years ago, providing one of several lines of evidence supporting the claim of considerable antiquity for Klamath and Modoc occupation of the Upper Klamath Basin.



Rockwood's depiction of the collapsed caldera after Mazama's climactic eruption. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

In order to demonstrate the compatibility of Klamath oral tradition and geological interpretations of Mount Mazama's eruption, two popular accounts are compared here: Ella Clark's account of a Klamath tale of the eruption and a distillation of prevailing geological theories of Mount Mazama's eruption provided by a readable popular account by Stephen Harris (1988:105-26).

**The Eruption of Mount Mazama:
*Geological Accounts and Klamath Oral Tradition***

Stephen Harris	Ella Clark
<p>“The opening blasts that heralded Mazama’s doom began as a crater somewhere north of the principal summit ejected a titanic mushroom cloud miles into the stratosphere.”</p>	<p>“When [the Chief of the Below World] came up from his lodge below [the mountain], his tall form towered above the snow-capped peaks.”</p>
<p>“Winds carried the ash plume northeast, blanketing over 500,000 square miles ...glowing avalanches...raced outward through forested valleys....Pyroclastic flows that moved east sped over 25 miles of flat ground beyond the base of the volcano. Pumice blocks six feet across were carried 20 miles from their source.”</p>	<p>“Red-hot rocks as large as the hills hurtled through the skies. Burning ashes fell like rain....Like an ocean of flame it devoured the forests on the mountains and in the valleys...until it reached the homes of the people. Fleeing in terror before it, the people found refuge in the waters of Klamath Lake.”</p>
<p>“[the] tremendous explosive eruption ejected a great volume of material from the magma reservoir beneath the volcano. That removed support from the former summit, allowing it to collapse inward....Where a snow-capped peak once towered, there was now only a colossal depression.”</p>	<p>“Once more the mountains shook...the Chief of the Below World was driven into his home, and the top of the mountain fell upon him...the high mountain was gone.”</p>
<p>“water from rain and melting snow began to fill the basin.”</p>	<p>“for many years rain fell in torrents and filled the great hole that was made when the mountain fell upon the Chief of the Below World.”</p>

While the two accounts attribute the eruption to different causes, the former tectonic forces and the latter cosmological battles, the descriptive details of the eruption are remarkably similar. Interviewees for this study take pride in the apparent geological accuracy of these stories, viewing them as evidence that the “Klamaths and other tribes have been here since the beginning of time...[and] have an unbreakable tie to the land” (42).²¹

The human response to the eruption of Mount Mazama also plays an important role in these eruption stories. Klamath eruption stories mention people diving below the surface of lakes and marshes and breathing through rushes when hot clouds of ash rained down upon the landscape. Some versions of the Klamath eruption story mention people retreating far to the southeast and living beside lakes in that direction for a few generations until the obliterated upper Klamath Basin recovers. It is true that geological evidence suggests that the lakes in that direction were relatively unscathed by the Mazama eruption, which ejected pumice and ash principally northward.



One of the sandals unearthed by Luther Cressman northeast of Crater Lake, at Fort Rock Cave, in 1937. Buried by ash from the Mount Mazama eruption, this sandal was dated to roughly 9,000 years ago. The style of weaving used to create these sandals is like that used by Klamaths of the 19th century. *University of Oregon*

Not all tribes share this same account of the eruption, however. Susan Shaffer's grandmother Ellen Crispin (in Bakken 1975: 13-17) recounted a Cow Creek Umpqua version of the story to W.K. Peery. In Crispin's account, during the time when humans and animals spoke the same language, the mountain that became Crater Lake was an idyllic snow-capped peak with lush forests and grasslands on its flanks.

"On this mountain lived the bear, the deer, the panther and the elk, with animal cousins and friends who came there and had much talk. The man-people, they came. They talked with the animal-people. All were friends, those people.

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An evil chief grew up among the man-people. He said he was greater than Old Man God, who was Chief of the World. He said the people should obey him. He put bad thoughts in the mind of the man-people. They began to kill the animal people.”

The animals implored their Tamanous (“Great Spirit”), who enlisted the assistance of a host of animal spirits, including Bear, Eagle, Crayfish, and Wildcat to challenge the chief. The chief and his people, who killed the animals wantonly, did not repent. For this, they were punished:

“...a great wind came from the top of that mountain. The man-people had to lay flat on the ground. Trees fell and pulled their roots from the earth. Man-people could not breathe that hot wind. They called for rain.

Tamanous said, “There will be no rain.”

When Old Man God went away, the people looked up. Black smoke rolled high over the mountain top. The top of that mountain vomited fire. The mountain flew high in the air. Then it sat down on the earth and a sound like thunder shook everything.

Now the mountain had no top. There was a big hole in that top. A long time this hole filled up with water that grew deep. The man-people were all dead. Their bodies were gone. Their spirits walked over the rough rocks.

Tamanous said, “I will put the souls of the man-people in that big water hole on the top of the mountain. They will stay there forever. Their lodges will be at the bottom of that hole...The dead people live in that lake. They are evil people. They were destroyed because they were like that.”

Susan Shaffer points out that this tale has provided the Cow Creek Umpqua with a clear moral lesson: that people should be respectful and humble in the presence of the Creator and of creation, and that leadership should be “for the people, not one’s self,” and should make provisions for those who are less fortunate, including non-human life. “That is the message!” (21).²² This story is sometimes recounted in theatrical performances sponsored by the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians.

Crater Lake itself, said to contain the spirits of the dead who were punished at the times of the lake’s creation, has served as a powerful mnemonic reminder of these stories for tribal members. When visiting Crater Lake, individuals were said to meditate on the lessons of the oral traditions associated with the lake and other features visible from its promontories. The moral teachings implicit in the stories of the lake’s creation, for example, guided ceremonial activities within view of the lake. Even today, tribal members including many who do not profess to be “religious specialists” continue to reflect on the stories, calling for humility and equitable leadership, when visiting places within the park (21, 12).

It is important to note that some versions of these stories persist that have been reinterpreted in light of Christian teachings and conversions within the tribal community. Some Christian tribal members report versions of the Crater Lake creation story that are fundamentally the same as those outlined above, but incorporate Judaeo-Christian elements. Some interviewees noted, the tribes traditionally “loved and respected” the gods associated with Crater Lake, especially Gmukamps the Creator, who many modern Klamaths equate with the Christian God (34). More than one interviewee suggested that the Christian God created the Lake “to show people what he could do...to give people something to think about” and that people must now visit Crater Lake to reflect on this, to “look at the lake and see what God did” (25).

Stories of the Lake

A number of stories encountered in the course of this study center on events following the creation of Crater Lake. While post-dating the creation of the lake, these stories appear to describe the genesis of certain landscape features within the park and may establish the context for subsequent ritual uses of these areas.

The battle between Skell and Llao at the “ballfield” was a centerpiece of past NPS interpretation of tribal oral traditions regarding the lake, but appears to be of relatively minor significance when seen in the context of the larger corpus of tribal oral tradition. Tribal members sometimes suggested that the version told in past NPS interpretation was largely a fabrication, with episodes taken from multiple tales and embellished with new information to enhance its “grandeur.” This version was said to be derived from communications between O.C. Applegate and William Gladstone Steel and was popularized through their writings, especially Steel’s *Steel Points* and other early park interpretive materials.²³ The “morals” and context of the story were said to be lost in the process (02).

Nonetheless, the story bears some notable parallels to the Crater Lake creation story – in Klamath tradition, Skell is a manifestation of Gmukamps or the “Chief of the Above World” while Llao is a guardian, if not a manifestation of the “Chief of the Below World.” The Skell and Llao story sometimes retold in the park thus bears some the creation story of Crater Lake, and may suggest that the contest between these two beings – and perhaps the contest between benevolent and malicious spiritual forces, broadly defined – persisted at this place long after the eruption was complete. Moreover, some interviewees did recall hearing versions of a story of the

Skell and Liao from elders that described a raucous ball game between the two beings and their minions: “there were lots of stories about Skell and Liao and what happened up there...scary stories” (42).²⁴ A version of the Klamath’s creation story of the lake was popularized by William Gladstone Steel through his publication, *Steel Points*. In a 1907 issue of that journal, O.C. Applegate reported:

“According to the mythology of the Klamath and Modoc Indians, the chief spirit who occupied the mystic land of Gaywas, or Crater Lake, was La-o. Under his control were many lesser spirits who appeared to be able to change their forms at will. Many of these were monsters of various kinds, among them the giant crawfish (or dragon) who could, if he chose, reach up his mighty arms even to the tops of the cliffs and drag down to the cold depths of Crater Lake any too adventuresome tourist of primal days.

The spirits or beings who were under the control of La-o assumed the forms of many animals of the present day when they chose to go abroad on dry land...”²⁵



An artist’s depiction of the crayfish, one of Liao’s minions, snatching a person from the Crater Lake caldera rim. Oral traditions suggest that spirit beings punished casual or irreverent visits to the caldera rim in this way. *Harpers Ferry Center*

The most commonly interpreted story of Crater Lake, “Liao of Giwas” is perhaps best represented in the unpublished works of Curtin (n.d.: M-076.0). In this telling, it is clear that Liao, in spirit and perhaps in body, is viewed as still living in Crater Lake: “[Liao] is a man who lives in the water of this lake.” The story depicts Yamsay Mountain, east of the park, as the

house of Skell, the Mink, and the story depicts the two mountains as being connected underground by a passageway between Crater Lake and a spring on Yamsay Mountain. Indeed, Klamath and Modoc oral tradition abounds with references to underground connections between different sacred waters, and a number of interviewees for this study still reported a belief in an underground connection between these two peaks. The events take place during a series of conflicts between Llao and Skell. Llao grabs Skell at the Yamsay Mountain spring and drags him back to Crater Lake to battle him. Llao cuts Skell into pieces and feeds the pieces to his children in the lake. Unlike the crayfish children described in some accounts, Llao's children are said in this version to include all the features of the land: "Grass and stones and fish and animals and trees and brush, everything is my child." Skell is reconstituted and, dropping a black stone (perhaps obsidian), causes all of these children to freeze in place, allowing him to return home to Yamsay Mountain. With the aid of Chaskai, the Weasel, Llao's daughter gains admittance to Skell's house as a potential wife and kills Skell in his sleep. A number of spirit beings rejoice and "play football" with Skell's head and the hearts of other slain enemies at a location close to the Lake sometimes called "the ballfield" or "the ball court" by contemporary interviewees.



A view of the "ballfield" from near the rim. In stories of Skell and Llao, this portion of the park is stripped of vegetation by contests and conflicts between the spirit beings of Crater Lake. This area and the peaks surrounding it are of enduring cultural significance to area tribes. Pumice Desert, an area sometimes used for hunting is in the distant haze on the right side of this photo. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

Wishing to save Skell, Kumush [Gmukamps] and a number of animal spirits – Silver Fox, Golden Eagle, and Hummingbird – participate in the game, but run off with Skell’s head, passing it back and forth, as if they were playing a ball game. As Llao’s children emerged from the lake and chased Skell’s helpers, Kumush created another lake, high mountains, and a burning log to delay their chase. Some contemporary tribal interviewees suggest that these landscape features are Diamond Lake and Mount Thielsen. Llao’s children thus return to Crater Lake and Kumush and Chaskai bring Skell back to life at Yamsay Mountain.

Contemporary tribal interviewees indicated that the site of these raucous conflicts can still be seen at a sparsely vegetated place just northwest of the caldera, from the Rim Road north junction to the vicinity of Red Cone. This geographical provenience is supported by other published accounts.²⁶ “The fight made that bare spot right near the rim...tore out all the brush and trees” (41). This area is colloquially called “the ball court” or “the ballfield,” in reference to the events recounted in the story of Skell and Llao. Some contemporary tribal members suggest that the spirits or spirit powers associated with the beings in these stories still exist there, and report seeing apparitions of the animals described in this story looming in clouds or mists above the ballfield.

The exact nature of the beings varies from story to story, reflecting in part the fact that these beings were perceived as having the capacity for physical transformation. Llao was described by Barker (1963b: 215) and others as “rather octopoidal and of a dirty white color.” However, Gatschet (1890: xcvi-xcvii) reports that Llao was depicted as a giant, represented by “the circular, lofty island lying within the waters of Crater Lake or Gíwash.” Otherwise, Gatschet’s retelling of the conflict between Llao and Skell is consistent with these other accounts. Some accounts depict Llao more as spirit than physical being and his form remains ambiguous in those cases.

Llao’s role in contemporary oral tradition appears to be as the enforcer of prescriptions on uses of Crater Lake. Llao “is a spirit being” who is both respected and feared by the Klamath (34). Like the spirits of the damned in the Upper Umpqua story, the Klamath/Modoc Llao is said by some to still dwell in the waters of Crater Lake since the time of the eruption. Swimming in the waters of Crater Lake, Llao is a constant danger to those who travel in sight of the lake; Llao and a number of smaller versions of this being are said to be able to attack individuals even as they stand on the rim, to knock them off cliffs or pull them into the water if they are behaving in a manner that is not befitting Crater Lake.

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A second Klamath tale recounted by Clark (1953: 58-60), “Crater Lake and the Two Hunters,” provided listeners with clear moral lessons. In this Klamath story, Crater Lake is depicted as a place of spirits and the souls of the evil dead, unsafe for the uninitiated, and deserving of solemn protocols. Two arrogant hunters, violating the taboos of Crater Lake, visit and recklessly hunt at the lake, showing disrespect for the spirits and the animals tied to this place, as well as the admonitions of tribal spiritual leaders. At the request of “the great Spirit Chief,” both are killed by spirits. Upper Umpqua stories recorded by Peery (1951) and Bakken (1953: 13-17) have almost identical plots, with two young hunters ascending to Crater Lake – a place for ceremonial uses but not for hunting – in order to hunt a grizzly bear. When the bear is killed, one of the hunters is transformed into a monster, who still dwells in Lloa Rock.



Lloa Rock sits in the distance at the middle of this photo, while the jagged eastern spires of Hillman Peak are visible in the foreground at left. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

Another Klamath tale recalled by Clark (1953: 60-61), “Another Crater Lake Legend,” has a similar theme. A young hunter visits the lake and begins to acquire power. Contrary to custom, however, he boasts of his achievements upon his return and soon many people are going to the lake

to prepare for hunting or warfare through power quests. A creature matching the description of Llaol rises up to retaliate against the young hunter, killing him and throwing his body parts to the water below.

In the personal collection of ethnographic notes compiled by the late Vina Kirk (n.d.), there is a summary of a story regarding a man who gains power from Crater Lake, only to lose this power when he violates the rules of the area:

“Young man returned to the Deep blue Lake to seek sleep- Returned to sleep and...became the strongest of the Klamaths. The spirits were under the waters. They would come but one day he saw a great fish and when he saw it he slew it. This broke the magic spell of the lake.”

Steel recorded a variation on this same tale, as recounted by Allen David in 1885, in which spirits within the lake kill the young man as retribution for killing the fish (Yard: 1919: 199-200).

Similarly, Spier (1930: 98) recounts:

“People were stolen and taken down into Crater lake by beings there. Some say they have found no water in the lake. Instead there were rocks as big as trees and deep tunnels in the bottom. There are animals, snakes, and a sort of people who live at (or in) the ocean. Men swim in the lake at night to get spirit aid.”

Nineteenth century Klamath tribal members told Gatschet (1890) that the haze or glow that sometimes hangs over the Cascade Range in the vicinity of Crater Lake as the product of Gmukamps and his relatives whose power still dwells there. Often it was a sign of these beings' impending arrival or action. Similarly, the spirits of the dead were sometimes said to travel to a land of the dead in the west, reached by passage through this area.

Incidentally, the Klamaths and Upper Umpquas also have parallel origin stories describing the genesis of Diamond Lake, Mount Thielsen and Mount Bailey. In one Umpqua variant, a powerful chief – wishing to prevent his daughter from marrying an enemy's son – turned them both to stone. Their bodies became Mount Thielsen and Mount Bailey, while their tears created the lake between them, modern day Diamond Lake (Bakken 1975: 17).

THE VISION QUEST AND CRATER LAKE

In the traditions of these tribes, an individual's spiritual power or knowledge was obtained from certain prominent landmarks. Certainly, Crater



Mt. Thielsen, as seen from Pumice Desert. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

Lake has long been seen as among the most important and potent of these landmarks. Once spiritual power is obtained from Crater Lake, one's power is still said to be tied to that place and to spirit beings who dwelt there.²⁷ Yet this search for power or knowledge was not for everybody. When discussing the role of Crater Lake in the traditional vision quest, interviewees for this study provided consistent accounts:

“It was a dangerous place for most people... People didn't go there ordinarily...it was a sacred place for vision quests. People went there to become doctors” (37).

Vision quests were a central aspect of ritual life and were traditionally performed at puberty, but also at other times. The Crater Lake area was critical as a location of vision quests, and this was its primary traditional use. Purposes ascribed to vision quests at Crater Lake include finding direction, gaining power, and mourning. Vision quests typically involved five days spent on-site, commonly with another two or three days of ritual preparation extending the duration of the task to a full week.²⁸ While most vision quests today are somewhat shorter, a few individuals still carry out quests that take five days, not including preliminary fasting and ritual preparations. Following the tradition of leaving offerings at ceremonial sites, especially food, it is said that people often “fed the earth” while at Crater Lake (04).

Most interviewees, including both men and women, noted that Crater Lake was generally “a man’s place” and that women seldom participated in ritual ascents to Crater Lake or were privy to the full spectrum of ceremonial activities tied to Crater Lake, proper. A number of women did provide detailed discussion of ritual activities at Crater Lake, but were quick to point out that most of their information was derived from men’s first-hand accounts. Some noted that there were a small number of female shamans, such as White Cindy, and that it was believed that some of these women used Crater Lake. These female shamans sometimes engaged in typically male ritual activity and even wore men’s clothing and took on other masculine traits. Shamans from the Klamath were said to be particularly likely to seek “Crater Lake power,” but shamans from Molala, Takelma, Modoc, and Paiute communities were also reported to have acquired some portion of their power from Crater Lake.



White Cindy, a traditional healer of the Klamath Tribes, who was said to have obtained some of her powers at Crater Lake. *Klamath County Museum photo*

People went up “every summer” for religious activities (08). The western rim of Crater Lake was once used intensively, but the decline in tribal populations in the valleys immediately west of the park, as well as park development, was said to have resulted in a reduced use in this area. A number of

promontories around the caldera rim area were mentioned as historically important vision quest sites.

Functions of the Vision Quest

The vision quest for adolescents at Crater Lake was carried out “to show them the direction their life should take” (21). “A lot of people used to go there looking for direction or help...a lot of people still do...” (26). Young people went when in their early teens, an age when people were said to naturally be seeking to define their identity. In a transcendent state, physically and mentally exhausted, these young people often “blacked out...and this was how the spirit accessed them” (04). To this day, people who visit Crater Lake and the tops of other sacred peaks in the area report falling unconscious or having seizures due to exposure to the powers of these places and having to be carried homeward. After becoming exhausted a person might

“fall asleep and have a dream with an animal or some object in your dream that is very vivid...[that] would become your tamanawis [spirit helper or guardian]. Then you have a special relationship with the creature...you don’t kill it...you listen to what it tells you to do” (02).

Another function of vision quests was to gain power of various sorts. Vision Quests reportedly allowed individuals to become a number of different kinds of doctors, including doctors who specialized in physical or spiritual healing. “The most powerful doctors got their power from Crater Lake” (42). “I heard stories of young men going there...to gain power, or become a warrior” (41). “My grandfather [Robert David] told me that it was a “proving ground” for young men” (36).

“Sometimes a young man would feel unusually powerful and he would make up his mind that he would become a doctor. Or perhaps a child would die and when he tied the willow bands around his body and went into the mountains to fast and punish himself by piling rocks, climbing steep mountains and descending at night from mountain tops into ice cold lakes, as is our custom when we lose a relative, he would find himself to possess almost superhuman powers of endurance, and would perhaps continue his labors at night on the mountain tops until he would bleed at the mouth and nostrils and fall into a deep long sleep almost like death.” (Clarke 1960: 29).

As implied in the narrative above, mourning for the dead is another function associated with vision quests at Crater Lake. Spier (1930: 96) describes one such case:

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“having lost a child, he went swimming in Crater lake; before evening he had become a shaman...He must not be frightened even if he sees something moving under the water. He prays before diving, “I want to be a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power.”

When mourning for the dead, a chief mourner

“winds willow wands about his body and limbs and goes into the mountains to spend days without food, climbing from peak to peak and bathing in sacred waters. This they still do [ca. 1873] and attribute great importance to it” (Clarke 1960: 19).

Interviewees noted that, when participating in these kinds of ritual activities, people wished to tap into the powers indicated by oral tradition. As a place where the power of the “above world” and the “below world” had undergone a cataclysmic battle, Crater Lake was perceived as a place of raw potential power, with variegated opportunities for spiritual enrichment distributed across the landscape. By finding these locations and drawing strength from the spiritual powers that dwelt there, a person had the potential to overcome almost any challenge.



Photo taken by E.S. Curtis, 1923.

Rock Cairns

Interviewees for this study consistently noted that rock stacking was part of the traditional vision quest and was still carried out by individuals visiting the Crater Lake area for ceremonial purposes today. Rocks were sometimes gathered close to the bottom of a peak and carried to the top as part of a cathartic struggle to the top of the mountain. “Those piles of rocks...give spiritual strength” (34). In some instances, rocks are added to existing cairns, either by the cairn’s original creator or by others, as part of the vision quest. Sometimes, the rocks from a cairn may be rearranged as part of the vision quest. Rock stacks were said to perform various functions, and were also constructed as burial or trail markers.

Rocks stacked in vision quest cairns were, and still widely are, believed to contain powers that are linked to the powers of the site and the religious practitioner who placed these rocks. Rocks were chosen as an “offering” as they were the most enduring materials to be found, with cairns often outlasting their creators (40). Traditional protocols required that nothing else be left on the site – indeed, some interviewees for this project shared oral traditions indicating that grave misfortune might befall a person who left personal items at their vision quest site. The stacking of rocks was also said to be part of the cathartic struggle that necessarily precedes the vision quest: the rock stacks “added to the suffering as they had to be carried there” from downslope (04). The rock stack also served as a marker of one’s spiritual journey “to show that a person had been to that spot, to that elevation” (02) Once a person went back home, the rock cairn served as an enduring marker of one’s presence at the mountain and facilitated a continued bond between the person and the place used for the vision quest.

The best cairns were said to be made from rocks with flat sides, with smaller rocks placed higher in the pile. Piles of approximately three feet in height were typical for the Klamath, with taller stacks common among some other groups. The conical shape of many rock stacks was said to be “a religious symbol” and this facilitated a profusion of conical cairns. Other rock features may be subtle, containing only a few rocks placed “as an offering.” The placement of these stacks was coincident with vision quest sites, which were typically “up high where you can see things...especially important places” distant from the site (04). Rock stacks or their constituent rocks are noted to often be aligned with distant peaks and other features of religious significance; individuals who place cairns in this manner are said to “tap into the power” of these remote features. Such cairns are said to be common on Mount Scott and a few of the other summits in the park – with command-

ing views of many other peaks, these sites were recognized as providing unique potentials for this kind of ritual activity. Some say that the historical ritual importance of a peak can be ascertained by the number of cairns oriented toward the peak.

People “have their own focus point” where they build prayer seats (40). Rock stacks were also created as monuments to the dead, placed over holes containing cremated human remains or at the site of the former houses of the dead, which were sometimes burned.

The rock stack is traditionally viewed as having a spirit of a sort, and perhaps even sentience. People sometimes offered “prayers” to rock stacks, or on behalf of rock stacks, traditionally. Interviewees for this study were adamant that one should not touch or behave foolishly near rock cairns. The rocks are said to contain a power that can affect later visitors. “You don’t bother the old ones” (34). The power is organized in a certain way and if the rocks are rearranged carelessly this power is diffused. Elders

“said we weren’t supposed to go near the rock stacks and we weren’t supposed to play with them...if you did, they said you would go crazy” (23).

A number of rock cairns predating the park’s creation were reportedly destroyed by artifact hunters in the early twentieth century. The construction of Rim Road and other park infrastructure was also said to have destroyed many such features. In some cases, the rocks from cairns were said to have been incorporated into the roadway and other construction near the summits.



A construction camp used to build the old Rim Road, circa 1916. Prior to this time, only a pack trail accessed the Crater Lake caldera rim. Construction of the Rim Road brought new access to visitors and had diverse impacts on traditional tribal use of the caldera. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

Today, rock stacks have additional layers of symbolic importance. Older rock stacks serve as a connection to ancestors from a time that predates cultural integration into the white world. Newer rock stacks serve as an emblem of cultural persistence despite overwhelming odds. Most fundamentally, rock stacks in the park serve as a marker of historical use – they “show that we were there...the proof is still there in those sites” (14).

Vision Quest Sites

In addition to the status of Crater Lake itself as a sacred place and vision-quest site, a number of specific sites in the area were described as containing ritual significance. Mount Scott and other high points along the caldera rim were particularly important, while lower peaks and buttes were less important and used as intermediate places of power. Many places within Crater Lake National Park may be considered “power points,” still used for both vision quests and less formal religious purposes.

Among the areas near the caldera of Crater Lake, perhaps none were described as being as important as Mount Scott. Mount Scott was “a very important place for vision quests,” and continues to serve in this capacity today (07). Much like other significant peaks, elevation is traditionally associated with power at Mount Scott: “the higher you go up the mountain, the better your vision quest is going to be” (02). Accordingly, Neva Eggsman recalled that one common name for the top of Mount Scott translated to “place where the chief sleeps,” alluding to the elevated social standing of its few users: “those were the only sorts of people who could go there.”²⁹ People had to acclimate to the power of Mount Scott by ascending a little higher during each successive visit – only after repeat visits was a trek to the top possible. Among the many dangers associated with the power of Mount Scott was the lack of water, and the thirst experienced on this mountain appears to have been an important part of the cathartic struggle on which a successful vision quest was contingent. Some interviewees noted that, in addition to its height, Mount Scott was unique in providing sweeping views of both the Crater Lake caldera and much of the traditional territory of the Klamath. “You can see all of the sacred places up there...all the places from our history” (42).

Rock cairns are still visible there, including cairns that appear to be of diverse ages. Some of these rock features exhibit an orientation of one or more stones toward other prominent landmarks that are of religious importance to tribal members, including Mount Thielsen, Yamsay Mountain, and the Crater Lake caldera. The most important ritual areas and cairns,



At 8,926 feet elevation, Mount Scott is the highest point in Crater Lake National Park. This peak has long served as a center of ceremonial activity for tribal members, especially tribal leaders seeking certain powers and insights. This view was taken from the Klamath Marsh.

Steve Mark photo

however, sat at the top of this peak; these cairns were damaged during construction of the fire lookout and much of the ritual use of the summit has been curtailed due to its visibility to park visitors. Lower, less visible areas of Mount Scott are more commonly used today.

Mount Scott continues to be one of the most important places in the park for contemporary religious and cultural activities. True to its tradition as a “place where the chief sleeps,” more than one tribal leader has reported going to the top of Mount Scott in recent years to seek guidance on matters of importance to their tribe. Other traditionalists report that they were taken there by their families as children and now take their own children there “to take care of family business” ritually or to “show [their] kids the world” (42). Families that profess Christian beliefs still visit Mount Scott together to “offer prayers” and to teach children about their history and culture. From this site “you can see the whole Reservation...everything,” including all of the other major religious sites of the Klamath and Modoc.

The entire caldera rim was also described as a very important place for vision quests. The higher locations along the rim were seen as the places of the greatest power and danger. Today, the lack of privacy at some of these prominent locations has displaced ritual activity to those points along the caldera rim that are distant from trails and roads.

The choice of locations for vision quest activities was significantly influenced by oral traditions, and the story of the eruption was said to be central to the continued ceremonial use of the caldera rim in particular: “They used that mountain top because of what happened to it” (08). “The Klamath people have used it since the eruption” (12).

Lower peaks around the base of Crater Lake, such as Sun Mountain, were typically said to be less powerful than Crater Lake or Mount Scott. Yet these features’ power was said to be related to the power of Crater Lake and could be visited as a prelude to vision quests at Crater Lake. People who were diligent and powerful gained new powers when visiting lower peaks. The power gained at these lower peaks enabled them to go to successively higher peaks. In time, after sufficient training at these lower peaks, individuals who had not originally been prepared for a vision quest at Crater Lake would find themselves ready to ascend to the caldera (40).³⁰

Interviewees report that, at one time, every mountain, ridge, or butte in the southwestern quarter of the park was used intensively for religious purposes. Seldon Kirk, who explored and hunted this area extensively in the early twentieth century, reported seeing rock stacks on almost all points on the landscape that were somewhat elevated (07). While some of these cairns were probably of non-religious origin (such as trail markers, surveyors’ cairns, and the like) others undoubtedly represented vision quest sites.

Men were also said to engage in ritual activities at lower buttes on their approaches to upland hunting areas in the Crater Lake area, including a number of sites now in the Winema National Forest to “pray for success” and enhance their hunting power prior to hunting in the uplands.³¹ These sites were often revisited after the hunt to give thanks for their success. This tradition of “praying for success” in hunting at lower buttes encircling the Crater Lake area is said to continue today.

In addition to the sacred places described above, the park abounds in “power points” where one can still seek power or knowledge, either through the vision quest or less structured religious activity. The choice of a vision quest site involved many variables. First, the site is a place of reli-

gious importance in its own right, a place that has a role within tribal oral tradition: “our teachings describe beings using these places...long ago...we learn from the teachings about the place” (12). Also, the site should provide clear views of other places of religious importance, especially sacred peaks such as Yamsay Mountain, Mount Thielsen, Saddle Mountain, Yainax Butte, or Mount Shasta and the Medicine Lake Highlands. People “identify with them...they know their importance back to creation” (12). Yet, the vision quest location is determined by personal variables as well – “where you are at, where you are from, your experiences...personal connections, your level of comfort with a place” (23). Repeat visits to a particular place by oneself or one’s family “strengthens spiritual connections” with that place (12). “The highest areas” are still seen as the best and most powerful places to go, though one must sometimes undergo preparation at lower elevations first. Almost any secluded place in Crater Lake National Park is said to be a suitable location. Past anthropologists such as Spier (1930: 98) reported such sites including Ma’kwalks, a site on the caldera rim called “ma’kwal_s, a point of rock projecting over Crater Lake...The seeker clambers down and piles rocks on the point.”³² Tribal members who provided information for the current study identified a number of specific high-elevation sites and water features that have been used in this manner. They are not enumerated here, however, to protect their integrity and continued use.

Today, continued access to these sites is said to be essential to the well-being of tribal members and in “learning what it means to be [Indian]” (12). Some tribal members report still having vivid dreams that call them to particular locations in the park. Certain Christian tribal members, although cynical regarding traditional religious practices generally, still report having such dreams and will sometimes visit places in the park “just to see what it’s about.” For more on post-contact vision quests at Crater Lake, see “Contact and Crisis Quests,” in the chapter on Crater Lake Since Contact.

Cleansing and Ritual Preparation

Tribal members who contributed to this study suggested that people could not go to Crater Lake “if they were not prepared.” Preparation involved the ritual cleansing of the body inside and out, through fasting and ritual bathing. Likewise, preparation involved the ritual cleansing of negative emotional states, such as greed, lust, malice, pride, and fear. Sexual abstinence appears to have been part of the preparation as well. They had to “give up things so that the Great Spirit will see that you are praying and give you a vision, a power, or a song” (04). “You had to clean your mind of anger, of any bad thoughts that would cloud your mind. You had to be

clean to go there” (42). If individuals were not properly prepared, Crater Lake and its resident spirits would quickly “let them know and they would have troubles...or maybe never return.” People “had to deal with themselves before they could deal with Crater Lake” (42). These men had to be prepared for the physical struggle of the ascent, the fast and the cold. They had to overcome their fear of bounding down the caldera’s interior slopes and diving into the frigid and dangerous waters of the lake (42, 04). They had to suffer and to persevere.



Crater Lake from the south rim with Mt. Scott in the background. *Photo courtesy of Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections.*

People prepared off-site for many of these tasks, engaging in ritual activities at lower peaks in and immediately around the park. Individuals also “would bathe in water below the top of the mountain” to ritually clean themselves in springs and waterfalls encountered during the ascent (42). These places were near the headwaters of creeks ascended en route to ritual activity at Crater Lake and would have been encountered on the ascent, some noted, making them a natural place for ritual preparations.³³

Individuals on vision quests at Crater Lake also took “plunges” into ponds encountered on the ascent to the caldera, or in deep pools in the streams draining the caldera’s outer slopes. Indeed, some indicated that preliminary plunging or bathing in ponds was absolutely “required for the vision quest” at Crater Lake, while others indicated that it was considered a good way to prepare but was not always necessary. Specific water features were widely

believed to embody the spirit or powers of beings described in oral traditions. These beings “live there” and bathing in their waters served as a way to engage these beings, either seeking their power or challenging it. Different powers could thus be obtained by ritual bathing at specific locations while traveling to or from Crater Lake.

As part of this cleansing process, a number of interviewees discussed the importance of “smudging” before visiting sacred places in and around the Crater Lake area. Smudging “puts up a protective shield around you” so that an individual will not be harmed by the power and spirits at a place (42). Ordinarily, smudging involves cleansing oneself with water taken from a sacred place or with smoke from smoldering culturally significant plant materials, such as sage. Sage and other plants are sometimes rubbed over the body as well, and this plant is gathered for this purpose in places considered to be sacred, such as the Lava Beds. Individuals also traditionally engaged in sweat lodge ceremonies as part of this preparation, coupled with ritual bathing - through sweat and bathing, it is suggested, one can expel and wash away physical and spiritual sickness.

Ritual Tests and Struggles

The practices of carrying heavy rocks for cairns, swimming, diving, or plunging into Crater Lake, and sliding dangerously down steep slopes all manifested a belief in the curative powers of intense and strenuous physical strain. These practices were called *shpót_* by tribal members speaking with Gatschet in the 19th century (1890: 84).

As described above, the building of stacks of rock has been a significant part of the vision quest, and often this entailed carrying rock up the mountain. A person who carried particularly heavy rocks or carried rocks for a particularly long distance could enhance the success of their vision quest. Men are rumored to have built up their physical strength before the vision quest or entered a trance-like state that gave them the strength to move such rocks. Thus, some rocks found in old cairns are “so big you can’t see how they were moved there” (34).

Another physical-ritual trial involves swimming in the powerful, dangerous waters of Crater Lake. Interviewees often acknowledged that swimming in the frigid waters of the lake was considered to be a particularly potent source of power, but one that was associated with severe dangers. The waters of Crater Lake were believed to possess unique powers tied to the energies of this place and its Creator. The belief in Llao and other powerful

beings that were said to guard the waters of the Lake added to the fear. Llo and these beings were said to “drag people down” or “eat people” who did not belong there. Only individuals who had undergone extensive religious preparation and were sufficiently powerful to engage or elude these beings were believed to participate in this ritual. This act involved control of fear and acts of physical strength – if one successfully swam in the lake, one had “been accepted” and was a recipient of distinctive powers or knowledge. “People swam in the lake as a test of their power” (36). “Some people would jump into the water at night to make themselves stronger”(42). Individuals who succeeded in this ritual became particularly powerful shamans or leaders. A small number of interviewees for this study mentioned people attempting to swim to Wizard Island, which may have been related to these ritual swims.



Wizard Island, as seen from the southern edge of the Crater Lake caldera. The extreme cold of the water, coupled with the powers and spirits said to inhabit the lake, made for a treacherous swim. People who swam there successfully were said to obtain unique powers. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

Tribal members recalled stories of a number of individuals who had obtained powers by diving into the lake from high promontories. Marilyn Hall, for example, recounted a story of a man called Ma-gái who obtained

powers from dives into the lake followed by swimming.³⁴ Some young people reported diving into the water and awaking later to find themselves some distance away from the water, bleeding from the mouth. Occasionally, they would awake to find objects in their hands inexplicably, such as small pieces of gold (23). Others reported being overwhelmed by fear and unable to move, but being lifted up to the surface and carried back to shore by an unseen being or power.

An important variant of this ritual act was the “plunge” into the Crater Lake. Men started near the top of the caldera and sprinted down talus slopes to dive headlong into the Lake. It is said that “you can still see where people did this” as the areas are exposed and rocky (07). Places with continuous talus slopes, such as the “Wineglass” and other slopes along Cleetwood Cove were said to have been used for this purpose. At least one tribal member attempted this on horseback, though it is not clear whether this was a ritual act.

Similarly, tribal members used to slide down the slopes of Mount Scott, the Watchman slide, and perhaps other steep slopes as part of a ritual effort to control fear. Most commonly, people spoke of Mount Scott - as part of the vision quest, people slid down the western face of this mountain at high speeds, sometimes while riding atop flat rocks over the snow or exposed rocks. A smaller number of individuals indicated that this was done on the eastern side of the mountain as well. An individual who was able to do this demonstrated their control of fear and if uninjured in the process acquired or validated powers that added to the success of their vision quest at Crater Lake. A number of tribal interviewees for this study report that they slid down the sides of Mount Scott as boys or young men. Some did this with rocks, others without. Christianity and other introduced values were said to have “changed the way people deal with these things”: while some ritual aspects of this practice no longer persisted and the activity was in part recreational, boys were still guided by a sense that this was a traditional cultural activity and that it demonstrated their strength and capacity to overcome fear (47).

Some tribal interviewees described a traditional ritual test that involved a conflation of the practices outlined above. In this case, individuals who had undergone extensive ritual preparation slid or ran down the interior wall of the caldera, landing in the waters of the lake. This too was considered a source of great danger and power, and only individuals who were suitably prepared and “were able to control their mind...their fear” were able to survive this act. Mairs, Winthrop and Winthrop (1994: 70-71) also report people running down the western interior wall of the caldera.

DANGER AND AVOIDANCE AT CRATER LAKE

Many popular and academic anthropological accounts might lead one to conclude that Crater Lake was not used at all by tribal members:

“The natives avoid going near the lake or even ascending the surrounding heights”
(Gatschet 1890: xcix).

Tribal interviewees expressed considerable frustration with depictions of their ancestors as uniformly “fearing the lake.” Clearly, the ethnographic evidence suggests a much more complex picture. This depiction is rooted both in anthropological fact and popular fiction. True, to this day, a number of tribal members “don’t go to Crater Lake...because it is so powerful” (23). Many others, however, view Crater Lake as essential to their religious practices. While the spectrum of tribal society using Crater Lake in this way has arguably expanded to include people other than leaders and highly trained religious specialists, this dualistic pattern of usage of the area continues and manifests longstanding cultural practices.

William Steel is perhaps responsible for many of these claims regarding “fear of the lake.” “Steel is the authority for the statement that previous to 1886 no modern Indian had looked upon its waters” (Yard 1919: 197). Steel included accounts of lake avoidance in a number of writings after noting that most of the Klamaths he recruited to help pack materials into the Crater Lake area refused to ascend to the caldera rim or look upon the lake. Such actions were consistent with the taboos associated with the lake among most Klamaths as outlined in the pages above. Yet Steel and others appear to have interpreted this response in general terms, as a manifestation of the views and practices of all Indians rather than merely a subset of the tribal population – that subset, incidentally, that was more typically involved in work of this kind for non-Indians. Some interviewees take a conspiratorial view of writings on this topic by Steel and others, suggesting that it was not just Eurocentric bias, but a strong desire to dismiss competing claims to Crater Lake, that shaped these accounts of tribal avoidance of the lake.

It is important to note that similar claims have been made regarding dramatic geological features within other national parks, such as Yellowstone. In that park, the geysers appear to have been a source of reverent awe to tribes of the region, but were interpreted as a source of dread and avoidance by early chroniclers and, in turn, by NPS staff giving interpretive programs (Weixelman 2001).

Tribal interviewees counter these claims, noting that, while Crater Lake was visited by traditional religious practitioners and leaders historically, common people “avoided the lake due the belief in spirits there” (21).

“Crater Lake was not a gathering place for everybody. Only the most powerful people with training went there” (40).

These spirits protected the sanctity of the place and ensured the swift and severe punishment of behavior that violated religious protocols. Stories of these spirit guardians appear frequently in tribal members’ accounts of Crater Lake and were the focus of many “scary stories” heard during their childhood of attacks, deaths, and near-death experiences of those who ventured into the area carelessly.

Spirit Guardians

A number of spirit beings were said to inhabit the Crater Lake area to monitor human activity and punish the violation of taboos. These beings were especially important in tribal members’ discussions of traditional avoidance of the lake by those who “were not prepared.” As indicated earlier, Llao and a number of smaller creatures of similar design were said to inhabit Crater Lake and attack individuals who behaved in a manner that was inappropriate for Crater Lake, knocking them off the caldera rim or pulling them into the water. A number of tribal interviewees for this study indicated a belief in the continued presence of powerful beings that still dwell in the lake. Some interpret these beings to be manifestations of Llao, who is said to sometimes strike out to protect the solemnity of this sacred place:

“my grandma believed that it was no accident when people died at Crater Lake by falling [in the caldera] or drowning – if you go there and play around on the rim things will come out of the lake and grab you and pull you off” (42).

Historic sightings of large creatures in the lake were also commonplace. People are said to have been walking along the caldera in the last century and seen what appear to be large fish in the lake; in light of the height of the caldera, these creatures were inferred to be huge.³⁵

Some interviewees express the sentiment that Crater Lake has always a frightening place for them, personally. Many tribal members’ grandparents said that it was dangerous to go there “because of all the spirits -- it was powerful, too powerful for ordinary people” (42). The spirits, it was said, would chase and devour people, and this was particularly threatening at night. “It’s just like a graveyard -- you don’t go there at night!

You just don't do that" (42). The spirits sometimes take animal form, appearing in the form of a bear or deer, for example. Tribal members note that the animals often "act very strange at Crater Lake," proof, they suggest, of this phenomenon. For example, interviewees reported aggressive deer that have no fear of people or harass other deer, behavior that is said to be unknown among normal deer populations. "The spirits do not want us there at Crater Lake," particularly near the caldera. Interviewees still suggest, in terms that echo the stories of L'ao's minions, that when animals such as deer or bear approach humans in the park, it is said to be the spirits attempting to chase people away.

For this reason, it is sometimes said that "things go wrong every time we go to Crater Lake." Family members get lost, or set up picnics over yellow-jacket nests. One informal interviewee relayed the story of how her family took a picnic to Crater Lake, despite warnings from their family about the dangers of visiting Crater Lake. Her grandmother said that they would have to get out of the area before dark. When the family attempted to leave after the picnic, they became lost in the park; they panicked and could not find their way out after trying multiple routes. (She has been to the park since and expresses wonder at how this could be so under ordinary circumstances as the roads seem very straightforward.) The animals began coming out of the forest – including deer and other animals – and gathered along the roadsides. Her parents and grandmother became very agitated, believing these to be spirits; her grandmother noted that their "bad living" had made them vulnerable and began repeating traditional prayers for their safety. Eventually they found their way out and "they blasted out of there" as fast as they could. The family became convinced that they should not have gone there and, at the very least, should have been gone well before dark. Since this time, the family has avoided Crater Lake altogether (42).

On occasion, however, these spirit beings in animal form might accept a person's presence as valid and impart certain powers. Bears and deer are noted to be particularly abundant in the park and are often the beings that chose to impart such powers.

Interviewees recall their grandparents speaking of gogonas in the Crater Lake area and in the winwas area draining the western edge of the park. These "little people" guarded places with certain kinds of power and were considered extremely dangerous to people who had not undergone proper ritual preparation. They look like normal people, only they are very small; they can be deadly, and various cautionary proscriptions apply: "you should pretend not to see them;" "you shouldn't turn your back on them;" "never

make fun of them.” These beings were said to protect ritual sites, but also dwelled in certain parts of the landscape that were of no particular ritual significance like stumps.

Interviewees varied in their assessment of gogonas, some viewing them as real beings that exist today, some viewing them as real beings that existed only in the past, and some viewing them as beings that were described by elders to keep children from venturing too close to ritual sites and other places of perceived danger. These small beings appear in a number of stories. One popular story among tribal members and non-Indians alike is of a gold discovery just west of Crater Lake. While the man who discovered the mine got rich, bringing home oil buckets full of gold, no other prospector could find the mine. In a version of the story that is widespread among tribal members, this man was able to gain the support of the gogonas ritually; these beings hid his mine, and for this reason it has never been found again.³⁶ It is said that when seeking this mine – called the “Lost Cabin Mine” by some – some have never return, and one must bring three or four people along for protection from these beings when searching for it.

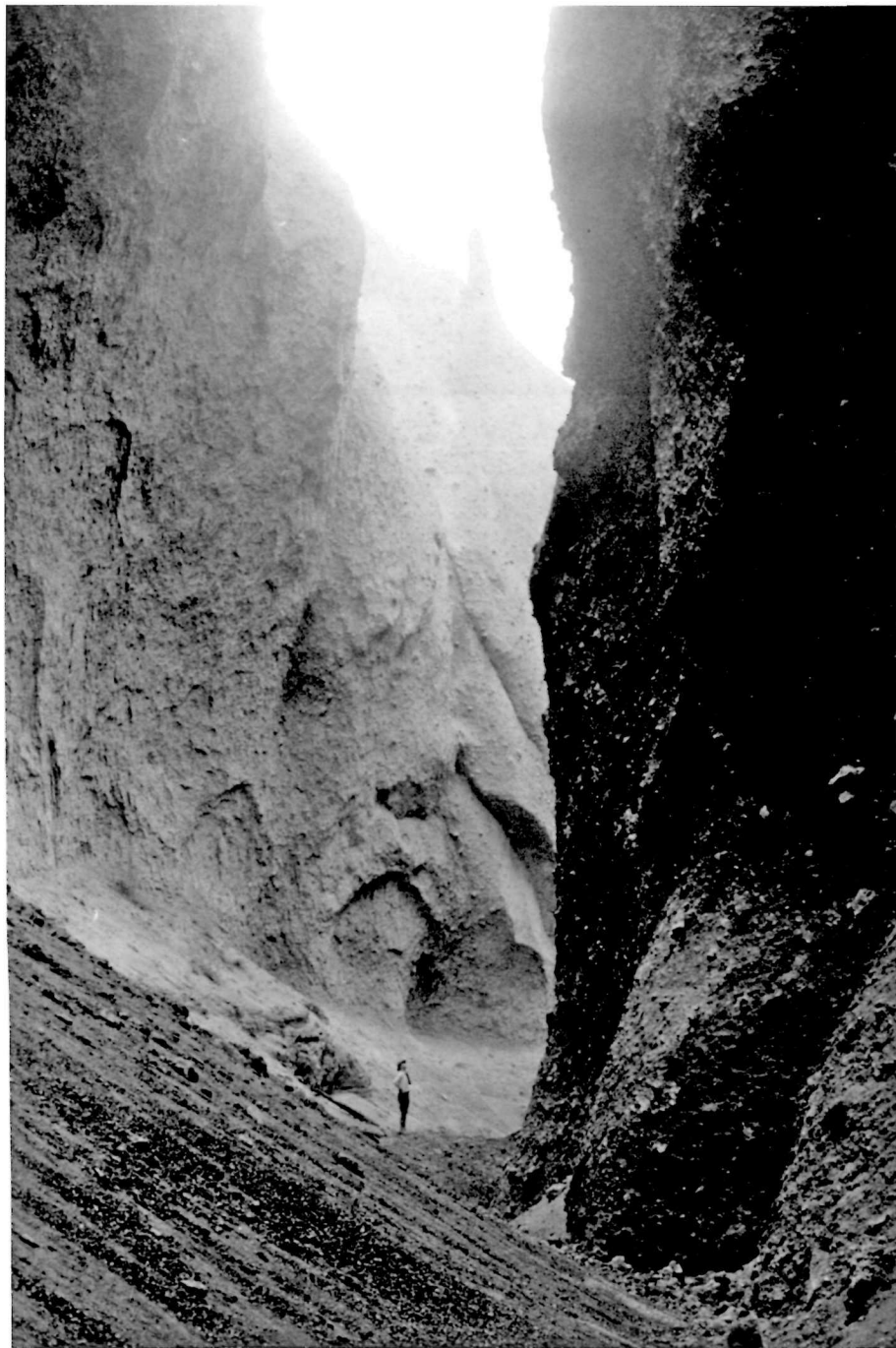
Interviewees for this study indicate that the winwas area consists of the deeply dissected terrain of west-flowing stream drainages; the term Winwas appears to be descriptive of this terrain, some suggesting that the term means “lying stretched out,” others that it implied water flowing through terrain that was “lying stretched out” (R. David 1991). Contemporary interviewees report that Winwas lies in the center of a triangle aligned with Crater Lake, Huckleberry Mountain, and Rabbit Ears at its corners (16, 37). This symmetrical placement of Winwas between the Klamaths’ three most significant physical landmarks west of the Cascade crest may be related to its cosmological distinctiveness, but this point remains unclear.

In addition to the gogonas, Reid David (1991) reported that in the area east of Union Creek and west of Crater Lake,

“There is an old lost cave up in the direction of that trail [passing from Pumice Desert along the eastern edge of winwas]. A long time ago some animals like lions with long manes lived in the bottom of the cave, would attack people.”

A number of interviewees for this study noted that the place was still avoided today because of longstanding taboos.

Llao Rock, which looked like a menacing face from some angles, was also said to house beings who had been punished for their transgressions, such



Llaos Hallway, one of the deeply dissected canyons in the area known as Winwas, as it appeared in 1931. The steep cliffs in these canyons contributed to the dangers of travel in this area. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

as the people mentioned in lake creation stories who killed animals wantonly and were punished as a result. Others indicated that Liao was manifested in this place. This place still possessed a certain kind of power tied to these beings and their punishments and “you have to be careful” near it (16). The area was seen as dangerous due to these powers, but potentially instructive and empowering when visited or seen from afar.

The Klamath and Modoc told a number of stories describing young people who did not believe in the power of Crater Lake or were so curious that they ventured into places that were forbidden: “they didn’t listen” (16). Some of these individuals were turned to stone as they approached the caldera, resulting in peculiar rock formations in portions of the park. The Pinnacles were speculated to be among these formations, but tribal interviewees were not certain of this point. Klamath and Modoc oral tradition abound in references to people being turned to stone for such transgressions:

“Among the birds the most prominent part is assigned to the raven (Kák, Kákamtch), for he is Fate personified, and his office is to punish by death all those who act antagonistically to his or his allies’ interests. This is done by changing them into rocks” (Gatschet 1890: civ).

Regrettably, very few previous anthropological studies among the Klamath and Modoc acknowledged the enduring importance of these places as physical reminders of human failings, nor did earlier anthropologists bother to record the locations of these events. No doubt, if the accounts of contemporary interviewees are any indication, Crater Lake abounded with rock features tied to the misfortunes of individuals who violated traditional taboos.

CREMATION AND BURIALS

A small number of interviewees for this study indicated that human remains were sometimes interred at Crater Lake. As with most ritual activities in the area, Crater Lake was depicted as a rarified place for the interment of human remains, uncommon except for the modest number of shamans and leaders who possessed Crater Lake power. Bellvie Dillstrom’s great-grandmother, Minnie Corbel (1884-1981) discussed how certain people, when they knew they were going to die, ascended to the rim of Crater Lake and prepared for death. This was done in the summertime. When these individuals died, others cremated their remains and left them there:

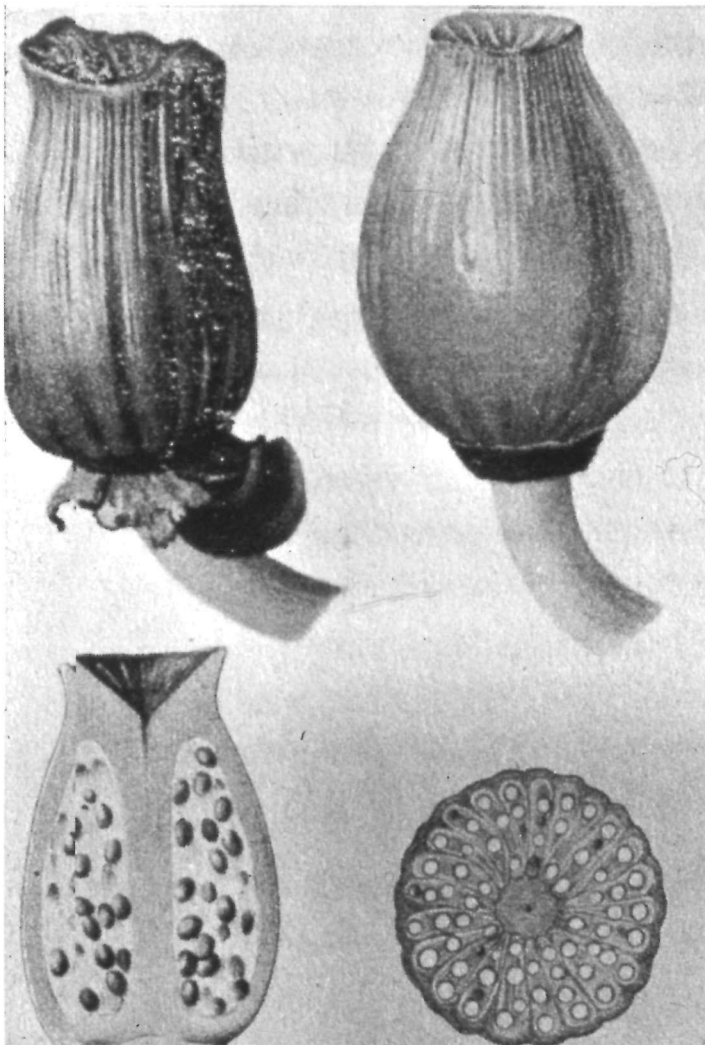
“They cremated people near the top [the rim of Crater Lake]...pushed the ashes into a pit and cover it up...sometimes they put rocks over it” (08).



Devils Backbone, a rugged exposed volcanic dike in the caldera, consisting of numerous spires of jagged rock. Spires of this kind often figure prominently in the oral traditions of park-associated tribes. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

Previous ethnographic accounts also describe the general practice of cremation, which was sometimes followed by the raking of ashes into a hole that is covered with stones (Gatschet 1890: 85).

Some tribal members speculated that burials of uncremated remains were also found in the park, though specific sites were not mentioned. People who died when far from their home villages were sometimes not cremated in the traditional manner, they note, but buried or – less commonly – cremated near such seasonal settlements. Some suggested that burials in this area traditionally were aligned so that the deceased was “facing the sun when it rises.”



Wocus seed has been one of the most important foods traditionally harvested in this region.

Traditional Resource Harvests at Crater Lake



For the Klamaths and Modocs especially, the eastern side of Crater Lake presented a range of resources that were in many ways similar to those found throughout their traditional territories. Ponderosa pine forests and sagebrush scrub that characterized this side of the park resembled similar environments found on the slopes of Yamsay Mountain, the Medicine Lake Highlands, and a number of other high-elevation landmarks. The west side of Crater Lake, however, was distinctive. Here, tribal members found a profusion of plant and animal species that were characteristic of the western Cascade slope and quite different than anything that was known in their relatively arid territories to the east. As a result, the western slopes of Crater Lake, as well as the adjacent Huckleberry Mountain and upper Rogue River areas, were the focus of considerable specialized resource harvests by members of these two tribes. This western slope of the park and immediately adjacent lands, collectively called *wallámskani*, “other side” in Klamath and Modoc, was commonly understood to be a place of rare resource harvesting opportunities (16).³⁷ “All the fruits are over there...and big, fat deer” (22). Huckleberry Mountain, in particular, was a base of operations for resource harvesting activities that involved much of the western – and especially southwestern – portion of the park. Yet even for the Molalas, Takelmas, and others, this region provided distinctive upland resources, most notably the rich huckleberry patches of the sub-alpine zone, that fostered specialized harvest activities within this zone. This abundance of atypical resources enhanced the relative importance of this western slope within the tribal seasonal round as a source of foods, medicines, and other goods, for groups from both sides of the mountains.

Subtle, but internally consistent, differences in the accounts of members of different tribes are suggestive of minor inter-tribal variation in the importance of the resources of the subalpine western slopes of Crater Lake and vicinity. Many Klamath interviewees indicate that the meat, fish, and additional plant foods gathered during summertime treks to the western slopes

of the Cascade Range were in many ways as important as the huckleberries gathered in the Huckleberry Mountain area, in terms of both their significance to their diet and the labor expended in their procurement. Cow Creeks, on the other hand, while reporting the harvest of many “secondary resources” as part of their seasonal trek to Huckleberry Mountain and vicinity, make it clear that huckleberries and social interaction were their primary goals. For the Cow Creeks, much of the harvest of these secondary resources was coincident to the berry picking. Also, the tribes of the western drainages found certain distinctive medicinal plants at this elevation that were not available elsewhere in their territory and were sought out on when ascending the western slopes of the Cascade Range for both ceremonial reasons or for resource procurement.

THE HUCKLEBERRY HARVEST

Huckleberry Mountain is a long ridge running north-south, sitting a short distance west of the boundary of Crater Lake National Park. Among all of the places traditionally visited by park-associated tribes for subsistence purposes, few were as important as Huckleberry Mountain. While “not everybody went to Crater Lake...everyone went to Huckleberry Mountain” (40). Indeed, people typically went “to one [of these two places] or the other – not both” (33). Some even went so far as to quip that, for most ordinary people, Crater Lake was just “a place to go by on the route to Huckleberry Mountain” (36). Even people who are not considered “traditional” have gone there up to the present day. What follows here is a brief synopsis of the functions and importance of the Huckleberry Mountain harvest as it relates to Crater Lake.³⁸

Traditionally, Klamaths, Modocs, Molalas, Upper Umpquas, Takelmas, and others visited this place annually to gather berries, hunt, and socialize. “We all shared the huckleberry patch...all the tribes gathered there”(21). “It was like a whole village up there!” (09). To some of these groups, Huckleberry Mountain served as one of the most important food gathering sites in their world, and the staging ground for hunting, fishing, and gathering activities throughout the upper Rogue River basin. Even conventional anthropological accounts acknowledge the importance of this area:

“Fifteen miles southwest of Crater lake is Huckleberry mountain (iwumk_’ni, huckleberry place) where the Klamath meet the Molala similarly engaged in berry picking...The principal fruit foods [of the Klamaths] are huckleberries, service berries, chokecherries, currants, and wild plums. Huckleberries are gathered in enormous quantities, especially at Huckleberry mountain, southwest of Crater lake, where the Klamath congregate in the third week in August. There are sometimes boiled so that



Life in the Huckleberry Mountain camps, in the late-19th or early 20th century. Families gather with buckets and bags of huckleberries, as well as dressed deer and other products gathered in the vicinity of the camps. Booth Indian and non-Indian families take part in this harvest. *Hescock Family photo*

the liquor may be drunk. Besides the common huckleberry, a low variety of the mountain slopes is eaten fresh or dry” (Spier 1930: 9, 165).

“Lots of tribes used to meet there and trade...people from all over: the Rogue, Umpqua, Molala...Indians from all over, even the tribes from northern California” (19). Trails radiated out in multiple directions from this important gathering area.

Klamaths, in particular, consistently report that the black mountain huckleberry (*Vaccinium membranaceum*) was the primary goal of their harvest. These berries grow in dense concentrations on the forest floor and, in productive patches, several hours’ worth of picking could be found within areas of only a few tens of meters square. Simultaneously, the swamp huckleberry (*Vaccinium occidentale*) and dwarf blueberry (*Vaccinium caespitosum*), with their small but sweet berries, appear to have been gathered opportunistically in association with the harvest of black huckleberries and other, more abundant resources. Broom huckleberry (*Vaccinium scoparium*), with its tiny, seedy berry, was gathered in modest quantities and, with their diminutive size and abundant seeds, appears to have been viewed as much as an edible

seed as a berry. When found along riparian areas in the vicinity of Huckleberry Mountain, red huckleberry (*Vaccinium parvifolium*) was also gathered. Together, these berries represented a significant component of their traditional diet, and that in excess of 1,000 people gathered there simultaneously each summer to pick berries annually through much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. “Swamp berries” were also gathered in the area; women placed mats below these bushes and hit the bushes with sticks to gather them (16). Tribal elders of the mid-twentieth century had a nuanced appreciation of the flavor of different huckleberries and claimed that they could differentiate between the flavors of huckleberries of the same species picked in different locations. While the harvest centered on Huckleberry Mountain, tribal interviewees consistently reported that berry patches “on the other side of Union Creek,” and therefore in the park, were regularly visited during the summertime harvest (09, 41, 03).



The tasty, sweet berries of the black or mountain huckleberry (*Vaccinium membranaceum*) have been the traditional focus of the huckleberry harvest at Huckleberry Mountain. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

The social gatherings carried out as part of the annual huckleberry harvest were important events, with multi-tribal dances, races, and gambling contests. These gatherings facilitated extensive social interaction and kin networks between the tribes that used this area. The continued kinship ties between park-associated tribes such as the Cow Creek Umpqua and the Klamath are attributable in no small part to the social bonds forged during the huckleberry harvest.

Arriving as the snow melted from the subalpine zone, families stayed at Huckleberry Mountain for up to three months at a time. Klamaths report that they were “able to tell when the snows were off of Huckleberry” by

observing the snow level on mountainsides visible from the floor of the Klamath Basin (07). As soon as the snow had melted off these mountains to a suitable elevation, families packed up and left the Klamath Basin for Huckleberry Mountain. Cow Creek interviewees reported similar techniques of determining when to make the ascent to Huckleberry Mountain, even though their view of the high slopes of the Cascade Range were obscured by lower peaks. Instead, they watched for the presence of a particular type of white moth that appeared in large numbers high in the trees near their homes; “when this happened, they knew that the huckleberries would be ready soon, and it was time to go” (21).

So important was this event in the seasonal activities of area tribes that the Klamath referred to this time of year as *í-umämi* or “huckleberry time” (Gatschet 1890: 75).⁴⁰ Women traditionally gathered huckleberries and other plant materials along the top of the plateau, aided by children and the elderly, while men fanned out to more distant sites to fish for salmon and trout, and to hunt for elk, deer, bear, and a host of other animals. Individual families claimed specific campsites, to which they returned year after year, and held rights to the use of certain berry gathering sites. Families always returned to the same camp and maintained first rights of use on adjacent berry patches. When speaking of the clearings in which their campsites sat families commonly said “this is our house” (07). Fire and other methods were employed to enhance the natural productivity of huckleberries. A complex system of permanent trails connected Huckleberry Mountain to the villages of these tribes in the basins below.

Berries were traditionally gathered together at campsites and dried. Drying facilitated both transportation and storage of berries, so that they could be brought to settlements in the basins below and used throughout the year. Some elders suggest that the berries could be pulverized before drying, and sometimes mixed with other ingredients, producing a “pemmican” or “fruit leather.” One Klamath variant on pemmican involved a mixture of deer fat, wocus seeds from the Klamath basin marshes, and huckleberries; another mixture included huckleberries, sun-dried chwaum (sucker fish), and pulverized roots (possibly *epos* – *Carex oregonum*) (16). Clearly, foods from different ecological zones were combined together to produce these pemmican mixtures. Still, there are reports of whole berries being dried with little prior processing – they were simply placed atop grass or a tarp and stirred occasionally to ensure even drying. Fires were sometimes used to accelerate drying, particularly in the late summer as temperatures decreased. Still, interviewees note that often only sunlight and a light breeze were required in the area’s ridgetop meadows to dry berries.

A number of changes that have reshaped tribal life in southern Oregon and northern California - such as changes in the land, in available technologies, in tribal societies, and tribal economies - have reshaped these resource use patterns. The introduction of the horse, wagon, and ultimately the automobile reduced the time required to travel to and from Huckleberry Mountain while also increasing the dietary importance of the site to more distant tribes. The integration of the southern Molala into the Klamath Tribes enhanced the utilization of western Cascade resources among the high desert Klamaths and Modocs. Dietary, economic, demographic, and cultural changes emanating from contact with the white world slowly diminished tribal dependence upon the resources of Huckleberry Mountain. Fire suppression and modern land management practices reduced the productivity of berry patches. Despite these changes, Huckleberry Mountain has maintained profound significance among the tribes of southwestern Oregon. In addition to being the site of continuing, supplementary resource harvests today, Huckleberry Mountain has become a symbolically charged locus of tribal identity. The mountain serves as a refuge for certain traditional practices, and a place to which families still bring children to teach them what it means to be Indian. While past United States Forest Service policies have created barriers to the continuation of traditional uses at Huckleberry Mountain, certain opportunities exist for cooperation between the USFS and tribes to protect the distinctive resources of this place and to foster continued tribal use into the foreseeable future.⁴¹

Prior to a detailed discussion of resource harvests at Huckleberry Mountain, and within Crater Lake National Park as a whole, it is worth mentioning how both history and topography have combined to shape Klamath perceptions of the geography of the western Cascade slope. Huckleberry Mountain is commonly described as if it is the tribe's principal "outpost" on the west side of the Cascade Range, to a people whose primary territory and lifeways are situated in the high-altitude arid lands east of the Cascades. Indeed, for the Klamath Tribes' members of Molala descent, it is more of a "final foothold" in the lands and resources of the western slope. Its significance, therefore, is not limited to huckleberry procurement, nor are its perceived geographic limits set by the neatly-defined physiographic bounds of that geologic feature which we term "Huckleberry Mountain," proper.

When asked about what the trip to Huckleberry Mountain traditionally involved, most Klamaths mention picking berries on the mountain by that name, of course. However, they also mention other activities that seem strangely out of place to anyone not privy to this facet of the Klamath world-view: hunting as far away as Rabbit Ears (roughly 10 miles north-northeast

of Huckleberry Mountain), fishing as far away as Trail (almost 30 miles to the southwest) plant gathering along Union Creek, Thousand Springs, and Union Peak (over five miles away). To the Klamaths, these activities, many of which occurred inside the modern-day park boundaries, are inseparable components of what it meant (and still means) to visit “Huckleberry Mountain.” Certainly the Huckleberry Mountain area served as the base of operations for resource procurement within the southwestern portion of the park, and the products from these harvests were taken back to Huckleberry Mountain for processing, which partially explains this perception.

However, “Huckleberry Mountain” was perceived as something larger than the mountain itself. To the Klamath, this name denotes a place at the geographic and social center of all resource procurement activities west of the Cascade crest. Huckleberry Mountain was the outpost where the campsites were concentrated, serving as the base of operations for the utilization of a much larger resource hinterland. These campsites provided a foothold west of the Cascades, for women’s activities on the mountain, and for men’s activities within a much larger area that nonetheless situated Huckleberry Mountain at its core. The campsites thus sat at the center of a diffuse and rich constellation of resource-procurement sites expanding outward from the northern side of the mountain’s ridge. The core of this constellation, its nucleus, was situated on Huckleberry Mountain proper and was largely defined by feminine tasks, such as berry gathering. The periphery, diffusely situated on the outer edges of Huckleberry Mountain and expanding some distance into the surrounding terrain, was largely masculine space, places used for hunting and fishing. While this summary focuses primarily on the harvest and processing of resources at Huckleberry Mountain proper, it is important to understand how this site related to a much larger geography of traditional use of which the mountain was only a small, albeit very important, part.

A number of contemporary tribal members recall Alice Hamilton, born “Alice Allen” in 1882. Alice was remembered fondly by many as “really quite a fantastic person,” who looked after the people and the animals of Huckleberry Mountain (10). She arrived in spring as the snow melted, well before the huckleberries were ripe, and departed in the fall as the snow began to fall again, long after the huckleberries were gone. During the rest of the year, she resided in the Klamath Falls area. A number of families gravitated to “Alice’s Camp” and spent the summer living alongside her tents. “It was the most permanent looking campsite....no other campsite looked like it” (10). During her stays at Huckleberry Mountain, she kept people entertained, playing music and organizing dancing and other social

events. She played fiddle and sold huckleberries to visitors in five-gallon coal oil cans. Interviewees commented on how Alice Hamilton continued to visit Huckleberry Mountain until she was quite elderly, and “went there as long as she could walk” (10).

In addition to Huckleberry Mountain, some interviewees recalled extensive use of the Huckleberry Gap and Rabbit Ears area, at the divide between the Rogue and Umpqua drainages. Both Cow Creek and Klamath interviewees reported use of this area for hunting and berry picking. Historically, the Molala, Upper Umpqua, and Takelma-speaking peoples of the South Umpqua and Cow Creek basins most intensively used these hunting and berrying grounds. Klamaths sometimes also harvested there. Interviewees for this study indicated that the Huckleberry Gap area was used in much the same way as Huckleberry Mountain, but Klamath interviewees believed that the gatherings there were smaller and involved fewer tribes. Tribal members from Cow Creek still use this area extensively, and the site has been determined to be eligible for listing as a traditional cultural property by the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office. Another significant berry gathering area was found on the side of Red Blanket Mountain (CK, 06).

While tenure on individual campsites and picking areas was of importance to the Klamaths, some interviewees for this study noted that similar picking areas to the north, including patches on the slopes of Mount Hood and Mount Adams, were subject to even more rigid systems of tenure. This observation is compatible with general patterns of resource tenure within the region, which demonstrate increasingly structured and hierarchical patterns of resource tenure as one moves northward into the lower Columbia Basin and beyond.

Prior to the advent of automotive travel, if the picking had been particularly good and adequate food was gathered in under two months, people sometimes completed their harvests early and traveled to Diamond Lake for a brief visit before the snows arrived. A trail linked Diamond Lake with the main trail passing through the Pumice Desert or “Antelope Prairie” area, connecting Klamath Marsh with Huckleberry Mountain and other areas west of the park. The Diamond Lake area was hunted occasionally. Regular campsites were maintained at Diamond Lake, and they were accessed by a branch of the trail that passed north of Crater Lake between Huckleberry Mountain and Klamath Marsh. Oral tradition suggests that this was considered a particularly enjoyable experience; food gathering was largely completed for the year and people were free, if only briefly, to recreate.



Families with ties to Crater Lake also report harvesting berries with friends at some of the numerous berry picking sites elsewhere in the Cascade Range. Here we see a huckleberry picker at Mt. Adams, Washington. *USDA Forest Service photo*

Anthropologists such as Nash (1937) have concluded that these multi-tribal social and ceremonial gatherings were essential in forging social bonds and expunging old grievances among the Klamath, Modoc, Yahooskin and other tribal families of the Klamath Reservation in a manner that was necessary for the successful cohabitation and ultimate integration of the Reservation's multi-tribal population. Such events were particularly important in the successful incorporation of the Yahooskins into the general reservation population. See, for example, Voegelin (1955-56) for an overview of the difficulties of Yahooskin and Paiute integration into the Klamath Tribes.

Interviewees indicated that the extent of the traditional berry picking areas on this side of the park was limited only by the distribution of berries. Accordingly, the historical presence of berry patches is said to provide reasonable confidence of traditional berry harvesting sites in that location.

In recent years, tribal members report decreasing berry productivity and increased competition for berries. The decline in berry productivity is tied to fire suppression on both NPS and USFS lands, as well as extensive logging and free-range cattle grazing on National Forest lands just west of the park. Clearly, these changes in land management have impacted traditional berry harvests on lands managed by both agencies. Accounts of increased competition are somewhat more difficult to quantify. Interviewees indicate

that, initially, non-Indians were respectful of tribal use and tenure – “They were very curious, would ask directions to berries, ask if trespassing on [your] territory” (R. David 1991). Later, some suggest, picking on families’ traditional berry patches by non-Indians became common. In recent years, commercial harvesters operating without USFS permits are said to have picked berries from many of the patches still used by tribal members.

OTHER PLANT GATHERING TRADITIONS

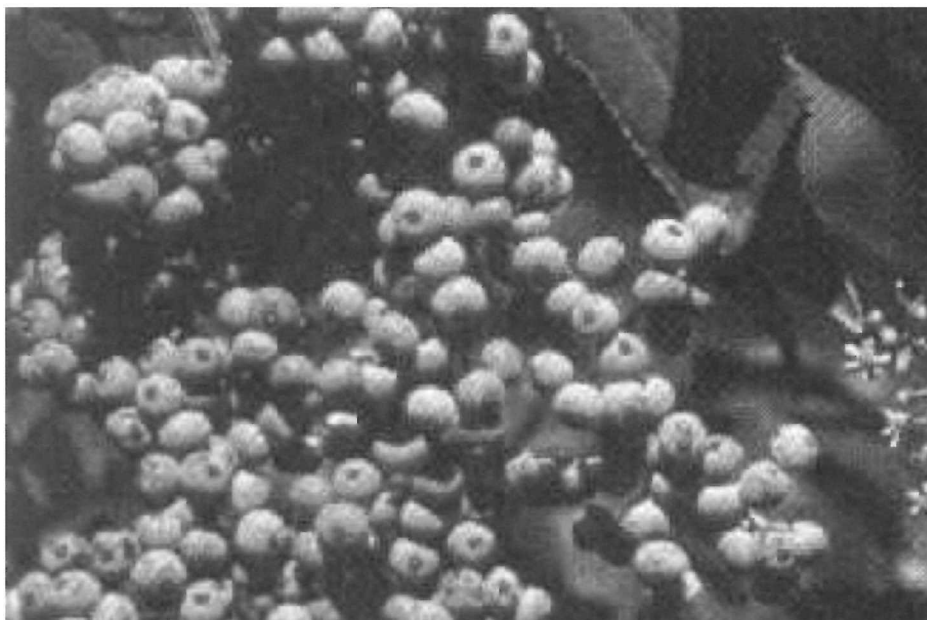
Many distinctive plant resources of the park’s southwestern flank were available from base camps at Huckleberry Mountain and vicinity. In addition to the five species of huckleberries identified so far, contemporary tribal interviewees and their ancestors gathered a number of other berries. Berries gathered on the western slopes of Crater Lake and at Huckleberry Mountain include wild strawberry (*Fragaria* spp.), evergreen blackberry (*Rubus laciniatus*), black twinberry (*Lonicera involucrata*), currants (*Ribes* spp.), blue elderberry (*Sambucus cerulea*) and red elderberry (*Sambucus racemosa*), thimbleberry (*Rubus parviflorus*), wild rose hips (*Rosa* spp.), Western chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), bitter cherry (*Prunus emarginata*), manzanita berry (*Arctostaphylos* spp.) and serviceberry (*Amelanchier* spp.).⁴² These berries were noted to be particularly abundant near springs and streams in this area. Many of these berries were eaten fresh, but most were also preserved for later use; historically, these berries were dried in sunny clearings or near fires, but were preserved using canning technologies starting in the late nineteenth century. Tribal members also sometimes gathered Oregon grape (*Mahonia nervosa*) berries, and often used the roots of this plant to produce a yellow dye for baskets, clothing, and ceremonial regalia.

The Union Creek drainage was said to be a good picking area for many of these berries, including the Thousand Springs area. Whiskey Creek, just outside of the park, was said to have been a unique berry-gathering area, moist and verdant, which was regularly visited for blackberries and thimbleberries. It “was one of the only places [in Klamath territory] where you could find blackberries” (37). Some families used to camp at this site when traveling to and from Huckleberry Mountain and other resource procurement areas along the western edge of the park. Small but productive blackberry picking areas were reported to be found intermittently along the western edge of the park “all along there...between Union Peak and Diamond Lake” (20). Many of these are said to be gone now, in part due to changes in management on both NPS and USFS lands.



Tribal members have traditionally gathered a number of different berries in and around Crater Lake National Park, including wild currants or “gooseberries” (*Ribes* spp.). *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

Interviewees note that many of these berry plants had multiple uses. Wild rose hips, stems and roots were used in poultices and other medicines, for example, while its stems were used for arrow shafts, cradle boards, and other manufactured items. Manzanita leaves were smoked like tobacco, and later mixed with tobacco acquired through trade or purchase. Blue elderberry stems were used as straws, and the plant was a source of multiple dyes – purple dye was made of its berries, black dye was made of its roots, and green dye was made of its leaves. The serviceberry stem was a favorite wood for arrow shafts, and the plant was of both utilitarian and religious significance to the Klamaths, whose oral traditions suggested that Gmukamps the Creator had molded the first people from the purplish-brown berries of this plant, which creates stains the color of human skin.⁴³ Most of these berries grew in the moist meadows at Huckleberry Mountain, or in the wet meadows associated with springs, seeps, or riparian areas nearby.⁴⁴ The Thousand Springs area was among these meadow environments. Interviewees reported several wet meadows were visited while traveling to and from Huckleberry Mountain, including the Thousand Springs area, and possibly Sphagnum Bog.



Blue elderberry is among the many useful plants reportedly gathered at both Crater Lake and Lava Beds. The berries are edible and could be used for a blue dye. The hollow stem could be used for container or flutes, while the leaves could serve as a green dye. The plant has had various medicinal uses as well. *Follette and Follette 1992 – USDA-NRCS PLANTS Database*

A number of other plant materials, many of them rare in the basins below, were traditionally gathered in this zone. Where available, the nuts and shoots of the Pacific hazel (*Corylus cornuta californica*) were gathered; thenuts are edible, while the springy shoots can be used in basketry and other traditional crafts. Cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum*) was gathered in wet areas and its stalks sometimes used as food, either raw or boiled. Children also used the young stalks of these plants as “pea shooters” when camping in the Huckleberry Mountain area and stopover points within the park, using mountain ash berries (*Sorbus sitchensis*) and other readily available berries as the “peas.”⁴⁵ Sapir (1907: 273) also notes the use of the hollow stalks of this plant by the Takelma for the creation of flutes, and interviewees recall mention of this plant’s stalk for these purposes as well as a holder for beads and other small objects. Skunk cabbage (*Lysichiton americanum*) was sometimes found along the western edge of the park and children fashioned the stems and leaves into playthings; some speculated that these leaves may have been used as temporary mats for cooking and food drying.

Camas bulbs (*Camassia quamash* and *C. leichtlinii*) were gathered in modest quantities as part of the summertime trek to and from Huckleberry



While the hollow stalk of the cow parsnip is edible, it has also been popular as a “pea shooter” for children camped at Huckleberry Mountain. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

Mountain in moist meadows such as at Thousand Springs. Camas ovens have not been reported archaeologically within the study area, but it is possible that camas was among the plant foods dried in the sun or beside fires in the meadows associated with campsites at Huckleberry Mountain. A number of other unidentified plants with edible bulbs were mentioned. These included what appear to be other liliaceous species such as brodiaea lilies.

Black tree lichen (*Bryoria fremontii*) was also gathered as part of the Huckleberry Mountain trek. Gathered from tree branches in the area’s meadow-edge forests, this lichen provided an important supplemental food source. Lichen was roasted in pit-ovens similar to those used for camas processing, and were sometimes boiled into a gruel. This lichen could also be used as a poultice, and some lichen gathered along the western edge of the park and at Huckleberry Mountain appears to have been brought back to winter villages for year-round use.

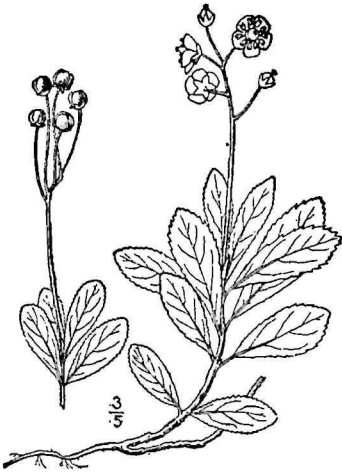
“Prince’s pine” (*Chimaphila umbellata*) grows in abundance on the forest floor in the western portion of the park and the Huckleberry Mountain area, and was regularly collected in large numbers as a medicinal plant.



The edible bulbs of camas (*Camassia* spp.) were a staple food for many tribes of western Oregon. While the Klamath and Modoc did not use camas as a staple, tribal members report that it was considered a special treat and was gathered in those few parts of their territory where it was found, such as in moist meadows on the western edge of Crater Lake National Park. *Follette and Follette 1992 – USDA-NRCS PLANTS Database*

Prince’s pine leaves and stalks were gathered each year during the annual trek to and from Huckleberry Mountain. Together, the western slopes of Crater Lake and the Huckleberry Mountain area constituted the most important gathering area for this plant in Klamath territory, although other minor gathering areas were found at such places as Saddle Mountain and Spodue Mountain. The close association between this plant and mountainous places of religious importance no doubt contributed to its significance among traditionalists. Prince’s pine is still sometimes gathered along the park’s western boundary.

The diminutive Prince’s pine plant was very important within the traditional Klamath/Modoc pharmacopoeia, as it was among many other tribes of the Northwest.⁴⁶ The plant’s leaves and leaf stalks are used primarily to brew medicinal teas and tonics, which were a cornerstone of traditional Klamath and Modoc healing traditions. The roots are sometimes used in medicine. Some contemporary elders recall parents and grandparents making them drink a strong cup of prince’s pine tea as an immunity-boosting tonic in both the spring and the fall; others report almost exclusive wintertime use. A person who drinks this tea regularly is said to have fewer bouts with colds, influenza, and other diseases. This tea is also brewed and drunk after the onset of specific ailments, such as colds, influenza, respiratory infection, and back troubles, and is said to lessen the duration and severity of these ailments. The tea is said to be “good for the blood” and when used regu-



A botanical illustration of Prince's pine, one of the important medicinal plants traditionally gathered at Huckleberry Mountain and Crater Lake. *USDA-NRCS PLANTS Database - Brinnon and Brown 1913: 672.*

larly it is said to accelerate the healing of wounds. With a flavor reminiscent of Chinese black tea, Prince's pine tea is considered palatable by most of the tribal members who recall drinking it. For some elders, the flavor is a powerful reminder of childhood. This tea continues to be consumed as a health beverage (23).

A type of "wild garlic" (probably *Allium* spp.) was said to have been gathered in the park and used to repel dangerous animals, especially bears. In places where these animals were a nuisance, such as at Huckleberry Mountain, this wild garlic was used as part of a medicine bundle that was worn from a string encircling the neck. Other plants, such as valerian, were gathered in the area, and were known to attract certain animals.

Interviewees recall that these plants were often used to draw game when hunting, but could not recall the identity of most of these plants. A number of other plant species were harvested and used somewhat less intensively. While reeds, sedges, rushes, bullrushes, and other grass-like plants were widespread in valleys far from the park, they were also found in the riparian, wetland, and lakeshore environments of the park. Taken from these places in the park, these species were used as needed to construct or repair baskets, mats, and other items – especially those items used in berry harvesting, processing, and transport. "Reeds" from the area were used for temporary cords and other purposes (12). Some interviewees suggested that their ancestors formerly gathered basketry materials in the park, including sedges (*Carex* spp.) and beargrass (*Xerophyllum tenax*), but did not mention the gathering of these plants within the park in living memory. Grass-

like basketry plants are particularly abundant on the western edge of the park, associated with high-elevation meadows and seeps, while the only known concentration of beargrass in the park also sits in this area. A few interviewees mentioned traditionally gathering vine maple (*Acer circinatum*) during the Huckleberry Mountain trek, probably in nearby riparian areas, for the construction of household implements. Stinging nettle (*Urtica dioica*) was gathered where available for the manufacture of twine and medicines.

The sap of certain trees was also reportedly gathered on the western slopes of Crater Lake. Although the species of tree remains ambiguous; both firs (*Abies* spp.) and spruces (*Picea* spp.) are likely candidates. Sap could serve as a part of medicinal preparations as well as serving as a waterproofing sealant for baskets and other manufactured items. Importantly for the harvest of berries at Huckleberry Mountain and other productive berrying sites, sap was placed on bee stings obtained while picking: “that old pitch is good business!” (22).

Interviewees reported that a wide variety of other plant materials were gathered as part of their summertime visit to the park’s western edge and the adjacent Union Creek/Huckleberry Mountain area. However, interviewees frequently mentioned a category of plant or of plant use without being able to clearly recall the species name or other details. This was particularly true when the plant uses described had been eclipsed long ago by introduced, commercially-available products and modern technologies. On the basis of interviewees’ accounts regarding plant use as well as the documented suite of resources on the western edge of the park, it is reasonable to conclude that the following plant materials were gathered somewhere in the area: white fir (*Abies concolor*) bark for tanning hides; mountain alder (*Alnus incana*) and wolf lichen (*Letharia vulpina*) for dyes; Iris (*Iris* spp.) water hemlock (*Cicuta douglassii*) for poisoning arrowheads; mint (*Mentha* spp.) and yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*) for medicinal preparations; miner’s lettuce (*Claytonia perfoliata*) for its edible leaves; dock (*Rumex paucifolius*) for its edible seeds; wild onion (*Allium* spp.) and possibly brodiaea lilies (*Brodiea* spp.) for their edible bulbs and medicinal properties; horsetail (*Equisetum* spp.) for scouring and sanding; yew (*Taxus brevifolia*) for the construction of bows and staves and willow (*Salix* spp.) for a variety of construction purposes. This is not a comprehensive list of all plants traditionally gathered on the western slopes of Crater Lake and in the adjacent Union Creek and Huckleberry Mountain areas.⁴⁷

While ethnographic references to these uses of Huckleberry Mountain plants were ambiguous, all of these plant uses have been documented among Klamath interviewees in past ethnographic interviews, conducted both for this study and others. Plant harvests in other portions of the park tended to focus on resources that were either convenient for opportunistic utilization during trips taken through the park or were sufficiently distinctive and geographically concentrated to warrant specialized harvesting.

Chokecherries were said to be picked along the southern edge of the park. Families with historic ties to the Wood River Valley often visited these gathering areas when traveling to Huckleberry Mountain, but the location of these areas was said to be sufficiently convenient to warrant berry picking trips from communities within the Wood River basin and along the lower Williamson River. Tribal members gathered gooseberries or “wild currants” (*Ribes* spp.) in large quantities within the park, especially by individuals traveling along trails following riparian corridors. These berries were not reported to be of such importance within the park that individuals traveled there to pick, but instead these berries were picked opportunistically by people passing through the area. During years when harvests were poor at Huckleberry Mountain, these berries were picked in larger numbers by Klamaths during their return trip to the Klamath Basin in late summer. In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, women canned these berries and gooseberry pies became a standard holiday food in some families. Gooseberries are still gathered by tribal members today, and gooseberry pies have not lost their appeal.

Elderberries (*Sambucus* spp.) were also gathered widely within the park, especially in riparian areas. Blackberries, thimbleberries, wild strawberries, and other wild berries were not generally widespread in the park outside of the southwestern quarter, but were picked where available. Bracken fern (*Pteridium aquilinum*), too, was reportedly gathered in some portions of the park beyond the western edge, especially in riparian areas, but interviewees were not clear on the full range of its uses traditionally. Fronds were sometimes spread on the ground to create mats and clean surfaces for food preparation tasks or bedding. The fiddleheads may have been eaten. Some interviewees for this study indicated that epos (*Carex oregonum*) had been dug in the lower-elevation, eastern portions of the park historically, but little memory of this practice remains.

Ponderosa pine trees (*Pinus ponderosa*) in and around the park were used for the production of both food and medicine. Medicine was the most common use mentioned by interviewees:

“My family called those big ponderosas “medicine trees”...their sap was used for all sorts of medicines. People used to put it on wounds or chew it...They used to gather that sap on the western edge of the Reservation and into the park...especially when they went to Huckleberry Mountain” (07).

Accordingly, Gatschet (1890: xxiii) recorded references to Klamath medicinal uses of the “pitch-pine tree” in this area, an apparent reference to ponderosa pines. Some interviewees for this study recalled that their ancestors formerly cut their hair and rubbed pine sap over their hair following the death of a loved one – when the sap was finally gone from one’s hair, the period of mourning was over. Some ponderosa pines drip large amounts of sap, due to insect infestations and other natural causes, and trees such as these appear to have been sought out for the gathering of medicinal sap. In other cases, tribal members removed sections of bark to enhance the flow of sap. Ponderosa pine nuts were sometimes gathered and eaten in this area as well, and some families continue to gather pine nuts outside of the park. The cambium layer of ponderosa pine was sometimes eaten as a “starvation food” during times of poor resource harvests. While pine cambium was typically peeled from trees close to winter villages along the lakes, rivers, and marshes of the Klamath Basin (and therefore outside of the park) it was also gathered at the end of the late summertime in anticipation of winter hardships as people traveled back to winter villages from distant resource procurement sites. The ponderosa pine forest on the southern and eastern sides of the park provided the first opportunity for cambium gathering for groups returning from Huckleberry Mountain and the upper Rogue River, and were said to be used for cambium peeling if resource harvests had not been particularly successful. Trees adjacent to known trail networks between the upper Klamath Basin and the upper Rogue Basin were said to be particularly important for this purpose. Lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*) was also peeled for this purpose as needed, with bark stripped up to a height of 20 feet above the ground (Gatschet 1890: xxii). Edible white “wood worm” was also gathered under ponderosa pine litter.

RITUAL GATHERING – PLANTS, WATER, AND POWER

Interviewees for this study noted that Crater Lake had historically served as an important source of plant medicines. In some cases, Crater Lake possessed medicinal plant materials that were typical of the subalpine zone and unavailable elsewhere within the traditional territories of park-associated tribes. In other cases, the plants from a place of such religious significance were considered to be of greater power than the same plant taken from another location.

A number of interviewees discussed the traditional practice of gathering water from the lake for ritual uses. Klamath interviewees reported that religious practitioners traditionally gathered water from Crater Lake during times of drought. This water, when ritually poured into the headwaters of streams and rivers in the Klamath Basin, was said to recharge these rivers and maintain water levels and fish populations. This practice was reported in earlier ethnographic accounts:

“Klamath Marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860...They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade Mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh” (Spier 1930: 140, 162).

Belief in this practice has persisted into the present day among a segment of the tribe. During recent droughts, which have imperiled fish and irrigators in the Klamath Basin, tribal traditionalists have discussed gathering water at Crater Lake for this use. It is unknown whether tribal members ultimately did gather Crater Lake for this purpose, but the prolonged and earnest discussion of this option is illustrative of continued faith in the lake’s supernatural potentialities for the restoration of water and life elsewhere in the Klamath Basin.

Some interviewees mentioned that dyes were traditionally gathered for ceremonial purposes near Crater Lake, but did not recall specifics. Klamath tribal members who spoke with Spier (1930: 216) reported

“The shaman’s body is painted red during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use [for body and face painting], white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white...Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few localities in the mountains near Crater lake.”

TRADITIONAL LAND MANAGEMENT

Several interviewees mention that fire was traditionally used to enhance berry patches, draw game, and improve mobility at Crater Lake. While oral traditions regarding the use of fire for vegetation management persist, no interviewees were identified who recall these methods first-hand. Cow Creek interviewees, including Susan Shaffer, Tom Rondeau and Michael Rondeau recalled that burning was generally carried out every other year at huckleberry patches in the area through the nineteenth century. Cow Creek interviewees suggest that fires were set at the end of the season,



Prescribed fire in ponderosa pine forest, Crater Lake National Park. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

as people were leaving for their communities in the basins below. Likewise, Klamath interviewees assert that burning took place at the end of the summer, as they moved back into the Klamath Basin from hunting and berrying sites on the western edge of the park. As Cow Creek families returned from the picking areas at Crater Lake and Huckleberry Mountain they descended down the Umpqua valley. People in the valley below could tell that they were returning because they could see the smoke from the numerous small fires set to manage vegetation along the way growing closer. Cow Creek interviewees asserted that burning “needs to be done right to keep [the huckleberries] going” at Huckleberry Mountain and other subalpine berry harvesting sites (21). This helped reduce overall danger of catastrophic fire on the site as well: “when they burned, there was only berries and grass under the trees - there was no threat of a big fire” (17). Likewise, Klamath interviewees widely recognized that fire served to enhance several important resources and “whenever there was a fire, the huckleberries come back better” (13).⁴⁸ Fire also served to improve “secondary resources” at Crater Lake and Huckleberry Mountain as well, maintaining foraging areas for elk and deer, maintaining clearance around campsite areas, and encouraging the growth of edible early-successional plants such as cow parsnip, camas, hazel, and a number of different berries.

Further, it is apparent that the Klamath and possibly other tribes may have enhanced berries on the western edge of the park through their “first huckleberry ceremony.” During the 2000 Huckleberry Mountain Elders Gathering, female elders recalled that “the old Indians used to tell us that you had to take the first berries that you gathered up and throw them to the ground, and give them back to Mother Earth”(20). The pickings from the first day may have ultimately found their way to the ground surrounding the campsite areas. Some say that you had to “feed the earth” there (16, 04). If this respect was shown properly and regularly, “you would always find lots of berries.” The women were apparently responsible for conducting this ceremony, and interviewees joked that “it just wouldn’t work for men”(20). By fanning out to numerous picking areas, regrouping at campsites, and tossing berries to the ground annually, these people effectively reseeded huckleberries in the vicinity of their campsites. This, combined with annual burning practices, may partially explain the particularly high densities of huckleberry understory in the immediate vicinity of springs and other traditional campsite areas.

Burning also was carried out in the southern and eastern portions of the park, clearing out dead wood and understory under the ponderosa or lodgepole pine canopy. Such burning “brought back lots of plants for food and medicine” and drew deer, which fed on the fresh green growth that emerged following prescribed fires (42). Interviewees did not recall the extent of traditional burning, and indicated that the geographical range of such fires probably varied over time. The creation of the park, some note, played a role in the elimination of traditional burning in this area.

HUNTING AT CRATER LAKE

Klamath Tribes interviewees for this study reported that much of the Crater Lake area was hunted traditionally. People hunted “from Huckleberry Mountain...clear over to Rabbit Ears, the place they called *kistaystiibaks*” (37). Among the Klamath and Modoc, the western edge of the park was widely known for having particularly big deer and elk, fattened by the luxuriant growth of the western Cascade slope. Black-tailed deer and elk thus were hunted in great numbers on the western flank of Crater Lake and westward into the upper Rogue River drainage. These animals were comparatively rare elsewhere in Klamath territory, where the smaller white-tailed deer dominated. While white tailed deer reportedly went through periods of being scarce and skittish, “black tail deer were easier to get on that side” (09).

Hunting territories encircled the Huckleberry Mountain berry grounds, extending eastward to the slopes of Crater Lake and westward to the west side of Rabbit Ears. The upper reaches of Red Blanket Creek, along the extreme southwestern corner of the park, were also popular hunting areas historically. Hunting sites included several springs, wallows, and moist prairie clearings in the subalpine forest of this area. Such sites were abundant not only in the anthropogenic meadows of Huckleberry Mountain, but also at a number of smaller sites nearby, such as adjacent to the springs on the lower slopes of Crater Lake at places such as Thousand Springs and Sphagnum Bog, and in the riparian zones along Union Creek and the upper Rogue River. Hunters gathered near the edges of these sites, or would seek to ambush game walking on trails to and from these sites through stands of dense timber. In rocky areas, blinds were commonly made of stone, but brush blinds were common in forested areas. Starting in the 1940s, men increasingly started to apply these “clearing edge” hunting techniques to the clearcuts that were appearing in the national forest. At this time, groups of men fanned out into the forest and sought to flush deer into clearcuts, where other groups of men waited in hiding with rifles (22). Especially in this relatively well watered hunting territory, men determined whether they would pursue an animal by looking at its tracks: the heavier the animal, the deeper the tracks.



Pools and elk wallow in Sphagnum Bog, Crater Lake National Park. *Steve Mark photo*

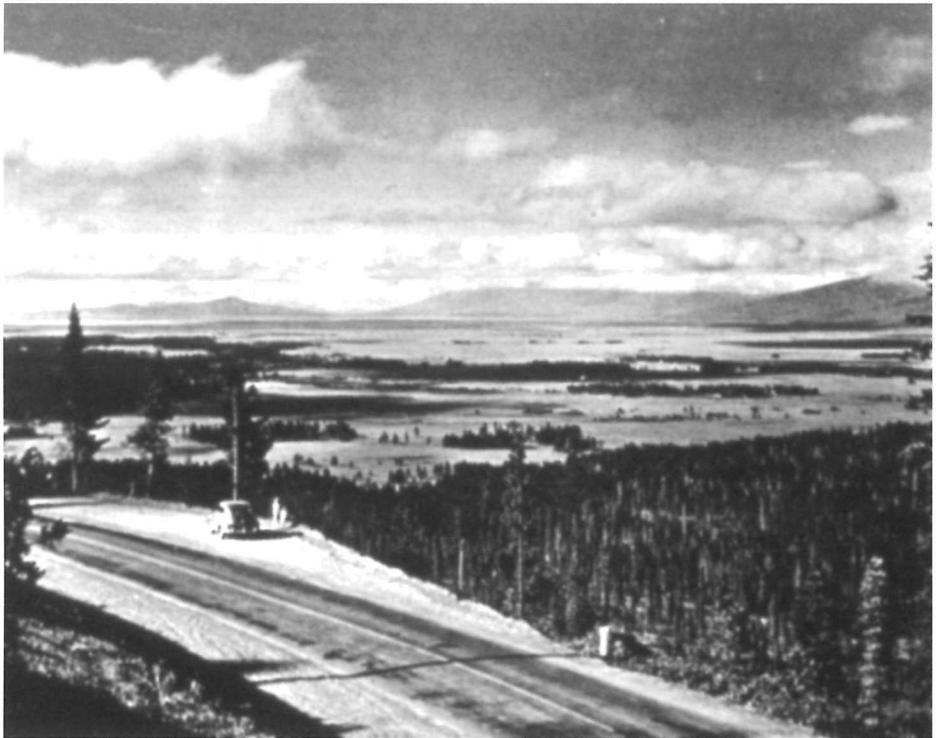
At times, the western slopes of Crater Lake and the adjacent Huckleberry Mountain area seem to have served as a risk-reducing resource site. During times of unusually low resource productivity in the Klamath Basin, the Klamath appear to have intensified their use of the Huckleberry Mountain area. Bobby David recalled that people spoke of a time prior to the signing of the Klamath Tribes treaty (1864) when the mule deer in the arid Klamath Basin became particularly scarce. At this time, people had to travel to the Huckleberry Mountain area for the majority of their hunting. “Those were bad times...[the Klamath basin] became a big dust bowl... Dust blowing everywhere and the deer all disappeared” (37). Many of the marshes began to dry up and portions of the traditional seasonal round were truncated as people evacuated en masse to their camps west of Crater Lake. A similar pattern emerged for a time in the 1930s, when mule deer became scarce as drought and the first widespread logging on the Klamath Reservation placed severe stresses on their habitat. Blacktail deer and elk, rather than mule deer and antelope, became some Klamaths’ primary game species during these times.

The eastern side of the park was hunted extensively, especially by the Klamath communities living on Klamath Marsh. Families ascended Sand and Scott Creeks from the Klamath Marsh and lower Williamson River communities regularly to hunt this area and families claimed specific hunting territories within these drainages. This area continued to be hunted extensively by Klamaths following relocation to the Klamath Reservation and well into the mid-twentieth century. A number of interviewees for this study mention individuals hunting “right up to the base of Mount Scott” – this was done well into the twentieth century, but tribal members rarely had negative encounters with NPS staff regarding this practice. In the first half of the twentieth century, Klamath Tribes Chairman, Seldon Kirk, for example, regularly ventured into the eastern portion of the park for a week to ten days at a time on extended hunting trips (07). Some families still claim hunting territories in this area and hunt National Forest lands near the park boundary today.

This eastern portion of the park had a number of distinctive features that added to its appeal as a hunting area. A natural accumulation of mineral salt was reported in the Sand Creek canyon. Deer gathered at this “salt lick” and Klamaths established hunting blinds nearby. Large black tailed deer from west of Crater Lake sometimes ventured in the Scott Creek canyon to graze in the riparian area and were hunted there when available (R. David 1991). Seldon Kirk often “talked about a cave that the deer would lie in” northeast of Mount Scott – Orin Kirk speculated that this may have been in

the vicinity of Bear Butte (07). Klamath hunters often visited this site. Some interviewees still recall going on multiple-day hunting trips into the eastern portion of the park by horseback. Traditionally, people carried dead deer on their backs like backpacks after they had been gutted to base camps where the meat is cut and processed; interviewees described their ancestors formerly packing their deer down the eastern slopes of the park toward Klamath Marsh communities in this manner.

A number of hunting sites lined the edge of the Wood River Valley, immediately south of the park. Elk were commonly hunted at the springs that lined this valley as well as the lush riparian areas along such creeks as Sevenmile Creek.



Wood River Valley from the Sun Pass Highway in the 1940s. *Hartell Family photo.*

The northeastern part of the park was said to have been hunted extensively for antelope, as was the Antelope Prairie (Pumice Desert) area north of the caldera, but these creatures were said to have become rare in the area in the last century and a half. Also hunted in the northeastern portion of the park was the “groundhog” or yellow-bellied marmot, called m’uy in Modoc and

Klamath. “Fat ones lived in the rocks...People could eat three or four of them...they were real fatty”(42). People traditionally gutted groundhogs and roasted them in pits. Roasting pits were lined with rocks and a fire was built over the top of these rocks. Once the fire had burned down to coals, people placed the groundhogs in these heated pits and covered them with soil. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, non-Indians also consumed modest quantities of groundhog, a practice that they may have learned from the Indians. People learned how to roast groundhogs in modern ovens during the twentieth century, and discovered that the hollow hairs from their tail were well suited to the manufacture of fishing flies. A small number of elders still eat groundhog today, particularly at social gatherings, though “nobody eats them like they used to” (22).

A number of tribal members reported that families used to hunt inside the park during their stay at Huckleberry Mountain. Such hunting has diminished rapidly in the last few decades, reportedly as patrolling of the park has increased and elders with a history of hunting in the western edge of the park have passed away.

Places used for vision quests and other places believed to have particular power were not hunted, however, possibly reflecting taboos encoded in oral traditions described earlier. Tribal members also reported that they avoided the Winwas area, a zone of deeply dissected canyons on the western edge of the park and north of Highway 62. This area was widely reported to be a “spooky area...there is something there that you want to avoid” (37). The area was said to house dangerous supernatural beings, including but not limited to gogonas, the “little people” who guarded places with certain kinds of power. Bobby David recalled a time when he was a youth hunting with other Klamath Tribes men. A bear injured by hunters was tracked to the edge of Winwas – while the Klamath believed that an injured animal should be tracked doggedly, the men flatly refused to follow the bear into Winwas.

Traditionally, hunting parties evidently consisted primarily of small groups of male kin. Men appear to have had a tradition of “secret hunting spots” in and around the park that were learned of and perhaps inherited patrilineally, and these spots were widely viewed to be “owned” under loosely usufruct rights of tenure. “Every family has their own place for hunting” (35). Deer hunted on the eastern side of the park were commonly cached or packed back toward homes in the Klamath Basin. When hunting was conducted on the western side of the park, deer and elk meat was taken back to the base camps, at such places as Huckleberry Mountain and Boundary Springs, where it was dried. Once this meat was deposited at the

campsites, groups of men fanned out once again to surrounding hunting and fishing sites, while women took over responsibility for the processing of game. For people encamped at Huckleberry Mountain, this repeated cycle of fanning out into the lands of the upper Rogue basin, hunting and fishing, and returning to their campsites to deposit the catch was reportedly continued throughout the entire summer season. At the end of the season, all of the processed meat was carried back to the Klamath Basin on trails (and later a road) leading through what is today the park.

Black bear was also hunted in the park, especially on the western slope of the park. Contemporary tribal interviewees, such as Bobby David, recalled that bear was not a particularly prized game animal and was not taken in large quantities. Instead of being solely a form of resource procurement, they suggest, the bear hunts also served to eliminate the threat of bear attacks at food processing campsites and may have served to reduce competition for berries. Simultaneously, the meat, rendered grease, hides, and other materials obtained from bears provided valuable supplementary products. This testimony reflects the condition of the bear hunt as it existed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, although it is possible that the relative importance of bear in the diet was in transition at this time as tribal diets began to converge with those of their non-Indian neighbors. Some interviewees for this study point out that grizzly bears were the principal threat at berry patches historically, and that these were the bears that were usually hunted to reduce the threat of attacks at campsites. The Klamath tell a story of the last known grizzly killed by tribal members in their traditional territory; this hunt, it is said, took place around World War I near the “Potholes” in the northeastern portion of the park, east of Antelope Prairie (Pumice Desert) (07).

Big game, however, was not the only quarry found within the park. Men trapped some small animals in different portions of the park, particularly species rare in the valleys below, such as marten, fisher, and possibly snowshoe hare. Beaver, while commonly trapped at lower elevations, may have been occasionally trapped within the modern park boundaries as well. Traditionally, these animals were taken with snares, deadfalls and other devices. Prior to European contact, these animals provided pelts, and hares and other small species provided supplementary food. During the early- to mid-nineteenth century, pelts from these animals were sold to Hudson’s Bay Company representatives and others, and tribal members acquired metal traps with some of the proceeds (22). Later, pelts were sold to furriers. Wolverines were reportedly hunted in the twentieth century near Mount Scott, but were generally viewed as “a sacred animal” and left alone

by tribal hunters. In addition, birds were reportedly trapped on the site. In particular, pileated woodpeckers and flickers were traditionally collected in the west-slope forests of Crater Lake, where they were said to have been common. People caught these birds using a variety of traps, including small snares and basket traps.⁴⁹ The showy red scalp feathers of the pileated woodpecker were associated with high status, and were common components of chiefly regalia among southern Oregon tribes (04). The pileated woodpeckers' brilliantly colored feathers were used for ornamentation and in the production of ceremonial regalia (Curtin 1912: 162-63). Golden eagle feathers were also said to be used for this purpose; tribal oral tradition associates golden eagles with the Crater Lake area but no information was available about any eagle hunting that might have taken place in the park historically.

Prohibitions on tribal hunting off the Reservation began around the turn-of-the-century, followed soon thereafter by statewide enforcement of hunting bag limits. This placed severe formal restrictions on traditional hunting patterns in the park and the surrounding countryside. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Klamath Indian Agency cooperated in the support of eliminating hunting rights within the park. (The Agency storekeeper, Henry Momyer, was hired as the Park's first ranger in 1908 to enforce the hunting ban). As Indian Agent O.C. Applegate (1903: 290) reported,

“Since the establishment of a national park of 249 square miles, embracing Crater Lake and its environs, within the Cascade Timber Reserve [later called National Forest], increased vigilance has been necessary to prevent hunting within the new park where game is to be absolutely protected. A considerable portion of the national park is so contiguous to the Indian reservation that it is going to be a little difficult to prevent some hunting within the protected area, at least until the park boundaries are surveyed and can be marked. All Indians who go to the mountains are fully cautioned in regard to this matter, and I apprehend no great trouble, since very few of them will purposely violate the rules for the control of the mountain areas.”

Applegate (1904: 315-16) made a similar report the following year:

“These great areas, lying high in the Cascades, have as usual been visited by the Indians during the autumn season for their purpose of hunting and to gather wild fruit. As usual at such times, and under previous instructions from your office, I have kept vigilant patrols of policemen in the region to prevent the violation of the game laws and the rules of the forest reserve and National Park. So far this year no such violations have been reported...The Crater Lake National Park...has been vigilantly patrolled and some valuable improvements have been made.”

Nevertheless, subsistence hunting continued in the research area that was, by necessity, increasingly clandestine. Indeed, interviewees noted that the

uplands in and around Crater Lake became increasingly appealing for hunting as deer herds were pushed out of the lowlands by agricultural development and intensive forest management. Crater Lake took on new significance: “all the big deer come out of there...it’s like a refuge during hunting season” (22).

Forest rangers began to enforce hunting regulations on National Forest lands, but these functions were eventually delegated largely to Oregon State Police, who still function as *de facto* game wardens. As a result of increased surveillance, tribal members processed deer at increasing distance from their campsites at Huckleberry Mountain. This created a new constellation of butchering and processing sites in the forests some distance beyond the campsite areas.⁵⁰



NPS ranger at Crater Lake, 1917. The arrival of rangers at the park in 1908 posed new challenges to traditional tribal use of the area. For the first time, hunting, burning, and other activities were effectively forbidden. *Ida Odell Collection, Klamath County Museum photo*

FISHING IN AND AROUND CRATER LAKE NATIONAL PARK

Fishing within the park was relatively uncommon in light of the abundance of more productive fishing areas outside of it, in the rivers, lakes, and marshes of the surrounding countryside. Interviewees indicate, however, that modest fishing was carried out regularly in a number of places in the park and “the fish go up the creeks further than people realize” (22). Interviewees for this study report historical fishing on Annie Creek on the extreme southern edge of the park, principally in the “big timber” in the park’s “panhandle” area, and along Sand Creek. Trout were caught by spear in these creeks. Salmon were rumored to have been caught in this reach of Annie Creek, ascending the Wood River system prior to the construction of the Copco dams on the Klamath River in the early twentieth century. Fish – mostly trout – were speared opportunistically as people traveled along other fish-bearing streams in the park, including Sun Creek and Castle Creek. No longstanding fishing stations were reported on these creeks, however.

While fishing within the park was relatively uncommon, fishing just west of the park was widespread, and large quantities of fish were packed through the park each year. Salmon, in particular, represented an important resource traditionally gathered in the course of the seasonal resource harvests just west of the park. Men fished for Chinook salmon with spears in riffles in the upper Rogue and its tributaries. Most of these salmon fishing sites were found between the falls and riffles between Prospect and Trail, though some tribal members report fishing frequently for trout above the falls in the Rogue River and on Union Creek. Other fishing sites may have been found on the South Fork of the Rogue River and on Red Blanket Creek. Scaffolding was reportedly constructed over some riffles to support fishermen, particularly in the canyon area now submerged in the upper reaches of the Lost Creek Reservoir in the area that was known locally as Cascade Gorge. The use of spears, basket traps, and other traditional tackle continued until roughly the beginning of the twentieth century. The salmon from the headwaters of the Rogue and Umpqua basins were considered better than the salmon once found in the Klamath Basin. “The water was better for fish over there” (22) due to a number of biophysical differences, some say, while others note that the salmon that arrived in the Klamath Basin were further into their spawning cycle and therefore more lean and undesirable than the west-of-the-Cascades fish. The salmon runs in the Klamath Basin were reportedly less predictable as well, and could not always be depended upon for regular harvests, as was the case in the western Cascade drainage basins. “The spring run [in the upper Rogue] was

best, but they came before the huckleberries were ripe,” so Klamaths were not usually there to fish for them, though Molalas and other west-slope groups would have fished these runs historically. During the fall run, the fish were reportedly bigger but “not as good” (06). This appears to have been the run that was primarily exploited by Klamaths during their Huckleberry Mountain trek.

Salmon taken from the upper Rogue system were brought back every few days to Huckleberry Mountain camps and processed there. Filleted fish was placed on scaffolding structures in the meadows, near each family’s camps. As the men departed to their fishing sites, women, children, and the elderly took over responsibility for completing the processing of salmon at the site. Skip Moore, who was particularly knowledgeable of traditional Klamath fishing techniques, reported that salmon were filleted and sun dried, but not usually smoked. Plummy Wright pointed out that salmon was made into multiple food products, and that the method of drying had to be appropriate to the product – smoking was only needed in certain cases. More recently, salmon were brought back to fishermen’s homes in the Klamath Basin, salted, and hung to dry on barbed wire fences (22). Qamis, sun-dried salmon, was a particularly important food that was processed in great quantities at Huckleberry Mountain.

The importance of the Rogue River fishery increased following the 1920s construction of the Copco dam on the Klamath River, interviewees suggest, though fishing trips may have required venturing lower into the Rogue basin than was traditionally the case. Within a few years, the construction of two dams on the Rogue River – the Gold Ray and Savage Rapids dams - began to reduce the Chinook runs to the upper Rogue system as well, even though they were constructed with fish ladders. (Interviewees suggest that small populations of “landlocked” salmon persisted above the Klamath dams and were fished, but rapidly disappeared.) During the mid-1970s, construction of Lost Creek Dam impounded the Rogue River above Trail Creek and Elk Creek, ending all salmon runs above that dam. Moreover, during the 1920s, enforcing Oregon Game Commission’s (later Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife) fishing catch regulations placed severe restrictions on the large-scale subsistence fisheries in the upper Rogue. “Poaching,” as such, became a regular part of many family’s Huckleberry Mountain trek, and was a source of enduring conflict with the white world. Klamath fishing on the Rogue has persisted since this time, but is a more intermittent and increasingly recreational activity for tribal members, conducted with modern fishing gear. While the practice of fishing in the upper Rogue basin persists somewhat, the locations of fishing sites have necessarily

TRADITIONAL RESOURCE HARVESTS AT CRATER LAKE

changed, “All the places [my family] used to go are gone – all underwater” (06). Following the elimination of salmon runs to the upper Klamath and Rogue basins, deer meat acquired on the National Forest land surrounding the park and elsewhere in the upper Klamath Basin has become an important part of the Klamath barter economy. Today, such meat is still traded for salmon with relatives in certain coastal tribes, including the Yurok (Deur 2004).



Tribal members canoeing through a Klamath Basin marshland. *Klamath County Museum*



A culturally modified tree located along the Ft. Klamath-Rogue River wagon road in Crater Lake National Park. The wagon road corresponded to a previous trail network where trees were sometimes peeled for their cambium layers as food. This specimen exhibits hatchet marks that are likely associated with such peels. *Kelly Kritzer photo*

Trail Networks and Camps



A network of permanent tribal trails formerly passed through the lands that became Crater Lake National Park. “Today’s roads don’t follow the old stage coach roads perfectly, but they’re close, and these were almost all Indian trails” (22).

Both trading and raiding expeditions brought the Klamath along the routes along the sides of Crater Lake. Both Gatschet (1890) and Spier (1930) make occasional reference to the movement of war and slave raiding parties along the trails connecting the Klamath Marsh and middle Williamson River with the upper Rogue River, apparently along these trails. Spier (1930: 28) reported:

“The Upland Takelma (Ha’nis or Wa’l_mskni), for instance, raid the Williamson River district. Crossing the ridges south of Crater Lake, they travel down the ridge separating that river from Klamath Lake. From this eminence they can see the smokes of a large part of Klamath territory.”

The Molala and Takelma were said to follow a trail ascending Huckleberry Mountain and Crater Lake that followed the upper Rogue River. As noted above, many trails radiated out from the gathering area at Huckleberry Mountain. Most Klamath interviewees report that their primary traditional route to Huckleberry Mountain and other places in the upper Rogue and Umpqua River basins roughly followed the present-day course of Highway 62 through the park.⁵¹ Originally, this route consisted of a primary low-gradient foot trail, as well as a small network of secondary foot trails to encampments and other activity areas located in the adjacent terrain. Many interviewees for this study suggest that this primary trail ascended from the Klamath Basin up Annie Creek Canyon, while others report that the trail followed the ridge above this canyon. It is likely that trails followed both the canyon floor and the canyon rim. While the trail following the top of the canyon rim would have provided the easiest route of travel, unobstructed by creek meanders, downed timber, and dense riparian vegetation, the canyon floor provided a number of resources that could have been exploited



Women on a horse, in the late 19th century. Tribal interviewees spoke of extensive use of the Huckleberry Mountain and Crater Lake areas by horseback in the 19th century. Horses were integral to Klamath and Modoc cultural traditions by 1800 or so, providing enhanced mobility for subsistence, while also allowing expanded trade, warfare, and social gatherings. *Klamath County Museum photo*

during the trip, including fish, berries, and abundant water. Some interviewees report campsites within Annie Creek canyon that were regularly visited by some families, where travelers could gather modest amounts of fish and berries. However, the viability of the canyon floor route would have fluctuated seasonally, as a result of seasonal variability in streamflow, which sometimes flooded the alluvial bench on which the trail was situated. Reported pathways between the rim and the canyon may be found in such locations as Cold Spring and Squaw Camp, which have documented campsites along these trails.

Tribal use of the trail network to and from the upper Rogue and Umpqua River basins appears to have intensified after the introduction of horses, and this may have resulted in the increased clearing and expansion of preexisting trails during the early nineteenth century. The Annie Creek trail provided the foundation for the subsequent development of a wagon road that passed between Fort Klamath and Jacksonville. This wagon road was developed as a



Cold Spring, following its conversion to a NPS campground in 1937. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

military route and cattle-drive trail between the Rogue River Valley and Fort Klamath. Military personnel stationed at Fort Klamath incrementally improved this road in order to facilitate improved wagon passage beginning in 1865. In turn, this wagon road was partially realigned, improved, and designated as Oregon State Highway 62 (Crater Lake Highway) in the years between roughly 1917 and 1927 (Mark and Kritzer 2000).⁵²

Interviewees for this study mentioned a number of alternative routes between the upper Klamath Basin and the upper Rogue and Umpqua Basins. These routes were used less than the Annie Creek route during much of the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but may have been equally important trails during earlier periods. One frequently mentioned trail passed from the villages of the Klamath Marsh area, near present-day Kirk, following along the north side of Crater Lake through the “Pumice Desert” area (formerly known as Antelope Desert or Antelope Prairie) of the park. From here, the trail followed the contour along the northwestern edge of Crater Lake a short distance upslope from Winwas the deeply dissected canyons of National Creek, Copeland Creek, and myriad other creeks of this zone, along the approximate modern-day route of the Pacific Crest Trail: “people walked below the rim and above the canyons” (07). From

here, this trail ultimately dropped into the Union Creek drainage near Wagon Camp. This trail also had a spur that continued northward to Diamond Lake and secondary trails connecting to Boundary Springs. Another trail passed from the northern edge of Upper Klamath Lake, passing just south of the park between Goose Nest and Goose Egg, and through the vicinity of Stuart Falls, Injun Camp, and Varmint Camp, arriving at the southern edge of Huckleberry Mountain. This may have served as the preferred trail for people from the villages on the west side of Upper Klamath Lake prior to relocation to the Reservation, and appears to have connected into a trail network that descended into Takelma territories along Red Blanket Creek. Tribal members still used this trail for horseback hunting in the area just southwest of the park into the mid- to late-twentieth century (36).

Though the relative pre-contact importance of these various routes is unclear, it is apparent that the use of these secondary trails was eclipsed by the Annie Creek route as horses and wagons became an increasingly important part of the Huckleberry Mountain trek. This enhanced use of the Annie Creek route was intensified yet again as Klamath and Modoc peoples became geographically concentrated on the southern portion of the Klamath Reservation. By the early twentieth century the trail through Pumice Desert and along the western side of the park was all but abandoned; Reid David (1991) joked that it was so narrow and overgrown by the time of his youth that you could barely see it - "the horse is the only one that knows how to go."⁵³ The wagon road route on the canyon rim along Annie Creek was improved and maintained for the use of these large vehicles, while such improvements were not made historically to other pre-existing foot and horse trails. For this reason, tribal members' knowledge of these alternative routes is based primarily on their recollection of oral tradition and a handful of childhood experiences hiking these routes as part of hunting and berry-picking ventures; only the Annie Creek route is clearly recalled on the basis of their first-hand experiences.

People of the Klamath Marsh communities took a trail to Huckleberry Mountain up Scott and Sand Creek drainages. This road connected in to both the Annie Creek and Antelope Prairie trails, following low passes between the breaks between drainages. People camped at low points along the base of Crater Lake on their way to Huckleberry Mountain when following this route (David 1991). In the nineteenth century, this trail briefly served as a wagon road.

Minor trails used for hunting and the access of ceremonial sites ascended the slopes of Crater Lake along stream corridors, often following the rim of creek canyons; such trails apparently ascended Sand Creek, Sun Creek, and possibly others. A minor trail spur connecting the Sand and Sun Creek basins followed a low pass through Grayback Ridge.

Much Klamath and Modoc travel through what is today Crater Lake National Park took place as part of the seasonal passage to and from Huckleberry Mountain. Klamath interviewees report that, prior to the time of termination in the 1950s, families began to arrive at Huckleberry Mountain as soon as the snows melted, and many stayed until the snows began to accumulate again in the early fall. Most expressed the belief that this chronology of site occupation long predated European contact. Certain mountains, possibly including Pelican Butte, Mount Scott, and Goose Nest, are visible from tribal settlements on the Klamath Basin floor that have portions of their slopes that are of similar elevation to Huckleberry Mountain. Klamaths report that they could estimate the depth of snow at Huckleberry Mountain by observing the snow level on these mountainsides. As soon as the snow had melted off these mountains to a suitable elevation, families packed up and left the Klamath Basin for Huckleberry Mountain. During the first half of the twentieth century men often did not stay at Huckleberry Mountain for extended stays during the summer. Instead, they held jobs in the Basin and joined their families (the women, children, and elderly) at the extended family campsites on the weekends. At the close of the harvest season, these men knew when it was time to pick up their families by watching the level of this snow line. Orin Kirk recalled talking with his grandmother at the family's Huckleberry Mountain campsite one morning when snow began to accumulate; his grandmother told him to begin packing because his grandfather would see the snow level from their home near Chiloquin and would be arriving in approximately two hours to pick them up. In a little under two and a half hours, his grandfather arrived by car (07).

The arduous traditional trek to and from Huckleberry Mountain by foot, with extended families carrying heavy loads for twenty or more rugged miles, required several days and multiple overnight stopovers. The growing efficiency of transportation over the last two centuries, from foot travel to horseback, to wagon, to automobile, had a number of implications for this trek. Campsites along the Annie Creek trail (and the other trails mentioned above) appear to have been numerous in the early nineteenth century. Such campsites were particularly common near springs or riparian areas with associated meadows, which provided grazing meadows for horses, supplemental resources such as berries, and predictable sources of water.

Some interviewees express the notion that almost every major spring on the approaches to Huckleberry Mountain was used as a campsite by some segment of the historical tribal population. “Everywhere there’s a spring...that’s where people camped” (16). As modes of transportation grew more efficient with the introduction of the horse and the improvement of trails, fewer stopovers were required, and the use of a number of smaller spring-side campsites gradually discontinued, though camps were still found “all along the wagon trails clear through the park” (22).⁵⁴



A tribal member drives his wagon through the old southern entrance to Crater Lake National Park, shortly after the park’s creation. *Klamath County Museum photo*

Larger springs continued to serve as stopover points however, and provided overnight campsites during the two-to-three day trek to Huckleberry Mountain that characterized the horse-and-wagon era. Cold Spring (sometimes called Bridge Creek Spring), sitting within Crater Lake National Park along the modern route of Highway 62, is frequently mentioned as an overnight stopover site. Cold Spring was said to have “very good cool water” and was a popular stopover point for travelers (20). People “camped right at the springs, on the bluff.” This camp site, sometimes called the Pole Bridge Camp, was used prior to contact, but continued to serve as an important stopover point even after wagons and cars had resulted in the abandonment of many other campsites along the trail. In the

early twentieth century, Cold Spring was the primary overnight campsite for tribal members ascending from the Klamath Basin; travelers spent their first night at Cold Spring and then camped their second night at Wagon Camp on Union Creek before ascending to the Huckleberry Mountain camps on the third day (37). People staying at the Cold Spring camps in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries typically parked their wagons and set their horses loose to drink and graze in the spring and nearby meadows – some of these horses wore bells so that they could be easily found in the dense timber (43). Some report that people could hear the sound of wagons traveling the road at a considerable distance, particularly when any of the wagons had a damaged wheel (as was often the case). When campers heard other wagons coming, they often “wrapped up what they were doing” and prepared for the arrival of more tribal members. The use of this site persisted to some degree, even as the use of the site by non-Native park visitors increased and Park Service officials established a public campground at the site in the early twentieth century; other tribal members chose to camp at more remote camping areas downslope, in the Annie Creek Canyon. This complex of tribal campsites shows up as “Squaw Camp” on maps from this period; this name reflects the reduced participation of men in the Huckleberry Mountain trek during this time, as they took on a growing role in the cash economy of the reservation and larger Klamath Basin. Road and topographic maps from the early twentieth century indicate a “Squaw Camp” at the fork of Annie Creek and East Fork Annie Creek.

Annie Spring was said to have been an important stopover point at one time, but tribal members were largely displaced from this area following the development of park infrastructure in the early twentieth century. While some interviewees for this study recalled discussion of extended stays there during the time of horses and wagons, most discussions of the automotive era indicate that, by this time, visits had become brief “picnic stops,” an opportunity to pause, eat, and teach children about past uses of the site. A small number of people report berry-processing stations at Annie Spring, principally used for processing berries brought back from Huckleberry Mountain. These camps were broadly scattered in meadows, apparently sitting some distance west of the head of the Annie Creek ravine. This was a place to “rest horses and bed down...but it didn’t have many berries” (03). Wildcat Spring appears to have been a minor stop-off point on this route as well, with a modest amount of water and edible berries such as thimbleberry, gooseberry, and wild rose available in season. Whitehorse Spring also appears to have been used, though little information was available on this site.



The hips of the wild rose are sweet and nutritious. Modoc and Klamath both gathered rose hips, while also using the stems of wild rose for cradle boards and other items. *USDA-NRCS PLANTS Database - U.S. Forest Service*

The Thousand Springs area is also mentioned as an enduring stopover site, with abundant water, a variety of plant foods, and good grazing opportunities for horses:

“Thousand Springs was an important stopover and campsite on the way to Huckleberry Mountain....there is lots of water there at Thousand Springs...people left their tools there so they could use them when they returned the next year and didn’t have to carry them back home” (07).

Tribal members sometimes cached tools, baskets, and other materials in these springs and others in the area as they stayed well preserved until the following year and were not damaged by freezing. The use of Thousand Springs, unlike Cold Spring, did not outlast the emergence of automotive travel and the rerouting of Highway 62 north of the Thousand Springs area.

Sevenmile Creek, Mares Egg Spring, Fort Creek Springs, and other sites along the extreme northern and northwestern edges of the Wood River Valley were identified as important stopover during the trek to and from Crater Lake and Huckleberry Mountain. Families stopped there when traveling to and from the huckleberry harvest, grazing horses and fishing. Field visits to these sites, both independently and with tribal interviewees, revealed abundant evidence of the use of both areas into the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Tribal members maintained small garbage dump sites adjacent to campsites formerly, and these dumps, containing discarded cans and metal buckets for example, can still be seen on the landscape today. At Cold Spring, a large number of lard cans can be found, fitting the description of the cans used to collect huckleberries by tribal members. At Thousand Springs, blazes and other markings on trees can be clearly seen around former campsites, though it is unclear who made them.

Further west, along the banks of Whiskey Creek, Whiskey Camp was a popular stopover site, with abundant water and patches of berries (particularly blackberries, which were rare but prized in the Klamath world) that were commonly picked there.⁵⁵ A small number of Klamath families were reported to have parked their wagons at Whiskey Camp and ascended Huckleberry Mountain from there by foot or horseback. However, during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, most wagons were taken as far as Wagon Camp, on the north bank of Union Creek. The site was considered a particularly appropriate stopover and staging area, as it possessed abundant water, nearby grazing meadows (south of the creek), and level wagon “parking” areas on an alluvial bench adjacent to the creek. Families often spent nights at Wagon Camp, on their way both to and from Huckleberry Mountain at the beginning and end of the picking season. People commonly arrived at Wagon Camp in the late afternoon or evening, and camped there until the following morning, when they began their ascent up the mountain or their trip home. A number of secondary berries were gathered in the riparian zone near this site, including thimbleberry, blackberry, and Oregon grape; bracken fern from the riparian zone may have also been gathered and utilized as both a food and a packing material, while tree limbs were sometimes gathered for bedding. Some interviewees note that families fished for trout in this area as well, providing a supplementary food at the campsite. During the trip to Huckleberry Mountain, horses were removed from their wagons at Wagon Camp, and all camp items were taken by foot or packhorse the remainder of the distance to the camping and picking areas atop the mountain.

As automobiles eclipsed the use of wagons in the early- to mid-twentieth century, the number of stopover points along the route to Huckleberry Mountain continued to dwindle. By the mid-twentieth century, as automobiles became more dependable and their use became more widespread among tribal members, overnight stopovers largely ceased along the route to Huckleberry Mountain. Families increasingly traveled to Huckleberry Mountain in the morning, only to drive home that same evening, though overnight camping still persists among some families. Some former stopover sites have become picnic spots, where families sometimes stop to eat and to teach children about the site’s historic importance during a drive to, or from, the Huckleberry Mountain harvesting areas.

A number of berry picking areas were said to be at the base of Union Peak historically, and while some of these sites have disappeared over the years a small number are still visited for berry picking today. Union Peak also was mentioned as an important landmark to tribal members traveling to Crater

Lake and Huckleberry Mountain from the Klamath Basin. A number of interviewees noted that the peak appears to rise and descend from the surrounding forest as one travels along the traditional route following modern-day Highway 62. This reflects the varying slopes and angles along this grade. This effect became more dramatic in the age of automotive travel, as the apparent rise and fall of Union Peak is relatively sudden, and parents sometimes keep children entertained during the trip to and from Huckleberry Mountain by having them “keep an eye out” for Union Peak emerging from the forest.

Some interviewees for this study remembered the annual trek to Huckleberry Mountain as unpleasant due to the “narrow and winding” roads that predated today’s relatively straight Highway 62 route (10). Cars often overheated, and trips sometimes involved multiple stops to let the car’s engine cool.



Travel along the early Crater Lake Highway was a slow and rigorous experience. Tribal members often spoke of the difficulty of travel to and from Huckleberry Mountain during this period. *Hartell Family photo*

A number of interviewees mentioned that tribal members opportunistically harvested resources along the trails through the park prior to the advent of automotive transportation. Men often hunted along these routes and the Annie Creek route in particular was mentioned as an important hunting corridor. When stopped at springs or grazing areas, either for brief rests or for overnight camping, families fanned out into the surrounding countryside to pick gooseberries and other berries as available. Children also gathered the tiny berries of the broom huckleberry (*Vaccinium scoparium*), commonly called “squirrel berries” by Klamaths, which are found at many places along this route (20). The small berry and the potentially low productivity of the children’s gathering led some interviewees to suggest that this was more a parentally condoned distraction for children than a food-procurement activity.

RESOURCE ENCAMPMENTS

A small number of seasonal resource encampments were reported in the park, in addition to those that were used as stopovers during the ascent to Huckleberry Mountain. All resource encampments reported within the park were closely tied to springs, streams, and other water sources. As at Huckleberry Mountain, camps were typically close to natural or burned clearings, but tucked into the shaded edge of the forest vegetation.

Boundary Springs, in the northwestern corner of the park, was reported to be an important hunting camp historically. People camped at this site when traveling to and from hunting areas along the western edge of the park, and may have used the springs as a staging area for local hunts. The “big timber” nearby was a major deer hunting area for some families (22).

Families established a diffuse cluster of campsites along Annie Creek in the summertime to facilitate fishing as well as berry picking and other resource procurement activities. A similar pattern of seasonal fishing camps was reported for some of the broad alluvial benches along Sand Creek. These summertime camps were not the most productive resource gathering areas in Klamath territory, but had the advantage of “getting people out of the heat” and providing access to plant and animal resources that were uncommon at other fishing sites in the upper Klamath Basin. This pattern continued into the early twentieth century, and became increasingly recreational in emphasis, like a working vacation (06).

Small seasonal campsites were located within the park in the riparian area of Union Creek, as well as in the headwaters of Union Creek near the base of

Union Peak. For reasons that remain unclear, some sat a considerable distance back from the creek and, during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, people carried buckets of water taken from Union Creek back to their campsites for drinking water and cooking (36). These encampments were used as a base of operations for deer hunting, the picking of huckleberries, gooseberries and serviceberries, and other resource procurement activities in the area between Crater Lake and Huckleberry Mountain (34). Several trails fanned out from these encampments to resource harvesting areas east and west of Union Creek.⁵⁶



Serviceberry (*Amelanchier alnifolia* var. *semiintegrifolia*), one of the most important berries in Klamath tradition. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections.*

A number of small hunting campsites were mentioned in other locations of the park, but with little geographical specificity. One hunting campsite at the base of Mount Scott was active well into the period of NPS management.

Campsites were still detectable long after they were no longer in use. The campsite areas were sometimes burned to improve berries and grazing opportunities as well as to “keep the bugs down” and facilitate easy travel. Families also pulled branches from live trees to use as bedding and fuelwood. However, the physical traces of the old campsites are said to be growing scarce. A century of fire suppression has allowed brush and trees to overtake meadow clearings. Artifact hunting since the creation of the park (including artifact hunting by tribal members visiting old campsites when traveling to Huckleberry Mountain) has eliminated much archaeological evidence of traditional use in these areas.

Crater Lake Since Contact: The Emergence of a Contested Place



The arrival of Euro-American peoples in the Northwest brought tremendous change to the patterns of American Indian life at Crater Lake. As with many places of pronounced traditional significance, Crater Lake was to become a contested space. In ways both material and symbolic, the white world transformed the relationship between Crater Lake and local tribes.

In the wake of Euro-American exploration, diseases and dislocation radically rearranged the demographic landscape. The peoples of the Rogue and Umpqua basins, ravaged by war and disease, would soon be relocated to distant reservations; only later would some of these people return to their homelands. The southern Molala were gradually assimilated into the peoples of the Klamath basin, creating even stronger Klamath ties with and claims on resources in the mountainous region west of Crater Lake. In time, new tribal groupings emerged, the foundations of today's park-associated tribes. Meanwhile, imposed cultural, economic, and religious systems changed tribal societies in myriad ways. Still, Crater Lake has remained an important place at each stage of this transition, with its significance changing subtly over time. The outlines of these developments are discussed here.

CONTACT AND CRISIS QUESTS

As the first arrival of Euro-Americans in the region introduced new opportunities and new challenges to park-associated tribes, each of these opportunities and challenges was manifested in the preexisting repertoire of activities tied to Crater Lake. A number of Klamath oral traditions recorded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century described individuals attaining power at Crater Lake and becoming extremely powerful as they sought to navigate their rapidly changing world.

One recurring tale from the early nineteenth century provides an illuminating glimpse into the responsiveness of religious activity at Crater Lake to new social and economic realities. As guns and fur trade wealth flooded into the Northwest, the inter-tribal balance of power was upset. Formerly insignificant tribes became suddenly powerful, while others found themselves under unprecedented threats, strategic and economic, from their neighbors. The Klamaths, living in the backwaters of the early trade network, were experiencing increasing raids from other tribes. The chiefs agreed that it was time for a preemptive raid on neighboring tribes, not only to subdue them but also to obtain slaves. A shaman who served as advisor to chiefs on Upper Klamath Lake ascended to the rim of Crater Lake and stayed there for five days, fasting and seeking guidance. On the fifth day he received a vision from Crater Lake, providing him with a comprehensive understanding of how the raid was to proceed. He returned home and gave each member of the raiding party intricate instructions on how they were to act and what they were to do during the raid. "He knew everything, every last detail about what was going to happen." According to Klamath accounts, the raid was very successful, the captives were sold as slaves in The Dalles, and the Klamath used the proceeds to buy guns and horses that allowed them not only to defend themselves, but to expand their raiding and their political influence throughout the region. "Crater Lake power" had saved the tribe once again.

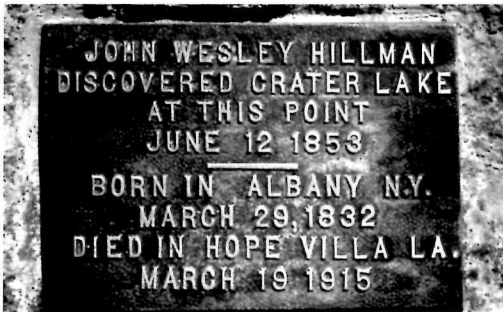
During conflicts with whites, especially during the Modoc War, Crater Lake appears to have been visited for similar sorts of "crisis quests." Individuals ascended Crater Lake to determine how to deal with diseases, the military threat posed by the United States, and episodes of inter-ethnic violence. Some ascended Crater Lake to mourn the loss of family in these crises, as well as the loss of territorial and social prerogatives. Some sought to use Crater Lake power to reverse these effects, and the ritual use of Crater Lake may have blurred somewhat into the Ghost Dance movement that swept the Klamath Reservation in the years following the Modoc War. Little detailed information was forthcoming regarding these activities.

Meanwhile, mundane uses of the Crater Lake area changed as well. Trapping along the lower slopes of Crater Lake intensified during this time as the demand for pelts intensified in the trade centers at The Dalles and elsewhere. Klamath and Modoc men entered into barter relationships with the Hudson's Bay Company in the early nineteenth century, providing furs in exchange for horses, guns, beads, and other goods; later, American furriers paid cash for the same types of pelts. The Sun Mountain and Sand Ridge areas were among the most important trapping areas for fisher,

marten, and other species that were relatively rare in the valleys below. Some families continued trapping in areas staked out during this period well into the twentieth century (22). Tribal men also played an important role in the roundup and maintenance of free-range cattle and horses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and the southern edge of the park in particular was said to be part of the area used annually for grazing. During this period, a number of men herded cattle along the wagon road that is now Highway 62, traveling between the Klamath and Rogue River Basins (22). A modest number of wild horse roundups took place in and around the park during the early twentieth century, though most of this activity was centered in the mountains between Yamsay Mountain and the California border, well to the east of the park.

THE “DISCOVERY OF THE LAKE”

During these early years of Euro-American reoccupation, non-Indians began to create their own myths of Crater Lake. Many early authors, having encountered the awesome primeval scenery of Crater Lake for the first time, concocted romantic tales that elevated the significance of their personal discovery. In many accounts, non-Indians became the “discoverers” of Crater Lake. In turn, these early accounts served to eclipse and erase the Indian history of Crater Lake. Yet, the historical record makes it clear that the many acts of rediscovery were still inextricably tied to the Indian history, and cannot be fully understood outside the context of Indian-white relations.



Plaque placed at Discovery Point by William G. Steel in 1925. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

In 1853, a small party of gold prospectors led by prospector, John Hillman (1907: 77) inadvertently arrived at the Lake and “every man gazed with wonder at the sight before him.” As threats of Indian uprisings loomed in the valleys below, due in no small part to conflicts over land and resource access fueled by the southwestern Oregon gold rush, Hillman’s party proclaimed that they had made the first discovery of Crater Lake and a vote among the party decided on the name “Deep Blue Lake.” Hillman’s party

reported their findings once they had descended to the Rogue Valley, but regional newspaper coverage of battles between settlers and the Indians of the Rogue basin eclipsed any media attention that might have been directed to Hillman's account. In October of 1862, a second band of non-Indian explorers encountered Crater Lake, led by Chauncey Nye. As with the Hillman party, the Nye party proclaimed that they were the first discoverers of the Lake. Seeking a lookout point to plan the trek ahead, the Nye party climbed the volcanic promontory now known as Union Peak, in the process naming this peak to mark their political sympathies. Not surprisingly, they found at the summit of this peak a circular stone parapet, which they interpreted as a defensive structure used by Indians (Gorman 1897). While clearly not the first discovery of Crater Lake, Nye's visit resulted in the first published account.

The most widely known account of Crater Lake's "discovery" was based on the accounts of personnel stationed at Fort Klamath some three years later. Fort Klamath was a military installation constructed in response to a perceived Indian threat to white occupation and travel within the Klamath Basin. As part of the Fort Klamath mission, military personnel built a military road between the Klamath and Rogue basins under the leadership of company commander, Captain Franklin B. Sprague. The route of this military road followed the course of a wagon route between Fort Klamath and the Rogue Valley near Table Rock; in turn, this wagon route had been constructed along the Klamath tribal trail to Huckleberry Mountain through the Annie Creek drainage.⁵⁷ On August 1, 1865, John Corbell and Francis Smith, members of a hunting team sent out to obtain deer for the road crew, came upon Crater Lake. Corbell and Smith reported the presence of the Lake to Sprague, and members of the military detachment soon traveled to the Lake's edge. Orson Stearns, a sergeant with this party, asserted that

"The honor of discovering Crater Lake belongs to a small detachment of Company "I" of the first regiment of Oregon Volunteers. O.A. Stearns, a resident of Klamath Falls who was at that time the first sergeant of the company was with the party of discovery and was the first person to descend to the water's edge."⁵⁸

The military detachment gave Stearns the honor of naming the Lake, which he dubbed "Majesty." This was a particularly ironic moment in the history of Crater Lake's rediscovery, however, for there is little doubt that Corbell was well aware of the Lake's presence beforehand. Corbell has many relatives on the rolls of today's Klamath Tribes. Some of them mention that after the discovery "Smith was invited up to Crater Lake by members of the tribe for [a] religious ceremony," as was Corbell (08). Some viewed their ascent as a violation of the traditional order; as men without shamanistic

training or chiefly rank, their safe return was no doubt a source of some confusion. While little is now known about the ceremony or whether it indeed occurred, it is likely that it was proposed to put things back in their proper cosmological place: to protect or cleanse the men, to recognize their apparent powers, or to rectify a violation of this sacred space.

John Corbell, a member of the party attributed with the discovery of Crater Lake, is reported to be related to a number of contemporary Klamath Tribes members. Some interviewees for this study report that Corbell was half Modoc or Klamath (08, 38). Others report that “he was not Indian” but that he was adopted into the Klamath tribe as an adult (10). His wife, Minnie Froben, was a Klamath woman who had been hired as a housekeeper at Fort Klamath, where Corbell was stationed. Corbell was part of the party that departed from Fort Klamath. Following this “discovery,” Corbell was invited to revisit the lake with Klamath religious practitioners (08).

In August of 1865, following the John M. Corbell and Francis Smith discovery, a number of men from Fort Klamath climbed to the caldera rim, then descended the interior of the caldera to the lakeshore. Sergeant Orson A. Stearns (1896) recounted, “As we stood there in silence and awe, overcome by the grandeur and sublimity of the scene before us, Captain Sprague broke the silence by remarking that we ought to christen the lake, and as I was the first human being to reach the water’s edge, the honor rightfully belonged to me. At his suggestion, I gave it the name of “Lake Majesty” and we fired a volley from our revolvers in honor of its christening.”

A later account by Stearns (1917) clarified Sprague’s quotation:

“Well,” exclaimed Captain Sprague, “it is possible that this lake has been seen before but it is certain that no one has ever before ventured to its waters, or has it ever been named.”

Yet other parties provided similar narratives of discovery. David Linn (1869) recounted,

“We proclaimed it to the winds that on the 4th day of August, 1869, we...landed on the Creater [sic] Lake Island, and then and there claimed to be the first human beings that ever set foot on its soil.”

In 1886, a U.S. Geological Survey party under the leadership of Clarence Dutton descended to the waters of Crater Lake. In Dutton’s party were two Klamath Indians, neither of whom had dared travel to Crater Lake before. William Gladstone Steel later insisted that this was the first time that any modern Indian had viewed the Lake.⁵⁹ “We were all pretty surprised to

hear that!” (42). As with all of the accounts that came before, Steel’s interpretation of the tribal relationship with Crater Lake was shaped by brief encounters, by presumptions about indigenous superstition, and by unchallenged assumptions regarding the lack of human occupation within the pre-contact landscape.⁶⁰ The high visibility of Steel and his writings ensured that this myth was perpetuated within the popular literatures of his day.

Interviewees for this study consistently expressed concern regarding these historical accounts describing the “discovery” of Crater Lake. “They all acted like they were the first people to ever see the lake...we knew better!” (42). These claims were inaccurate, they note, as their ancestors were well aware of the lake, but also reinforce the idea, offensive to most, that this region represented uninhabited wilderness awaiting Euro-American settlement.

RELIGIOUS CHANGE AND RITUAL DESPECIALIZATION

From the beginnings of organized Christian missionary activity on the Klamath Reservation, missionaries sought to confront and undermine indigenous religious practices and beliefs tied to Crater Lake. Certainly, for missionaries, Crater Lake appears to have been an imposing landmark on the Klamath/Modoc religious landscape. On July 3rd 1876, the Reverend R.W. Summers, a relative of the Applegate family who introduced Episcopal services to the Klamath Basin, hiked to Crater Lake:

“The Medicine men of the once powerful Rogue River nations ascended from the west, and those of the equally renowned Klamaths from the east. All fasted and kept vigil and performed many ceremonials that the world will never be able to witness or come to know. In solitude, accompanied only by their initiated attendants, they sought to learn supernal wisdom here, from what they considered, probably, one of the abiding places of the spirits – or was it that “Great Spirit,” in whom they so darkly, yet so tenaciously, believed...?”

Meanwhile, the repeated visits of tribal members and non-tribal members alike to this forbidden place, coupled with the actions of missionaries and Indian agents to affect their culture, were reworking the cosmological equations that had guided Klamath life. The dangers of Crater Lake had diminished in the minds of some, as had its potential to empower. Groups gathered, wary, curious, carrying out religious rituals to minimize the risks. Following the initial popularization of Crater Lake expeditions, interviewees for this study reported “large ceremonies” at Crater Lake, involving large numbers of tribal members. Basing his writings principally upon information from William Steel, Yard (1919: 200-01) provides the following account:

“In 1886 two Klamaths accompanied Captain Clarence E. Dutton’s Geological Survey party to Crater Lake and descended to the water’s edge. The news of the successful adventure spread among the Indians and others came to look upon the forbidden spot. That was the beginning of the end of the superstition. Steel says that two hundred Klamaths camped upon the rim in 1896, while he was there with the Mazamas.”

Simultaneously, however, circumstances sometimes reinforced traditional worldviews relating to the lake. Traditional beliefs in the role of Crater Lake were perpetuated by accounts of sightings of “huge creatures” in the lake during this period; rumored to be Llaol, these sightings were reported by tribal members who ascended the caldera for the first time. Some chose not to return after such sightings. (Such claims are still widespread to this day, with some tribal members reporting sightings of large creatures that are visible from the caldera rim.) Such sightings were also reported by non-Indian observers, providing what some tribal members view as independent confirmation of their oral traditions. One account in the *Ashland Tidings* (1884) reported:

“We have frequently for the past seven or eight years heard different stories told concerning a dreadful monster that inhabited a body of water known as Crater Lake...but up to this time paid little attention to it, supposing that it was nothing more than a superstitious story circulated only by the native Indian. But since the return of Mr. John Shallock, who with others has seen the monster...we are compelled to believe... that there is a very huge animal of some kind that inhabits Crater Lake is a fixed fact. Mr. Shallock in describing this animal, says it looked to be as large as a man’s body and was swimming with about two or three feet out of water, and going at a rapid rate, as fast as a man could row a skiff, leaving a similar wave behind it. Its face or head looked white, and although it was a long way off they could plainly see that it was of an immense size. Several shots were fired at it while swimming, but it was so far off that they could not even see where their bullets struck the water.”

The visiting of Crater Lake by a broader range of tribal society brought social discord. Some chose to violate taboos on visiting the lake, and traditionalists resented their impudence. Thus, individuals who visited Crater Lake during this period often sought to conceal the fact. Lee Snipes, for example, is the individual featured in the Edward Curtis photos of Crater Lake, with a “Klamath Indian” in the foreground, dressed in Plains style clothing provided by Curtis. According to multiple interviewees for this study, Snipes provided Curtis with a pseudonym to conceal his identity. “He knew he wasn’t supposed to be there...he didn’t want people to find out that he had been up there getting his picture taken.” (07)



Several tribal members noted that this classic photograph of Crater Lake was staged with Plains style clothing. The Klamath man who posed for this photo was said to have been self-conscious about violating tribal taboos on casual visitation of Crater Lake, and gave the photographer a pseudonym. *Photo by E.S. Curtis, 1923.*

In time, however, the tradition of solo vision quests gave way to organized, group ceremonial activity at Crater Lake, a practice that has persisted into the present day. Barbara Kirk recalled that, while traditional vision quests were “private and personal” events, all of her family gathered together at the Crater Lake caldera for ceremonial purposes during the mid-twentieth century. They gathered at a place

“past the lodge, towards Mount Scott...we stood where you could see both the lake and Mount Scott....all of my family was there” (26).

There, the entire family took part in prayers and food offerings, lead by her grandparents.

Meanwhile, new religious ideas began to permeate religious traditions tied to Crater Lake. Conducting research among the Klamath Tribes in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Spencer (1952a) described a disparate religious tradition, with indigenous religious practices embodying elements of the Ghost Dance, the Indian Shaker Church, and the religious teachings of mainstream Christian denominations.⁶¹ Within this religious practice,

places of traditional importance continued to be recognized as sources of power and were still visited ceremonially. Visits to Crater Lake were still reported to be important to a portion of the community, for the seeking of visions fostered by spirit beings dwelling in the lake. One of Spencer's tribal interviewees reported,

"When I was young, I went up to Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse...Then she said, "Untie your eyes," and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so, I don't know who that man was, but I like to think of that man now" (Spencer 1952a: 222).

Today, interviewees generally note that "Crater Lake is still a sacred place to most people...especially those people with a traditional upbringing" (04). Yet, many evangelical Christians, who are numerous among park-associated tribes, also "recognize the importance of Crater Lake" and go there, typically in family groups, to offer Christian prayers at places once used by their ancestors for vision quests. Even though religious practices have changed, the importance of this place in tribal religion has proven remarkably persistent.

THE KLAMATH INDIAN AGENCY AND OUTCOMES OF PARK CREATION

As a federal outpost in the upper Klamath Basin, the Klamath Indian Agency was directly involved with early efforts at park creation. Klamath Indian Agent O.C. Applegate hosted congressional representatives who visited Crater Lake, apparently both before and after the 1902 signing of the park's enabling legislation. In preparation for a U.S. congressman's 1899 visit to the lake, Applegate sent

"wagons the day before driven by Indians. These dead axe wagons were loaded with camp equipage...The Indians were supposed to have camp all set up the next day" (O.C. Applegate Jr. 1973).

A number of interviewees for this study indicated that when the park was first founded, tribal members "thought it would be open...that we could still go there, but it didn't turn out that way" (08). Soon they found the area burdened by "too many roads and too little respect" (03). Had they known what impacts park development would have on their traditional uses of the area, tribal members indicate that their ancestors may have more actively resisted the development.

Almost immediately following park creation, the Agency played an integral role in enforcing park policy within the tribal community and in eliminating those aspects of traditional land use – especially hunting – that the park prohibited. Access to off-reservation hunting sites was gradually eroded between 1864 and the turn-of-the-century; following that period, hunting was increasingly restricted to the Klamath Reservation and the Cascade Range forests west of the Reservation, including lands now within Crater Lake National Park. As suppression of fires in the Cascade Range Forest Reserve began in 1898, the Klamath Agency quickly participated in efforts to eliminate the tradition of prescribed burning on the western portion of what would become Crater Lake National Park. Klamath Indian Agent O.C. Applegate (1899: 310-11) spoke of these issues in his 1899 annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

“The Indians are more and more becoming an agricultural people and devote very little time to their former methods of providing food. Little hunting is done except in the fall of the year when the annual incursion is made into the Cascade Mountains in search of wild fruits and game. This usually consumes the greater part of the month of September and a portion of October and is participated in by a large number of both whites and Indians.

A police force is maintained in the huckleberry country during this season to preserve order and prevent the spreading of fires. No party of Indians is permitted to go on these excursions into the forest reserve without being duly instructed as to our game laws and fully impressed as to the importance of preventing the starting of fires. I am quite certain that the destructive fires which annually devastate large areas of our timberlands are not usually traceable to our Indians...”

In 1902, the year of the park’s creation, Applegate (1902: 308) suggested in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that both the Forest Reserve and the new national park were subject to burning by tribal members, but that both areas were being heavily patrolled to curb this practice. Hunting in the new park, too, was being policed by Agency patrols:

“These great areas, lying high in the Cascades, have as usual been visited by the Indians during the autumn season for the purpose of hunting and to gather wild fruit. As usual at such times, and under previous instructions from your office, I have kept a vigilant patrol of policemen in the region to prevent the violation of the game laws and the rules of the forest reserve and National Park. So far this year no such violations have been reported, and I feel that the Indians are to be commended for their careful observance of the rules which have been made for the protection of the timber from destruction by fire and for the protection of game.”

O.C. Applegate’s later reports provide accounts of further efforts to curb traditional burning, hunting in Crater Lake National Park, and “illicit liquor venders, who are often in hiding in the forest to take advantage of the

Indians when so far away from the Agency” (Applegate 1904: 312). To achieve this, the Agency sent police details to oversee all large gatherings in the Huckleberry Mountain area.

“The annual exodus to the mountains usually occurs between August 20 and the same date in September, and is a glad time. The people while enjoying the cool shade of the forests make their time very profitable in gathering berries, which are very abundant, in hunting game, and in enjoying a season of rest from their home labors. This mountain trip, though, practiced for ages by these Indians, is not now so generally observed as formerly, a number of them finding the interests of the developing of ranches and increasing herds more important than the annual trip to the mountains” (O.C. Applegate 1904: 312).

In order to quell the illicit whiskey trade, enforce game laws, and prevent the starting of fires, Applegate reported that both the Agency and the State of Oregon had dispatched “the most vigilant policemen” to patrol Huckleberry Mountain and vicinity. As a result, he suggested, “the danger from devastating fire is rapidly being reduced to a minimum” (O.C. Applegate 1903: 290).

Simultaneously, the increased regulation of lands within the park as well as the presence of non-Indian park personnel aided the Indian Agency in reining in continued ceremonial activities off of the Reservation. From early on, Agency staff actively sought to restrict ceremonial activity and to restrict access to places used for acquiring “doctoring power.” Applegate (1899: 313) spoke to these issues in his 1899 annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

“Indian doctoring [was] a reprehensible thing but hard to stamp out. All the authorities on our reservation, including of course our Indian judges and policemen, are charged to vigilantly guard against this evil and to bring promptly to trial any person accused of practicing the nefarious work of the medicine man.”

From the time of park creation, regular communication between park and Indian Agency officials ensured that ritual activities at Crater Lake could be regulated, reported, and remedied. “People kept quiet about the ceremonies” increasingly as the Indian Agency sought to stamp out these practices and the park staff helped them (08). With access to sacred sites restricted and more non-Indians coming into the area, ritual activities were of necessity increasingly clandestine.

A number of interviewees for this study discussed how the practice of charging admission to the park in the decades that followed compounded this effect. “People were kept out...they were charged money to go there” (04). “How would you feel if we charged you to go to church?” (42).

Others recalled similar problems emerging when entrance stations were located on Highway 62 [in the 1940s and 50s] where this highway traversed through the park. This was the only road leading directly to traditional hunting and gathering areas near Huckleberry Mountain from the Klamath Basin. Moreover, restricted access along this corridor was said to limit ritual activity in parts of the park far from the caldera, such as the Union Peak area.

Enduring Contention over Hunting Rights in the Park

Tribal interviewees were consistent in their discussion of Klamath Tribes hunting rights within the park. All insisted that the tribe held traditional rights there and a majority stated that the prohibition of hunting in the park has been an enduring source of aggravation and hardship:

“Dad didn’t believe in white man’s limits. His limit was the number of fish or deer he needed to feed his family for the winter...this wasn’t recreational hunting to us” (06).

A number of families simply disregarded the advice of the Klamath Agency on this matter. Some families appear to have not recognized the illegality of hunting in the park prior to World War II. During the post World War II period, however, tensions grew between NPS staff and park-associated tribes regarding a number of issues. No issue loomed as large as hunting in the park. Park rules prohibiting hunting in the park were enforced with unprecedented rigor during this period. As a result, during the mid-twentieth century, interviewees recall that

“most Klamaths called the rangers “Park Nazis.” Everybody was afraid of being harassed in the park...especially when they drove back on [Highway] 62 with guns or deer [bagged on the opposite side of the park]” (07).

Some of these conflicts spilled out of the park, and some tribal members recounted stories of shouting matches with NPS staff encountered in Chiloquin and other communities outside of the park on the issue of perceived hunting rights and legally recognized hunting rights. Many families became increasingly clandestine, with hunting camps located well away from roadways and other developed areas. Some families simply gave up what were perceived to be “family hunting territories” in the park to hunt in other places where they held traditional ties.

Hunting rights within the park, alone, were not the sole source of contention. Prohibitions on carrying guns or game through the park, too, became a source of contention from the 1930s to the present day.

A number of Klamath interviewees recalled the park entrance stations on Highway 62 being a serious obstacle to traditional hunting on National Forest land west of the park. The park did not allow guns within its boundaries and this created hardships for families accustomed to hunting in the Forest every year. Interviewees for this study recounted sneaking guns and game through these gates with a mixture of pride and shame. Some recounted that the only time they heard their grandparents lie was at the entrance station when they were asked if they had guns in their truck. The issue of tribal members hunting in the park came to a head in 1982, when the Klamath Tribes sued the Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife. At issue was both the State of Oregon's right to regulate tribal hunting on ceded lands, as well as the federal government's right to regulate hunting within the portion of Crater Lake National Park sitting within the Klamath Tribes' ceded lands. In January of 1983, the U.S. District Court in Oregon ruled in favor of the Klamath Tribes, agreeing that the tribe did have a right to hunt within the park as part of their ceded lands in which hunting rights were retained. As summarized in the District Court's opinion,

“there was no clear Congressional intent to extinguish the Tribe's hunting, fishing, and trapping rights in the ceded land, and...these rights were not terminated” (U.S. District Court, Oregon 1983a).

And in the Court's final statement of judgment, this was stated in unequivocal terms:

“It is further ordered and declared that the Act of June 21, 1906, 34 Stat. 367 (the Act), did not abrogate the treaty rights of the Klamath Indian Tribe, plaintiff, to hunt, fish, trap and gather, free from regulation by the defendant State of Oregon, either on the lands exchanged by the Secretary of the Interior under the authority granted in the Act or on lands ceded by the Tribe under the June 17, 1901, agreement and ratified by the Act” (U.S. District Court, Oregon 1983b).

The decision did not directly engage the issue of hunting as it related to NPS regulations, but provided *de facto* legal support for hunting in those portions of the eastern and southern park that were Klamath Tribes' ceded lands. While some tribal representatives viewed this merely as a legal “clarification” in light of continued hunting in the park before that time, others took this opportunity to renew hunting practices in the park that had been suppressed years before. The Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife, under the guidance of the State of Oregon's Attorney General Dave Frohnmayer, appealed this decision to the 9th District Court of Appeals in October of 1983. In March of 1984 the 9th District Court of Appeals upheld the decision of the lower court (U.S. Ninth District Court of

Appeals, 1984). The Klamath Tribes went on record that its members would begin hunting as soon as the snow cleared that summer. Almost immediately, the Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife appealed the decision on state regulatory authority to the U.S. Supreme Court and the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. For two summers, hunting was widespread in the eastern portion of the park. By July of 1985, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the decision of the lower courts on the issue of State control alone, but did not revisit the issue of federal jurisdiction within Crater Lake National Park. For reasons that remain unclear, however, in the decision rendered by the court, it is stated that

“The Court today holds that the Klamath Tribes has no special right to hunt and fish on certain lands although it has done so undisturbed from time immemorial. Instead, the Tribe is determined to be subject to state regulation to the same extent as any other person in the State of Oregon...The Tribe agrees that ceded lands now privately owned may be closed to tribal hunting and fishing, and that the Federal Government validly may regulate Indian activity on the ceded lands now held as national parks or forest” (U.S. Supreme Court 1985: 1, 11).

By the late 1980s, the park was again rigorously policing hunting in the park, an offense that brought maximum penalties of a \$20,000 fine and/or five years of imprisonment.⁶² Some tribal members continued openly hunting in the east side of the park. With a small number of arrests and much public controversy, much of this hunting became clandestine once again.

Hunting in the park is said to be very rare today, due to over a century of enforced prohibitions. Still, clearly and unambiguously, “deer and fish and berries” continue to be staples in the diet of many tribal members today, and many of these foods come from areas a short distance outside of the park (09). Some families still recognize certain locations where the deer herds migrate out of the park and patrol these areas less than a mile into the National Forest land, awaiting these herds as they travel across the invisible line between the two jurisdictions.

The Tourist Factor

When Crater Lake National Park was first created, many tribal members were incredulous. The loss of traditional hunting and ritual areas was not at first perceived to be an issue, as the effective enforcement of park regulations lagged for several years after park creation. Rather, the tribes’ position was more closely related to fundamental cultural and philosophical differences in the perception of Crater Lake: “The place was to be treated like a church or a graveyard...They didn’t know why anyone would want to make a park out

of it” (42). People felt that Crater Lake was simply too powerful and dangerous to visit casually, and traditional beliefs in punishment for irreverent or recreational activity in the park led many to fear for the lives of visitors.



Early tourists on the rim of Crater Lake, sometime between 1915 and 1920. Traditionally, tribal members viewed irreverent contact with Crater Lake or its ritual sites, such as this rock cairn, as being both offensive and dangerous. *Basil Brown family photo*

As access to the park by local tribes tightened, the opposite was true for tourists. The process was well underway even before park establishment as Applegate noted:

“Crater Lake, that great natural wonder, 2,000 feet deep, 6 miles in diameter, and filling half full a chasm 4,000 feet deep in the bosom of an ancient volcano, is only a few miles from the reservation and attracts many tourists from all parts of the world, many of whom linger for a time along the pleasant streams and grassy lake shores of the reservation” (Applegate 1901: 343).

Such increases in tourism not only conflicted with tribal perceptions of appropriate conduct within the park, but had spillover effects outside of the park as well. Certainly, the effects of tourism were already being felt by the Klamath Tribes prior to park creation, including the adverse effects of localized overexploitation of fish and game by non-resident anglers and hunters. Two years before park establishment, Applegate (1900: 354) reported:

“the great fame of Spring Creek, Williamson River, and other streams have attracted many anglers from afar whose skill has perceptibly reduced the number of fish which these beautiful streams afford.

The millions of waterfowl which in early days swarmed about our lakes and marsh lands are no longer seen in great numbers, and the prairie chickens and sage hens, which abounded in the uplands, are almost extinct.”

This effect became increasingly evident as tourist promotion centering on both Crater Lake and the Klamath Basin brought this heretofore unknown region to the attention of a national audience. O.C. Applegate’s report to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1904, shortly after the park’s creation, was prophetic on this point:

“Since the establishment of this park will advertise to the world an area which for natural wonders cannot be surpassed, the tide of summer travelers will no doubt be greatly increased and the mountains and the Indian reservation will be swarming with tourists...” (Applegate 1904: 316).

Tribal members’ accounts indicate that this was both a positive and a negative development for the tribes. While pressures on the area’s fish and waterfowl burgeoned, the arrival of tourists fostered a lively trade in the sale of traditional baskets, for example, and tribal members “met people from around the world for the first time...sometimes friendlier people than the [non-Indian] ones living here” (42).

Contested Boundaries and Uncompensated Losses

Many tribal members complained that the park had been created from their former reservation lands without due compensation. The facts underlying this claim are complex (see, e.g., Alatorre n.d.). A complete investigation and retelling of the events associated with this claim would require a sepa-

rate study, but a brief overview follows here, based in part on the accounts of Alatorre (n.d.) and Johnson (1947). In 1864, representatives of the Klamath, Modoc and Yahooskin tribes signed the Klamath Tribes treaty, calling for a reservation that ran from peak to peak around their homeland; “all the sacred sites were all included” (04).

As part of this process, J.W. Perit Huntington, the chief U.S. negotiator invited the assembled tribes to designate the amount of land that they wished to retain for their reservation. The original partition requested by the tribes included a large but unspecified portion of the eastern Cascades, which appears to have included Crater Lake and possibly Huckleberry Mountain. As Monchnkasgitk, who served as a negotiator for the Upper Klamath later recalled, “Huntington replied that was “too much land for you to take care of and hold...go back to your camp and think it over, and then point out to me land near your homes here” (Klamath Boundary Commission 1897: 17). After considerable deliberation, the Klamath Tribes returned with an alternative boundary proposal, connecting a number of individual peaks. One of these peaks was “T’omsandi” – “flat on top” – a term commonly interpreted as a reference to Mount Scott, but which may have been applied to the entire remnant peak of Mount Mazama, including Crater Lake. Negotiated in the crude trade language of Chinook Jargon between parties with no common language, such subtleties evaded detailed discussion in the treaty negotiation process.

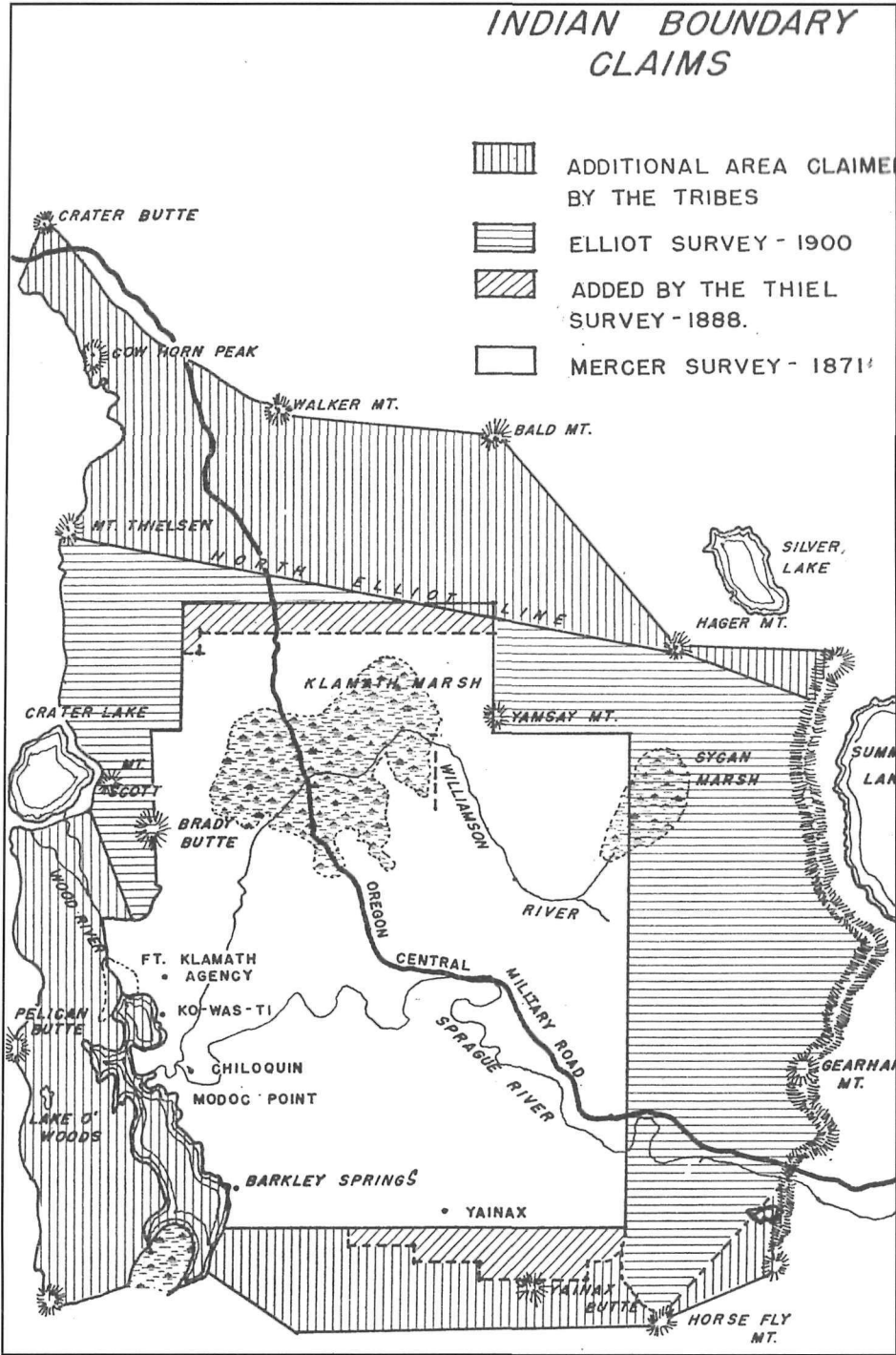


A gathering to commemorate the signing of the Klamath treaty, this photo includes four signatories – Chiefs Dick Monchnkasgitk, Lalo, Henry Blow and Agency George. Shown are, in the back row from the left, Tom Chocktoot, Jack Palmer, Indian Agent O.C. Applegate, Jesse Kirk, and Joe Pierce; front row from the left, Chief Dick Monchnkasgitk, Long John, Chief Lalo, Chief Agency George, and Chief Henry Blow. *Klamath County Museum photo*

Interviewees almost uniformly suggested that their ancestors' interpretation of the western boundary of the Reservation was that it included all lands along the Cascade crest, including Huckleberry Mountain and Crater Lake. "My grandmother always said the Huckleberry Mountain [and Crater Lake] was part of the land that we got in the treaty...everyone was surprised when they found out that we had lost it" (07). To this day, the Klamath maintain that the treaty verbiage was tampered with between the time of their signing in 1864 and the time of congressional ratification six years later.

The initial reservation boundary, as documented in the treaty, included a significant proportion of what is today the eastern half of the park, and "T'omsandi" was one of the peaks indicated as a point along this boundary; as indicated, some interviewees view this as the name for Mount Scott while others indicate that it alludes to the entire Crater Lake caldera. Congress ratified this treaty in 1870. One year later, in 1871, Oregon Surveyor General W.H Odell sent surveyor George Mercer to establish the boundaries of the Klamath Reservation. Almost immediately following the completion of the Mercer survey, the Klamath Tribes contested the boundary, claiming that it encompassed too little land and left outside of the Reservation lands sought by railroad and road company interests including, importantly, areas within the present park. Also, significantly, the Klamath Tribes suggested that Odell and others involved in the survey had conflicts of interest due to their investments in the Oregon Central Military Road Company.

By 1887, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs agreed to revisit the boundary issue and one year later dispatched William Theile to resurvey the Reservation boundary. Again the Klamath Tribes disagreed with the survey's outcome, noting that the Theile survey largely conformed to the boundaries first established by Mercer. Foment on this issue within the Klamath Tribes led to the retention of an attorney, I.D. Applegate, to challenge these surveys. With Applegate's involvement, a U.S. special commission was established to explore the Klamath Tribes boundary issue. In 1897, the Klamath Boundary Commission determined that the previous surveys had been in error and well over a half million acres promised in treaty was excluded from these earlier surveys. Based on the Commission's findings, a third survey was authorized. Following this survey, Indian Affairs Special Agent W.J. McConnell entered into negotiations with the Klamath Tribes and ultimately, in 1901, facilitated the development of a final agreement on the boundary issue. This agreement called for the creation of a smaller reservation than was specified in the 1864 treaty, but used the third survey as the basis for compensatory payments for all acreage promised as reservation lands in the 1864 treaty that were not included



Adapted from a map prepared by Otis H. Johnson, in Stern (1966).

in the final reservation boundary. In May of 1902, as this agreement still awaited ratification, the Congress passed legislation approving the creation of Crater Lake National Park. Only four years later, in 1906, was the Klamath Boundary Agreement ratified by Congress, delineating the reservation boundary in its final form. At that time, Klamath Tribes members suggest, Congress approved compensation for all acreage within this newly ceded land, but excluded the acreage incorporated into the park four years earlier (see Stern 1965, Johnson 1947). The issue is of enduring concern today, and the Klamath Tribes and the Klamath Tribes of Oregon Claims Committee continue to explore possible legal action on the issue.

Tribal interviewees note that the original “peak-to-peak” boundary cited Mount Scott as one of the boundary markers of the reservation. When surveyors began to use the top of Mount Scott as a corner point along the peak-to-peak boundary line, thus giving the Klamath Tribes only a portion of the mountain for their Reservation, tribal members suggest that cross-cultural miscommunication compounded the boundary issue. The idea of a discrete survey line had been alien to these people; many assumed that by including “T’omsandi” in their claim they had insured the retention of the entire mountain. “They didn’t think of it as a point somewhere on the top of the mountain – they thought of it as including the whole mountain” (42). Some interviewees for this study marveled at how much of their land and resources were taken by “people just pushing their pencils around” making decisions from afar (22).

*TWENTIETH CENTURY ADAPTATIONS:
TRIBAL EMPLOYMENT, RECREATION, AND RETURN*

Through the 20th century, the relationship between Crater Lake National Park and the tribes of the region continued to change, reflecting broader social, economic, and policy shifts occurring regionally and nationally. As wage employment became increasingly common among tribal members, and some began venturing to off-reservation employment opportunities, a few began working for the park and its contractors. Several tribal members noted that their families had worked at the park, on road construction crews, maintenance staff, and in other positions. Tom Rondeau’s father, for example, helped build Rim Drive in the 1930s. Some tribal members brought provisions to the fire lookout at Mount Scott for pay during the same period. A number of tribal members recall working on fire crews and other positions during their youth. These activities, while not necessarily “traditional,” did continue the practice of seeking economic sustenance in the vicinity of Crater Lake. Employment in and around the park also

pro-



Despite a number of historical obstacles, the tribal presence at Crater Lake has rebounded in recent years. Here, two Klamath girls – Destiny Summers and Shaylee Totten – stand with Klamath language specialist, Bobby David, Klamath Tribes Chairman, Allen Foreman, and U.S. Congressman, Greg Walden, at the 2002 Crater Lake National Park centennial celebration. *National Park Service photo*

provided a number of individuals and families to maintain connections to the park and to continue revisiting places of enduring importance.

Families found other ways to maintain these ties to Crater Lake in the face of dramatic social and economic change. A number of individuals indicated that their families have visited Crater Lake frequently for recreational purposes over the last half century. A growing number of families visited Crater Lake for picnics during the same period; while visits were largely recreational

in nature, they often involved (and continue to involve) traditional cultural activities, such as the placement of food offerings before or after a picnic lunch. For these people, the park is seen as “a beautiful place for getting together with the family” (31). Occasionally, families whose members have moved away to distant places, especially in the search for employment that followed termination, hold reunions at the park. A growing number of tribal members, like their non-Indian neighbors, take friends visiting from outside of the area to Crater Lake to enjoy the scenery and picnic. Other tribal members reported skiing and tobogganing at the park between the 1930s and early 1960s, when Crater Lake possessed one of the only skiing facilities in the area. For some, this skiing operation was a rare recreational opportunity, and the source of many fond memories. A small number of tribal members used the ski jump near the administration buildings or participated in ski races (19, 07). Occasionally, a tribal member attempted to swim in Crater Lake recreationally. Some young people simply drive into the park to “climb around on the rocks...and look around” (22). While these individuals and families largely came to disregard the ritual proscriptions on recreational visits to the area, they still recognize Crater Lake as a place of cultural and social significance to tribal people. Indeed, the perceived cultural importance of the area arguably contributed to the rise in recreational visits, and provided families with the opportunity to maintain connections with this unique place despite riveting social and cultural change.

As some families have revived or rediscovered traditional cultural practices, they have often come to use Crater Lake in a manner that is intermediate between these recreational modes of access and more traditional uses. Crater Lake “has a big role today too as people learn and teach traditional knowledge...and teach this to the children to make them stronger” (12). Children are taken to Crater Lake at different times of year, as there are things to learn at different seasons – changing plants and animals, for example. The enduring, if dynamic, importance of Crater Lake is apparent in places other than the park as well. Crater Lake continues to show up in tribal artwork and has been embroidered onto powwow dance costumes made by Klamath tribal members engaging in more “pan-Indian” forms of cultural expression. No doubt, the cultural significance of Crater Lake continues to unfold.



Klamath Tribes members Taylor David, Shaylee Totten, Katerra Gallagher and Rebecca Kirk, dressed in modern versions of traditional dance regalia, at the Oregon Quarter Unveiling Ceremony at Salem, Oregon in 2005. The State of Oregon quarter features an image of Crater Lake. *Taylor David photo, Klamath Tribes*



“Typical view at south end of Modoc Lava Beds (end of lava flow)” photo by L.A. Barrett, U.S. Forest Service, 1924. *USDI-NPS, Harpers Ferry Center.*

Lava Beds National Monument: A Center of the Modoc World



The Modoc people, it is commonly said, knew every part of the Lava Beds. Large winter villages, they note, lined Tule Lake. There is no part of the Park that was not used for some purpose by the Modoc, and “There’s really nowhere in that area where there aren’t significant places” (32). The Lava Beds are said to be central to Modoc history, culture, and identity: “You can’t discuss Modoc history without it” (47). Indeed, the name Modoc is derived from the Modoc term for Tule Lake, móatak or móatak é-ush meaning “lake of the extreme south” (Gatschet 1890: xxi).

Tule Lake Modoc were recognized as a distinct band, often called Kumbatwash, and distinguished from the bands on Lower Klamath Lake, Lost River, and the upland areas near Yainax. Modoc identity was historically rooted in the Tule Lake area, and the Modoc were called “Lutuami” or “lake” people by the Pit River, “by which Tule Lake is meant” (Gatschet 1890: xxxiv). By the time of the Modoc War, disruptions brought about by conflicts with non-Indians had caused dramatic relocations within Modoc territory, and a number of individuals had relocated to other band territories and villages. At this time, the identities of these different bands were beginning to wane, and the Modoc increasingly seem to have identified as a singular people.⁶³

SETTLEMENT ALONG TULE LAKE’S SOUTH SHORELINE

In the arid Lava Beds, all human activity was concentrated around places with water. Springs and caves containing water or ice provided modest opportunities for encampments within the interior of the monument. It was the shoreline of Tule Lake, however, that provided the water necessary for large permanent settlement. “Water was a very important resource there because it is so dry...everything centered on water – the lake, the springs” (37).

Interviewees for this study consistently report that the Tule Lake shoreline was lined by an almost continuous row of winter villages, resource processing camps, and other settlements. Fish drying racks were said to “line the shoreline” during certain times of the year, covered in fillets of mullet and other fish (19).

Interviewees noted that the Modoc formerly stored canoes and other subsistence-related gear by submerging these items in shallow water below the surface of Tule Lake. The Modocs submerged canoes in this area by filling them with rocks or soil – related gear was often bundled inside the canoe. Such canoes have been seen during low-water periods, and interviewees believed that most of these canoes had been looted or destroyed in the years since the Modoc War. A small number of items related to this practice, such as the rocks used to submerge the canoes, are said to still be found along the shoreline of Tule Lake. Canoes were also used to illuminate the nearby water: they were filled with rocks and soil so that one end was submerged and the other rose well above the water’s surface, then fires were then lit atop the soil in the exposed end.



The Modoc and Klamath have traditionally constructed dugout canoes out of pine or cedar logs, to produce watercraft that easily navigate marshes and lakes, while still providing stability for passengers and gear. Also shown here are tule mats and baskets. *Klamath County Museum photo*

The area was viewed as “a good place to winter” – Lava Beds served as a center for wintertime Modoc settlement, because the snow did not build up

deeply in the rainshadow of the Medicine Lake Highlands, Mount Shasta, and adjacent southern Cascade Range. This improved mobility generally, and brought wintertime herds of deer, which were able to find forage beneath the thin accumulation of snow. Some Modoc note that their ancestors butchered deer, birds, fish, and other game species along the southern shoreline of Tule Lake, and that the area had places with “lots of bones.”

Some interviewees for this study recalled that the large village on the south side of Tule Lake was called Gu'mbat and point out that the pits from individual houses in this village can still be seen today. A number of families visit these village sites as part of ritual activities within the park. Ray (1963: 208) reports of “Gu'mbat”:

“A large permanent village on the south shore of Tule Lake. This village was particularly populous during the winter months. It gave its name to the Modoc of the western portion of the tribal territory. The name (Gum'mbatwas) referred to the western position of these people with respect to Tule Lake but, as indicated, the principal village was on the south shore of the lake. The houses of the village were quite widely spread, some on the flats and some on a low butte. (A cremation place was situated near the village.)”

Similarly, Gatschet (1890: xxxiii) describes Gu'mbat as “in the caves on the rocky southern side of the lake, once inhabited by about one hundred [Gum'mbatwas], who were mainly Modocs, with admixture of Pit River, Shasti, and Klamath Lake Indians.”

Ray (1963) identifies the Gum'mbatwas as one of the three principal divisions of the Modoc, centered on southern Tule Lake, while the Ko'kiwat were concentrated in the upper Lost River basin to Clear Lake and the Paskanwas occupied the lower Lost River from Olene Gap to northwestern Tule Lake. A number of interviewees for this study also discussed an outlying “Hot Creek” band that lived in the Dorris area and was semi-autonomous despite strong connections with the Gum'mbatwas of the Lava Beds area; this band did not have combatants in the Lava Beds during the siege, but suffered from a number of sporadic attacks by U.S. troops and militias.

Tribal elders who contributed to this study noted that Gu'mbat was a term applied to numerous places on the western side of other prominent landmarks in both the Klamath and Modoc world, and was the name of a village near Pelican Bay on the western shore of Upper Klamath Lake (08). Klamath language specialist Bobby David noted that the Klamath and Modoc referred to the people from both of these communities as Gombatskni or “west side people.”

Ray (1963: 209) also reported two villages and a cremation site on the southeastern corner of Tule Lake:

“E’uslis (“lake place”). A permanent village on the southeastern shore of Tule Lake...(A cremation place was located adjacent.) [and] Keshla’kchuish. An important summer village near present Scarface station. Epos was gathered in the rocky grounds of the vicinity.”

Ray (1963) reports a dense constellation of village sites at the point where Lost River drains into Tule Lake. Modoc placenames for these settlement sites were generally unknown.⁶⁴

Interviewees indicated that Gillem Bluff was a center of tremendous activity historically, including subsistence, ceremonial, and residential functions. Sitting in shade from the afternoon sun, temporary encampments were said to be almost continuous along its base, with task-specific use areas along its ridgeline. A cave somewhere near Gillem Bluff/Sheepy Ridge in the park was said to be Winema’s “summertime home” prior to the War (29, 32).



Woman sitting in front of her tule mat house, on a tule mat, a burden basket made of unsplit tules or cattails at her slide. *Photo by E.S. Curtis, c. 1910.*

Klamath Tribes interviewees mention a number of springs that were formerly used within Lava Beds, such as the ice caves and Indian Well, though few remember the exact locations of other features of this type. Those tribal

members who contributed to this study note that water was formerly found in portions of the monument where it is now absent. Clearly, the Tule Lake shoreline has changed as the lake has retreated and its margins have been converted to agricultural uses. However, a number of springs and water-bearing caves have also dried up in the past, due to both natural causes and land management in the years following the Modoc War. Indian Well and various ice caves were said to have been important sources of water, for example, but many of these places are now dry. Watered caves also have collapsed. Interviewees mention places within the monument where one can still find large concentrations of archaeological materials but no water source – these places, they suggest, are the locations of water sources that have disappeared.

Tribal interviewees note that tribal members still visit many of these settlement sites today, especially places where there is still visible evidence of human occupation. For example, some noted,

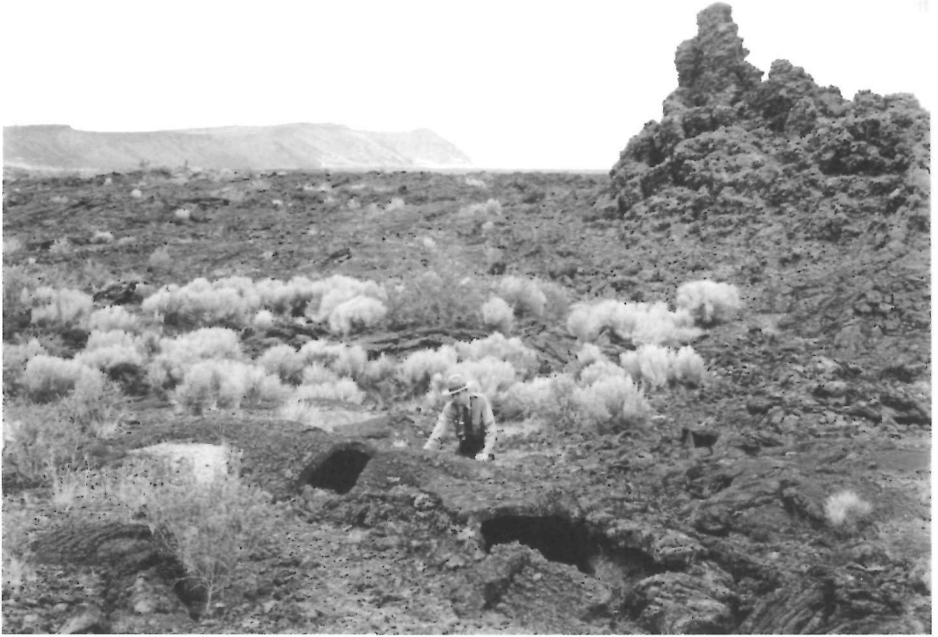
“There are “Indian chimneys” all over. You can still see the soot coming out of the caves where they had fires...they camped there during the War, but some people camped there before that” (43).

Such places are still visited today for reflection, ceremonial activity, and historical memorialization.

Some tribal interviewees noted that the Modoc kept large quantities of tools and personal effects cached in the vicinity of settlements. A number of mortars and pestles, obsidian blades, and other items have been found in caches by tribal members, while it is speculated that considerably more material lies undiscovered just below the soil, under rocks, or in caves and crevices encircling the settlements of Tule Lake’s south shore.

PATTERNS OF ACCESS AND MOVEMENT

Lava Beds was central to a network of trails radiating outward in several directions. The Lava Beds lay between a number of traditional use areas: “The Modoc went all over that country and they went through the Lava Beds” when traveling (07). The Lava Beds were visited extensively by Modoc and Klamath people traveling to and from the Medicine Lake Highlands, a pattern that has continued into the present day.



Lava tubes and chimneys of the Thomas-Wright chimney group, east of the Devils Homestead flow. Such natural features invited many cultural uses such as hearths. *Klamath County Museum photo*

Interviewees repeatedly said that some caves were used as campsites, especially for groups visiting the area temporarily, traveling to resource procurement or ceremonial areas both inside and outside the park. The mobility and social diversity of the population participating in the Klamath River salmon harvest fostered multi-tribal gatherings even at sites quite distant from salmon fishing stations, and Modoc groups from Clear Lake and the Langell Valley stopped at Lava Beds when traveling to and from the seasonal villages centered in the Klamath River canyon to catch or barter for salmon. Tule Lake villages, including those at the Lava Beds, also served as a stopover point for Paiutes and other tribes traveling to and from the Klamath Canyon to catch or barter for salmon. A number of these groups passing through the Lava Beds joined the residents of the Tule Lake villages at their fishing grounds at the confluence of Spencer Creek and the Klamath River, to the west of Lava Beds.

Klamath and Modoc visited the Lava Beds when traveling to and from ceremonial and obsidian gathering areas in the Medicine Lake Highlands. Scatters of obsidian flakes follow major trail routes out of the Highlands, through Lava Beds – a route sometimes referred to locally as the “obsidian

trail.”⁶⁵ Obsidian caches were also found in the stumps, trunks, or branches of large juniper trees in the Monument along these routes, but these were reportedly taken by collectors long ago. Individuals who carried obsidian down from the Highlands sought to reduce their loads by flaking away unneeded material as they traveled homeward. This, interviewees note, resulted in the patchy distribution of lithic scatters in the park, with nodes of high lithic density correlated with campsites and stopover points along trail routes.

Modoc oral tradition recorded in this study, as well as by linguist Jeremiah Curtin (n.d.) in the late nineteenth century appears to indicate trails running north-south on both sides of Tule Lake. The trails are said to have followed the same basic route as the major roads through the area. The eastern trail passed through villages, while the western trail is depicted as being somewhat treacherous due to the spirit beings along the base of Gillem Bluff/Sheepy Ridge. (Most tribal interviewees use the name Sheepy Ridge for the southern portion of this bluff, which is commonly called Gillem Bluff; Gillem led the U.S. troops during the Modoc War, while Sheepy, a Modoc leader, is an ancestor to many contemporary tribal members.) According to this Modoc story, two girls passed along this western route, when traveling to meet their prospective husbands; there, they made the mistake of talking to “Wus,” the fox spirit, who turned them into old women, and then into ducks. A place along the base of this ridge apparently was called “Wus’ place” in reference to this story. No doubt, this story served to discourage the travel of unaccompanied youths along this route.

Another trail network was said to lead to the east, to the villages of the Clear Lake area, at the head of Lost River. A significant trail network followed the northern shore of Tule Lake, bypassing the complex terrain of the Lava Beds and linking the Klamath River and Lakes with tribal territories to the east. A portion of this network later became the Klamath Basin section of the Applegate Trail.

Tule Lake villages served as a base of operations for slave raiding in Pit River and Shasta territory:

“In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place at The Dalles” (Gatschet 1890: lix, see also Gatschet 1890: 19-27, 54-55).

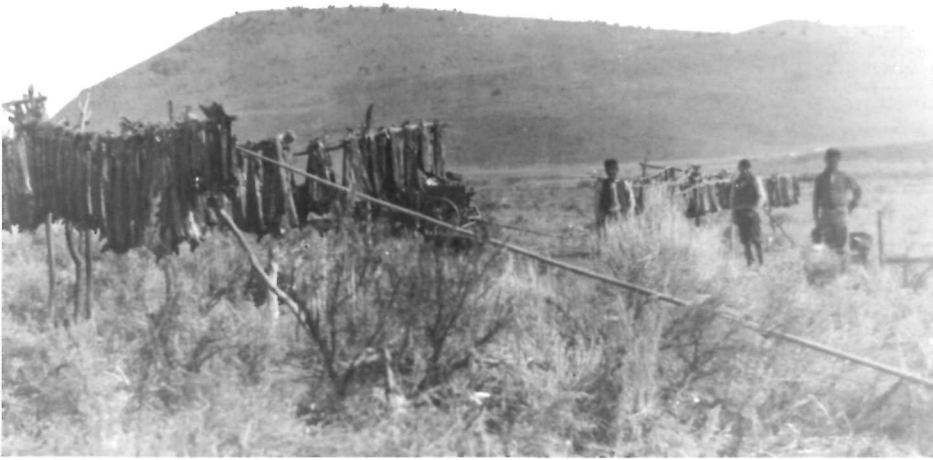
Interviewees noted that the Modoc and Klamath often passed through the Lava Beds, and sometimes used the Lava Beds as a staging area, during slave raids on the Shasta and Pit River peoples to the south. This slave raiding probably intensified in the early nineteenth century, with the arrival of horses and the destabilization of pre-European economic and social relationships. Indeed, the trail leading back from Pit River country, along the eastern edge of Tule Lake and northward toward the slave markets of the lower Columbia River is clearly shown on early maps of the period; Palmer (1855) for example, indicates this trail in his *Sketch of Oregon Territory* as the “Klamath trail to The Dalles.” Tribal interviewees recounted a number of stories of slave raiding in Pit River territory in particular, and mentioned that many of these raiding parties passed through the monument, sometimes using the southern Tule Lake villages as a staging area.

A network of minor trails was also said to connect places within the monument. Some of these trails were said to link predictable water sources. In areas with recent volcanic deposits, people had to find their way between craggy lava flows, and so the ‘kipuka’ – flat areas between different lava flows – were important trail routes in certain areas of Lava Beds. The placement of these trails shifted over time, however, as new lava flows appeared and erosion made formerly insurmountable flows passable.

Some tribal interviewees noted that travel by canoe was at least as common as foot traffic for the Modoc living along Tule Lake. Prior to the agricultural transformation of the Klamath Basin, one could travel by canoe across the broad expanse of Tule Lake and through the network of marshes on its northwestern edge into the Lost and Klamath River basins. The canoes were said to be dugouts, made principally from logs acquired in the northern Klamath Basin (23). These sizeable canoes could carry several individuals as well as freight and were the preferred method of transporting food and other goods prior to the arrival of horses and wagons.

Most Modoc families stayed at the Tule Lake villages until springtime, when the mullet, trout and salmon began to migrate upstream. Many families converged at Olene Gap, where the Lost River flows out of the Lost River Valley.⁶⁶ Members of many Modoc communities, and sometimes Klamaths, Paiutes, and other tribal groups, gathered at this site to fish together. Spier (1930: 9) states that

“Both tribes [Klamath and Modoc] congregated at one place only for the early spring fishing, namely on Lost river, a mile or more below the buttes at Olene. The Klamath camp site is on the north bank, the Modoc on the south.”



Tribal families drying suckers at Olene Gap, north of Tule Lake. The sucker harvest brought Modocs, Klamaths, Paiutes, and others together at this site each year to fish and to socialize. *Klamath County Museum photo*

TRADITIONAL SUBSISTENCE IN THE LAVA BEDS

While the contemporary landscape looks forbidding, the Modoc traditionally consider the Lava Beds to be a rich and hospitable country, with ample resources to support the resident communities. Some interviewees for this study recalled Captain Jack's request to U.S. negotiators, as Modoc War hostilities grew, for a six square-mile reservation encompassing the Lava Beds; his willingness to support the entire Modoc population at this place, they said, was a telling indicator of the former resource richness of this area. Almost "everything that could be gathered was there" for the Modoc (23). Archaeological investigations in Modoc territory have indicated a considerable time-depth to this pattern of marsh-edge resource procurement (e.g. Eidsness 1997, Sampson 1985).

PLANT HARVESTING TRADITIONS

The shoreline of Tule Lake was described as a historically rich plant gathering area with few equals elsewhere in the Modoc territory. Tules, wokus, and other edible marsh plants were gathered in large quantities along the south shoreline. Epos was a staple dug in sparsely vegetated rocky areas in and around Lava Beds every spring. Elderberry, thimbleberry, wild plum, serviceberry, chokecherries, and stinging nettle were picked in moist draws and adjacent to springs in this area. Other plants gathered in the area included sage, Indian tobacco, mountain mahogany, willow, and various

medicinal and utilitarian plants. A small number of individuals are reported to still visit sites in and around the monument to gather modest quantities of chokecherry, wild plum, and possibly serviceberries (20). Sage, important for ritual purposes, also continues to be gathered in the area, as is juniper, mountain mahogany, and angelica.



A field of epos (*Carex oregonum*) near the Lava Beds. The edible roots of this plant were a staple to the Modoc and Klamath, and many families continue to dig the roots of this plant as a supplementary food today. *Klamath County Museum photo*

Wocus and tules were gathered along the south shore of Tule Lake in large quantities. The southern Tule Lake shoreline was reputed to be “a major area for wokus” harvesting (12). Albert Summers noted that these culturally significant plants, procured at Tule Lake, were of particular importance to the Modoc, due to their relative scarcity elsewhere in their territories. Unlike the Klamaths, the Modocs did not have vast wokus and tule gathering areas at their disposal throughout many of their band territories, and for the Gum’mbatwas band these plants were scarcely available elsewhere. Wocus is the Klamath/Modoc term for the yellow pond lily, *Nuphar polysepalum*. Spier (1930: 10-11) notes that wokus seeds constituted “a staple second only in importance to fish.”⁶⁷

Tules (*Schoenoplectus acutus*) were once abundant on the shores of Tule Lake, which explains the lake’s contemporary name. People gathered tules along the southern shores of Tule Lake, particularly in the shallow bays and coves that line the shore. The Modoc used the thick, pithy stems of these plants for a tremendous number of applications, including the manufacture of mats, temporary structures, boats, duck decoys, and other applications.



A Klamath woman gathering the seed pods of wokus (*Nuphar lutea* ssp. *polysepala*) from a traditional dugout canoe. *Photo by E.S. Curtis, 1923.*

Some of these uses, such as the production of tule decoys, is still carried out by tribal members today. The white base of the tule stems was also picked in the spring and eaten as a food; these stems were ground into a paste that was cooked in fires to make slápsus, a bread-like food that was later made in the traditional manner from wheat flour. A small number of interviewees recalled oral traditions indicating that gathering of tules along the shoreline of Tule Lake continued intermittently between the Modoc War and the reclamation of the marshes in the Tule Lake National Wildlife Refuge. Modest amounts of tule are still sometimes gathered along the Tule Lake shoreline, including areas along the northeastern edge of the monument. While there are more convenient and productive sources of tules to be found in the Klamath Basin, the provenience of the Tule Lake plants raises their symbolic importance, especially in the view of Modoc descendents.

People ground wokus near the shores of Tule Lake, both at small mortar sites as well as larger processing areas. Wocus procurement was largely displaced to other marshy areas closer to the reservation, including Klamath Marsh and Agency Lake. Wocus gathering continues to this day among a small proportion of the Klamath Tribes population, but is largely centered on these larger gathering sites in the northern basin. The availability of these plants has diminished precipitously since Modoc removal from the area, due to marsh reclamation projects. Today, wokus seeds “are like gold...they’re not just given away” (13).



A Klamath woman gathering tules, in a scene similar to what was seen historically in Modoc territory on the shores of Tule Lake. Tules are traditionally gathered by dugout canoe, or by foot along the shoreline, depending on the depth of the water. *Photo by E.S. Curtis, 1923.*

A number of other marsh plants were gathered for food along the southern shoreline of Tule Lake, including cattail (*Typha latifolia*) and Silverweed (the genus *Potentilla*; name recently changed to *Argentina*). The base of the cattail stalk is edible, in a manner similar to the tule. (While somewhat less durable than tule, cattail also served in a capacity similar to tule for the construction of mats and other manufactured goods.) Silverweed roots were typically roasted and were said to taste very sweet when cooked correctly. Some interviewees also speculated that wapato (*Sagittaria latifolia*) also grew along the south shore of Tule Lake; the edible corms of these plants were an important source of dietary starches among the Klamath and Modoc, as well as a number of western tribes. Contemporary tribal members seldom use these plant foods.

Areas near the Lava Beds were said to have been important and productive gathering areas for epos (*Carex oregonum*). The starchy root of this plant was an important staple in the traditional Modoc and Klamath diet. “Every year we went,” as part of the seasonal round prior to Modoc removal (16). “The later part of May was when they went,” shortly after the snows had melted and the meadows were lush with new growth (16). Epos was said to have been particularly productive on rough and rocky ground, at intermittent springs, and “up on the tablelands” in and around the monument,

and these patches were once harvested intensively (20, 02). Gatschet reports one such area on the southeastern shore of Tule Lake, called *k__h-lák-tchuish* or “where epos grows [on rocks]” (Gatschet 1890: xxxiii). These broad expanses were less rocky than other parts of the Tule Lake shoreline, and epos grew abundantly and with large roots in these environments. Some families appear to have maintained usufruct claims on some of the richest digging areas, and these areas were said to be conveniently close to water sources. There were also a number of less productive digging areas, where rocky ground restricted the growth of these plants; these sites were still visited by some families.

Neva Eggsman shared an account of epos digging near Tule Lake in 1915, when she was seven years old. “You’d stand there and there would be worlds of epos...all over.” She recalled that all of the epos diggers were women at this time, and most were quite elderly, probably born before the Modoc War. “There used to be lots of Indians [there], all old women and a few children.” People camped at epos gathering sites for several days while they dug epos. The women at this time dug the epos with digging sticks, called *ám’das*, shaped like traditional digging sticks but made of forged iron. Originally these sticks were constructed out of mountain mahogany and other dense woods. The children did not participate much in the digging. She recalls that everyone arrived at epos digging grounds by horseback or by horse and wagon; travel to Modoc epos sites from the former Klamath Reservation typically took more than a day. Dogs accompanied the epos gatherers, and the dogs’ feet were wrapped in canvas to allow them to walk long distances over the area’s rocky terrain without hurting their feet.

Over time, epos was used less and less by tribal members, due to dietary changes and reduced access to traditional resource sites. Moreover, the scale and quality of these patches have been reduced by a number of historical impacts, including mechanical disturbances of these sites, cattle and sheep grazing, and the absence of human management through burning, soil churning, and other methods. Thus, the Modoc “don’t go down that way any more” to dig epos as a staple food (16). Groups traveling in the arid country as they herded livestock or carried out other economic and social activities carried out most of this epos use. Still, the use of epos gathering areas in Modoc country continued well into twentieth century and epos use ostensibly continues as a supplementary and symbolic component of the diet rather than as a staple today. “You have to travel further to get it these days, with all the fences, buildings and everything else” (02).



The serviceberry (*Amelanchier alnifolia* var. *semiintegrifolia*) plays a prominent role in Klamath and Modoc traditions. Oral traditions suggest that the Creator, Gmukamps, created humans from the dark purplish-brown berries. The wood of this plant can be used for crafts and tools, such as arrow shafts. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

People used to gather wild plum, rose hips, chokecherries, serviceberries, mountain ash, and elderberry along seeps and springs, both near the lakeshore and in nearby upland areas. “There used to be a lot of berry picking down there...especially near the lake” but many of these former berry gathering areas were said to have disappeared due to grazing and the loss of springs (42). As mentioned with reference to Crater Lake, interviewees noted that many of these berry plants had multiple uses. The stems, roots, and “hips” of wild rose were used in poultices and other medicines, for example, while rose stems were used for arrow shafts, cradle boards, and other manufactured items. Blue elderberry stems were used as straws, flutes, and clapper sticks, and the plant was a source of multiple dyes – purple dye was made of its berries, black dye was made of its roots, and green dye was made of its leaves. The serviceberry stem was a favorite wood for arrow shafts, and the plant was of both utilitarian and religious significance to the Modocs and Klamaths; tribal oral traditions suggested that Gmukamps the Creator had molded the first people from the purplish-brown berries of this plant, which creates stains the color of human skin. Stinging nettle (*Urtica dioica*) was also gathered in draws, seeps, and along the lakeshore for the manufacture of fishing nets, ropes and cords, baskets, and medicines. Rose (*Rosa* spp.) vines were gathered and used in basketry and for other household implements.

The large, tuberous roots of “Desert parsley” (probably *Lomatium canbyi*) were gathered in the spring along the sagebrush-dominated area just south of the Tule Lake shoreline. Camas (*Camassia quamash* and *C. leichtlinii*) was said to have been gathered in modest quantities in the area, but tribal

interviewees were unclear as to whether this was gathered historically within the Monument. “Wild celery” commonly called *bucho* in Modoc (*Heracleum lanatum*) and wild onions (*Allium* spp.) were said to have been gathered in the area as food at one time, but were all but extirpated due to grazing and changes in area hydrology. The same was said of manzanita berries (*Arctostaphylos* spp.) and wild strawberry (*Fragaria* spp.), as well as gooseberries and currants (*Ribes* spp.). These berries were reported to have been plentiful historically along the Tule Lake shoreline.

Sage (*Artemisia* spp.) was described as being among the most important plants in the park. Sage is used in a wide range of medicinal and religious applications. Sage tea, made with sage from the Lava Beds area, is an important traditional medicine. Sage is still gathered in the Monument for use in ceremonial activities, particularly for smudging, a ritual cleansing of the body with smoke in preparation for ceremonial events. Tribal members use sage for ceremonial events at the Monument and the Medicine Lake Highlands but also bring modest quantities of sage home for later ceremonial use. Some consider the use of sage for smudging as critical to the success of ceremonial activity, cleansing the body, mind, and spirit so that an individual is prepared to engage the powers or spirits encountered during vision quests, or simply to successfully confront the challenges that face them in their daily lives. Sage smudging is an important part of the rituals associated with the Monument, including sweat lodge ceremonies and the vision quest. Some contemporary tribal healers use sage as part of healing rituals, which they typically combine with other more conventional therapeutic practices. Like many other ceremonial plants, its origins in the Lava Beds area is said to enhance its powers to cleanse and to heal, powers that exceed those of sage gathered elsewhere. Some people report that when running sheep in what is now the Monument, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, they would pack out the large diameter stems of sagebrush and use this for cooking and smoking food. As described below, sage was and still is actively pruned and managed.

Indian tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*) was gathered in the areas between Lava Beds and the Medicine Lake Highlands and may have been gathered inside the Monument historically. This tobacco is commonly used as a ritual offering today and may be used in smudging to repel hazardous or malevolent spirits or forces. The tobacco also has narcotic properties, and if used without respect or discipline “can make you act crazy.” Some twentieth century elders have not identified the plant or discussed its uses with their children or grandchildren for this reason.

Juniper (*Juniperus occidentalis*) from the Lava Beds area was very important to the Modoc traditionally. Bows, tools, and a wide range of implements were constructed from its wood. Staves were often taken from the sides of living trees without killing the tree; in time, the tree's bark grows over the gap. Some tribal members gathered a modest amount of juniper within the Monument, which is used in the manufacture of bows and other traditional crafts. The provenience of this wood is seen as symbolically important and many Modocs prize juniper from the Monument over juniper from other locations within the Klamath Basin. Tribal interviewees note that such culturally modified trees are still visible in the monument, in locations with the largest, oldest juniper, and that these areas are still widely viewed as "good places to go gather" (42). Juniper berries were eaten for medicinal purposes and were used to prevent or remedy several different illnesses, including colds. Teas made from juniper were an important part of the Modoc pharmacopoeia. Juniper boughs were often used to ritually cleanse homes and individuals; sometimes these boughs were burned and the smoke used to "smudge" objects and people. Some interviewees recalled that their families kept a juniper bough in front of the fire, or sometimes burned juniper boughs and berries indoors during the wintertime. They said that this use kept the house healthy and kept people from getting sick, especially from respiratory illnesses. The smell of the boughs was also said to cleanse the house of malevolent powers or beings. Many of these uses continue in attenuated form today.

Mountain mahogany (*Cercocarpus* spp.) in and around the monument was a popular source of sturdy wood for digging sticks and other tools. Mahogany was also used extensively as firewood and was a preferred species for smoking fish and meat among the Modoc living along Tule Lake. A modest amount of mahogany is still gathered for traditional crafts, and a small number of individuals have gathered mahogany in the Monument for the manufacture of canes and other items; some park staff have reportedly provided informal permission for such gathering in the past. The stems of ferns gathered in Fern Cave were reported to have been used very rarely in ritual baskets and these baskets were "big medicine," embodied with some of the powers of that cave.

Willow (*Salix* spp.) was also formerly gathered in the Monument, especially along the Tule Lake shoreline as well as along springs and seeps. Spring was said to be the best time of year for gathering willow shoots – long shoots were preferred for the manufacture of baskets, sweat lodge frames, and many other uses. Women traditionally devoted entire days to the laborious process of cutting willow withes, scraping off the bark and splitting

the larger willow stems; split stems were divided lengthwise in quarters and the pithy center was removed.

Interviewees speculated that a number of medicinal plants were gathered in the Lava Beds area, though little detail could be uncovered regarding recent gathering of these plants in the Monument. Coyote mint (*Monardella* spp.), for example, was said to be gathered by some Modoc for the prevention of diarrhea, upset or “sour” stomach, the regulation of women’s menstrual cycles. It is still collected for these purposes, and also for lessening the severity of influenza symptoms and respiratory ailments. Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*) was said to be gathered where available, principally near springs. Pulverized, yarrow was placed on cuts and skin irritations as a healing agent and was also used in the prevention of, or recovery from, colds and upper respiratory irritations. Yarrow is still used today by number of tribal members. Mint (*Mentha arvensis*) was gathered from springs, seeps, and lakeshores for stomach trouble, colds, and a number of other ailments. Angelica (*Angelica* spp.) is still very important within the ritual traditions of area tribes and is still gathered by Modocs today for use in sweat lodge ceremonies and for protection during ritual activity in power places.



HUNTING

Among the many traditional activities associated with Lava Beds, hunting was mentioned most frequently, and was identified as an important traditional use of the area by almost all tribal members. “That was the traditional hunting grounds of Captain Jack and his people” (35). Hunting and fishing activities at Lava Beds included taking of deer, bighorn sheep, antelope, waterfowl, various smaller ground fauna, mullet, and mussels. Food was often stored in caves, which were also used as water resources and base camps.

Big Game

Deer was the most important dietary staple of the Modocs, and the presence of deer at Lava Beds helps explain the size and significance of the winter settlements at this site—deer could still be hunted through the winter-time. Most tribal interviewees who discussed resource uses at Lava Beds

noted that it was a very important deer hunting area. Male tribal members provided particularly detailed descriptions of traditional hunting within the Lava Beds; yet women and non-hunters too, when asked to discuss the general importance of the Lava Beds, asserted that “that’s where the deer stayed” (20).

Tribal members uniformly recognized that snow did not accumulate as deep in the Lava Beds as was the case elsewhere in the Modoc and Klamath territories, in part due to its position within the rainshadow of Mount Shasta, the Medicine Lake Highlands, and other Cascade Range peaks. Deer were able to find forage under the thin layer of snow pawing through the crust of snow on top” and gathered there in large numbers for wintertime grazing (22). Large herds converged on Lava Beds each winter and “people would follow the deer herds down there for food” (35). To this day, “deer go down to Lava Beds as much as they can to feed” (35).

Interviewees indicated that deer were the single most important game animal in the Monument and were a cornerstone of Modoc subsistence. Deer were hunted on the open flats, but were also stalked in kipuka landforms and other grassy areas isolated by rock formations and lava beds. These isolated grazing areas created ambush opportunities. Moreover, men sometimes chased deer into lava flows where others waited to ambush along their game’s paths of least resistance. While these geological features were important hunting areas historically, some noted that the exact placement of former hunting sites in these features are difficult to detect today due to comparatively recent volcanism as well as the erosion of older volcanic features. Springs and other water sources in the Monument, too, were important ambush sites for Modoc hunters. Only large adult deer were killed, especially bucks, except during times of scarcity when smaller and younger animals might be killed. Any animal wounded by a hunter was doggedly tracked down. To this day, it continues to be seen a sign of weak character when a hunter lets an injured animal escape.

The base of Gillem Bluff, as well as low points along its ascent (such as the cutoff that leads to Dorris and the Butte Valley) were said to be ideal places for hunting both deer and bighorn sheep historically. Blinds were formerly found in many of these places. Men also ran game toward cliffs at Gillem Bluff and other precipices in the area; sometimes game jumped off the edge and were dispatched at the Bluff’s base.

Bighorn sheep were once hunted in the monument and southward into the Medicine Lake Highlands. Bighorn native to the Monument died out, but

were reintroduced unsuccessfully in the 1970s; some tribal members still recall seeing bighorn in the Monument. Antelope were also hunted within the monument and eastward in the flats surrounding Horse Mountain. These animals grazed on manzanita, bitterbrush, willow, mountain mahogany and juniper, and were found in places with large concentrations of these plants.

Interviewees indicated that almost every part of the monument was hunted, historically. The settlements along the Tule Lake shoreline served as a base of operations for hunting trips in all directions, while temporary hunting camps were sometimes established near springs or caves containing water or ice. When large game was taken, the Modoc carried out rituals similar to those described in the “Tribal Worldview and Land Use” section of this report. The hunters asked the game for forgiveness and sometimes left body parts as offerings at the kill site or nearby hunting ritual sites.

During the summertime, deer and other game moved out of the Lava Beds, escaping the heat and seeking the foraging opportunities of the well-watered high country. Some retreated into the Medicine Lake Highlands, ascending as the snow melted from the high country. A number of the deer that winter in the Lava Beds are from the “interstate herd,” a large herd that typically migrates across the Oregon-California border. This herd has been of tremendous historical importance to the Klamath Tribes, with the herd’s northern migratory limits within the southern edge of the Klamath Reservation.

Tribal interviewees almost universally complain about reduced deer numbers in the upper Klamath Basin generally, and in the Modoc territory in particular. The Lava Beds, they suggest, was full of deer in the early twentieth century, but their numbers have decreased in the last few decades. Some Modocs regret NPS prohibitions on hunting, and feel that such prohibitions on the primary subsistence activity in the area effectively bar tribal members from continuing traditional use of the landscape. In turn, without the opportunity to hunt in the Lava Beds, tribal members suggest that their connection to Lava Beds has become largely symbolic and disconnected from contemporary subsistence and other everyday activities.

Waterfowl

The southern shore of Tule Lake was noted as a very important bird hunting area by most tribal interviewees. Tribal interviewees for this study described the intensive hunting of ducks, geese, coots, and other waterfowl

along this shoreline, especially from spring through fall. Wintertime bird hunting, however, was not considered to be particularly good on Tule Lake. Duck eggs were also gathered in large quantities along the south shore. Particularly favored were the eggs with developed embryos that were found in season: “the old people loved them...the bones are still soft but crunch when you bite down” (07). Bird bones had a wide range of uses within the traditional toolkit, providing the raw material for needles, whistles, and a variety of other items.

Birds were hunted using a number of methods. Nets were sometimes raised along known low flyways or cast from ambushes. Specialized obsidian bird hunting points were used on arrows, including both small projectile points and medium-scale curved points that skipped across the water surface. When possible, Modocs sometimes used an ambush technique along Tule Lake that involved watching waterfowl submerge and positioning oneself by canoe to catch the bird by hand as it surfaced; birds caught this way were sometimes killed by a snapping of the neck as they were snatched from the water. Alternatively, shotguns have become popular in recent years.

The continuous ridgeline represented by Gillem Bluff/Sheepy Ridge provided a unique and valuable hunting site. This ridgeline is punctuated by a number of low passes or notches. At certain times, typically during approaching storms, flocks of waterfowl were said to fly off of Tule Lake and at low elevation through these low passes over the ridge. “The birds fly low to avoid the storms” (47).⁶⁸ The Modoc, observing this behavior, hunted these low passes over the ridgeline. The Modoc constructed nets that spanned these low depressions, and it was said that they could “catch a lot of birds at once.” Linear rock features found in different places along Gillem Bluff were said to possibly be net anchors.

Some tribal interviewees reported that “mud hens” were hunted along the banks of Tule Lake prior to Modoc expulsion and that this practice continued in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These birds were traditionally cooked in a number of ways, but one of the most popular methods involved coating the bird in wet, muddy clay and cooking it in an earth oven – when the bird was removed from the oven, the hardened mud could be cracked and pulled off its exterior, taking with it the bird’s feathers and skin.

Several tribal members suggested that the number of waterfowl found on Tule Lake has declined considerably in the years since Modoc removal.

This was attributed to agricultural reclamation in the Tule Lake basin, as well as perceived mismanagement of recreational bird hunting.

Other Animals

As at Crater Lake, the Lava Beds area was said to be a former hunting area for “groundhog” or yellow-bellied marmot, called m’uy in Modoc and Klamath. Low rocky areas were said to be the best hunting sites, often housing entire colonies of groundhogs. Neva Eggsman reported that, in the early twentieth century, some men tagged along with the women for epos gathering trips to the Tule Lake area to hunt groundhog; some were eaten on-site to feed the people gathered there, while others were packed home for later use. Groundhogs were gutted and roasted in rock-lined pits; fires were built in these pits, and once these fires burned down groundhogs were placed in the pits and buried in soil. While the Lava Beds area was used for groundhog hunting into the early twentieth century, tribal interviewees were not aware of continued groundhog hunting within the area today. In recent decades, groundhog consumption has become rare and is typically tied to social events with large numbers of elders present.

Both jackrabbits and cottontail rabbits were hunted in Lava Beds with snares or arrows. In the years since the Modoc War, tribal members have hunted rabbits opportunistically with rifles. Muskrat was said to have been hunted along the Tule Lake shoreline, but little information was available regarding the details of this practice. Porcupine was said to have been hunted in the Monument historically; porcupine was eaten, while its quills were used in regalia and other applications.

Insect larvae or chrysalids were traditionally gathered and eaten by Modoc, and some interviewees for this study speculated that these were gathered in the park historically. Some tribal interviewees had heard descriptions of small pits dug around ponderosa pines on the south side of the park that were thought to be used to entrap moth chrysalids or other larvae falling from these trees.

Snakes were mentioned as a hazard in the Lava Beds area. Interviewees for this study noted that the Modoc had a variety of techniques to rid their villages and activity areas of snakes, but few could recall what these were. Some noted that burning of grass and other low vegetation around settlements allowed for the avoidance of unexpected “snakes in the grass,” a source of danger to children in particular. Some individuals report that

they do not stay overnight at the Modoc Gathering or participate in other events at the Monument due to the threat posed by snakes.

Owls and hawks were sometimes hunted ritually, and the feathers from these birds were used in ceremonial regalia. The methods of hunting were guided by strict protocols, in part to insure that the feathers were taken with adequate respect, so that the feathers would retain their power in ritual contexts.

Tule Lake Fishing

Mullet was said to have been fished along the south shore of Tule Lake. Fish were caught with forked spears or sometimes netted from shore. Other equipment for taking fish included double-pointed angle hooks and gorges. Dipnets were used on occasion. Bows and arrows were reportedly used by some families, though this was not depicted as a widespread practice. Spears were typically made out of willow or other durable but springy wood. Spearing large fish required a detachable spear point with a strong cord, allowing fishermen to fight the fish and tire them before pulling them ashore; if a fisherman used non-detachable points, these fish could shake free or break a spear shaft. In other cases, spearfishing or dipnetting was done by canoe. Miller Anderson, for example, reported that when his mother was a girl around the turn-of-the-century, she rode in a canoe with a pitch torch while her brother speared for salmon. She “did this all the time” with her family in the lakes of the upper Klamath Basin.⁶⁹ In the winter, if the ice was not too thick, tribal members cut holes in the ice and fished by net or spear through these holes.

As men fished in the shallows of Tule Lake, women stood on the adjacent shoreline – as men speared the fish they would toss them ashore, where the women clubbed the fish. Women filleted the fish soon after they were caught, and suspended them on fish drying racks that lined the lake. While drying racks were continuously distributed along the shoreline during peak harvests, there were several primary fish processing stations along the south shore of Tule Lake. The fish were air-dried there, and usually not smoked. The dried fish was then stored as fillets or pulverized to make quamis, an important wintertime food source that has become a symbolically charged delicacy as mullet populations have dwindled. Mullet harvesting and consumption continued through much of the twentieth century, fueled by a continued subsistence fishery as well as a short-lived commercial fishery that provided fish to Klamath Agency employees and other non-Indians of the region (Deur 2002b).

Some interviewees indicated that salmon entered Tule Lake as well. Oral accounts suggest that their presence might have been intermittent, and tied to flood events that opened clear channels between the Lost River system and Klamath River. Fish were said to have decreased due to wetland draining, irrigation channel diversions, and overfishing.

Freshwater mussels were a popular supplemental food source and were gathered in large quantities in Tule Lake as well as rivers and streams nearby. While tribal interviewees did not recall specific mussel gathering sites within the Monument, some noted that the south shore of Tule Lake formerly provided ample shellfish gathering opportunities. Some also indicated that mussels procured elsewhere, such as in Lost River, were sometimes processed and eaten by residents of the villages on the south shore of Tule Lake.

CAVES AND RESOURCE PROCUREMENT

Caves were reported to maintain relatively uniform temperatures, and many were said to be quite cold. Such sites were often used to temporarily escape summertime heat during travel through the Lava Beds tied to resource procurement and other activities. Sometimes, food gathered during the hot season was cached in these caves; temporary storage was believed to be more common, allowing groups to cache food until it was gathered and packed to their home village. Still, some indicated that caves close to settlements were sometimes used for long-term storage of food and other items, and would be revisited during the wintertime as provisions were needed. Such caves protected stored items from the severe cold of winter, just as they protected them from the heat of summer.

Christine Allen's grandfather told her family that, during the period prior to the Modoc War, the Modoc had used a cave containing a major spring for water when traveling through the Lava Beds. In addition to serving as a base camp during hunting forays, this cave was a draw for animals, and contained many animal bones. When the family returned after the war, the cave could not be found. They believed it had collapsed during the intervening years (29).

A number of tribal members mentioned that ice caves were very important prior to the Modoc War. Such caves were used for the procurement of ice or water during forays into the largely waterless Lava Beds. These sites were also used for the caching of meat and fish. Short-term meat caching in these caves was particularly important, as this allowed men to hunt continuously in the Lava Beds when the deer herds were large without having



The caves of Lava Beds provide cool refuges during the heat of summer in the Lava Beds. Tribal members recall stories of Modocs using certain caves for the storage of meat, or as temporary shelters during extreme heat. *Klamath County Museum photo*

to pause to transport or process their meat. Some tribal interviewees report that their families sometimes detoured from visits to the Monument to view the ice caves well into the twentieth century. While the exact reasons for these visits are unclear, it seemed that they were motivated in part by their historical and cultural significance to the tribes.

RITUAL WATER AND MINERAL PROCUREMENT

Other items of ritual importance were sometimes gathered in the Lava Beds. Water from Tule Lake was considered important for ritual bathing prior to ritual activities in the Lava Beds and Medicine Lake Highlands. Some tribal members may still use Tule Lake water in this manner. Modest quantities of this water have sometimes been gathered as a medicine for use in locations remote from the lake. The same is true of water taken from past and present springs within the Monument. Red pigment was also gathered in or near the Lava Beds. According to Ray (1963: 175),

“The meager supply of red pigment was derived from small pebblelike pieces obtained in the vicinity of the southeastern arm of Tule Lake. These pieces assumed red color only after baking for an hour in a hot fire.”

This pigment was used for face painting and myriad other uses, especially by religious practitioners or gamblers. Some tribal interviewees speculated that this pigment was used ritually in the production of pictographs in and around the Monument, as well as in ritual body painting – an interpretation that would be consistent with other ethnographic and archaeological evidence. This pigment was also used to color ceremonial regalia. Some tribal interviewees speculate that the raw material of Petroglyph Point and other sacred places may have had strong religious connotations and scrapings taken from such rock features may have had ritual significance.

METHODS OF LAND MANAGEMENT

Some interviewees suggested that their ancestors were stewards of land and played an active role in maintaining plant and animal communities within Lava Beds and the adjacent countryside. These individuals indicated that fire was a “major tool” in the management of plant and animal communities and underpinned traditional use of the landscape.

“As they went through [between Tule Lake and the Medicine Lake Highlands] they’d burn it as they go for the plant life and animals...to help mother nature...it keeps down the bugs. You burn it off and it’s loaded with food” (42).

Burning was also carried out to clear the understory so that people could move freely, and trails were kept clean of obstructions. These blazes had safety and strategic reasons as well, as it was said that the open views prohibited members of potentially hostile tribes from sneaking up on members of other tribes and attacking.

Interviewees agreed that the vegetation of the Lava Beds was traditionally burned to foster the regrowth of culturally preferred plant species and - outside of ceremonial and residential areas - the spatial concentration of game species. Certain plants are said to grow better after a fire, including food and medicinal plants. Willow was burned or pruned by the Modocs to produce the long, straight shoots preferred for the manufacture of baskets and other goods. Burning also promoted new growth of species that were preferred by browsing deer, such as sagebrush, bitterbrush, buckbrush (*Ceanothus* spp.), and manzanita, as well as a number of herbaceous species.

The use of fire to clear vegetation also improved mobility between traditional use areas and along the trails leading in and out of the Highlands. After the arrival of horses, cleared ground became particularly important to the mobility of tribal members as horses loaded with goods or pulling wagons were unable to pass through areas with brush or downed trees (35).

Fire also appears to have improved the views from butte- and ridge-top locations, which were considered so critical to the vision quest experience. Fires carried out for many these purposes did not remove the forest altogether but eliminated much of the brushy forest understory, leaving the large diameter trees unscathed.

Ritual burning is noted in the ethnographic literature. A Modoc story recorded by Curtin, for example, outlines a variety of protocols for young men's vision quests through the retelling of the actions of Jackrabbit, which were to be instructive for later generations. In this tale, it is noted:

“He now went to the high mountain...on the top was a swimming pond, the head of all swimming ponds and very dangerous. And it was to this one his mother told him to go. [As] he started and at the foot of the mountain he set fire to the shrubs and bushes and followed up the fire which burned brightly. If the earth and mountains are willing to give a young man wisdom they will burn brightly and fast, but if they are not very willing, rather hold back, they will burn slowly. His mother told him that in climbing the mountains he must not hurry. He must listen for everything talked, the earth, the trees and everything that was around him. And as he followed the fire he must listen to what they said (Curtin n.d.: M-026.0).”

Traditional methods of burning are recalled by a few individuals today, primarily on the basis of elders' accounts or burning carried out in recent decades outside of the Highlands. One interviewee noted that, when burning for vegetation management (instead of solely ceremonial purposes), people typically

“set fire on their way back down the mountains...people reach down under the brush and test to see if the soil is moist. If it is a little moist they will burn. If it's not moist, they don't...it is too dry and will get out of control” (42).

These fires did not produce high-intensity heat, but “just smolder through. Some things won't grow without fire...before the ground even cools it will sprout” (42). Burning was carried out on multiple scales, from vast, landscape-clearing fires to the burning of individual patches of plants, depending upon the goals of the person igniting the fire.

Fire was used to foster the growth of a number of specific plant species. Sage, epos, and other culturally preferred species grew back in abundance after their dead stems were burned away, along with competing brushy and woody species. Some interviewees also discussed the traditional practice of burning off the dead tule stalks (and possibly woka litter) along the shoreline of Tule Lake and other marshes – this was done once the marshes had largely dried out in the late summer and was said to cause these plants to come back abun-

dantly the following year. One Modoc story in Curtin (1912: 129) describes how Fox “burned over the ground and made it ready for [epos],” apparently close to Tule Lake, in order to draw women closer to him.

Such burning also produced forage for deer and other game species: “people used to burn to bring in the deer...you could see the “cat faces” at the base of the trees...from the fires” (08). Modoc hunters sometimes used large ground fires to drive deer toward men waiting behind blinds (Curtin 1912: 159). Since burning was prohibited, “brush has built up” ruining game foraging opportunities and increasing fire hazards (08).

Tribal interviewees described the traditional management of sagebrush (*Artemisia* spp.) as part of their ceremonial traditions. Sage is managed by pruning back certain branches. If this is done correctly, “it comes back fuller the following year...with more stems” (40). Historically, this pruning may have been accompanied or replaced by fire management. These sage stems are then used for a number of ritual applications. People return to the same patches year after year, and families report developing an ongoing ritual relationship with specific patches of sage. Patches of sage in the Monument – near, but not in, the Stronghold – are still managed in this way by some tribal members, who visit these patches during the Modoc Gathering and at other times during the year. This sage is used for ritual purposes in other locations.



Schonchin Butte with sagebrush in the foreground. *Lava Beds National Monuments Museum and Archives Collections*



“Entrance to Caldwell Ice Caves, Lava Beds National Monument.” Photo by L.A. Barrett, U.S. Forest Service, 1924. *Harpers Ferry Center*.

Lava Beds as a Sacred Place



Like the Klamath oral traditions discussed in reference to Crater Lake, Modoc oral traditions were tied to specific landmarks that underscored ritual functions of the landscape.⁷⁰ Within Modoc oral traditions, there are perhaps no places of equal importance to the Tule Lake shoreline. Modoc tribal members have long told creation stories tied to the Lake. All follow the same basic pattern: in the beginning, there was nothing but Tule Lake. Sitting on the east shore of Tule Lake, Gmukamps considered the void around him. Digging mud from the bottom of the lake, he constructed a giant mound beside him. The mud from this hill was used to create all of the Earth, the mountains, waters, plants, and animals. Then he traveled, making the entire world:

“Kumush (our Father) left Tula Lake and wandered over the earth. He went to the edge of the world and was gone a great many years; then he came back...” (Curtin 1912: 39).

“[Gmukamps] drew trees and plants out of the earth, and he put birds in the air, fish in the water, and animals on the land. He had shaped and decorated the world as a woman shapes and decorates a basket” (Marriott and Rachlin 1968: 28).

The mud that was not used in this act of creation dried in the sun and became Petroglyph Point:

“In the meager cosmogony of the Modoc the world was characterized as a flat disc with its center located at a point on the east side of Tule Lake. At this spot is situated a small hill [Petroglyph Point] which was the original earth matter. Starting with this the culture hero, Kumookumpts [Gmukamps], expanded it, in somewhat the manner of weaving a basket, until the present size was reached” (Ray 1963: 18).

Other places of profound significance in Modoc oral tradition were situated nearby. Curtin (1912: 7), for example, notes:

“Kumush [Gmukamps] took (his son) Isis and went to live on the southeast side of Tula Lake...Different events in the lives of Isis and Kumush are represented by rocks on the southeast side of Tula Lake. Half-way up a high mountain is the house in which Kumush and Isis lived (a large rock); near Deus (Stork’s bill), is Isis (a rock of peculiar shape...”⁷¹

As the rocks and mountains were said to be connected to the events of this time, likewise, the birds and animals hunted along the lake were said to have been people at one time:

“On the shore of Tula Lake many chiefs were living – the first people. They are now turned to fowls and animals.” (Curtin 1912: 376).

Interviewees for this study note that the consumption of game taken from Tule Lake, represented as sentient beings in their oral traditions, created cosmological tensions and ritual obligations that helped to shape their ritual traditions.

Also, Modoc oral tradition assigns the origins of the Modoc vision quest to events in or very near the Monument. On a rocky summit of “L_klis” (possibly Gillem Bluff), Gmukamps instructs his son in the nature of the vision quest:

“You must be wise, you must be great and powerful and strong. You must go to the top of Lániswi [Medicine Lake] and swim in the pond of blue water that is there. When you get to the pond, you must pile up stones and then stand and talk to the mountain. Tell it what you think. The mountain will hear you. Everything in the world will hear you and understand you. After you have talked to the mountain, you must dive in the pond. Dive five times to the bottom, and each time drink of the lowest water. When you come out of the pond, build a fire, warm yourself and then sleep. If you dream, don’t tell the dream to any one. When you wake up, start for home. On the road don’t talk to any one, or drink any water. If you do as I tell you, you will be as great as I am and do the things that I do. You will live always. You will be the brightest object in the world. If you endure these things, you will be able to bear every suffering” (Curtin 1912: 39).

This tale and its variants, in the view of many Modoc interviewees, provide the foundation for Modoc religious practice as it has existed ever since. The tale is taken as instruction on the proper methods of vision questing. Like the Creator’s son, Isis, individuals must begin their vision quests at low-elevation buttes and ridges such as L_klis. The presence of the Creator and his son at these places empowers the landmarks there. “The Creator’s spirit still lives in the places he visited” (42). The preparatory cleansing and reflection that occurs at lower elevations sets the stage for an individual’s engagement with the heightened power of the high country, and the direct communion with the mountains, their resident spirits, and the Creator’s

power which still resides there. Oral traditions regarding mythtime events after Isis's vision quest provide recurrent descriptions of spirit beings participating in vision quests of this kind (e.g. Curtin 1912: 68, 77, 99, 102, 136-38, 153).

A number of Modoc stories center on supernatural beings associated with Gillem Bluff/ Sheepy Ridge. During pivotal conflicts between these beings, those that are weaker - physically or spiritually - are sometimes tossed off the cliffs and into Tule Lake.

A transformer tale recounted in Curtin (1912: 95-117) describes events on the south shore of Tule Lake, where transformers – in the form of a group of young men - proclaim that women and all female animals shall bear their children in their abdomen, rather than on their foreheads, as was the case beforehand. Afterwards, the bullsnake spirit tries to encircle and constrict the entire world and is punished by these young men, cut into pieces and tossed to the ground to become rocks. These rocks together made an unspecified mountain near the site, from which snake crawled in his modern form.⁷² The teachings encoded in these stories are, in the traditional Modoc view, fundamentally tied to the landmarks at which they occurred.

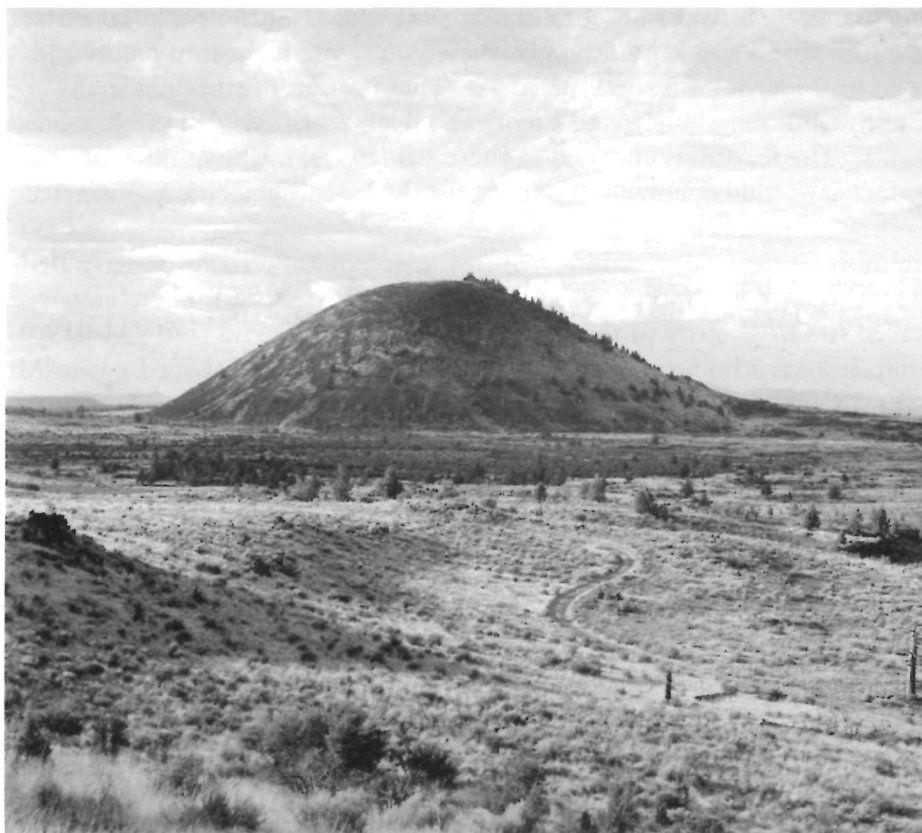
A number of the oral traditions tied to the geological features at Lava Beds are said to have had moral lessons, though few of these stories are clearly recalled today. A story in the unpublished notes of Curtin (n.d.: M-019.0), “Lulusdewieas who went west under the ground from the Lava Beds to Mt. Shasta,” or “old man who turns into a screw” is a case in point. This story centers on a family living near the Lava Beds, including a nuclear family and the husband's elderly father. When the husband is away hunting, his wife intentionally withholds food (sweet tasting roots) from her gluttonous father-in-law. The father-in-law's penis begins to rotate and he is transformed into a giant borer that burrows into the ground, with the house and the family tumbling after him.⁷³ The descriptions that follow provide a view of the genesis of the unique geology of Lava Beds, with its extensive network of lava tubes, punctuated by cave entrances and fragmented lava flows:

“And the old man went on boring, and as he went he burst and broke up the dirt. And once in a while he would raise himself up a little and at such places you might think it as level for a little but the next instant the ground sinks down in a great hole. And he went on every little way bursting and throwing up great piles of dirt, wide openings in the earth....And all along the lava beds he went under [the ground] clear to the other side of Shasta Mountain.”

The tale ends with the husband mourning for his lost family and the father-in-law proclaiming that “My soul belongs to this earth. You must go away from me. Don’t try to follow me. I shall live forever under this earth.”

RITUAL PLACES, PAST AND PRESENT

Places of continuing religious significance exist throughout the Lava Beds. However, places of continued religious use are relatively few, as they are restricted to those areas where one cannot see or be seen by park visitors and facilities. Interviewees of Modoc ancestry consistently said that religious visits must be private and separate from everyday human activity. What follows is an overview of these practices, much condensed in an effort to protect the integrity of ritual sites and ongoing ritual practices.⁷⁴



Schonchin Butte in the 1940s. An important place within Modoc oral tradition and ceremonial practices, the ritual use of Schonchin Butte was adversely impacted by the construction of the fire lookout at the summit, a trail, and parking lot at the base. *Klamath County Museum photo*

Buttes and Ridgelines within the Vision Quest at Lava Beds

All buttes and bluffs were considered significant to the Modoc for religious purposes. Some interviewees for this study suggested that historically every butte in the monument was used for ceremonial purposes. Lower buttes, closer to the settlements on the southern shores of Tule Lake, were used for adolescent vision quests and they were frequented by a wide spectrum of Modoc society. The taller buttes were used for more elaborate ritual activities, and were more commonly used by religious specialists and those with some level of preliminary religious training. Today, some families still visit buttes for ceremonial purposes and regard most of the buttes in the park as “sacred places.” Buttes or sections of buttes that are particularly accessible to the public in the modern-day Monument are largely avoided now by those who visit Lava Beds for religious purposes. Accordingly, certain buttes were known to be vision quest sites historically, though many of these buttes had not been visited by any of this study’s interviewees. Prayer seats attesting to this significance are said to have been visible on certain buttes.

Schonchin Butte was generally identified as a place of great importance for vision quests historically (see section under “Fundamentals of Land Use” on vision quests in general). Likewise, Ray (1963) identified Schonchin Butte as a ceremonial/ritual center, but did not elaborate on its use. The use of this peak has diminished in recent decades due to the increased presence of visitors, which undermines the silence and isolation required for the vision quest.⁷⁵

Gillem Bluff (or “Sheepy Ridge”) was also identified as a vision quest area of both historical and modern significance. Gillem Bluff, with a commanding view of the Tule Lake basin, is traditionally viewed as a place of intense religious significance. A number of oral traditions describe the Creator’s activities there. Linear rock features are still visible along the top of Gillem Bluff; though interviewees had different interpretations about their origins. Some suggested that they were related to ritual activity, while others indicated that they were used to secure bird nets or other utilitarian devices. One location near Gillem Bluff was said to be “a ritual center,” used for shamanic healing. Caves in that area were used for ritual healing, while rocks near their entrances were used as grinding surfaces for traditional medicines. Some of these grinding sites can still be seen on the rocks today.

As with Crater Lake, men were said to engage in ritual activities at lower buttes on their approaches to the Medicine Lake Highlands to “pray for success” and enhance their hunting power prior to going to the Highlands.

The lower buttes on the approaches to Medicine Lake Highlands, including the buttes within Lava Beds National Monument, were considered particularly potent for the acquisition of this power. Obsidian, the principal material used in the construction of projectile points and blades, had a strong ritual association with hunting. Vision quest sites on buttes with clear views of obsidian flows in the Medicine Lake Highlands were said to be potential sources of hunting power and were preferred for ritual activities preceding the hunt. These sites were often revisited after the hunt to give thanks for their success.

The Tule Lake villages were connected to the Medicine Lake Highlands by a series of ascending ridges, punctuated by cinder cone buttes that are depicted in Modoc oral tradition as the “stair steps” of the Creator. These buttes included Horse Mountain, northeast of the monument, as well as Petroglyph Point, Schonchin Butte, and a number of peaks south of the monument. Pit River oral tradition likewise depicts alignments of buttes on both the north and south sides of the Highlands as being the “footprints” or “stopping over” points of the Creator. Many (if not all) of these cinder cone buttes were formerly used for religious purposes, and some are still used for these purposes today.

Ethnographic information gathered by Theodoratus and Jackson (1998: 23) confirmed the continued use of the National Forest lands south of the park boundary for ceremonial and ritualized food gathering:

“Each place had its own song associated with it. A person goes to a butte to pray for something special and sometimes a request is granted and sometimes it is not.”

At each place, offerings were typically left behind, in the form of rock stacks, foods, or other items.⁷⁶

The Stronghold is so permeated by visitor facilities, such as trails, interpretive signs, and parking lots, that it is viewed by most interviewees for this study as inappropriate for vision quests. Nonetheless, some interviewees noted that rock cairns and small rock “offerings” are sometimes found in this important area, and that the Stronghold is sometimes used for abbreviated vision quests, probably tied to the memorialization of ancestors.

Caves and Vision Quests in the Lava Beds

Interviewees for this study suggest that caves have traditionally been spiritual places. “There are medicine caves down there [at Lava Beds]...Medicine

LAVA BEDS AS A SACRED PLACE

caves are important...they are powerful for people who believe” (34). While vision quests undertaken in caves had many similarities to those undertaken on buttes and other surface features, the cave rituals were categorically distinct: “There’s a different kind of power that you get from caves” (42). Many of the smaller caves and lava tubes were visited by lone individuals for ritual purposes, and sometimes offerings were left in these places.



Many of the caves and buttes in the Lava Beds have been used for ceremonial purposes.
Klamath County Museum photo

Fern Cave was typically depicted as a place that had been used for both independent and group ritual activity. Fern Cave was said to be unique among places of religious significance within the monument. Fern Cave “was one of the most significant religious places that the Modoc could go to...without having to travel far from home” (40). People “hiked in to pray there” (33). The cave is “a controlled environment” that exhibits very little fluctuation in temperature and humidity, which was recognized as part of its ceremonial importance. The fern was rare in Modoc country and this provides further confirmation that this is a special place. A number of contemporary tribal members report going to Fern Cave “for personal reflection.” Some have gone on vision quests in Fern Cave in recent years and gained important skills and perspectives from these experiences. Forms of humility and wisdom are said to be available there. Skull Cave was said to have been used in ways that were similar to Fern Cave, but this use diminished in the years following the Modoc War.⁷⁷

Vision quests within caves were often associated with rock art, and rock art within caves and lava tubes is widespread in the park (Loubser 1999). Interviewees indicated that some rock paintings and piles within caves marked the location of the sun during the solstice and other times of importance. The solstice was a time of certain ritual activity, and shamans participated in ritual preparation for these events in places with celestial markers of this kind.

RITUAL CONNECTIONS: LAVA BEDS AND MEDICINE LAKE

Most tribal members depicted the Lava Beds as an inseparable part of the Medicine Lake Highlands. Looming on the southern edge of the Modoc territory, the Highlands can be seen from throughout the Modoc world. In the early summer, as the winter snowpack retreated, Modoc tribal members traditionally ascended into the mountains, meeting with members of the Pit River, Shasta, and other tribes, and the Medicine Lake Highlands became a center of social, economic, and ceremonial activity. Many tribal members did not descend from the Highlands until the end of summer; some stayed until the first snows began to fall.

“All through the summer” the Highlands served as a multi-tribal gathering area, where Tribes peacefully coexisted (26).⁷⁸ While there, tribal members participated in religious activities, gathered obsidian, participated in specialized sub-alpine resource harvests, and took respite from the heat of the lowlands. The Medicine Lake Highlands was thus an integral part of a much larger pattern of summertime sub-alpine activities that was found among all of the tribes of southwestern Oregon and northern California, and it is frequently represented in the ethnographic literatures regarding this region.⁷⁹ The Modoc ascent to the Medicine Lake Highlands in the view of tribal members was “pretty much the same thing that the Klamaths [predominantly] did at Huckleberry Mountain,” for example (26). Moreover, Medicine Lake functioned for the Modoc in much the same ritual functions that Crater Lake functioned for the Klamath. (As the Klamath have stories of Skell and Chaskai’s actions atop Crater Lake, the Modoc had stories of these same two characters’ exploits at Medicine Lake.⁸⁰ Yet tribal interviewees attest that, among the Modoc, the Highlands was unique and there was “no other place in the Modoc territory” that provided these things to the tribe (37).

As numerous tribal members asserted in reference to the Medicine Lake Highlands, “the whole area is sacred” and contains a constellation of ceremonial sites that are conceived of as running continuously from Tule Lake

to the Medicine Lake caldera and beyond. In past ethnographic studies, the Medicine Lake Highlands and Lava Beds have stood out as the two most important traditional places to contemporary Modocs. Moreover, Modoc interviewees have indicated that the two areas are seen as fundamentally interconnected (Deur 2003; Phillips 1997: 36-37:). “They’re all part of the same place!” (39). While Medicine Lake, proper, was the center of social and ceremonial activities within the Medicine Lake Highlands, every prominent geological feature within the Highlands was said to have a significant and distinctive cultural role. Each major obsidian flow, every cinder cone was said to hold certain powers and potentials and was visited regularly by tribal members each year. And each of these outlying features of the landscape were functionally associated with Medicine Lake; for example, tribal members visited the Lake for prayers and ritual cleansing, before or after visits to these outlying places.

“My first vision quest was on a butte that you pass as you climb to Medicine Lake...This gave me the ability to go to Medicine Lake....Before I went to that butte I was not ready for Medicine Lake” (42).

The ascent from lower to higher buttes became temporally compressed or the course of the twentieth century. Barbara Kirk recalled visiting the Highlands with her grandmother, Lizzy Kirk, every year of her youth, during the mid-twentieth century. During the family’s ascent to Medicine Lake, Lizzy Kirk stopped at certain buttes in the Monument - most commonly Schonchin Butte - to offer prayers and throw food offerings to the ground before driving up the road to Medicine Lake. This was viewed as an integral part of their preparations for a visit to Medicine Lake. (On the use of lower versus higher peaks in general, see “The Vision Quest and Sacred Places” section within this volume.)

In addition to being a significant ritual center, the Highlands was an important place for social and economic activity. Multi-tribal gatherings provided opportunities for singing, dancing, and gambling contests. A number of different populations visited the Modoc villages along Tule Lake prior to their ascent into the Highlands. Major obsidian flows such as Glass Mountain were quarried for the raw material of projectile points and blades. Each obsidian flow in the Highlands was known to possess distinctive properties, including variability in the color and tensile strength of obsidian that made the raw material from different sites appropriate for different uses. Large pieces of obsidian were packed down from the Highlands and used for tool manufacturing or trade. A number of individuals specialized in the manufacture of obsidian tools: “that was their trade” (25). Obsidian tech-

nology was accordingly sophisticated, with specialized points and blades for myriad purposes; for example, a curved waterfowl point, once used extensively along the Tule Lake shoreline at Lava Beds, allowed the arrowhead to “skip” across the surface of the water and kill birds sitting on the water’s surface. Obsidian flows are still visited in the Highlands today for the gathering of obsidian that is fashioned by traditional craftsmen into objects used for ceremonies, barter, and sale.

This significance of the Medicine Lake Highlands endured, and subtly changed, in the years following Euro-American settlement. During the Modoc War, some Modocs retreated to the Medicine Lake Highlands and successfully hid from the U.S. military.⁸¹ For this reason, some Modoc were able to avoid forced relocation at the end of the War, and many sought refuge with members of the Pit River tribe. Following the Modoc War, the Pit River people continued to use the area extensively. Modocs also maintained ties to the Highlands for both ceremonial and mundane uses, some returning with their Pit River kin and others returning gradually following their removal to Oklahoma or the Klamath Reservation.

Despite a century and a half of social, cultural, and economic change, as well as extensive local development, the Modoc and other tribes still retain strong ties to the Medicine Lake Highlands. Today, the use of the Highlands continues for ritual and recreational reasons. The Medicine Lake Highlands is still visited by individuals seeking wisdom, empowerment, ritual purification, and the curing of myriad ailments. Many Modocs, as well as Klamaths, Shastas, Pit Rivers, and others consider access to the Highlands to be essential to the maintenance of cultural traditions and tribal identity.

In recent years, Modoc visits to the Medicine Lake area have become an important component of Modoc Gathering at Lava Beds. Some participants visit buttes north of Medicine Lake, on both National Forest and National Park lands, during the Modoc Gathering to offer prayers, before and after the event. The Medicine Lake Highlands can be seen from the ceremonial areas used for the Modoc Gathering at Lava Beds, and this was intentionally factored into the Tribes’ decision to stage the Gathering at these locations. Since the 1990s, as each Modoc Gathering comes to a conclusion, tribal members climb up the Forest Service road to Medicine Lake; here, tribal members gather “to bathe and to pray” as a conclusion to the event (35). Some tribal members who formerly knew little about Medicine Lake but visited the Lava Beds have become acquainted with (and increasingly attached to) the Highlands through this event. In recent years, this event has become so significant among some Modoc that a “Modoc

Medicine Lake Gathering” is starting to function as a semi-independent event, with tribal members gathering for extended stays and organized ceremonial events on the lakeshore. Since 2001, the Pit River Tribe has also hosted a separate Medicine Lake Gathering during the summertime and many of the same Modoc families participate in this event.

PETROGLYPHS AND PICTOGRAPHS

Only a few interviewees had insights into the origins or significance of the petroglyphs within the park, including those at Petroglyph Point (but on rock art see also the “Lava Beds’ Caves,” section of this document). For a small number of interviewees, these images serve as a “roadmap” of elements relevant to traditional religious activities, albeit a roadmap that defies easy interpretation. With diligence and religious devotion, some indicate, the meanings and potential uses of these images might be revealed. These individuals go to this place seeking guidance in their contemporary religious activities and view the site as being “extremely important.” Several tribal interviewees noted that they visited these sites periodically and, though they were unaware of the “meaning” of these marks, they were nonetheless culturally important because they were the work of their ancestors. Tribal members sometimes visit these rock art sites in an attempt to learn from them, an interpretive act that requires “solitude...quiet... reflection” (40). Even when their meaning is unclear, it is said that some rock art “tells a story” (20).

In many cases, the traditional significance of these sites can be partially inferred from Modoc, Klamath, and Pit River oral traditions. Petroglyph Point is an important geographical reference point in the oral traditions of the Modoc, Klamath, Pit River, and possibly other tribes. Some interviewees noted that this landmark lies along the alignment of “stair steps” formed by the Creator passing between Medicine Lake and Horse Mountain. The specifics of the oral tradition are elusive at this date, but it is clear that Petroglyph Point was viewed as a byproduct of the Creator’s journeys through this area. A few interviewees recalled oral traditions indicating that this point was made of the raw material from which the Creator manufactured the Earth, the leftovers of the creation. As such, this point was made up of a unique substance, of inert and amorphous power, the raw material from which all matter was created.

Petroglyph Point is described as the site of the house of Aisis, Gmukamc’s son, sitting opposite Gmukamps’s home along Sheepy Ridge on the



A portion of the petroglyphs at Petroglyph Point. This place is considered sacred to many tribal members. This portion of the Monument was added relatively late, so that considerable vandalism had already happened prior to NPS management. Following incorporation into the Monument, the NPS quickly installed fences to protect the site. *Klamath County Museum photo*

opposite side of Tule Lake. Modoc stories indicate that Gmukamps returned to this place after creating the world and that his spirit may still reside there (Curtin 1912: 10; Curtin n.d.).

Thus, like other sites mentioned in this volume, Petroglyph Point appears to have been important within the repertoire of ceremonial practices conducted both by religious specialists and non-specialists. Petroglyphs in caves, especially Fern Cave, were said to be associated with ritual activities in these places. Markings may have served as part of a shamanistic effort to channel the inert power of this unformed mass. Many of the petroglyphs are said to be tied to vision quest activities conducted in other locations nearby. The water at the base of this point was speculated to be used in ritual bathing as a prelude to ascending mountaintops for vision quests. This interpretation appears to be corroborated by the presence of such images as silhouetted lodgepole pines with double tops among the Petroglyph Point images; while such pines are not found near this point, they are a common sight from the vision quest sites of the Medicine Lake Highlands. Other images were said to be possible “maps” of routes and sacred places within these Highlands.

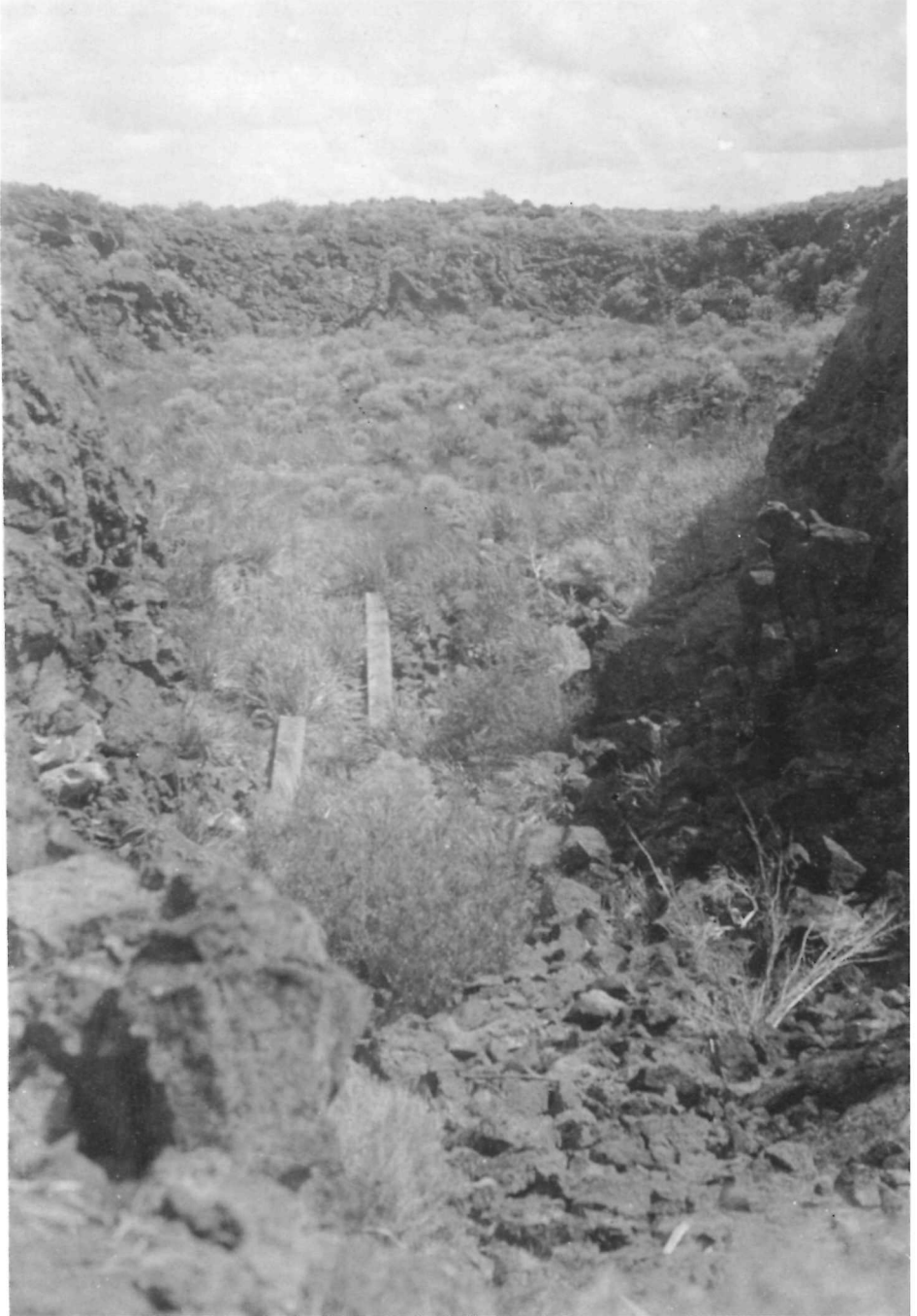
Some interviewees mentioned oral traditions indicating that some of the rock art in this area was “very old” and was “made by the people who were

here before us.” Other tribal members take issue with this characterization, noting that the Modoc have been there, according to their oral history, since the time of creation; they argue that it is surely their own distant ancestors who produced these images.⁸² Modoc and Klamath oral tradition mentions the presence of beings after the time of the transformers but before the arrival of modern humans who were the ancestors to today’s tribes, and these beings appear to have been no less responsive to the geography of the Creator’s journey. Other interviewees simply suggested that the beings depicted in the pictographs were probably not the Modoc, as the hair and adornments on these beings were not consistent with Modoc practices (32, 29).

Some also noted that the elevation of the petroglyphs showed evidence of the historical elevation of the water in Tule Lake prior to droughts and water diversions. Several of these images are high enough that they could not have been created by individuals standing on the ground, but were said to be created by individuals floating in the water or standing in canoes. No doubt, this is consistent with suggestions that the site was used for ritual bathing historically, prior to vision quests at remote sites. The antiquity of the rock art was said to correlate with its elevation, reflecting long-term fluctuations in the elevation of Tule Lake (19).

Through the creation of petroglyphs, individuals engaged and activated spirit powers within the earth and living beings. Concentric circular images, typically associated with passage in and out of spirit realm, can be found at cremation sites and certain vision quest sites. At vision quest sites, these were sometimes the perceived points of entry or departure of the shaman into the spirit world. As indicated previously, the numbers of “dots” or geometric features often reflected the numbers of people, animals, sites, etc. being engaged or supported ritually.

Several interviewees for this study expressed deep concern about the vandalism of petroglyphs at Petroglyph Point. While most of these people appreciate NPS efforts to protect the petroglyphs, some feel that more could be done.



“Natural corral in Captain Jack’s Stronghold used by Indians for holding beef cattle and horses during the Modoc War.” Photo by Leland S. Smith, U.S. Forest Service, 1923.
Harpers Ferry Center

Place and Displacement in the Wake of Contact



Violent interactions between the Modoc and emigrants became a regular feature of life along the Applegate Trail from its beginnings, and became a central theme in pioneer journals.⁸³ The Applegate Trail largely followed the northern shore of Tule Lake, avoiding the rough terrain of the Lava Beds and the adjacent lakes and mountains. Interviewees suggested that a major tribal trail followed the same route, bypassing the Lava Beds, and that the emigrant trail simply followed the old tribal trails (47). Others suggested that the Applegates recognized the ritual and social importance of Clear Lake and Tule Lake, and intentionally steered clear of these areas to reduce the potential for hostilities. In the 1850s and 1860s, while the Applegate Trail was still being used, Methodist “circuit riders” attempted to hold religious services in Modoc villages (O.C. Applegate, Jr. 1973).

Kientpoos, “Captain Jack,” was prominent among the Modocs who participated in the trade at Yreka, and indeed, his nickname was bestowed during his junkets to Yreka. Toby Riddle, “Winema,” lived in Yreka with her husband, Kentuckian Frank Riddle. Learning English and Euro-American customs in this community, she gained the knowledge necessary to serve as an intermediary in the Modoc War.

Though the Modocs continued to maintain an uncontested presence in the Lava Beds prior to the Modoc War, they found themselves in contact with a growing number of non-Indian neighbors. New agricultural settlers brought ranching, especially sheep ranching, to the southern Klamath Basin during the 1860s. Indeed, some interviewees suggest that ranchers sometimes grazed the area in and around the modern-day Monument during the years leading up to the Modoc War. Tribal members sometimes served as labor for these ranching operations, in exchange for new tools, firearms, foods, and other items. The social bonds created through these ranching operations are said to be one of the few opportunities for congenial



The Modoc leader, Kientpoos, or Captain Jack. *Klamath County Museum photo*

interaction between the Modoc and the burgeoning non-Indian population at the time. Even Captain Jack and his family were reportedly on friendly terms with a number of the white ranchers. Soon, however, these interpersonal ties were broken by the circumstances of the Modoc War.

THE MODOC WAR – AN OVERVIEW OF PERSPECTIVES, PARTICIPANTS, AND PLACES

At the time of first European contact, the Tule Lake shoreline was more densely inhabited and more intensively used than much of the forested land that ultimately became the Klamath Reservation in the treaty of 1864. The reservation was created when agricultural land was at a premium, some tribal members note, but the economic potentials of timberland were not yet being considered (37). A number of interviewees discussed how, during this period, settlers in search of agricultural lands immediately recognized the potential of the well-watered Tule Lake and Lost River Valley bottomlands.

This volume need not repeat the minute details of the Modoc War. The literature regarding the Modoc War is vast, diffuse, and fraught with contradictions.⁸⁴ Most accounts repeat the same fundamental facts, however:

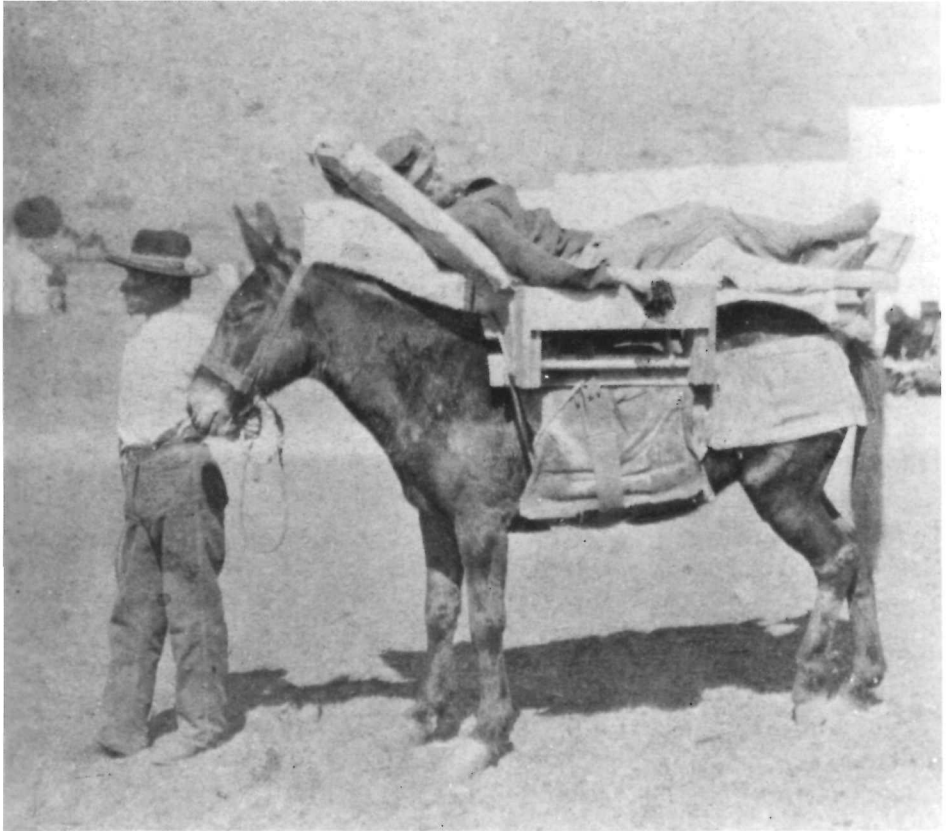
“the Modocs retreated with their families to the Lava Beds, south of Tule Lake, the home of the Kúmb_twash, and there they strengthened some select positions, already strong by nature, through the erection of stone walls and earth-works” (Gatschet 1890: lxxi).⁸⁵

Likewise, the geography of the Modoc War has been well documented in a number of sources, including Riddle (1914), Murray (1959), Reed (1991), and James (n.d.).

Modoc interviewees were eager to point out how the success of their ancestors in repelling U.S. forces during the Modoc War demonstrated the intimate familiarity that the Modoc had with every part of the monument. “People knew their way around...they hunted all of those areas where they fought....they knew every cave” (07).

Some contemporary interviewees eagerly point out that the Modoc War began only two decades after the 1851 Ben Wright massacre. When the Modoc were asked to meet with Major-General Canby to negotiate a truce during the Modoc War, Wright’s inter-ethnic “peace talks,” which served as a pretext for an ambush and massacre, were the only precedent known to the Modoc. Following Wright’s example, the Modoc carried concealed weapons to the talks, drawing them to fire at the assembled United States

negotiators. This act was the principal crime for which the four Modoc leaders were executed. A small number of tribal interviewees for this study recounted a story that Canby was in fact shot by “friendly fire” from other United States representatives during the melee, but that this was concealed by the military.



U.S. military and Indian scouts evacuating the wounded during the Modoc War. The U.S. military was poorly prepared for the effectiveness of the Modoc defense. Interviewees note that the Modoc were intimately familiar with this terrain, had a strong warrior tradition, and fought fiercely to protect their homes and families. *Klamath County Museum photo*

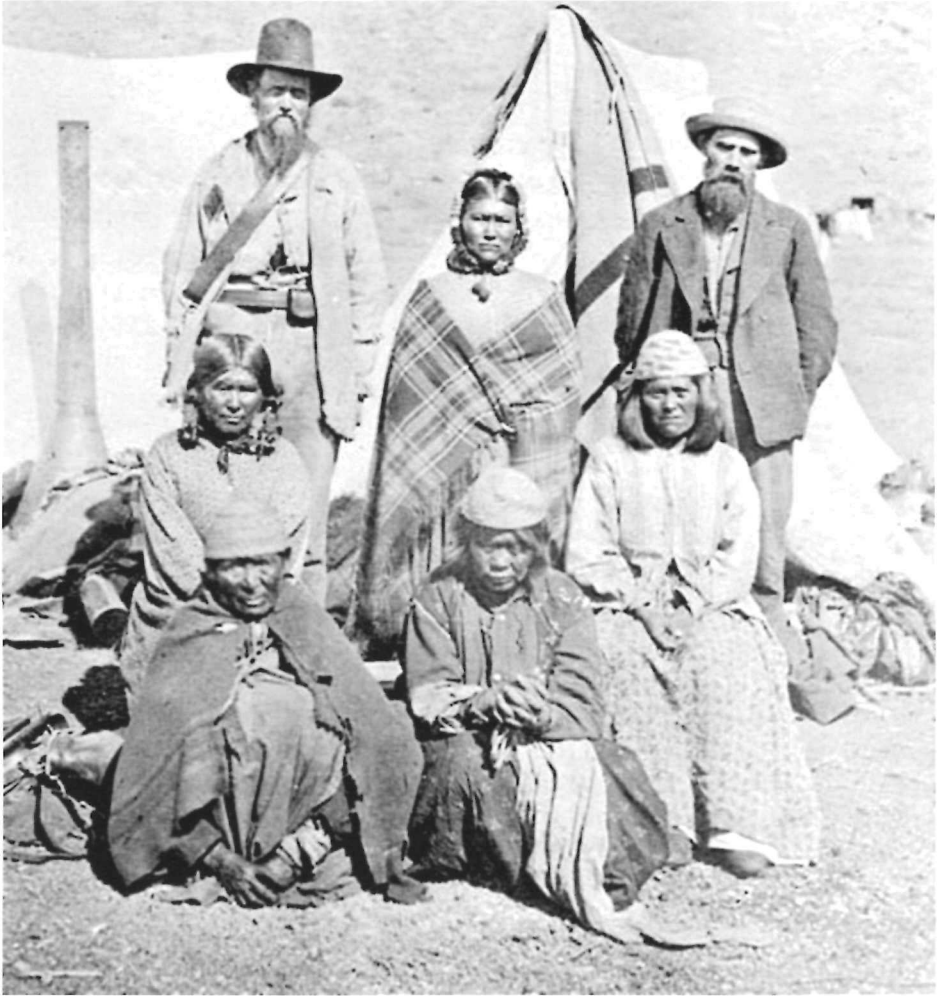
Tribal interviewees devoted considerable time to discussing Captain Jack’s reasoning for returning to the Lava Beds from the Klamath Reservation. Most indicated that the Modoc were having difficulty subsisting on the Klamath Reservation and that for this reason, they returned to Tule Lake, a place that was both abundant in resources and defensible. Some noted that the Modoc always migrated back to the Lava Beds at about that time of the year as part of the seasonal round and that their return was in fact just a

continuation of that pattern. The Lava Beds was “rich in deer [and] that drew them back down” (22). Most interviewees who addressed this topic indicated that reports of hostilities between the Klamath and Modoc on the Klamath Reservation was overstated by historical accounts, which in turn undermined the credibility of the tribes’ position on the war. Some indicated that the Creator called Captain Jack back to the Lava Beds. Some, practicing Christians, indicated that the Holy Spirit guided Captain Jack to the Lava Beds and allowed most of his people to escape despite clear odds against them: “it is hard to believe that Jack would have known what to do without God’s help” (25).

Curly Headed Doctor was the lead shaman of the Lost River band of Modocs. Interviewees’ accounts hint that he had visions of a millenarian nature, suggesting that the Modoc people could escape persecution and effectively “turn back the clock” of white occupation by rituals undertaken at the focal points of the Modoc creation story. The Modoc retreat to the Lava Beds may have been fueled, in part, by this kind of ritual attempt. (In related millenarian movements of the period, such as the Ghost Dance, retreats to places associated with creation or transformer stories appears to have been commonplace.) At one point during the Modoc War, Curly Headed Doctor braided tules into a long rope, which was painted red and placed around the perimeter of the dance circle (Nash 1955). This dance circle sits in a unique position within the Stronghold, from which one can see most of the major sacred peaks within the Modoc world, including Schonchin Butte, Horse Mountain, Petroglyph Point, Sheepy Ridge, Bryant Mountain, the Medicine Lake Highlands, and others. Interviewees acknowledged that “this is a very powerful place” and was chosen because of its special powers. Curly Headed Doctor was said to have drawn from the power of these places, all touched by the Creator and still enlivened by his power. The placement of this site is telling, some noted, as there are many places in the Stronghold that were large enough for dancing and more protected than the dance circle from gunfire, but none of these alternative sites provided clear views of these sacred landmarks. The power from the creator, manifested in this place, allowed the Modoc to be safe from this gunfire as promised by Curly Headed Doctor.

Toby Riddle (a.k.a. “Winema”) continues to be a very controversial figure in Modoc history among tribal members. Her role as a negotiator and translator between the Modoc and United States forces has come to be interpreted as collusion with the U.S. cause. While Winema has many descendents enrolled with the Klamath Tribes, a few are still selected out and bear a certain stigma for this family history. “Winema” was widely rec-

ognized to be a “stage name” bestowed upon her by A.B. Meacham during his “wild west” shows, featuring the Modoc, after the end of the war. Winema replaced another Modoc woman, Sokegs Matilda Whittle, who served as an intermediary between the U.S. troops and the Modoc until the death of her daughter from pneumonia early in the war. Matilda is an ancestor of a number of contemporary tribal members but is not widely recognized for her participation in the war.



Noncombatant Modoc women during the Modoc War, standing with O.C. Applegate (upper left), Toby Riddle a.k.a. “Winema” (upper center) and her husband, Frank Riddle (upper right). *Klamath County Museum photo*

A number of other animosities still linger in the wake of the Modoc War. Hostilities between the Klamath Tribes and the Warm Springs community persist to this day, because Warm Springs scouts aided the U.S. military in routing out the Modoc. Rarely are the Warm Springs mentioned in Klamath country without someone pointing out this historical offense.

Scarface Charley was said to have “killed more of the Americans than the other Modocs...he was the main one to hold the Stronghold” (07). He was a skilled shot and situated himself on a high point in the Stronghold where he had a commanding view of troops approaching from several directions. Tribal members of the last century could identify this exact location and sometimes visited the site to memorialize the war and teach younger tribal members. No tribal interviewees for this study pinpointed the location of this site. Some mentioned that Hardin Butte was used as an overlook during the Modoc War prior to the retreat into the Stronghold. This butte is occasionally visited today by tribal members for ritual purposes, in part due to this association.



An 1873 artist's conceptualization of life in Captain Jack's Cave during the siege at the Lava Beds. Tribal interviewees recalled stories of the hardships encountered by their ancestors while under siege in the caves. The Modoc War was covered by the national press, with images such as these appearing each week in *Harper's Weekly* and other newspapers.

A number of interviewees discussed Modocs escaping the Lava Beds at night through a network of lava tubes that led out of the Stronghold area. Women and children “were taken out of the Lava Beds to avoid imprisonment” when it was clear the resistance was not likely to succeed (07). The exact configuration of these lava tubes is not recalled in detail, but interviewees discuss lava tubes that extend from the monument to the Merrill area, the western and eastern edges of the park, and other locations outside the Monument’s boundaries. Some of these lava tubes, they noted, have collapsed in the last 130 years. A number of families were reported to have escaped out of lava tubes toward the east, ultimately traveling through the Alturas area and being taken in by Pit River Indians there. The military was said to be sufficiently bogged down at the Stronghold that they did not bother pursuing Modoc families as they left.

During the war, a number of places were said to be “desecrated” by U.S. troops. Sheepy Ridge in particular, the center of rich oral traditions and ritual activities, served as a strategic location for U.S. troops during the siege on the Stronghold. Gun placements on this ridge, as well as military camps and military burial areas at the base of this ridge were said to have had negative impacts on the sanctity of this site. Some families who formerly used this area ritually refused to return after the war, even as they continued to visit other portions of the Monument, due to these impacts.

Some interviewees discussed the “Bumpheads” area northeast of the monument, an area of many large rocks of over 10 feet in height with a maze of trails leading in-between. The Modocs were said to have taken refuge in the Bumpheads area, and this was part of the route used by Captain Jack and other Modoc combatants as they sought to evade detection while leaving the Stronghold. Some Modocs successfully escaped to the Clear Lake area and beyond by using this route. Obsidian tools and lithic scatters found there are said to indicate a long history of passage through this area, and a familiarity with the terrain that aided the Modocs in their escape (43). While this was one of many places traversed by the fleeing Modocs, its prominence in oral tradition has elevated its importance relative to some other escape routes. While sitting outside of the monument, the Bumpheads are viewed as being an integral part of the geography of the Modoc War, which centers on the Stronghold and the larger Lava Beds landscape. The Bumpheads area is still visited today by some tribal members for historical reflection and memorialization.

Tribal members sometimes visit other places that played a role in the escape of the Modoc, such as Caldwell Ice Cave and Big Sand Butte, during the

Modoc Gathering for purposes of historical memorialization. These places do not appear to have become as ritually important, however, as other locations in the park that are tied to the war, and interviewees did not mention visits to these sites other than the group visits tied to the Modoc Gathering.

Interviewees reported that the Modoc standoff was aided by members of non-combatant tribes, including “downriver” tribes on the Klamath Basin (Shasta, Karuk) and Pit River peoples. Members of these tribes smuggled food and provisions during the siege. They also allowed the Modoc to “disappear into the woodwork” during the war, by integrating into other tribal communities outside of the upper Klamath Basin.



Rockworks remaining from the Modoc War. *Klamath County Museum photo*

The U.S. military strategy for removing the Modocs from the Stronghold included cutting off access to the water of Tule Lake. For this reason, during the fighting, there were certain springs that were used by Captain Jack and the combatant Modocs. People crept to these springs at night, under cover of darkness. There were few good springs in the area, however, and the most accessible spring, located just downslope from the Stronghold, was said to be an alkali spring that was barely drinkable (20). Other springs, more distant from the Stronghold, were visited only when the attention of

U.S. forces was directed elsewhere. A small number of these springs were recalled by Modoc descendants and visited by families throughout the twentieth century.

Contemporary tribal members recount many stories relating to the mortal remains of the four Modoc leaders who were hung at Fort Klamath. A number of interviewees retold stories of the Modoc digging up these remains and replacing them with other bodies the night after their death, so that the leaders' remains could be interred appropriately. The heads removed from these combatants were thus said to be those of other persons. Relatively few contemporary Klamath Tribes members believe that the remains of these four leaders still lie in the ground at Fort Klamath. The four skulls disinterred from the site were said to have been repatriated by the Smithsonian to Modoc descendents who arrived in Washington D.C. presenting themselves as representatives of the Klamath Tribes. The individual (or individuals) who received these remains are rumored to have ritually reburied these skulls, probably inside the Monument, with neither the knowledge nor consent of the tribal government.

The changes to the landscape of Lava Beds since Modoc removal have been dramatic. Interviewees noted that a number of places that were important in Modoc War history have been transformed beyond recognition. In particular, the transformation of Tule Lake and the agricultural reclamation of adjacent marshes was cited as a major obstacle to the identification of sites from the conflict. A number of tribal members reported a story suggesting that Canby's Cross, for example, was placed in the wrong location, but that the site of General Canby's death was now agricultural land just beyond the Monument's boundary (47).



The burial site of Captain Jack, Boston Charley, John Schonchin, and Black Jim, in the former military fort at Fort Klamath. The mountains called Goose Egg and Goose Nest are visible in the background. *Steve Mark photo*

LAVA BEDS AND THE MODOC IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

In the wake of the Modoc War, most noncombatant Modoc remained on the Klamath Reservation. Most Modoc combatants and their families were sent to northeastern Oklahoma with the exception of Captain Jack, Boston Charley, John Schonchin, and Black Jim who were hung at the U.S. Army post at Fort Klamath. The graves of these leaders are still there, though the U.S. military took their heads prior to burial and tribal members suggest that the rest of their remains were removed long ago.

At this time, most Modoc were effectively cut off from their traditional lands. Their former lowland village sites were opened up to agricultural development and settlements. Tribal burials and other culturally significant sites “got all churned up” (37). A succession of Klamath Indian agents were given the task of maintaining this separation; through much of the late nineteenth century, and into the 1910s, tribal members were not allowed off the Reservation without a signed pass, and few Modocs were allowed to visit their traditional homelands (07). “People weren’t allowed to go there” through the late nineteenth century, many tribal interviewees suggested. “This place has been forbidden to the Modoc people for a long time” (32). This lack of access placed severe limits on tribal members’ use and knowledge of the area.

The Modoc combatants were sent on a circuitous train journey that took them through San Francisco, Wyoming, and Nebraska, riding on boxcars in the heat of summer. They arrived in Baxter Springs, Oklahoma, on November 17th, 1873. They were temporarily housed in a hotel, a house, and tents. The Oklahoma Modoc were ultimately placed on a reservation on four whole sections and two half sections, totaling approximately 3200 acres, or five square miles. Families attempted to farm an area called “Modoc Prairie” to this day, and drew water from a spring still known as Modoc Spring (28). For a time, Nez Perce sent to Oklahoma following the Nez Perce War were placed on the Modoc reservation. The two groups maintained a congenial relationship, participating in gambling and horse racing contests common to both groups. Indian Agents operating in the area became alarmed by the growing ties between those who had separately repelled military actions recently, so the Nez Perce were moved elsewhere.

The Modoc experienced dramatic increases in mortality shortly after their arrival in Oklahoma. The Quapaw Boarding School and the Quaker Church were given almost complete authority within the Modoc communi-

ty, according to tribal members. Religious and social conversion was abrupt and widespread. Still, shamanistic practices appear to have persisted ‘underground’ in the Oklahoma Modoc community, despite otherwise broad cultural assimilation (Martin 1968, James n.d.).

The Modocs of Oklahoma began to return, and by 1903, almost a third of the Oklahoma Modoc population had returned to the Klamath Basin, principally settling on the Klamath Reservation (Applegate 1903: 286). By 1910, interviewees for this study indicate that almost half of the Oklahoma Modoc had returned to the West. The Klamath Tribes arranged for the enrollment of relocating tribal members. As families returned, some started to visit the Lava Beds regularly; a few reportedly returned to the Lava Beds to dig up items cached by their family before and during the War, including rifles and personal effects. Some rifles were said to be cached by the Modoc and were never found.

The tragedy that marked the Modoc War colored tribal uses and views of the Lava Beds through their entire post-war history. A number of interviewees noted that their parents and grandparents always said “that place is a graveyard and not to be messed with... We shouldn’t go there” (23). A number of Modoc and Klamath elders “simply refused to go there...they didn’t say why, they just refused to go” (07). Many families who were descended from Modoc combatants denied this part of their ancestry and did not teach their children of the family’s participation in the war. In part this originated due to lingering fears of forced removal, which continued intermittently in the years following the first removals to Oklahoma.

Following forced relocation, the Lava Beds area was no longer geographically central to the Modoc world, but peripheral. Indian agents, recognizing the symbolic importance of the area, were reluctant to give permission for visits to the Lava Beds. Periodic “roundups” of off-Reservation Indians by the Klamath Indian Agency were commonplace in the decades that followed the Modoc War, often emerging in response to public outcry for Indian removal from places sought for urban or agricultural development.⁸⁶ Meanwhile, the Lava Beds, while remaining in the public domain, was used extensively by ranchers as grazing land, who made competing claims on the landscape. This required them to select places for continued ceremonial and subsistence uses that had not been claimed by ranchers: “what the cowboys didn’t want, we could use” (47).

However, the Modoc connections to the Lava Beds landscape were not extinguished. The Klamath Tribes’ Yainax Agency, on the upper Sprague River,

was the center of Modoc settlement on the Klamath Reservation and sat only a short distance from the Lost River basin. The Lava Beds continued to be an important place for subsistence when people traveled off the reservation, because it “was so rich [and] it’s what they knew” (35). A small number of Modoc were able to stay in Modoc territory. Some stayed in the Lost River valley near Bonanza and continued to travel freely in Modoc country in the years following the Modoc War, including the family of Toby Riddle (a.k.a. “Winema”), who lived near Harpold Dam. Winema and her immediate family reportedly were allowed to stay there because she was married to a white settler and had played a central role as a negotiator at the conclusion of the Modoc War. The Riddle family maintained strong ties to the Modocs of the Klamath Reservation, and Reservation residents sometimes were able to visit the Riddle family, even when Indian Agents forbade other types of visits to the Lost River Valley and other parts of the Modoc territory (43, 07, 33). A number of the Modoc interviewees for the present study were descendents of Winema, or were otherwise related to the Riddle family.



In the years following the Modoc War, Winema and other Modocs involved in the conflict toured the East coast with Albert Meacham, providing dramatic reenactments of the War for non-Indian audiences. Seen here, are standing from the left, Shacknasty Jim, Steamboat Frank, Toby Riddle, and Scarface Charley; left to right sitting, Frank Riddle and Jeff Riddle. *Klamath County Museum photo*

A number of Modoc families continued to find employment working for ranchers in the area following the war. The Klamath Indian Agency generally approved of these trips when they did not interfere with labor needs on the reservation. A small number of Modocs living off the reservation derived a significant portion of their income from this employment. Ted Crume's family, for example, was involved extensively in sheep ranching in and around the Monument. In the early twentieth century, his mother and aunt regularly herded sheep along Sheepy Ridge/Gillem Bluff. Sheep Camp was a common base of operations for these herding trips, and Laird's Landing, west of the Monument on the former shores of Lower Klamath Lake, was a center of ranching employment for tribal members during this period. The Lava Beds area was used principally during the winter months, for the same reason that the deer gathered there historically: as mentioned above, winter snowpack was shallow, allowing for easy foraging, while herders and their flocks retreated to the mountains in the summertime to escape the heat and pursue grazing opportunities (43). Other families worked immediately adjacent to the monument on farms growing rye, potatoes, or hay and visited sites within the monument before and after their work on these farms.

A number of Modocs, who had sought refuge with the Pit River people, continued to visit the Lava Beds intermittently, unimpeded by Indian agency prohibitions. The Pit Rivers, with neither an Indian agency presence nor a reservation through much of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, continued to participate in traditional practices.⁸⁷

Traditional religious practitioners were able to maintain ties to the area in a variety of ways. Albert Summers recalled that his grandmother, a woman who persisted in her traditional ceremonial practices despite considerable obstacles, attended "camp meetings" in the vicinity of the Lava Beds in the early 1900s that included a range of Modoc ceremonial activities. As mentioned before, Barbara Kirk recalled stopping at Schonchin Butte as a girl when her family traveled to Medicine Lake in the mid-twentieth century. While there, her grandmother offered prayers and cast offerings of food in four directions.⁸⁸

A number of interviewees report that their families went to Lava Beds every year in the mid- to late-twentieth century to teach them about traditional Modoc ties to the landscape, and traveled widely within the park. Family trips often involved "travel through the whole park," taking children to places of historical and cultural importance to the Modoc for the purposes of teaching and reflection (20). The Modoc War was discussed, but was



Medicine Lake Highlands with snow on a distant peak, as seen from the southern end of the Monument. *Lava Beds National Monument Museum and Archives Collections*

not the sole focus of these trips – buttes used for religious purposes are now a locus of instruction on traditional cultural activities and appropriate methods of religious expression, for example. Still, Captain Jacks Stronghold was a place of particular importance within these visits. People “visited a lot of the caves near the Headquarters...a lot of these were important in the war and before the war...they visited places where they had gotten water too - springs...these had kept people alive and were important” (07). Such visits predated the revival of interest in the Stronghold among the larger tribal community and arguably contributed to this revived interest. Some interviewees for this study report simply going back to the Lava Beds during the mid-twentieth century just “to look around and get reacquainted.” Ted Crume, for example, devoted considerable time to exploring the Monument by horseback when he was a young man in the mid-20th century, revisiting many places of cultural and historical importance to the Modoc generally and to his family in particular.

Ritual activity persists in the Monument today, increasingly though by no means exclusively tied to events surrounding the Modoc Gathering. Today, it is safe to suggest that places of enduring religious significance are widespread within the monument, while places of enduring religious activity are relatively few. The large numbers of visitors in the park (the annual total is

roughly 100,000 people) preclude the use of many traditional ceremonial sites, compromising the silences and isolation required for much contemporary religious practice. Places of enduring religious activity tend to be at once accessible by automobile or foot trail, but sufficiently isolated that one cannot be seen, nor can one see or hear monument visitors or facilities.



Gilbert Jackson Jr. dances at the opening of the new Visitor Center at Lava Beds National Monument in 2004. Increasingly, younger tribal members have returned to Lava Beds to participate in cultural activities and historical commemoration. *Taylor David photo, Klamath Tribes*

Lava Beds and Contemporary Modoc Identity



Through the late twentieth and early 21st century, the Lava Beds has rebounded in its importance as a center of Modoc cultural activity. Families “would go down to look at places in the Lava Beds that they knew” (07). Many Modoc interviewees, and particularly Oklahoma Modoc, expressed the feeling that “it is like going home” when they travel to the Lava Beds. Indeed, Modocs who visit the Lava Beds for the first time express this sentiment. Earlier studies have suggested that the Modoc maintain a strong sense of attachment to the Lava Beds, especially for ceremonial purposes, but do not investigate this point in detail (e.g., Loubser 1999, Eidsness and Smith 1992, James n.d.). After years of avoidance, tribal members now agree that “as Modoc people we need to go down there more” (23).

The Monument abounds in places of personal significance to tribal members. “There’s significance all around it” (12). These places include sites where ancestors lived, cremation sites, ancestors’ hunting areas, places where ancestors participated in ceremonial activities, the Stronghold, and others. “Anywhere where there were Modoc people is significant,” especially if there are known connections between an individual’s family and a particular site (32). Tribal members go to different places to reflect on their ancestors’ lives, or to ritually engage their ancestors. As mentioned previously, the village of Gumbat is widely known to tribal members and is visited by individuals and families to memorialize ancestors, teach children, and participate in ritual activities.

When asked to identify sacred places in the monument, many interviewees are quick to identify the Stronghold as such a place. It is considered a symbolic locus “for all Modocs” and not just the descendents of combatants. The events at the Stronghold were “the beginning of the end” of Modoc autonomy and of much cultural continuity (47). The lives of all Modocs were shaped by these events, no matter whether they were inside the Stronghold or out. When people go there, they reflect and pray:

“it’s painful to get back...there’s a lot to get out [when praying]...a lot of pent up anger...It’s painful to think about how they were treated...I don’t see it as it is, but as it was. That’s why we go back there – to relive this...to connect with our ancestors...Our ancestors were hardy people – the elements didn’t affect them...I think about this when I am at the Stronghold” (35).

People often travel to the Stronghold to reflect on the events of the Modoc War. Many people express amazement at the survival of the Modocs during the war. While the war had dramatic impacts upon the history of the tribe, the events of the war are often difficult to envision without viewing the landscape upon which these events unfolded. When walking through the Lava Beds, interviewees report that they can envision their ancestors’ hardships and struggles: “it’s all so real when you go there!” (20). People often visit places where one can still see the physical evidence of the Modoc struggle, such as the blinds constructed in and around the Stronghold.

The history of the Modoc War is viewed as relatively recent history. A small number of this study’s interviewees recalled speaking to their grandparents and others who were first-hand witnesses of the war, of Captain Jack’s hanging, and of the forced relocation to the Klamath Reservation.

A growing number of Modoc descendants come to Lava Beds for principally recreational or educational purposes. Joe Kirk, for example, has guided groups of students through the monument as they study local geology. Tribal members who visit for these purposes choose to go to the Lava Beds in no small part due to its enduring cultural and historical importance to the tribes.

THE MODOC GATHERING

The Modoc Gathering is an annual event held in the Monument that brings together contemporary Modoc to socialize, reflect on their shared history, ceremonially memorialize their ancestors, and reassert their connection to their traditional lands. The “Return to the Stronghold,” commonly known as the “Modoc Gathering” serves as an important “way of bringing Modoc people back together” at the geographical and symbolic core of their traditional homeland. People “regroup” and “share their stories and their memories about the Lava Beds.”

The first organized “Return to the Stronghold” took place in 1990. From the beginning, these events were facilitated by Park Superintendent, Doris Bowen; after her departure, Superintendent Craig Dorman chose to continue facilitating these events during his tenure from 1992 through 2007. One of the primary goals of the early gatherings was to allow the Modoc, scat-

tered by the events of the Modoc War, to regroup and ritually celebrate their persistence. Modocs arrived at these early gatherings from the Oklahoma Modoc, the Klamath Tribes, and both tribal and non-Indian communities throughout the region. A significant secondary goal of the early events was to bring together descendents of combatants on both sides, for ritual reconciliation (32).

Guided by this reconciliatory agenda, the organizers provided for two different types of religious services preceding each event: tribal traditionalists participate in sweat lodge ceremonies near the Stronghold prior to the event, while Christians – both Indian and non-Indian – participated in special church services prior to the events. Both groups offer morning prayers and engage in group “talking circles” where people share observations that have been revealed to them during these rituals. Sweat lodge ceremonies held in association with the Gathering are said to have been particularly powerful events, more so than many other sweat lodge ceremonies held at other times and places, and have been transformative in the lives of some participants. Again, sweat rituals are seen as a prerequisite to successful ceremonial activity as one must be cleansed, physically and spiritually, to engage the Creator and act in a positive way: “to get really clean, you have to sweat” (35). Some mentioned that the Monument had briefly resisted allowing sweat lodge ceremonies in the park but that this had since been resolved.

A number of tribal interviewees recalled dancing in the dance circle first formed by Curly Headed Doctor during the Modoc War. This dance circle is still said to be a powerful place and people who dance there have visions or feel energized and rejuvenated.

At first, the gathering was viewed as “militant...an AIM [American Indian Movement] thing...real political,” fueled by the agendas of tribal members who had left the area and become radicalized in the 1970s and 1980s (42). Over time, however, these early organizers came to appreciate the importance of maintaining a distinctively Modoc tone to the events – the event, commonly called the “Modoc Gathering,” grew increasingly solemn and introspective. Increasingly, events were directed and the event’s tone set by tribal traditionalists. The Jackson family, including Jerald and Phillip Jackson – both of whom were widely regarded traditional practitioners until their deaths – has played a central role in the event for much of this period. A small number of non-Indian participants are welcomed at the event, but participants are vigilant in their efforts to exclude “New Agers” hoping to infiltrate or appropriate Modoc ceremonial activities. Some view the event as a celebration, while others say that even today “there’s nothing to celebrate” (43).



Modoc elder Jerald Jackson offers a blessing at the opening of the new Lava Beds National Monument's Visitor Center in 2004, with the Director of the National Park Service, Fran Mainella, at his side. Jackson was a professional counselor, a tribal spiritual advisor, and a central figure in the Modoc Gathering prior to his death in 2007. *Taylor David photo, Klamath Tribes*

The Stronghold site is a particularly important component of this social and ceremonial activity. The Stronghold is rich with places of historical importance and, unlike such areas of historical importance as the Tule Lake shoreline, the Stronghold still looks much the same today as it did during the time of Modoc residency. These places serve as mnemonics, reminding Modocs of their ancestors' struggle and providing for tangible opportunities for the transmission of cultural and historical knowledge between tribal members. As people participate in the Modoc Gathering, they reflect on the history tied to each place. They teach their children or grandchildren the stories associated with different parts of the Stronghold. The accessibility of the Stronghold is cited as another important factor in its continuing use. Both children and the elderly can travel to the Stronghold by trail without difficulty.

Some interviewees noted that the Modoc Gathering is still politicized, and that attendance varies as a result of this. Despite generations of intermarriage and integration, the Modoc and Klamath still maintain a degree of separateness, and recent cultural revival has augmented some of these distinctions. Some Modocs express frustration with the Klamath orientation of the Klamath Tribes and a few support formally separating from the tribe to

form a separate federally-recognized tribe; the Modoc Gathering is depicted by some Klamaths as an exclusive Modoc event, to which Klamaths are not particularly welcome. “Some of the Modocs don’t encourage you to go down there” if you are Klamath, “we’re viewed as outsiders” (42).

Tribal interviewees were generally upbeat about coordination with the park for this event. In particular, park staff were said to be protective of participants’ privacy and willing to assist with the staging of the event as needed.

A number of interviewees discussed the role that a former Lava Beds employee, the late Gary Hathaway, played in the interpretation and restoration of tribal activities in the park. Hathaway also produced some of the Monument’s first organized collections of lithics and other archaeological materials. Interviewees related a number of stories of how Hathaway allowed Modocs into a number of restricted access areas of the park, including Fern Cave, and helped organize the early “Return to the Stronghold” events. Hathaway also played a role in stimulating interest in the tribal history of the area, among both tribal members and outsiders alike. Some interviewees expressed the opinion that Hathaway provided unparalleled benefits to the tribe, by facilitating tribal access and cultural activities within the park. Other interviewees were critical of Hathaway for providing overimaginative or excessively revealing interpretation of Modoc culture, of instigating New Age activities tied to the Monument’s caves, or of fanning the flames of a Modoc separatist movement within the Klamath Tribes.⁸⁹

During the Modoc War a medicine flag was raised over the Stronghold. This flag was said to be made of a mink pelt and red tail hawk feathers on a mountain mahogany staff. Medicine flags receive occasional mention in the ethnographic and historical literatures regarding the Modoc. Modoc shamans raised medicine flags of animal pelts when healing, while ordinary Modocs sometimes raised such flags after dreaming of dead relatives (Gatschet 1890: 71, 134). Gatschet (1890: 135) reported, “They adjust a rag or piece of skin to a pole and stick out that improvised flag on the top of the lodge to notify neighbors that they had a dream last night and desire an interpreter for it.” Edison Chiloquin noted that different kinds of flags were used for different ritual purposes by each tribe and some flags had four items tied to their tops, symbolizing “the four directions.”



During the Modoc War, the Modocs erected a medicine flag at the Lava Beds. During modern-day Modoc Gatherings at the Lava Beds, participants construct their own prayer flag. These prayer flags, while temporary, are considered to be sacred and are made up of items that are meaningful to Gathering participants. *Steve Mark photo*

Modocs continue the tradition of raising a medicine flag at each Modoc Gathering. These medicine flags are similar to traditional medicine flags in some respects, but are adorned with objects of personal importance brought by participants. True to Modoc tradition, these flags are still conceptualized as being an important focal point of healing rituals, broadly defined. Some bring objects to this flag as an “offering” of something personal to the Creator as they pray for the common good of the Modoc people. Others bring objects that are tied to the lives of others for whom they pray during the ceremonies at the Lava Beds; photos or possessions of loved ones undergoing personal hardships are commonly included on these medicine flags. On occasion, at other ceremonial events, Modocs construct medicine flags of the same materials used in the flag placed over the Stronghold during the Modoc War; this is seen by some as a powerful symbol of Modoc identity and persistence, and has a number of religious connotations.

The Modoc Gathering has served as a venue for a broader range of social and ceremonial activity in recent years. Members of other tribes have been in attendance in growing numbers. Young people often get together to socialize, hike, and explore caves before, during and after the ceremonial events. The Modoc Gathering has given tribal members a more organized venue for the revisiting of sites of personal and group significance, as discussed in the previous section.

Concerns and Recommendations



This volume addresses a number of challenges and a number of opportunities for the National Park Service as it continues to manage lands and resources of enduring cultural importance to tribes and interprets facets of tribal history. While both Crater Lake National Park and Lava Beds National Monument have engaged in consultation efforts with park-associated tribes, routine consultation does not typically result in extended dialogue regarding issues of mutual interest. Moreover, word of parks-tribes communication resulting from ordinary consultation does not diffuse through the larger tribal community. Accordingly, in the view of most interviewees, there has been little meaningful communication or resolution of disputes between the parks and the tribes. When told that this research effort represented an attempt to improve parks-tribes relations, interviewees consistently indicated that “it’s been a long time coming!” or “it’s about time!” (14, 08). Some interviewees – including past and present members of the Klamath Tribes Executive Committee – went so far as to proclaim that “there has never been communication between the parks and the tribes” (42). While this may overstate the case, this perception creates challenges and opportunities to NPS officials and staff wishing to address the issues raised in this report.

Continued communication between the parks and the tribes regarding the wide range of issues identified in this report is essential if the NPS seeks to preempt potential problems and insure cooperative relationships with park-associated tribes. Studies, such as this one, are funded, but too often are “done and then nothing happens” – tribal interviewees generally expressed

an eagerness to see this study foster concrete improvements in parks-tribes relations (42). “The key is mutual respect” in forming these long-term relationships between tribes and parks (13). Generally, tribal members expressed the view that NPS staff would benefit from an enhanced empathetic appreciation of the tribes’ worldview. Some NPS employees have been friends and allies, but often, tribal members suggest, park staff seem cynical, critical, and bewildered when engaging tribal issues, a result of significant cultural differences. More regular and open communication might foster the understanding needed to overcome these cultural barriers. Toward this end, some interviewees recommended setting up a board of tribal members and NPS representatives to “bounce ideas off of each other and stop the misinformation” and miscommunication (14).

While some of the changes in park management reflect responses to pressure from tribal groups, the National Park Service also has made significant internal changes in how it addresses tribal issues in the last two decades. The Pacific West regional office of the NPS hired a regional anthropologist in 1991, the first position of its kind in this region. Dr. Frederick York, was charged with initiating efforts to improve relationships between the agency and tribes, and this study was one of his initiatives. In 1994, the National Park Service created the American Indian Liaison Office in Washington, D.C., with similar goals at a national level. With this new institutional support, both parks have had unprecedented opportunities to work with tribes. Dr. York has, for example, advised Lava Beds National Monument as they worked with the Klamath Tribes to develop the Fern Cave Management Plan and the park’s fire management plan. Monument staff have coordinated with the tribe to help repatriate human remains originating in the Monument from museum collections around the country.

Certain recurring themes emerged in tribal members’ discussion of their concerns regarding parks. While these are addressed in greater detail in the park-specific sections that follow, a few points warrant mention here.

In both parks, interpretation centering on tribal themes is an issue of considerable interest and concern. Tribal culture has been a recurring interpretive theme in both parks, yet the content of this interpretation, in the view of many tribal members, has been generated with little tribal participation and is of dubious accuracy. Some suggest that this amounts to “exploitation without representation” (42). This might be remedied by various cooperative efforts at interpretive planning. Crater Lake National Park has developed an interpretive plan in consultation with the Klamath Tribes as a spin-off of the current study, and both Douglas Deur and Klamath Tribes

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Two cultures often view the same landmarks in very different ways. While tribal members have viewed Union Peak, shown here, as a navigational landmark and a place of religious significance, park interpretation of the peak, developed in the mid-20th century, has focused solely on its geological significance. Some tribal members feel that this has eclipsed tribal perspectives. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

representatives have aided in the training of seasonal interpreters. Likewise, Lava Beds National Monument consulted with the Klamath Tribes regarding the construction of a new visitor center and has had the Klamath Tribes Culture and Heritage Director participate in the training of seasonal employees, including interpreters.

While interpretation is typically directed toward the public, a number of interviewees for this study expressed interest in interpretation that might help tribal members – children especially – to learn about their heritage and their culture. Some advocate the development of interpretation on the parks in the form of booklets or guides that might be used principally by tribal members and groups. Organized educational programs, such as the Klamath Tribes Culture Camp, would benefit from such materials and the regular participation of the parks in such programs might facilitate better rapport and cooperation between the tribes and the parks. “We should have the younger people learn the stories” and the NPS can aid in this effort when the stories relate to park lands and resources (14). Moreover, once the young people learn these stories, the NPS might “then hire them to tell these stories to the tourists...it would give us a reason to communicate” (14).

While some individual tribal members feel that the tribes have no particular claims on the resources within the parks, this is clearly a minority view. Tribal members seemed eager to secure plant gathering rights in both parks and some advocated the development of plant gathering agreements to facilitate this end.

As many tribal members suggest of both parks, “continued use of these areas is essential – when the traditional use stops, the culture dies” (12). Accordingly, access continues to be a point of continued concern for tribal members. While fee waivers are in effect in both parks, this news has not diffused broadly within park-associated tribal communities. Efforts to broadcast news of this policy more broadly within the tribal communities may yield benefits for both parks. Others indicate that, while fee waivers are available, there are still difficulties for those tribal members “who don’t look Indian.” Some advocate a more structured admittance policy, with tribal enrollment cards, for example, serving as a de facto “park pass.”⁹⁰ Many suggest that “access” is still limited, despite fee waivers, as both parks are seen as being heavily regulated and policed; some avoid the parks because they find this invasive and incompatible with traditional protocols and uses. While this perception may be addressed with time and communication, it may always color park-tribes relations.

Most interviewees called for the protection of archaeological sites from visitor impacts and any potential impacts from NPS management actions. (Yet, some interviewees concede that “if every cultural site was protected then you couldn’t build from [Klamath Falls] to Bend [as] the whole area is a cultural site” [13].) There is a general view among tribal interviewees for this study that “parks shouldn’t be doing archaeological digs...the parks have to learn to leave things alone” (23). Official Klamath Tribes policy opposes all archaeological excavation of cultural sites: in a formal resolution, dated September 14th, 1992, the Klamath Tribes Executive Committee resolved that “the Klamath, Modoc and Yahooskin Tribes defines all cultural sites as sacred.” The resolution goes on to state that “any excavation of these sites violates the Tribes’ spiritual values” and “the Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin Tribes opposes any excavation of our sacred cultural sites” (Klamath Tribes 1992).

Furthermore, among the general Klamath and Modoc population, there is a strong opposition to the disturbance or excavation of burials, or the removal of artifacts from cultural sites, particularly by non-tribal members. Artifacts are widely said to have been “put there for a reason” and the movement or removal of artifacts undoes the handiwork of ancestors: “none of us has the right to dig” (23). Interviewees were eager to see burials protected in both

CONCERNS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

parks and human remains taken from both parks returned, to be interred back in the parks when possible. (Some tribal interviewees expressed a desire to see both parks accept the cremated ashes of contemporary tribal members as well.) The Monument has collaborated with the Klamath Tribes on repatriating human remains from various museum collections; those remains originally from the Monument have sometimes been reburied there, while the NPS has not permitted remains originating outside the Monument to be buried there. Also, the Monument and the Klamath Tribes have collaborated in efforts to protect human remains inadvertently discovered in the Monument. Much of this was made possible by passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990.

Still, there is some interest in certain kinds of archaeological research that might – in conjunction with archival and further interview research – help answer questions of contemporary significance such as, for example, the geographical extent and antiquity of traditional use areas associated within both parks. Archaeological research that might explore questions raised in this report, conducted within these lands of enduring tribal interest, would be of high visibility and would call for tribal consultation early in the formulation of the research design. Before accepting such research as valid, tribal members will be quick to ask “what good is it?” (23).



The northwest entrance to Lava Beds National Monument in the late 1940s. The fee station was built a few years before this photo was taken - prior to the 1940s, fees were not collected for entrance into the park. The development of fee collection stations placed new limits on tribal access to both Lava Beds and Crater Lake. *Klamath County Museum photo*

Employment opportunities were a recurring theme in the interviews. Some desire to see tribal members – especially younger people – securing seasonal positions in the park. Among interviewees there is a perception that “Indians don’t get hired” because of prejudiced hiring practices, though most detailed anecdotes to this effect date from several decades ago. There is also a general perception that American Indian youth have stronger personal attachments to both parks and can be outstanding stewards of the land and resources in these parks.

Some tribal members advocate the development of a Memorandum of Understanding that might clarify and codify many of these various issues. Proposals generated in the course of this research have already been incorporated, in part, into a draft Memorandum of Understanding between the Klamath Tribes and Crater Lake National Park. This agreement calls for, among other things, free entry to the park, consultation protocols, and cooperative efforts in the realm of park interpretation (Klamath Tribes 2004). This has been received as an important first step in the development of stronger and more congenial ties between the parks and the tribes.

Crater Lake National Park – Issues and Opportunities



PROTOCOLS, RESPECTFULNESS, AND VISITOR BEHAVIOR

“What are they doing to respect the power of the mountain?...How much of that power is still there?” (23)

Interviewees discussed a number of concerns related to cultural protocols associated with Crater Lake. Some expressed concern that neither NPS staff nor visitors “show proper respect for Crater Lake.” Even today, “people don’t fool around there,” because of religious protocols; some believe that spirits are still on guard for such behavior (16). Some also share the perception that the park is making money from a sacred place, an uncomfortably profane act in their view. Several interviewees reported concern for park visitors or staff, in light of oral traditions regarding the dangers of irreverent behavior at Crater Lake. Some indicated that after prolonged exposure to such a place, people may begin to go insane. The frequent accidental deaths and injuries suffered by park visitors are often cited as the result of retaliation by the Creator or spirits within the park for the casual and disrespectful behavior in a place of such religious importance. Certain ritual activities were said to ameliorate the dangerous effects somewhat. Admittedly, tribal members’ desires to curb irreverence at the park might conflict with the management policies of the NPS. Still, there may be opportunities for the special management of places of particular cultural importance, such as Mount Scott, to restrict certain recreational activities to specified times of the year.

All interviewees who discussed rock cairns and other stone features tied to ceremonial sites and uses were emphatic in their requests that these features

be “left alone” and protected. Some visitors are said to be “fairly respectful of these sites” but vandalism is said to be commonplace and can degrade a site both materially and spiritually. As indicated previously, some interviewees for this study expressed concern that accidental encounters with these features by park visitors or staff could result in great harm to these individuals. Moreover, in the view of many, “these things are sacred...they are part of our religion...if they destroy them, they destroy our culture” (42). Many of these sites are still revisited today for religious purposes, and any impacts upon these sites are said to potentially undermine contemporary religious practices. Tribal members requested low-impact management practices that might isolate known rock features from public view and attention. Such activities as vegetation management to increase plant densities adjacent to such sites (while not blocking key viewsheds) or routing trails away from areas of documented ritual use. Still, management practices tied to these places should not, in their view, affect the continued use of these sites. They cannot be wholly off limits to tribal visitation and even modification by religious practitioners, as these actions are part of their religious tradition.



The fire lookout pictured on the summit of Mount Scott has been used since 1952, though a prior structure sat in this location as early as 1917. Initial construction of a fire lookout on Mount Scott undermined the solitude and solemnity that some tribal members view as essential for ritual use of the area. *Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections*

The condition of areas of enduring ritual activity was a point of concern for some. Interviewees requested that the NPS “show more respect” for Mount Scott, one of the most important peaks of religious significance within the park. These acts of respect might include removing the fire

lookout at its top or the renaming of the peak to tumsúmne. With their commanding views of the surrounding terrain being integral to the use of vision quest sites, documented rock cairn sites might be managed for viewshed maintenance – such management might include the restriction of construction within the viewshed of documented rock cairn sites or the use of prescribed fire to eliminate brush.

A number of interviewees expressed a desire to restrict further archaeological excavation and other ground-disturbing activities at Crater Lake. Even minor adjustments to the road grade along Rim Drive was said to have likely impacts upon traditional cultural sites. Ceremonial and cremation sites along the rim were a source of particular concern to tribal members:

“they should not dig around there. There’s no reason for that...damaged areas, like the Lodge can be written off, but the rest needs to be protected” (08).

ACCESS TO THE PARK

A number of interviewees indicated that they wished to see the park waive access fees for tribal members.

“They need to see what their ancestors had and did...we handed it over... somehow our visitation rights were cut off” (08).

Some have argued with park staff at the entrance booth that they should have their access fee waived for picnics and family gatherings simply because “the lake used to belong to us” (31). “Since they took it without payment, you’d think the tribal members would get in for free!” (25). News of the relatively recent fee waiver policy for tribal members appears to not to have fully diffused within all tribal communities; however the Klamath Tribes has announced it through their newsletter. While most tribal interviewees expressed concern regarding the payment of fees for visits involving traditional cultural and ceremonial activities, some expressed the view that even non-traditional activities should not require an access fee.

The historical practice of charging fees to tribal members resulted in a number of individuals “sneaking into the park” to participate in religious activities. Some, for example, were dropped off by family on Forest Service roads so that they could ascend Mount Scott. The ascent up Mount Scott from National Forest land is quite long and steep, however - prohibitively so for many tribal members. Without easier automotive access, Mount Scott was said to have been beyond the reach of a number of tribal mem-

bers with a desire to visit this place of enduring religious importance. This issue, arguably is resolved by the fee waiver policy. Other issues of access remain relatively problematic. Some tribal interviewees, for example, indicate that it is discordant with religious protocols to have to explain their reasons for entering the park to NPS staff at the entrance stations; successful ritual activity is still believed to require privacy and a focused state of mind prior to the ascent that requires detachment from mundane things and is compromised by such worldly matters.

The cultural and historical ties to the land, in the view of many tribal interviewees, warrant continued rights to gather plants and other materials, and perhaps to hunt in the park. Some advocate that such activities be allowed for “all culture-relevant purposes,” including both ceremonial and educational use (47).

Simultaneously, a few tribal members expressed thankfulness for NPS maintenance of infrastructure that is essential in accessing places of enduring significance. Some praised NPS trail maintenance, which provides continued access to places of cultural significance with relatively few impacts on these places. Others expressed appreciation for road maintenance, especially the clearing of snow and other activities along Highway 62 that facilitate regular access to the important hunting and gathering areas west of the park.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN THE PARK

Tribal interviewees speculate that the number of traditional religious practitioners who will visit the park for ritual purposes, even in the absence of significant barriers to access, is small. This is because the number of “traditional religious practitioners” is itself not large, and several of these individuals visit other locations for most of their religious activities. Moreover, traditional prohibitions on the use of Crater Lake by those without adequate training persist within the general tribal community, and the community of traditional religious practitioners in particular.

Religious activities require quiet and solemnity, amenities that can be elusive in portions of the park used by visitors. This is especially the case during the summertime peak in visitor traffic. Interviewees for this study shared stories of being encountered, and even photographed, by park visitors while engaged in religious activities outside of the park’s developed areas. Heavy visitor traffic is viewed as a serious impediment to successful religious activity within the park, so that ritual use rarely occurs near park facilities. A small number of tribal interviewees requested that certain portions of the

park have restricted access for brief windows of time to facilitate ceremonial activities. Mount Scott and remote places on the eastern caldera rim were mentioned in this context. As a corollary to this request, a smaller number of tribal interviewees expressed an interest in building a temporary sweat lodge near these sites – perhaps in the Mount Scott area – to facilitate ritual cleansing prior to ceremonial activities.

Among some tribal members there is a perception that the National Park Service has been complicit with other federal agencies and non-Indian institutions in the repression of traditional religious activities. Most of these concerns are tied to restrictions on access, but in the past “the staff, the rangers would ask what we were doing...they were real rude about it and people didn’t come back”(42). While most such anecdotes relate to earlier periods in the park’s history, they still color tribal members’ perceptions today.

HUNTING IN THE PARK

Prohibition on hunting within the park was also an issue of concern to tribal interviewees. A number of individuals alluded to the legal challenges to hunting prohibitions within the park, mentioned elsewhere in this document; these individuals expressed the view that treaty-based hunting rights in the vicinity of Crater Lake had been extinguished without proper legal authority, and without tribal approval or compensation. Some tribal members express a continued desire to hunt in the park and tell tales of historic poaching enthusiastically. Several interviewees suggest that people have “accidentally drift[ed] into the park” when hunting historically, while others have more stridently “assert their traditional rights” and defy the hunting ban in what is still perceived to be traditional hunting territories within the park. Certain families still openly claim hunting rights within the park, noting that “these places are places their families have always gone, since before there was a park.”

The impact of NPS land management on game populations, especially deer, is a topic of recurring interest, even if individual members vary in their assessment of these impacts. Deer herds that are still hunted by the Klamath Tribes, especially, pass through the park, and land management within the park has a direct bearing on the success of the hunt today. Many tribal members suggest that NPS management has had an adverse impact upon game populations in general, due to the elimination of anthropogenic fire (see the “Environmental Issues” section of this document). Some also complain of rumored direct management of game species populations by NPS staff, such as culling herds or placing salt-licks in strategic locations to

modify the migration patterns of deer and elk herds. Despite this, other tribal members note that the park serves as a refuge to game populations that are overhunted on the remainder of their range and helps maintain robust deer and elk populations.

Other interviewees suggested that bans on the transport of guns and game through the park continue to create undue tensions. As indicated elsewhere in this document, the area west of the park is still considered an essential hunting area to many tribal members. While the number of tribal members expressing a desire to hunt in the park is modest, the number of tribal members who still hunt west of the park is quite large. Some interviewees recommended an agreement between the park and tribes on the issue of transporting guns and game through the park on Highway 62; if the transport of game and firearms through the park is consistent with contemporary park policy, this should be clearly communicated to the Klamath Tribes.⁹¹

INTERPRETATION AND EDUCATION

Interpretation at Crater Lake remains contentious. Past interpretation has been described as touristy but without substance, as a celebration of scenery without a history (47). Interviewees generally express a view that management and interpretation at the park is shaped largely by the agency's response to the desires of the tourist. Tourists, they note, are typically from a very different cultural background than tribal members, as well as being racially, economically, and socially different from local tribes. The park thus prioritizes passive recreation and scenic opportunities that are fundamentally at odds with traditional forms of land use, for either ceremonial or subsistence purposes.

Many want to see more discussion of Klamath culture and history in park interpretive programs that might contextualize the spectacular excerpts from their oral tradition that are sometimes put on display in the park. Some requested that the park use more photographs of Klamaths, past and present, in their interpretation. Interpretation should accentuate what makes these cultures and their relationship to Crater Lake unique, rather than stressing general concepts or some exotic view of generalized "Indian-ness."

Interpretation does not need to "glorify" indigenous cultures, some note, but should impart an empathetic understanding of these societies. Interpretation might, for example, underscore the sophistication of traditional technologies or the apparent antiquity of oral traditions regarding Crater Lake. Hazel Erickson noted that berry processing tools, such as

berry baskets, would be especially appropriate for display at Crater Lake and the tribe has some of these in their collection that are just sitting in storage. Regardless, “they need to talk about Huckleberry Mountain there.”

While interviewees uniformly agreed that interpretation efforts should be expanded in the park, there were varying views on the appropriate content of interpretation. Many interviewees shared concerns that too much interpretation of traditional practices in the park might lead to greater visitor impacts upon places and resource of enduring significance. Some, especially Cow Creek Umpqua interviewees, advocated teaching the public about culturally important plants; such plants could be planted near visitor use areas and accompanied by explanatory text regarding traditional uses of these plants (21). These individuals also supported an ethnobotanical trail enthusiastically. Cow Creek Umpqua Chairperson Susan Shaffer even suggested that her tribe might consider helping fund such efforts. Others, especially Klamaths, expressed serious concerns about such an approach, believing that the sharing of such information might increase competition with non-Indians for limited plant resources and increase the degradation of already threatened species and environments. A number of socio-economic factors, including apparent degree of continued wild plant use, seem to explain some of these differences of perspective.

As a cautionary measure, interviewees suggested the park should not “publicize the exact locations of sites, but definitely should publicize the fact that [the tribes] used it and the ways that they have used it” (07). Some added that providing too much information to the public regarding traditional religious activities might lead to New Age emulation of their practices by non-Indians; “New Age” rituals and rock features are said to be appearing in the park in recent years, a development that interviewees for this study suggest is offensive and places competing demands upon tribal ritual sites.

Some interviewees advocated the protection and possible interpretation of certain campsites in the park, including Cold Spring, Annie Spring, and perhaps Thousand Springs. The maintenance of the integrity of historical meadows and springs was suggested. Interpretation, while potentially drawing unwanted attention to sites of cultural and archaeological importance, might help foster empathy and moderate visitors’ impacts on the site: “Maybe a sign or some kind of recognition...that people all used to camp there all together” (03). Another suggestion was to help develop the tremendous educational resources on both natural and cultural issues within the park in a way that might foster educational opportunities for tribal members. Field guides to culturally important plants, for example, were

said to be a potentially invaluable learning tool for students of the Klamath Tribes Culture Camp.

One specific issue of interpretation relates to the issue of tribal affiliation. Some Klamaths believe that Crater Lake was the exclusive domain of the Klamaths and interpretation should focus on them because “That was their mountain!” (34). Yet others note that there was extensive intermarriage between tribes even before European incursion into the area. People comfortably intermarried between Paiute, Klamath, Modoc, Pit River, Shasta, and others. Tribal members that were called “Klamath” or “Modoc,” even at the time of the 1864 Klamath Tribes Treaty, were of Pit River, Molala, Shasta, and other ancestries. This explains similarities in mythology and shared attachments to places that are viewed as the other’s territories. Due to this “sharing process,” there are many places in the region, such as Crater Lake, Huckleberry Mountain, and others that some interviewees for this study suggest could not really be called a “Klamath” or “Modoc” place, but simply a “tribal” place (23). Trying to differentiate is inappropriate, they suggest, and inherently disenfranchises people who have a legitimate interest in these areas. A “middle ground” solution, in the view of the author, might discuss the many tribes with historical ties to the park, while still emphasizing Klamath examples, due to the proximity and numerical dominance of the Klamath in the recoverable history of Crater Lake.

An interpretive effort, collaborating with Klamath Tribes members, has been completed as a result of the current research to address some of these requests. The author of this study also directed that interpretive planning effort, working in direct consultation with Klamath Tribes members. Simultaneously, some tribal interviewees, such as Lynn Schonchin, offered to provide the park with assistance in ongoing interpretive efforts and have played a valuable role in the interpretive planning that has paralleled this research effort.

TRIBAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

In addition to the employment issues outlined in the general material above, a number of interviewees expressed an interest in seeing increased contracting and concessions sales that might benefit the tribe. All federally recognized tribes with clear ties to the park have economic development offices that may wish to facilitate bidding by tribal organizations on contracts for concessions, archaeological studies, and the like. Some tribal members want to see the park facilitate continued coordination between the concessionaire and their tribes in the sale of tribal handicrafts. Tribal crafts-

people have revived old crafts or explored traditional themes in new media, resulting in a profusion of beadwork, basketry, and chipped projectile points, as well as paintings and woodwork. Embroidered buckskin gloves and clothing have long been items sold to visitors by Klamath Tribes members. Interviewees expressed dismay at having seen “Indian souvenirs” being sold at Crater Lake that were neither created by park-associated tribes nor in the styles of these tribes. Past concessionaires have approached the tribe regarding the sale of handicrafts but reportedly been unwilling to buy from the tribe as these items did not fit their preconceived ideas of “Indian crafts.” This has fostered some suspicion of park concessionaires in general, but not to the degree that a concessionaire earnestly seeking “to make a new start” would not be received well by tribal craftspeople. Some propose a separate tribal concession outlet that might help promote tribal crafts, while others hope to arrange sales by consignment with existing concessionaires.⁹² A number of interviewees noted that the increased visibility of traditional crafts from park-associated tribes at Crater Lake can only be of benefit to both the NPS and the tribes.

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

A number of tribal interviewees for this study noted the adverse impacts of NPS land management upon plant and animal communities. The area “is being loved to death” some suggest; others note that “now that these areas are “protected” there’s no game or wildlife on them” (19).

Some advocated more rigorous fire management in Crater Lake, noting that the wilderness ethic of the NPS had resulted in a dangerous buildup of fuels for a potential forest fire in many places throughout the park. Traditional prescribed fires eliminated this problem, but the long history of fire suppression resulted in both the disappearance of culturally preferred plant and animal species as well as an increased fire danger. Moreover, the clear views of distant peaks sought out during vision quests and other religious activities have been blocked by the dense growth that has emerged in the wake of fire suppression. Springs and campgrounds once used by tribal members in the park likewise have been overgrown. Today, they note, extensive prescribed fire management would be desirable, but only after a manual fuel reduction program that would thin understory vegetation and reduce the threat of uncontrolled canopy fires (19, 20). Such a program, they note, should be conducted in such a way that cultural sites are protected from mechanical disturbance or excessive heat.

Some tribal members advocated the development of a fire management protocol that would involve cooperative efforts between the park and the tribes. The Klamath Tribes has archaeological field technicians who might assist in pre-burn archaeological compliance efforts. In efforts at fire prevention or the resumption of prescribed burning, interviewees have proposed tribal participation in the labor-intensive process of removing small-diameter trees, fuelwood, and brush on the forest floor. A number of tribal members have experience in the timber industry and continue to seek employment opportunities. Moreover, wood salvaged from such operations might be made available to tribal elders through the “Wood for Elders” program. Reflecting longstanding patterns of tribal resource-sharing with the elderly and infirm, this program distributes firewood to tribal elders each year free of cost.

A number of interviewees, Cow Creek Umpqua tribal interviewees in particular, advocated expanded research on issues relating to forest health and environmental restoration. The investigation of the biological impacts of fire suppression and other NPS land management policies, they note, might guide an action plan that could restore culturally significant environments, plants, and animals. Interviewees who advocated such research also favored tribal involvement in this research or, minimally, the occasional reporting of findings to park-associated tribes.

Some expressed concern about potential overdevelopment, citing the experiences of other parks such as Yosemite:

“we don’t want to see Crater Lake overrun [by] development... what happens to the wildlife, the ecology?...the tribe will lose more than we have already lost” (35).

Any additional development near the caldera rim, in particular, is a point of concern. Pollution from visitors, park operations, or concessionaires’ activities near the rim was also identified as being particularly offensive.

Such issues as the clarity of water in Crater Lake and air quality were also mentioned as issues of enduring concern to the tribes. Tribal interviewees expressed a desire to see the park communicate its findings regarding not just cultural but natural resource management, with particular attention to those environmental quality issues that might impact tribal uses of the area. A small number of interviewees expressed concern about the potential impacts of geothermal drilling and other subsurface activities near the park on water levels and water quality in Crater Lake.

Some interviewees stated vehemently that boats should not be allowed in Crater Lake. Motorboats in particular were a source of concern and some interviewees expressed outrage at seeing motor oil or gasoline slicks, even very small ones, on the surface of the water. Some object to the presence of boat docks in places of religious significance, especially Wizard Island. Helicopter flights over the lake were also mentioned as inappropriate and especially disruptive to religious uses of the park.

INSTITUTIONAL MEMORY

Tribal interviewees also expressed concern regarding a perceived lack of historical awareness among park rangers, interpreters, and other staff. The NPS, they note, has a relatively itinerant workforce that seldom has the time to learn what they need to know to work effectively on issues of tribal concern. In particular, interviewees spoke of the difficulties of having to educate each successive generation of park staff, especially superintendents, on these issues. Tribal members expressed a desire to have NPS staff learn of a number of themes identified elsewhere in this report, such as the strong historical ties between the tribes and the Crater Lake area, historical facts and perceptions regarding the inclusion of the eastern park within the Klamath Tribes ceded lands and original Reservation boundary, or the history of ceremonial activity and hunting rights within the park. A number of tribal members advocated improved educational opportunities for park staff regarding tribal history. Some advocated a process by which new administrative hires, especially new superintendents, might be given a short summary of tribal associations with Crater Lake, including an overview of ceremonial significance, and a map of historical tribal and reservation boundaries. Other staff who might anticipate dealings with tribal members (interpreters, rangers, and others) could also be presented with this overview.

In light of turnovers within both tribal and NPS administration, there is continued confusion within the tribes as to who to contact in the NPS regarding specific issues, such as cultural resource questions or economic development opportunities. Similar confusion exists in the NPS, due to the turnover of tribal chairmen and cultural staff. The exchange of copies of organizational charts and phone directories for the park and park-associated tribes was suggested.

PARK OWNERSHIP AND EXPANSION

A number of Klamath Tribes interviewees expressed the view that the park was taken from their former reservation without compensation. “They took

that land illegally...[at least] half of that lake is supposed to be ours!” (22). Clarification and discussion of this issue would place park-tribes relations on a better footing. Financial compensation, if such compensation is demonstrably warranted, might also help improve park-tribes relations.

Yet several tribal members were enthusiastic about the 1932 and 1980 expansions of the park, recognizing that such expansions helped to preserve areas of cultural importance to the tribe. These individuals advocated further expansions of the park if this did not hamper tribal uses of these newly acquired areas.

TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES

Some interviewees expressed a desire to see some or all of the Park designated as a Traditional Cultural Property. There was little consensus on the appropriate configuration for such a TCP, however. “It’s difficult to say that one area of the park is more important than another” (12).

Most advocated the inclusion of the caldera and Mount Scott at minimum, while others recommended including “the whole mountain” (i.e., the whole of what was Mount Mazama) or, in a few cases, “the whole park.” Further investigation of a suitable boundary was not part of the scope of this project and may warrant further investigation.



The end of a wokas camp. On the mats is wokas in various stages of extraction, and in front of the dugout are two sacks of dry seeds. Most likely at Klamath Marsh. *National Archives photo*

Lava Beds National Monument – Issues and Opportunities



The concerns of tribal members regarding Lava Beds differ somewhat from those regarding Crater Lake due to historical differences in the roles of these two places. As a former settlement center, the Lava Beds are part of the history of all Modocs, rather than serving as a ceremonial place for a relatively small segment of tribal society. As a place taken from the Modoc by military force, Lava Beds is arguably a place that is symbolically tied to Modoc struggles for survival and this influences park-tribes interaction in various ways.⁹³ More than at Crater Lake, there is a belief among tribal members that the NPS should “turn it back over to the Indian people...” (32).

INTERPRETATION OF MODOC HISTORY

Interpretation of Modoc history and the Modoc War were issues of particular concern to tribal interviewees. Indeed, this topic was mentioned most frequently when interviewees were asked to identify enduring problems and opportunities in the development of park-tribes relations.

Interviewees suggest that the monument and all of its facilities exist for tourists, who are typically white and from distant places and different socioeconomic backgrounds than tribal members. “It’s just strictly for tourists anymore” (43). The Monument’s management and interpretation will always prioritize tourist concerns, they suggest, which often are at odds with tribal concerns. The Monument’s audience shapes the way that the history of the area is told, and this interpretation, many believe, eclipses other, more important aspects of the Lava Beds’ history. Interpretive mes-

sages will tend to be sensational and focused on dramatic conflicts rather than the nature of everyday life.

While the Monument's management and interpretation was said to have avoided a myopic focus on scenery and passive but capital-intensive recreation as at Crater Lake, some expressed concern that the Monument is now "turning a corner" to become more focused on these kinds of priorities. Thus, some suggest that the focus of the park has gotten too "touristy" or "commercial." Some feel that the NPS should restrict any further development of visitor facilities; without such facilities there is still "a lot to look at" in the Monument (43). There is a perception among some tribal members that the park generates money from entrance fees, book sales, and the like—people "making money off of our history." Funds generated by park operations, in their view, should contribute to cultural activities and events that have some benefit for the Modoc such as interpretation that aids tribal youth in understanding their own history and culture.

A majority of Modoc interviewees complained of a sharp interpretive focus on the events of the Modoc War, which they felt detracted from the thousands of years of Modoc history preceding the war. They suggest that interpretation focus on "how [the Modoc] lived, not how they came here and got conquered" (25). The main interpretive message should be that "it was their home" (35). Without this context, they suggest, the circumstances of the war cannot truly be understood. The interpretation of the war, some feel, reinforces negative stereotypes of Indians "as violent savages...Hollywood taught people that" but they do not need to have it reinforced at a place of such cultural importance (19). The content of past interpretation on much tribal history, the war in particular, was said to be of dubious accuracy.⁹⁴ Most troubling, they suggest, the interpretation centers on the Modoc War – favors the viewpoint of the non-Indian combatants.

The content regarding the war, interviewees suggest, must focus on how the Modoc War was a struggle for the right to simply live, and to live in their homelands: "They were fighting for their lives...their homes." "Glorification of the cavalry is not appropriate" (23). Battle reenactments (prior to 1990) were said to be particularly offensive.⁹⁵ The Modoc War is painful for many tribal members, representing the extermination of Modoc society and culture. "No matter how many times they reenact that battle, we always lose. Every time" (42). Instead, tribal interviewees suggest that interpretation might indicate that Indian-white interaction was generally peaceful until the forced relocation of the Modoc, and that attacks on the Modoc at Bloody Point, for example, set the stage for the Modoc War.

Similarly, a number of tribal members indicated that they found the Canby Cross monument to be offensive, as it boldly commemorates the purported Modoc murder of Canby while there are no similar markers commemorating the Modoc who were murdered during the war. The memorial’s text is viewed as one-sided and lacking in historical context. Such memorials, they suggest, reinforce the notion that the Modoc were the initiators of the conflict and that their forced removal was justified by acts of unprovoked aggression. Indeed, more than one interviewee for this study indicated that, during past visits to the Lava Beds, they had confrontations with park visitors who had read the signs describing Canby’s “murder” at the hands of Captain Jack at Canby Cross and been convinced of the tribes’ barbarity. “They say Jack murdered Canby...when an Indian was killed, they don’t call it ‘murder’” (35). Some ask “Why is [Canby Cross] central when the Modoc aren’t?” (23). Some, as noted earlier, challenge the notion that Jack killed Canby, point out the Ben Wright Massacre as the only precedent the Modocs knew for “peace talks” and question the location of the Canby Cross monument. Some felt that there should be equivalent interpretation of the Ben Wright Massacre or the “show trial” of Captain Jack at the end of the War.



The National Park Service, and before them the U.S. Forest Service, have maintained monuments at the approximate location of General Canby’s death in 1873. The wording of the monument has attributed Canby’s death to “murdering” Modoc, which many tribal members find offensive. *Klamath County Museum photo*

Similarly, tribal members expressed a desire to see many of the names of the non-Indian combatants in the Modoc War removed from the landscape at such places as Gillem Bluff. (Tribal members typically refer to this area as simply a part of Sheepy Ridge, a placename that commemorates a Modoc tribal leader.) The Modoc have had their own names for these places and the application of the names of men who tried to force the Modoc from their homeland is seen as offensive by many. Some even wish to see a reduction or elimination of references to named battlefield sites on the park's roadside signs for similar reasons. Some view interpretive descriptions of "Indian camps" in the Monument occupied during the battle as, some interviewees suggest, the places described were sometimes villages, "their homes," rather than temporary occupation sites related to the war.

Tribal members also advocated interpretation that might discuss contemporary Modocs and would demonstrate to the public that the Modoc have not disappeared. This would include interpretation of the period that followed the Modoc War, including the War's twentieth century repercussions for the tribe. Oklahoma Modoc interviewees in particular indicated that interpretation at Lava Beds should center on their survival and adaptation to difficult circumstances following the end of the war and their forced relocation to Oklahoma. Some also requested directing attention to the experiences of the Modoc adapting to life on the Klamath Reservation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many advocated an interpretive component that accentuated the modern Modoc, including their survival into the present day, their role in the contemporary Klamath Tribes, and the continued importance of the Lava Beds as evidenced by the Modoc Gathering and other activities.

The interpretation of spiritual sites and activities is contentious within the tribe. The interpretation of some sites, such as Petroglyph Point, has a long history and could not be easily curtailed (Lava Beds Natural History Association n.d.). Other areas, such as Fern Cave, were said to be of such significance that interpretation should be minimal. At the very least, visitors should be reminded that such sites are considered to be of great importance by tribal people - they "are non-renewable and important to living people" (40). Specifics of such interpretation, however, should not reveal so much information that visitors might be directed to unprotected archaeological sites or modern-day ceremonial sites. Moreover, such interpretation should not be of such ethnographic or geographical detail that it might allow non-Indian "New Agers" to imitate Modoc rituals and/or initiate ritual activities at Modoc ceremonial sites.

Interpretation might also address conservation issues, such as the status of Klamath Basin marsh environments, fish, and wildlife, that are of considerable importance to the tribal community – this kind of public education, some note, could have positive effects throughout the Klamath Basin.

As an antidote, some interviewees were adamant that they should have the opportunity “to tell their story” which is very different than the story of the non-Indian history of the monument (47). Interpretation would benefit from more direct involvement of tribal members, they suggest; while tribal members have played a role in some past interpretive efforts, recent involvement has been limited. Lynn Schonchin advocated a cooperative effort between the NPS and tribal representatives to review the corpus of revisionist history on the Modoc War and find interpretive messages that were acceptable to both groups. Schonchin has served both as a tribal historian and as a cultural sensitivity trainer for organizations working in and around Klamath County. Schonchin suggested that organized events of this kind, if conceived as cross-cultural training events, might allow the tribes to respectfully debunk some widely accepted but essentially erroneous depictions of tribal history in an atmosphere of constructive and candid discussion.

Meanwhile, traditional Modoc craftspeople, such as Ivan Jackson, may play an important role in the development of interpretive displays that are of great interest to visitors and Modocs alike. Some advocated the construction of a traditional domestic structure, such as a earth lodge, as part of such an effort. Such a structure would remind visitors that the Lava Beds were home to the Modoc people, and would provide the monument and the Tribes with a project of mutual interest. Young people could be taken to see this structure and learn about traditional lifeways year-round, and such a structure might be used ceremonially during the Modoc Gathering (40, 23).

As at Crater Lake, interviewees advocated developing the tremendous educational resources on both natural and cultural issues within the park in a way that might foster educational opportunities for tribal members. By visiting both parks, young people learn about the rich natural and cultural history of the entire region and come to understand “who their people were...and who they are” (47). Working with Klamath Tribes Culture Camp and other educational outlets within the tribe, the Monument might gain access to tribal expertise in interpretive development while building a lasting educational resource for tribal youth.

ACCESS TO THE MONUMENT

Access to places within the Monument was an issue of particular concern, just as it is at Crater Lake National Park. Tribal members generally asserted that they must have continued, unimpeded access to ceremonial sites, as well as places of cultural and historical importance that are still visited for memorialization and the education of tribal youth.

Access to Fern Cave was a recurring issue of concern among tribal members. While the cave is generally off-limits to visitors and has a locked gate, the monument has granted access to the Modoc during the Modoc Gathering, a policy that most interviewees for this study supported. Yet many interviewees wished to see non-Indian access become more restrictive, a goal that has been achieved under a recently completed Fern Cave management plan. Many tribal interviewees expressed opposition to guided cave tours for non-tribal members at Fern Cave due to the cultural sensitivity of the cave. Some complained that the NPS has wanted to “go down into those caves, clean them up and make tourist traps out of them” (43). Others complained about the use of the cave during the 1980s for “New Age ceremonies,” a practice that was said to have been common prior to the construction of a gate barring access and changes in park staff and policy. Tribal members’ independent access to the cave for ceremonial activities is said to be important but logistically complicated. Some are unclear on the Monument’s policy on these independent visits, while many resent having to secure permission for such access from agency staff in a place still thought of as “tribal land.” Some advocated a clarification of a policy that might facilitate occasional ceremonial use. Others urged special measures to insure the protection of the ferns and other plants in the cave, which are said to have a certain ritual significance.

A number of interviewees expressed concern regarding the payment of fees for entry into the monument. News of the fee waiver might be more broadly advertised within the Klamath Tribes and Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma to good effect. Still, while the park has a fee waiver for park-associated tribal members, interviewees suggested that some tribal members are still charged fees. “They charge Indians to go down there...why, if it wasn’t for Captain Jack there wouldn’t be a Stronghold” (25). This is particularly a problem, they suggest, with tribal members who “don’t look Indian.” These fees are said to be a serious impediment to continued use of the Lava Beds for some families. Some tribal members recommend using tribal enrollment cards as a “park pass,” though this could exclude a modest number of non-affiliated tribal members.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN THE MONUMENT

A number of factors continue to create challenges for traditional religious activities within the Monument. Most notably, the activities of visitors are widely viewed as detrimental to traditional religious practices. The lack of privacy at a number of once important ceremonial sites, such as Schonchin Butte, Petroglyph Point, and Mammoth Crater, has made these sites uninviting for vision quests and other ritual activities that require solitude and isolation from the mundane world. While it is widely seen as untenable to place these sites off limits to the public, some tribal members advocate restricting recreational access to these places during designated periods of time to allow ritual use without such disturbances.

Recreational activities are still viewed by many tribal members as inappropriate at the numerous caves and buttes that have served as ritual centers for the Modoc, and continued recreational use is said by some to compromise the religious powers of these places. Additionally, even relatively remote places are not isolated from sounds and sights of the mundane world that compromise modern ritual activity. Many of these disturbances, interviewees concede, would be almost invisible to park managers without first-hand experience at these locations; each car traveling over the segmented pavement used for the park roads, for example, creates a crescendo of loud popping sounds that prove distracting for individuals at such ceremonial places as Gillem Bluff. Tribal members advocated construction of future facilities in a way that insures privacy, with minimal noise or visual impact from the ceremonial locations identified in this document.

RESOURCE USE IN THE MONUMENT

A number of tribal interviewees discussed their concerns regarding culturally significant plants and animals in the Monument. As at Crater Lake National Park, the extermination of tribal hunting rights within the park was an issue of concern among interviewees and was mentioned frequently. Some tribal members expressed a desire to continue to hunt in the park, and tales of historical poaching are recounted enthusiastically by a few. One proposal advanced by tribal interviewees involved hunting in the Lava Beds for ritual purposes “as part of an organized ceremonial event...not just one person, not unannounced, not for just any reason,” and coordinated with NPS staff (42).

Moreover, some tribal members are of the opinion that NPS management has had an adverse impact upon game populations in general, due not only

to the elimination of anthropogenic fire, but also due to rumored “herd management” and other management of game species populations. Many welcomed the return of prescribed fire to the Monument. Despite these concerns, other tribal members note that the Monument serves as an important refuge to game populations that are overhunted on the remainder of their range, especially the “Interstate herd” that is so important to hunters on the former Klamath Reservation. Many expressed general satisfaction with resource management in the Monument, noting that this served to preserve an area that would have otherwise been damaged.



Former Klamath Tribes Chairman, Jeff Mitchell, teaches tribal youth about the resources of the Tule Lake area. *Taylor David photo, Klamath Tribes*

Continued access to plant materials, especially sage and juniper from within the monument, is an issue of enduring concern to some tribal members. The Klamath Tribes Culture and Heritage Department has formally requested gathering and/or salvaging rights to juniper within Lava Beds National Monument for the production of bows and other traditional crafts (Dorman 1999). While NPS policy precluded the development of a formal agreement on this point, the gathering of juniper, sage, and other plant materials continues to be of interest to a number of tribal members. Juniper and sage in particular are important ritual plants for modern Modocs and their provenience in Lava Beds enhances their perceived ritual significance. Tribal members mention gathering these plants in the Monument on occasion with informal NPS permission. Some expressed a

desire to see policies clearly articulated and plant-gathering rights within the monument codified in a written agreement with the Klamath Tribes.

As part of the park’s effort to remove the profusion of juniper that has emerged with fire suppression and other historical changes in land management, some tribal members have suggested that the park might coordinate with the tribe to selectively harvest juniper. The park, some note, wishes to remove juniper and certain members of the tribe are eager to acquire juniper from the park for the production of traditional tools; a solution might be developed that could achieve both of these goals. Others indicated that they might wish to see an agreement to salvage naturally downed materials, such as windfall juniper, noting a belief that the NPS sometimes uses such windfall materials for construction or landscaping within parks such as Lava Beds. Some interviewees expressed concern that prescribed fires lit by the NPS might destroy “old growth” juniper, including culturally modified trees. While typically supportive of prescribed fire, these individuals advocate very cautious surveying of prospective burn areas and the use of methods that will insure these trees are not harmed – they are “a cultural and educational resource” in their own right and need to be preserved (42).

Prescribed burning, while generally supported by tribal interviewees, was said to be somewhat dangerous today due to the buildup of dead and downed wood as well as development around the Monument’s perimeter. Some interviewees expressed concern about fire danger to both Monument resources and surrounding lands, and advocated measures to reduce this danger. Manually removing downed wood prior to prescribed fires would be viewed as a desirable alternative for some.

TULE LAKE

Many interviewees expressed dismay at the total transformation of Tule Lake and the Tule Lake shoreline for agricultural purposes. The most important patterns of traditional resource use, they note, would be impossible today due to reclamation and pollution in the Lake. Many tribal members cited the historical transformation of the landscape as an obstacle to continuing traditional uses of lands and resources in and around the Monument. Further, the transformation of the Tule Lake shoreline was identified as being not just an environmental issue, but a cultural issue: “the lakes were essential...ducks, geese, fish...water was their way of life!” (47). Thus, the transformation of the landscape was said to be an obstacle to place-based historical reflection and commemoration.



A view of Tule Lake from Copic Bay prior to draining and shoreline reclamation in the 1920s. Petroglyph Point, visible in the distance, was a peninsula extending into the lake at this time, but today is a landlocked rock outcrop surrounded by agricultural fields. Some tribal members support restoring the lakeshore, while others encourage interpretation on the theme of environmental change at Tule Lake. *Klamath County Museum photo*

Some tribal interviewees advocated some kind of alliance with the park to foster the restoration of the Tule Lake shoreline to more closely approximate historical conditions. At minimum, this would require reduced water draws from the Lost River drainage, and might also involve the breaching of levees, the reintroduction of culturally preferred marsh vegetation such as tules and wokus, as well as other options. Some advocated NPS assistance in fostering the diversion of water to instream uses, such as fish and wildlife habitat. Yet “even if the fish and the plants were there, you wouldn’t want to use them” because of pollution in the lake (42). Some also proposed possible cooperative efforts to monitor and minimize pollutants in Tule Lake, especially pesticides and fertilizers. “Cooperative environmental cleanup” efforts, as proposed by one interviewee for this study, might unite the NPS and the tribes in a common goal (12). This might serve as a particularly potent wellspring of mutual support and goodwill between the park and the Klamath Tribes, even if it might raise some concerns among the Monument’s agricultural neighbors. At minimum, interviewees suggested that the park should make it very clear in their interpretation how



Army encampment during the Modoc War. Photo shows former shoreline of Tule Lake.
National Archives photo

much the landscape has changed: without this information, visitors are left wondering why the Modoc lived here and Captain Jack and his people fought so hard to stay.

THE MODOC GATHERING

The Modoc Gathering was a recurring topic during any discussion of concerns and recommendations. Most indicated that, despite some initial challenges, the Modoc Gathering has been a source of positive interaction between the Monument and tribal members in recent years.

During the early 1990s, interviewees suggest, some NPS staff were reluctant to host the early “Return to the Stronghold” events and placed tight restrictions on the event, creating friction between the tribes and the NPS. Tribal members suggest that, without a clear precedent for these events, some NPS staff were anxious to sort out policy and logistical issues, resulting in actions that were interpreted as obstructionist. During the gathering, some interviewees felt that rangers patrolled too heavily for alcohol use and other infractions of park rules far more than would be typical with non-Indian visitors. Some tribal members found this offensive.

More recently, however, park staff were said to have embraced the Modoc Gathering. The Monument's practice of setting aside areas of the park for exclusive tribal use during the event was particularly praised. These areas include the campground where participants stay, as well as the vicinities of Fern Cave, and the Stronghold.

Still, interviewees identified a number of areas for potential improvement. Several interviewees expressed concern about the possible effect of heat and dehydration, especially on elderly participants in the Modoc Gathering. They asked that the NPS might consider constructing a shelter – either permanent or temporary – that might provide shade at key activity areas, especially the campground and the Stronghold. Some envision an open structure that would be of sufficient scale to shade a small group of people eating and socializing, while others suggest building a structure that is of sufficient scale and privacy to host large ceremonial activities and dancing. Others note that sweat lodge ceremonies are part of the ritual events surrounding the Gathering and that they wish to coordinate with the NPS to establish a permanent sweat lodge site in the Monument. Some expressed an interest in being able to gather modest numbers of rocks and plant materials used in the ceremony within the Monument with the approval of the NPS.

Some interviewees still express frustration with rules and regulations that are said to restrict activities during the Modoc Gathering, such as restrictions on the time, number of people, travel in certain portions of the monument, and so forth. The monument is treated like a museum, “under glass” instead of a place that is still “alive,” used, and intermittently inhabited by people (32). Most recognize that these rules are generally beneficial in moderating the impacts of everyday visitors, but feel that if granted exemptions the Modoc could and would avoid the adverse impacts that these rules are meant to prohibit. Further coordination between Monument staff and the Klamath Tribes might help facilitate an agreement on these matters.

VISITOR BEHAVIOR

Interviewees expressed concern regarding the activities of non-Indian visitors to the Monument. These visitors “come to look and play around” in a manner that is seen as inappropriate for a place abounding in sacred places, burials, and other sites demanding solemnity.

As a corollary to this observation, interviewees for this study expressed considerable concern regarding the continued vandalism of cultural sites. The defacing of petroglyphs at Petroglyph Point was a point of particular concern to several interviewees for this study. Some also raised concerns regarding the continued gathering of artifacts, especially near cremation sites and along the former south shoreline of Tule Lake. Those tribal interviewees who are familiar with the Monument’s site monitoring protocols on high-sensitivity sites expressed appreciation for this level of attention. Some advocated applying such monitoring methods, including motion detectors and surveillance cameras, at additional culturally significant sites that are likely targets of vandalism.

The use of the Monument, especially caves, by “New Ager” for ritual purposes was cited as a recurring problem. Part of this practice, they suggest, was fostered by certain park staff who presided over ceremonial events tied to caves. As mentioned earlier, access to Fern Cave by non-Modoc is an issue of concern to many – any ritual activity in this cave by non-Indians or by outside groups is seen as inappropriate. Modoc interviewees were relieved to hear that the Monument had denied requests for access to Fern Cave from one unrecognized tribe requesting access, the “Confederated Tribes of the Rogue – Table Rock and Associated Tribes,” in recent years.



Rock fortifications still stand in Captain Jacks Stronghold, and are sometimes visited as part of tribal commemoration of the Modoc War. High, exposed fortifications such as the one shown here are sometimes attributed to the U.S. military, while the Modoc more often built low fortifications that were nestled into natural crevices in the landscape. While documentation of these features is not especially contentious, some tribal members object to archaeological investigation or interpretation of specific sites. *Klamath County Museum photo*

BURIALS AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Interviewees expressed strong concerns regarding the continued protection of human remains and interment sites. Tribal interviewees generally appreciated the efforts of the monument to tighten security through site monitoring and remote sensors, and expressed a hope that these protocols might be expanded within the park. Recent events surrounding the repatriation of human remains have resulted in both cooperation and disagreements between Lava Beds and Klamath Tribes staff. There are a number of tribal members who wish to have additional human remains from outside the Monument interred at this place of pronounced importance to the tribe. As a culturally significant protected area within the rapidly developing upper Klamath Basin, the Monument has gained added appeal as an interment site. NPS policies restricting this interment are a source of continuing tension with the tribe, one that may be difficult to resolve. Indeed, some seem to accept at face value the description of the Lava Beds as “a graveyard,” and view the monument as a desirable interment site for contemporary Modoc descendants. In line with this position, Lynn Schonchin indicated that upon his death he wished to be cremated at Lava Beds in the traditional manner – with a funeral pyre and associated rituals. While recognizing the low probability that the NPS will grant this request, Schonchin expressed the view that serious consideration of this request, alone, might raise a number of important cultural and legal issues that both the tribe and the NPS need to resolve.

A large number of interviewees expressed concern regarding continued archaeological investigations within the Monument. The Klamath Tribes passed an executive resolution expressing its opposition to all archaeological excavation of Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin sites (Klamath Tribes 2002). Such sites are said to be “sacred.” Artifacts and their placement are said to manifest the will of the ancestors, and manifest the perspectives and powers of Modocs from before their defeat and partial integration into Euro-American culture. Fairly consistently, interviewees for this study suggest that “there is a reason why someone chose to put it there” (23). The removal of artifacts is widely believed to diminish both the sacredness of the site and the artifact. Moreover, the perception of the Lava Beds as a burial area contributes to this sentiment: “you’re not supposed to pick up things at burials” as this disturbs the sanctity of the site and may bring misfortune to the living (43). Most tribal members do not see the value of recent archaeological research in the Monument and tribal support for archaeological research will be very limited unless there are demonstrable outcomes that are of value to both the tribes and the NPS.

FOSTERING COMMUNICATION WITH PARK STAFF

Most tribal interviewees report generally positive dealings with monument officials and staff. Unlike the Crater Lake case, interviewees do not generally report a long history of episodic conflicts with rangers and other park staff over issues of access and resource use. In contrast, unlike Crater Lake, many of the concerns expressed regarding Lava Beds center on larger issues of NPS policy relative to the management and interpretation of park resources, as previously outlined.

Perhaps most importantly, some tribal interviewees noted that there remains a need for improved communication, both ways, between the tribes and Monument staff regarding issues of mutual concern. They stressed a need for continued communication with the tribe, ideally at multiple levels. While the government-to-government relationship between Lava Beds National Monument and park-associated tribes calls for consultation on a variety of compliance issues, it is equally important for staff in both camps to have the chance to communicate informally regarding issues of mutual concern. Through this sort of regular communication, relationships can be forged that facilitate rapport, trust, and a relatively free exchange of ideas regarding many aspects of park management. While not directly serving the goal of compliance, such communication can facilitate more effective and congenial compliance consultation. Moreover, tribal members express an interest in communication and consultation regarding a broader range of topics than might seem warranted by a strict reading of cultural resource laws. Even seemingly mundane issues, such as management actions that might influence the movement of deer herds, or the paving of roadways, may be of considerable interest to tribal members due to their potential impacts on enduring patterns of use.

Due to past staff changes and other factors, the Klamath Tribes Culture and Heritage Department does not have in its possession a full collection of cultural resource reports from Lava Beds, as well as site reports and other forms of documentation. Departmental staff members have expressed an interest in acquiring all copies of such documents that are not currently housed in the Tribes' collections. Such an effort might facilitate valuable cooperation and communication between Monument and tribal staff.

Some tribal members have requested a Memorandum of Agreement addressing such issues as the hiring of tribal archaeological field crews, access, and plant salvage rights. As part of this agreement, some wish to expand tribal employment opportunities within the park, including certain

interpretive or land management functions for which tribal members might be uniquely suited. In addition, some advocated establishing a contractual relationship allowing the use of Klamath Tribes archaeological survey crews in future archaeological surveys and research. A number of tribal members also discussed opportunities for “partnership” between the tribes and the NPS on matters of resource management and interpretation. Some even propose “co-management” of park lands and resources in the Monument.⁹⁶

TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES

Some interviewees for this study expressed an interest in seeing all or part of the Monument designated as a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP). There was no clear consensus on the exact configuration of such a TCP, however. Minimally, such a TCP would include the Stronghold, but interviewees advocated the consideration of such places as Fern Cave, Schonchin Butte, Petroglyph Point, Gillem Bluff/Sheepy Ridge, or other features as part of a larger district. Further investigation of this point may be warranted.



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The following individuals did not engage in formal interviews, but provided information or perspectives that nonetheless were of particular value in the production of this volume. In some cases, these individuals participated in field interviews. In addition to members of the Klamath Tribes, this list includes members of the Pit River Tribe, the Confederated Tribes of the Siletz Indian Reservation, and federally unrecognized American Indian communities:

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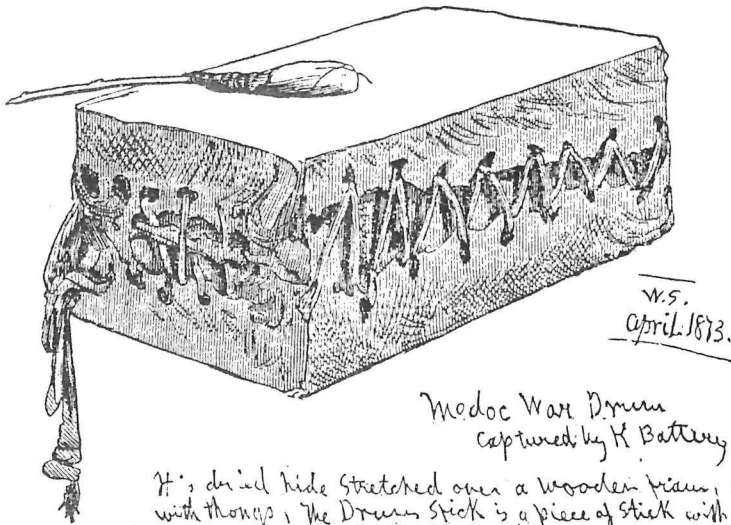
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Medoc War Drum
Captured by K Battery Artillery;

It's dried hide stretched over a wooden frame, and tightened
with thong. The Drum Stick is a piece of stick with what seems
to have been an old stocking tied on the end. This drum was beat
all during the fighting at cap: docks Stronghold.

NOTES

¹Moreover, Yahooskins and other northern Paiutes describe traditional associations with these areas, especially Crater Lake, and the contemporary descendants of this population are principally enrolled with the Klamath Tribes today.

²Members of the Warm Springs and Grande Ronde communities provided modest amounts of information in the course of informal communications that served to reinforce the accounts of these other tribes.

³While the principal investigator sought to identify interviewees representing a broad range of ages and economic circumstances, as well as to maintain a degree of parity in the gender of interviewees in order to insure the “representativeness” of this report’s findings, no strict numerical targets were established for such social and socioeconomic criteria. As the interviewees were typically chosen from tribal elders with an acknowledged interest in traditional cultural practices, however, it is clear that the information in this report may not be representative of the knowledge, views, and concerns of the tribal populations at large. Informal discussions with tribal members indicated that, while the cultural and historical importance of NPS lands and resources is clearly important, economic concerns related to the two parks (e.g., potential employment opportunities, or potential opportunities to sell crafts through concessionaires) may be of greater importance among the general tribal population than is reflected in the findings of this document.

Formal interviews lasted approximately two hours, on average. All formal Klamath Tribes interviewees signed an informed consent form that had been approved by the tribe, outlining the study’s goals, methods, and protocols. Field notes were taken during most interviews. Most initial interviews were audio recorded, although a number of interviewees expressed some reluctance regarding audio recording and refused to speak on tape. Interviews were not rigidly structured, nor did they involve rigidly predetermined questions. However, they did consistently center on certain themes, such as plant use, hunting and fishing, trails or encampments, and any social and ceremonial activities that are tied to the park. Interviewees were presented with maps of both parks to facilitate discussion, and in some cases interviewees or the author marked maps with locations mentioned during the interview. The author also asked interviewees about changes in these activities over historic time and potential causes of these changes.

As an example of the sorts of questions asked in these interviews, a list of questions regarding one theme that emerged frequently within this research - traditional plant use in the parks - is included here. These questions were typically asked regarding only a single park at a time, in order to minimize confusion. In this example, the study area addressed is Lava Beds National Monument:

- What sorts of plants have tribal members collected in the Lava Beds area, either in the past or today?
- Were there particular places at Lava Beds where these plants were collected?
- Were these plants collected only at these locations, or were they also found at places other than Lava Beds?

- What are/were these plants used for? In what quantities?
- Do people still gather these plants today? At Lava Beds? If so, and they are available elsewhere, why do people still go to the park? If not, when did plant gathering go into decline? Any thoughts on why this happened?
- If these plants are still gathered, how or why is the use of these plants still important to tribal members today?
- Do tribal members return to the same gathering areas year after year, or do they simply gather these plants wherever they are available? Do tribal members do anything to these plants to enhance or alter their growth?
- Has the location or availability of these plants changed over the years? If so, do you have any thoughts on why they have changed?
- Have these plant communities been adequately protected or preserved in the recent past? Are there ways the NPS could manage these plant-gathering areas that might better protect existing tribal uses of these areas? Should they be left alone or actively managed (such as through prescribed burning)?
- Should the public be told about these plants and your people's use of them, in your view? Why or why not? If so, what should they be told?

Informal interviews typically addressed similar issues. More often than not, informal interviewees were simply individuals who were reluctant to personally go on record regarding certain information, or who were reluctant to sign a consent form. In some cases the interpersonal exchange between the author and a potential interviewee simply precluded the formalization of interview content, due to its informality, brevity, or particular gravity. Nonetheless, the quality of information and the length of interaction associated with these “informal interviews” met or exceeded that of some formal interviews. Had these barriers to formal participation not existed, most individuals on the list of informal contacts at the end of this report could have been included as a formal interviewee. While fieldnotes were sometimes taken during informal interviews, typically fieldnotes were written immediately after the interview. These informal interviews were not tape-recorded.

In this report, Klamath orthography and spelling adheres to the Klamath Tribes' standard, which is based on M.A.R. Barker's 1963 *Klamath Dictionary*, to the extent possible.

⁴It is important to note that there are a number of challenges to the gathering of data when conducting ethnographic research of this kind. Quotations from interviewees illustrate three broad categories of issues: 1) communication barriers, including traditional prohibitions against certain subjects, 2) sensitivity regarding personal or ceremonial matters, and 3) a reluctance to discuss traditional practices now viewed as objectionable or outmoded by tribal members who have adopted many introduced views and practices.

Reticence to communicate was found particularly in the area of ritual activities, especially the private religious activities associated with both parks, were not openly discussed with the general tribal population. “People didn't talk about what they did at Crater Lake” (16). Many tribal interviewees felt that it was inappropriate to go on the record about religious

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sites and activities. Many of these activities are viewed as very personal and proprietary. To divulge the location of ceremonial sites is to risk their discovery, manipulation, or destruction by the non-Indian world. Likewise, information on resource sites raises similar concerns: if too much is revealed, non-Indians might start using these areas and “we won’t have anything left for our own kids” (33). Such concerns are particularly widespread among those families that still depend on wild plants, fish, and animals for some portion of their food and medicines. In response to this concern, this report generally avoids mention of specific locations for resource procurement areas, but only provides general geographical references to large-scale features such as “Huckleberry Mountain” or “Klamath Marsh.”

The generation that now constitutes the oldest elders in today’s park-associated tribal communities experienced strong pressures for religious conversion throughout their formative years. Some now adhere to a fundamentalist strain of Protestant Christianity similar to that found among their non-Indian peers. For this reason, some of the elders consulted in this study were particularly reluctant to share traditional stories or information regarding traditional religious practices, even when it was clear that they possessed a detailed knowledge of these matters. These interviewees depicted these themes as sacrilegious or “just stories...not worth repeating,” and a few openly mocked the enduring importance of “sitting on rocks to get power.” Typically, these interviewees focused solely on resource procurement and recent history, while others provided a retelling of traditional knowledge refracted through a distinctively Christian lens.

In addition to barriers to communication on religious activities, traditional prohibitions on the mention of the names of the dead have been documented among the Klamath and Modoc people, and a number of interviewees indicated that this restricted the transmission of specific information regarding historical tribal members’ activities. When Albert Gatschet conducted his research among the Klamath Tribes in the 1880s, this custom was still “rigidly kept up” (Gatschet 1890: civ). Today, a small number of elderly tribal members still express reluctance to mention the names of dead individuals, identifying them by a kinship term but not by name. This practice has largely disappeared among the general tribal population. Traditional prohibitions on the discussion of burial areas, common among American Indian communities, also precluded the transmission of information on these places.

The other main category of challenges to the gathering of data relates to issues of cultural assimilation. For a century and a half, non-Indians “tried to make white people out of us” (43). Traditional activities were never entirely abandoned, but were temporarily concealed or “put aside” during times of intensive assimilationist pressures. Both tribal ceremonial traditions and languages “were pretty much beat...out of them” in residential and agency schools (25). Some interviewees suggested that the tribes “only wanted peace, and tried to accept or mimic” introduced cultural practices to achieve this (08).

During termination, “a lot of ties were cut” as individuals left the area seeking employment and families experienced dramatic upheaval (40). (People often asked the author, “where were you ten years ago?!”). Some of the most knowledgeable interviewees on matters of traditional culture are people whose parents were absent, due to distant employment, personal or alcohol problems and other challenges; in part, this is because these individuals were often raised by grandparents who were themselves knowledgeable regarding tribal history and culture. Certain kinds of cultural and historical knowledge reportedly “skipped a generation” during the mid-twentieth century, and young adults sometimes prove to be as informed on certain matters as members of their parents’ generation.

⁵ For an annotated list of ethnographic sources addressing the Klamath, Modoc, and other park-associated tribes, consult Mairs, Winthrop and Winthrop (1994: 15-21, 165-211). An excellent but dated source, is B.K. Swartz's 156-page *A Bibliography of Klamath Basin Anthropology, with Excerpts and Annotations* (Swartz 1967).

Many interviewees for this study challenged the notion that the Klamath and Modoc were traditional enemies, a point often made in popular accounts of the Modoc War and other Klamath Basin history. Instead, they suggest, relations were generally peaceful, with members of both Klamath and Modoc villages gathering each year to procure food and socialize at Link River, Olene Gap, Beatty Gap, Huckleberry Mountain, and other important gathering places. Marriage and military alliances between different Modoc and Klamath communities was commonplace and members of both groups collaborated in long-distance slave raiding expeditions into Pit River and Shasta territories. On occasion, interviewees concede, battles broke out between individual Klamath and Modoc villages, but such battles were almost as common between individual villages of the same conventionally designated tribe.

⁶ Organized Modoc slave raiding on Achumawi (Pitt River) and Shasta communities has been well documented in the literatures addressing both tribes. Yet the Modoc also were known to trade with Achumawi and Shasta communities using items secured in trade at The Dalles, including horses (Kniffen 1928: 312; Davis 1974: 15-32).

See Gatschet (1890: 19-27) and Spier (1930: 35), for example, for discussions of travel to The Dalles. Typically, this trade related travel was the domain of powerful and wealthy leaders. Andrew Ortis reported that the name "Chiloquin," originally used by a mid-nineteenth century Klamath chief, was originally obtained by this chief while at the Columbia River. Gatschet (1890: 180) records songs satirizing the pretensions of the nouveau riche made wealthy by the slave markets in The Dalles, in which the singers taunt "This man has started out to feed on salmon among the northern Indians." Today's tribal interviewees are quick to point out that slavery in the Klamath and Modoc context was very different than in the case of the North American trade in African slaves. Racial differences did not divide slave populations from their keepers, and only sometimes only modest cultural differences existed between the two. Slaves often arrived in communities as low-status citizens, who could eventually marry into the host community and achieve a level of social and economic independence from their keepers with the passage of time. Some contemporary interviewees for this study traced their ancestry in part to slaves who were taken by the Klamath and Modoc, only to marry into the tribe.

⁷ For a detailed retelling of these events that incorporates tribal oral tradition regarding the event, see Riddle (1914).

⁸ The exact identity of the "Yahooskin Band of Snakes" has been a contentious question within the Klamath Tribes. Most tribal members accept that the Yahooskin were primarily from relatively arid areas to the east of the Klamath Basin. Some sources support the notion that they were actually a Shoshone band from far eastern Oregon or even Idaho, while most published sources suggest that they were simply a northern Paiute band from immediately east of the Klamath and Modoc territory. The term "Yahooskin" is said to be a Klamath word alluding to buffalo, and these people were known as "the people from where the buffalo come from" to the Klamath and Modoc, a point that might help pinpoint their geographical origins. While not holding traditional territories in the Klamath Basin, the Yahooskin do appear to have joined the Klamath and Modoc at multi-tribal fishing sites and social gath-

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rings prior to European contact, arriving by horseback. Their presence in the Klamath Basin for such activities during the time of treaty negotiation appears to have resulted in their integration into the confederated Klamath Tribes. Most of the Yahooskins subsequently placed on the Klamath Reservation, along with a small number of additional Paiute families who arrived after them, were placed in the Yainax sub-agency and ultimately given allotments in the Beatty area – especially the area north of Beatty locally called “Paiute Camp.” The Yahooskins and other Paiute families were socially marginalized by the Klamath and Modoc during their early years on the reservation, and their permanent presence in Klamath Territory was resented by many members of these two other tribes. Over time, these Yahooskin and other Paiute families intermarried with Klamath and Modoc families and became integrated into the larger social fabric of the Klamath Tribes.

⁹ The Indian Celebration Grounds have received frequent mention in local historical accounts, such as articles in the Klamath County Historical Society’s *Klamath Echoes* series (see Lorenz 1964).

¹⁰ Stern (1965) and Hood (1972) provide detailed accounts of the events leading up to termination, but their discussions of the outcomes of termination are necessarily sparse. Haynal (1994) has assessed the implications of termination, and then restoration, on changing cultural identities within the Klamath Tribes.

¹¹ This extra-tribal organization was not dissolved following federal restoration of the Klamath Tribes in the 1980s; dissolution was not to take place until all remaining legal claims of this organization are settled. This process may take decades yet. The distinction between these two groups has become important once again in recent years, as the Klamath Tribes of Oregon has pursued some of these unresolved legal disputes, including lawsuits related to the loss of water rights, the obstruction of salmon passage into the upper Klamath Basin, and allegations of lands taken without compensation including lands incorporated into Crater Lake National Park.

¹² See, e.g., Gatschet (1890: 83). Clarke (1960: 19) reported of the Modoc that when mourning for the dead, a chief mourner “winds willow wands about his body and limbs and goes into the mountains to spend days without food, climbing from peak to peak and bathing in sacred waters. This they still do [ca. 1873] and attribute great importance to it.”

¹³ Some interviewees draw parallels to Christian teachings on this point, noting that the Bible describes Jesus and others retreating into the solitude of the desert to speak directly with God. Speaking of Crater Lake, one anonymous consultant noted that the Klamaths “had to retreat to this desert of a mountain” in order to see the truth clearly and speak directly with God. The truth one sees in these contexts is conceptualized as existing independent of, and being of a higher order than, the context of human societies.

¹⁴ Water from these places is used in ritual applications today. Such water is attributed with the ability to resuscitate the dead or rejuvenate the elderly within Klamath and Modoc oral tradition (e.g., Curtin 1912: 131, 168).

¹⁵ Oddly enough, this point is not featured very much in contemporary literature.

¹⁶ In standard ethnographic sources, Crater Lake and Huckleberry Mountain are depicted as being in a “border zone” between tribal territories. Walker (1998) and Driver and Massey (1957), for example, designate tribal boundaries so that the eastern half of CRLA is within Klamath territory and the western half of CRLA as well as Huckleberry Mountain are within southern Molala territory. Other sources, however, suggest that the Molala range was much more restricted, and did not include the current study area (Murdock and O’Leary 1975). Note also the linguistic map in Walker (1998: 50) that shows Klamath as encompassing the entire study area, including the headwaters of the Rogue and Umpqua Rivers. Some sources (Mairs, Winthrop and Winthrop 1994) depict Crater Lake as being at the boundaries of four tribal territories: Klamath, Molala, Takelma, and Upper Umpqua.

¹⁷ It is important to note that many Klamaths claim that no other tribes were allowed to use Crater Lake without the permission of the Klamaths. Projectile points found in the park and immediate vicinity are made of materials and in styles typical of Klamaths as well as Takelmas, Southern Molalas, Upper Umpquas and others; in light of the extensive trade between these groups and shifting political and social alliances, the presence of tribally distinctive projectile points does not necessarily demonstrate that each of these tribes had enduring or unfettered use of the area.

On this issue, Barrett (1910: 240) reports:

“...the Klamath, while they feared Crater Lake, did go up on certain occasions to the lake and seem not to have been molested there by other Indians. It would seem that the lake was looked upon as a sort of territory of mutual rights by the people in its vicinity. They visited it when they desired to acquire great merit in hunting or similar pursuits in which supernatural power was necessary. To go and bathe in this wonderful lake was a brave thing to do, and made a man lucky for hunting or other similar pursuits and made him very strong for war. It would appear that the relations formerly existing between the Klamaths and the people of the Rogue river drainage were not at all friendly, so that the Klamath seldom ventured as far west as the crest of the range. They did on occasion make up large parties and go up to the crest of the range for the purpose of hunting, but small parties rarely ventured so far. The region for some distance to the west and northwest of Crater Lake was also visited by the Klamath for the purpose of gathering berries in season.”

Barrett’s account differs from that of contemporary Klamath interviewees on the point of territorial boundaries.

¹⁸ Klamath Tribes member, the late Andrew Ortis, provided the term *Klimat* in some personal ethnographic notes. This term is said to derive from *Calapooya* and is translated as “heaven.” The original source for this term is unknown.

¹⁹ Barbara Alatorre indicated that the term *tumsúmne* is more correctly translated as “mountain with the top cut off.” Sources disagree on the exact geographical referents of these terms. Gatschet (1890: xxx) indicates that Mount Scott is in fact *giwash* while Crater Lake was called *giwash é-ush* or “lake of Mount Scott” suggesting that Mount Scott may not have conceptualized as being a separate landmark from the larger caldera, but as the highest point on a singular mountaintop.

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²⁰ While the identity of these sacred peaks, such as Yainax and Yamsay, are known, the identity of other features that were part of this pathway were not mentioned by contemporary consultants.

²¹ A story attributed to the Klamath in Ramsay (1977: 211) describes the creation of Crater Lake, caused by Coyote falling in love with a star, clutching onto the star as it passed, but falling to the earth, creating a giant hole. Most interviewees for this study, if presented with this story, has interpreted it as apocryphal, an interpretation not applied to other stories of the caldera's origins. The story was, they suggest, a non-Indian invention, a story from another tribe, or a tale told to children.

²² Likewise, in a 1990 book chapter, Shaffer (1990: 141-42) recounts this story as an example of the implicit moral lessons within Umpqua oral traditions:

“The moral is that greed and the lust for power often brings destruction. Many of the older people in the tribes never went to Crater Lake for the fear of the evil spirits in the bottom of the lake. Yet it was a sacred place to them.”

²³ Some interviewees for this study questioned whether the crayfish, mentioned in these versions of the story, was actually part of the original story. Crayfish were not part of the story as they remembered it from their childhood and their people “did not traditionally honor the crayfish” (02).

²⁴ The story of Llao and Skell has been retold in a number of written sources including Applegate (1907), Stern (1951; 1963b: 33-34), Clark (1953: 56-58), Barker (1963a: 71-75), Ramsay (1977: 202-05) and Mairs, Winthrop and Winthrop (1994: 71-72).

²⁵ In this telling, these spirits killed Skell at Yamsay Mountain and brought his heart back to Crater Lake. Skell's followers were challenged to a game in which Skell's heart served as the ball. When Antelope acquired the heart, he ran off, handing the heart to Golden Eagle, who handed off the heart to a succession of animal spirits. Skell was restored and eventually killed Llao. Pieces of Llao's body, disguised as pieces of Skell's body, were tossed to his children as food in Crater Lake. The fourth and final piece of the body thrown into the water was the head. Recognizing Llao, the creatures refused to consume this final piece and it remains to this day as Wizard Island. Some tribal members exhibit considerable skepticism regarding the faithfulness of Steel's versions to the original oral tradition. Orin Kirk recalled that the Klamath had a story connecting the genesis of Wizard Island to Phantom Ship, but could not recall the specifics.

²⁶ Likewise, O.C. Applegate (1907) asserts that the ballfield was

“on the north side of Mount Jackson, or La-o Yaina (La-o's Mountain), the eastern escarpment of which is known as La-o Rock [and represents] a smooth field sloping a little toward the north which was a common playground for the fabled inhabitants of Gaywas and neighboring communities.”

Gatschet (1890: 518) records a placename for this site with a root that means “to play catch.”

Apparently following Applegate on this point, Clark (1953) also pinpoints the ballfield on the flats on the northern side of the caldera. However, Curtin's (n.d.) unpublished notes suggest that the ballfield was "a level place on the bluffs around the East side of the lake," and a small minority of interviewees for the current study placed the ballfield on the eastern side of the caldera. It is possible that more than one site was associated with this story.

27 On this point, an extended excerpt from Curtin's notes is instructive:

"Indians used to believe. Doctors said, "we begin to be doctors by swimming and camping on top the mountains where there is a pond or lake and breaking willows and piling rocks on top the mountains." On Saddle Mountain they used to camp. And at Crater Lake they used to say they got to the water and swam. And after swimming and camping and keeping awake all night piling rocks and breaking up twigs and tying them together till daylight then they would sleep, sit down and sleep. Then they would dream. And whenever they dreamed of, Grizzly Bear, Black Bear or Wolf, Coyote, Skunk or all kinds of birds, whenever they dreamed of became their medicine and they doctored with it. And snakes, fishes, everything became their medicine. Some of the animals come from the East, and South has a company with him, and North and West and Southwest. But some doctors have a man and woman for their medicine, a man and a woman that live on the mountains with the animals. And it is with these medicines may doctors look through the body and see what the diseases. Each medicine bird has a song sometimes it is its name, sometimes its color, sometimes it's flying... The doctors say these medicine birds all sing the songs. When a doctor comes where a sick person is, he says all these medicines circle around him four or five times and over his head, all of the fowls of the air. And the snakes and creatures of the ground are under the ground, all around, under the sick person's bed. And the beasts of the forest were all around the house. The doctor says he can see them all. Now the doctor tells an old man who is with him what the birds and beasts and snakes say and the man tells the people. Some birds say, "we don't know what ails the persons." Some said, "It is this." Other say, "It is a poison thrown into their body. We'll track them up and see where it comes from." The doctor sings and mutters all the time so only a man used to listening to him can catch his words. Now the interpreter [old man] goes to the door and calls out the birds and tells them to make [the sick] man well, to be strong, to hunt and to find what poison and who has poison the man. [He says] "We know that you're strong and can do whatever you like." If a bird was sitting on a mountain and doctor in this room, doctor would say the bird on such a mountain says he hears us. And the doctor will say, "I hear a medicine away off at the edge of the world talking about this sick man." They usually doctor in the night when it is dark and nobody can see plain. And they pretend to suck out things, sometimes weasel's teeth, rattlesnake skin or tail [rattle], teeth of some animal, hand [paw] of a weasel or foot of a frog, sometimes young fish. Most often suck out /popweks/ [horned toad]. They give no medicine whatever. All consists in singing and talking with birds and animals. But they find out where the place is through the birds and the medicines, then suck it out with their mouths." (Curtin n.d.: M-127.1)

28 Some indicated that Modoc and Klamath vision quest sites were said to be slightly different. Klamaths spent up to five days isolated on a mountain, while Modocs were not necessarily prohibited from returning after they have achieved what they needed to do – one day or more. Preparations were similar and similarly time-consuming. This may have reflected differences in their subsistence activities and time constraints on ritual activities.

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²⁹ Unfortunately, Neva Eggsman could not recall the exact form of this name in the Klamath or Modoc languages. Tribal member Barbara Alatorre's personal notes on Crater Lake include a term, *múkwluch*, which Alatorre suggested is the name alluded to by Eggsman. This appears to be the same name as *ma'kwal_s* as recorded by Spier (1930: 98), but Spier associates this name with a location on the western part of the caldera; it is possible that both places bore this name and were set aside for the use of tribal political or ceremonial leaders.

³⁰ Interviewees for this study discussed similar patterns of gradual ascent, with preliminary vision quests at adjacent, lower elevation features, when discussing a number of other locations in their traditional territories. Similar accounts were provided in reference to the ascent of Yamsay Mountain, Pelican Butte, Bryant Mountain, Horse Mountain, the Medicine Lake Highlands, and elsewhere.

³¹ Gatschet (1890) records a number of placenames for mountains just beyond the edge of the park, as well as names for such outlying points within the park as Sand Ridge – *yánalti*. Many of these names were not translated by Gatschet, while others, such as *réngom'li* “low on top” – a term applied to Goose Nest – are clearly descriptive.

³² Spier (1930: 98) mentions “Ghost's nest” – apparently today's Goose Nest Mountain, sitting a short distance southwest of the park's boundary, as an important vision questing site for boys – Spier reported a number of cairns at this site, on the eastern side of the mountain fronting Klamath territory. Contemporary interviewees also reported that this was an important vision quest site historically. The Klamath Tribes Culture and Heritage Department identifies Goose Nest by the name *GoMgoMI*, following Barker and Spier's linguistic notes as well as tribal language specialists' orthography.

³³ Visits to these falls as well as the Anderson Creek Falls as part of this study identified apparently recent rock cairn or “prayer seat” construction in these areas. The constituent rocks of a larger rock feature associated with a waterfall in the park, as documented in the late 1980s by park staff, have been significantly rearranged in the intervening years. The observed rock feature appeared to represent a zoomorphic prayer seat aligned with distant peaks.

³⁴ Apparently, this name was later applied to other tribal members. It is unclear whether the name was inherited or bestowed upon individuals who had undergone certain ritual preparations. The name was used as late as the mid-twentieth century (20).

³⁵ The notion of large spirit beings in the Lake appears in other ethnographic sources. Unpublished materials compiled on the basis of oral history interviews by the late Vina Kirk, for example, describe a story of Crater Lake in which

“The spirits were under the waters...One day [a person who had Crater Lake power] saw a great fish and when he saw it he slew it. This broke the magic spell of the lake” (Kirk n.d.).

³⁶ Reid David (1991) reported of this area:

“That's a bad place back in there. Scary. People disappear there. People avoid certain parts of Winwas unless they had to go there for a reason. Gold was believed to be there. The Lost Cabin and Pedro Mines were in this area. On his deathbed, a white

man confessed that he had left 5 gas cans full of gold; left behind because he ran out of provisions. Returned and couldn't find own campsite. (Some tribal members report having found this campsite but no gold afterwards.) Reid David had been told that when you go there, have 3 or 4 people with you, or you will never come back alive from these parts of Winwas. Some people believed that gogonas or other spirit beings kept people out of the area and may have been concealing this gold."

³⁷ Like many Klamath placenames, this term was applied to many other places and people that shared similar characteristics – or, in this case, were “on the other side” of prominent landmarks. The term was also applied to the people of the upper Rogue River and was sometimes applied to Mount Scott. See Barker (1963a: 522).

³⁸ This author completed a separate report on Huckleberry Mountain, the Huckleberry Mountain Traditional Use Study. Jointly funded by the National Park Service and the Rogue River National Forest, this report expands considerably on the themes outlined in here.

³⁹ On Klamath Tribes gambling traditions that were part of these multi-tribal events, see, e.g., Dorsey (1901) and Spier (1930).

⁴⁰ Gatschet (1890: 75-77) recorded a number of narratives regarding the importance of huckleberries and the huckleberry harvest among the Klamaths.

⁴¹ Certain opportunities discussed by USFS and Klamath Tribes representatives include reduction or elimination of clearcutting and cattle grazing in berrying areas; selective thinning of young trees to restore insolation to meadows and the forest floor; spring and wet meadow restoration; public signs or interpretation designed to reduce non-Indian visitors' impacts on traditional camps and berrying areas; short periods of exclusive tribal use during the berry harvest; and increased vigilance to prohibit unlawful activities such as commercial berry harvesting.

⁴² Serviceberries were so widely associated with the moist western slopes of Crater Lake and vicinity that the Southern Molala from this side of the park and other residents of the uppermost Rogue River were commonly called “serviceberry-area-people” by the Klamaths (Barker 1963a: 70).

⁴³ See, e.g. Gatschet (1890: 103). A small number of interviewees for the current study identified chokecherry as the plant used for this purpose. Mourners for the dead sometimes wore belts made of serviceberry branches, a practice that appears to be connected to the role of the plant in the creation of humankind. The location of this act of creation in Klamath tradition is a cave along the banks of the Sprague River a few miles upstream from Chiloquin. This site is still revered by many as a sacred place despite damage to the site caused by road construction early in the twentieth century. The cave is said to sit roughly at the center of the Klamath world and roughly equidistant from the five principal sacred peaks of the Klamath (23).

⁴⁴ These meadows may have been at least in part the product of anthropogenic fire.

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⁴⁵ Visits to Huckleberry Mountain by tribal members as part of this project may have resulted in a resuscitation of this practice. Once a small number of Klamath children were told of this use by project participants they quickly fashioned their own “pea-shooters” and the air was filled with flying berries. In short order, every child had a pea-shooter in hand.

⁴⁶ This plant is used similarly as a cold and influenza remedy by other tribes in the Northwest, and past laboratory tests have indicated that the plant has pharmacological value for the regulation of blood glucose levels.

⁴⁷ See Emanuel (1994) for a selected list of plants used by the Klamath and Modoc. Emanuel’s list focuses upon the Winema National Forest and as such emphasizes species that are not common on the western or high-altitude portions of the park.

⁴⁸ It is possible that the variability in contemporary interviewees’ recollections reflects pre-contact variability in fire management practices. The Umpqua, Takelma, Molala, and other ethnolinguistic groups from west of the Cascade Range dwelled in relatively humid environments, and were accustomed to utilizing fire as a vegetation management technique in densely forested environments. While the Klamaths, Modocs, and other peoples from east of the Cascades certainly utilized fire to manage vegetation, it is possible that they were unaccustomed to utilizing and controlling fires in moist, forested sites such as Huckleberry Mountain. Such fire management of densely forested sites likely involved environment-specific knowledge and methods, and west-side tribes may have come to the site well equipped. This remains conjectural, though, pending further investigation.

⁴⁹ Some Klamaths report hunting for introduced wild turkeys in the lower elevation hills west of Huckleberry Mountain in the late twentieth century (04).

⁵⁰ USFS rangers only enforced game regulations for a brief period of time, early in the history of this National Forest, but this function was soon taken over by the State of Oregon (Jeff LaLande, pers. comm. 2002). Nonetheless, the period of USFS enforcement was the first period of effective game law enforcement in Oregon’s hinterland, a contentious period in tribal history, and still seems to loom large in the oral history of tribal members.

⁵¹ Major centers of Klamath settlement proximate to the park centered on the lower Williamson River, Klamath Marsh, and the Agency Lake area. These communities were most intimately associated with the park. Contemporary Klamath Tribes interviewees identified various settlements and encampments concentrated near the Williamson-Sprague confluence, and many of these sites are identified in the accompanying Chiloquin Forks map. Interviewees confirmed Spier’s (1930: 11) reports that this area represented the heart of the large *’ukckni* band’s winter village complex:

“The towns for the most part lie along Williamson river....As these are winter settlements, the open lake is avoided...They cluster along Williamson river whose sheltered valley is distinctly warmer than the lake front a few miles distant and where the running stream contains fish most of the year.

The towns are not isolated, compact groups of houses, but stretch along the banks for half a mile or more. In fact, the settlements on the Williamson river below the Sprague river junction form a practically continuous string of houses for five or six miles, the house pits being, in many spots, crowded close together. Informants insisted that

many of these were occupied at the same time. When we consider that these earth-lodges may have housed several families, there is strong suggestion of a considerable population.”

Likewise, Spier (1930: 13) indicates that “the towns are almost continuous” from the Williamson River’s confluence with the Sprague to the base of the Williamson River canyon. The town of Chiloquin replaced this settlement complex. Many interviewees identified Klamath Marsh by as one of the most important historical centers of Klamath settlement for the *’ukckni* band, a fact that has been well documented in earlier studies. Stern (1965) indicated that the Klamath Marsh had no fewer than nine major settlements lining its banks. A wide range of resources were traditionally gathered in this marsh in large quantities, including wokus, tules, cattails, waterfowl, bird eggs, mullet, and trout. Major settlements were said to be positioned primarily for access to fishing sites.

At the mouth of the Williamson River, Spier (1930) identified five distinct villages at the mouth of the Williamson River, near modern-day Modoc Point: *Mo’a_sda*, *W_ck_mdi*, *La’wa’lst_t*, *Mo’gi_k_nks*, and *Dj_g_s*. These villages, together, constituted the heart of the *du’kwakni*, one of the five bands of Klamaths.

Another band village complex was found at the mouth of the Wood River on the shore of Agency Lake. This village – actually a group of clustered villages – was called *kowac’di*, “place of beginning,” alluding to the fact that this was the historical point of entry into the Klamath lakes for many tribal members traveling by canoe. This name was recalled by a number of tribal interviewees, and is also reported in standard ethnographic sources such as Spier (1930). Spier (1930: 16) reports that this village was the principal village of the Agency Lake “*kowa’cdikni*,” one of the five bands of Klamaths:

“The winter home of these people is on Agency lake, the northern arm of Klamath lake...The site is a quarter-mile long. One informant stated that it contained twenty houses, another two earth-lodges (one a shaman’s), not incompatible statements. A spring here permits fish to remain all winter. A few houses are at another spring a quarter-mile east.”

⁵² This was the second wagon road to be constructed between these two basins. The first, constructed in 1863, looped south, skirting the northern slopes of Mount McLoughlin; this route proved too steep and difficult for many wagons and was largely abandoned in favor of the Annie Creek route.

⁵³ Interviewees noted that few if any trails were visible through the park at this date. Trails abandoned in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been obliterated by overgrowth, frost heave, and other factors. The main trail up the Annie Creek canyon rim was destroyed by the creation of the wagon road and subsequently by road development; the Annie Creek trail that followed the riparian area, as with many other riparian trails, was both overgrown and concealed by fluvial action.

⁵⁴ Interviewees noted that trail maintenance was an integral part of the trek prior to the advent of modern roads, with occasional stops to remove downed trees and other obstacles from the route. This practice, called *shutédshna* by Gatschet’s Klamath interviewees, has been reported in previous studies (Gatschet 1890: 86).

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⁵⁵ A distillery once operated near Whiskey Creek, and some interviewees believe that the names Whiskey Creek and Whiskey Camp memorialize this operation. Tribal members indicate that this still was the source of much contraband liquor that made its way to the Klamath Reservation. Some tribal members were involved with the liquor production and distribution; a Yurok man with family ties to the Klamaths reportedly played the greatest role in this cottage industry.

⁵⁶ A minor campsite was reported at Union Gap, where the creek passed through a large rock formation (22). This was a place of some significance to the tribes of the area, but interviewees did not discuss the details.

⁵⁷ Steve Mark, Wagon Road Inventory notes and maps. (ms. in files of Crater Lake National Park, Crater Lake OR., 2000).

⁵⁸ Orson A. Stearns, The Discovery of Crater Lake. Klamath Record. Klamath Falls (March 9, 1917), 2. This discovery tale has often been repeated in secondary sources. See, for example, Herald and News, Named Lake Majestic: Stearns Claims Crater Lake Discovery. *Herald and News*. Klamath Falls, OR. (February 26, 1965), 10A, 16A.

⁵⁹ See discussion in Robert Sterling Yard, *The Book of the National Parks*. (New York: Charles Scribners and Sons, 1919), 195-97.

⁶⁰ This view of the pre-contact landscape as *tabula rasa*, awaiting discovery and occupation has deep roots, and has been variously described with such terms as “the pristine myth” and “the myth of emptiness.” See Denevan (1992) and Blaut (1993).

⁶¹ On the cultural significance of the Indian Shaker Church within the Klamath Tribes and other tribes of the region, see Barnett (1957).

⁶² The Crater Lake National Park Historian, Steve Mark, has a file on the development of these cases, including internal NPS correspondence and federal court decisions.

⁶³ Riddle (1914) for example, describes a number of temporary retreats into the mountains and relocations between villages well in advance of the Modoc War. The villages along Tule Lake appear to have housed some of these ‘refugee’ populations in the 1860s and early 1870s.

⁶⁴ Klamath Tribes member, Debbie Herrera (pers. comm. 2005), reported that her family has in their possession unpublished correspondence from Albert Gatschet regarding Modoc placenames in the Lava Beds area that might be available to the NPS on request.

⁶⁵ Obsidian source analysis has indicated that the obsidian in Lava Beds is almost uniformly from the Medicine Lake Highlands (Nelson Siefkin, pers. comm. 2000).

⁶⁶ The historical significance of Olene Gap is discussed in numerous sources, including Howe (1968) and Clarke (1960). Interviewees for the current study indicated that the Olene fishery intermittently drew tribal groups from as far away as Pit River and the Paiutes of northern Nevada. Stone fish dams formerly crossed Lost River here, and fish were reportedly speared from atop these dams.

“Six miles above the lake was a fishery, where the Indians had from the most ancient times kept a stone dam, which they built on a natural reef or rock that crossed the bed of the stream and made a natural fording place as well as fishery. From that dam they could spear the fish that abounded in the deep water above” (Clarke 1960: 1-2).

These dams were traditionally viewed as the handiwork of Gmukamps, the Creator. Dunn (1886: 466) notes that the fish were so numerous at the Olene fishery during spawning time “that the Indians have only to put a slight obstruction in the river, when they can literally shovel them out.” A number of oral traditions persist regarding this site among contemporary Klamath Tribes members, and the site is now being investigated under an NPS Historic Preservation grant for possible nomination as a Traditional Cultural Property, in a study directed by the author of this study.

⁶⁷ The wokus industry of the Klamath and Modoc has received detailed treatment in the ethnographic literature. See, for example, Coville (1897, 1904).

⁶⁸ The ethnographic literature suggests that the Modoc knew a number of birds behaved differently during distinct weather events, and formerly some bird spirits had been said to have influence over the weather (see Gatschet 1890: ci).

⁶⁹ Canoe lake fishing was carried out in many locations, but was particularly common where springs emptied directly into the lakes: “the salmon spawn in the springs...that’s what you looked for” (06). Fishing tackle was adapted over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in response to introduced materials and technologies. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, roughly the same period as the Modoc War, many men began to fish with gaffs, made of large metal hooks attached to long poles of native wood. The poles were roughly 10 feet long. The gaff hooks attached at the end of these poles were metal semicircles of roughly three to four inches diameter, with a barb on their outer tip. Tribal members caught fish by swinging this gaff below or beside a fish and jerking the pole upward. Another common type of modified fishing tackle involved the adaptation of the traditional toggle harpoon with detachable point. Three treble hooks were tied to a two-foot long metal shaft, which was itself secured on one end of a pole. Each treble hook was attached to the pole with a length of dense cord. Men would “swing the poles through, under fish” (09). In the process, fish became snagged on treble hooks, which - as with the traditional toggle harpoon - would then detach but remain connected to the pole by their cords, allowing for the fish to ‘fight’ without shaking loose from the hook or damaging the pole. Oil lamps were sometimes used in place of torches for nighttime fishing. Some of these techniques were still employed in Tule Lake following Modoc removal, though most of these Modoc fishing methods were employed at fishing stations on the Klamath Reservation. Mullet fishing continued into the final decades of the twentieth century, and many tribal members still possess a first-hand knowledge of mullet fishing and processing techniques.

⁷⁰ The precise geography of these oral traditions sometimes differed between the Klamath and Modoc, such as in the case of certain stories of Gmukamps, which sometimes attributed his activities to different places on the land. Yet, in many cases, the geography of landmarks described in oral tradition clearly matched among members of these two closely related tribes.

⁷¹ Likewise, certain rocks sitting in Tule Lake were described by Curtin’s (1912: 11) early 20th century interviewees as being pieces of the body of Skakas, a woman who wished to marry Gmukamps’ son but did not show proper respects and was killed. The Modoc texts

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collected by Curtin (1912; n.d.) describe a number of events in the lives of “stone people” who dwelled on the eastern banks of Tule Lake, as well as a separate people living nearby made of the material from which pounding stones are made. A young woman pounding with such a stone is admonished by it: “Oh! Oh! You hurt me! You think that I am not a living being, but I am” (Curtin 1912: 316).

⁷² Interviewees note that this area is considered to be particularly hazardous due to the presence of snakes, a fact that may be manifested in this story.

⁷³ Some sources depict this as a symbolic act of copulation between the old man, sometimes depicted as ‘Earthquake’ and the earth.

⁷⁴ Interviewees were aware of a number of cremation sites within the monument, as well as the locations of burials. For purposes of site protection, interviewees were sometimes ambiguous as to site location, and this document will only amplify that ambiguity. Clearly, site protection is an issue of enduring concern - a large number of human remains have been both removed from and interred at Lava Beds in the last century. Artifact hunters reportedly took human remains from the monument both before and after the onset of NPS management. Klamath Tribes staff have sought to track down some of these remains and, when possible, to seek their repatriation. Interviewees for this study noted that these cremation sites

“were always placed away from the village, with a clear view of the water...the water was sacred to them and it was important that you could see the lake from the funeral pyre” (23).

A number of interviewees also discussed the need for protection of human remains found in caves or submerged areas, within and adjacent to the Monument. Traditionally, cremation sites and burials are avoided. It was said that the “dead can put a curse on you, force [you] to do things” if one ventures too close to one of these places (R. David 1991). This was especially true of the cremation sites or burials of shamans. Many tribal members continue to avoid known burial areas due to these proscriptions.

⁷⁵ Mammoth Crater was said to have been an important place for prayer and vision quests at one time, but the lack of privacy at this site has resulted in diminished tribal use in recent years. Likewise, in the course of research by Deur (2003) and Theodoratus and Jackson (1998), Pit River Tribe members identified Mammoth Crater, within the Monument, as a “power place.”

⁷⁶ As is often noted, at such places: “Grace is said before eating; bits of food are cast toward the earth, the mountains, old house pits, and cremation places as to feed them first.” (Spier 1930: 141).

⁷⁷ Fern Cave is said to have an interior wall that, when struck, resonates like a drum. This surface is sometimes pounded during ritual events in the cave (32).

⁷⁸ A small number of Modoc interviewees for this study insist that Medicine Lake and much of the Highlands was exclusively Modoc territory prior to the Modoc War, but that the Pit River claimed the area following Modoc removal from their traditional homeland in

the wake of that War. Pit River claims on the area, they suggest, were originally established by Pit River individuals who were of partial Modoc ancestry or who starting using the area once their families took in Modoc War refugees. Other Modoc interviewees for this study suggest that the Modoc have usufruct rights to much of the high-elevation area of the Highlands, with other groups only having access in the event that the Modoc were not using or did not need the area. Still, they did not seek to restrict ceremonial access to the area due to its profound religious significance among multiple tribes.

⁷⁹ See, for example, Verne F. Ray's 1963 volume, *Primitive Pragmatists*.

⁸⁰ See, for example, the stories recorded by Curtin (1912: 149).

⁸¹ Modoc oral tradition regarding the mythtime past makes occasional references to people escaping "off into the mountains" to avoid threats or defeat (Curtin 1912: 120). The information encoded in these stories suggested the escapes taken by Modocs during the war.

⁸² Don Fisher, the first NPS Custodian of the Monument, reported

"An old Indian, questioned by Army officers in 1873, regarding the authorship of the Petroglyphs quaintly replied, 'My papa's, papa's, papa's, papa's, papa's,' repeating 'papa' until almost out of breath in an endeavor to explain the great age of the carvings" (Fisher 1934).

⁸³ Crossing the Applegate Trail with one of the first wagon trains in 1846, for example, A.H. Garrison (1903) reported:

"[we] camped on Lost River, the first night we camped on this stream, the Indians stole about eighty head of cattle from the company, they drove them to the natural bridge and crossed the river, from there they went into the Mountains. A party of about forty men followed them the next day, they found where three head of cattle had been killed, is the men returned that night without seeing an Indian... There were two Brothers in the Company...the single Brother and I was out fishing, we were probably a mile below camp, and sat down in the shade of a willow, he saying, now Henry, keep quiet and we will kill an Indian... after sitting still for quite a while...on looking around I saw an Indian just in the act of laying down to get a drink as I drew my gun around, he whispered, what is it, I pointed to the Indian, he said, hang on, then he raised his rifle and fired while the Indian was drinking. The Indian made one dive, and when he came up, his boddy shod shot half his length out of the watter, then sank and raised to sight no more, he stole no more cattle."

Meat was commonly left behind, laced with strychnine. Martha Ann Tuttle McClain (1853) reported:

"At the foot of the mountain we camped on Tula Lake, plenty of water and good grass. This night our Cattle was turned on the Lake to range with but few herders. The Indians seeing their opportunity lost no time. The Stock was ran of up into a cove of the mountain and 13 head of our best oxen killed and cut up nicely. In the morning our men took horses and carried to camp as much of the best of the meat as they thought could possibly be used so we had plenty of beef for many days, but I pity the Indian that eat a bite of the meat that was left."

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⁸⁴ A simple search of the University of California Melvyl databases for items on the “Modoc War” in the UC system produces a list of almost 80 items.

⁸⁵ Likewise, the geography of the Modoc War has been well documented in a number of sources, including Riddle (1914), Murray (1959), Reed (1991), and James (n.d.).

⁸⁶ Even tribal members who were of assistance to the United States during the Modoc War were not immune from these forced relocations. Sokegs Matilda Whittle, for example, was ultimately evicted from her home near Link River by order of the Klamath Falls City Council: though she had “become strongly attached to the old house...[and indicated] she would rather die than leave her home” it was determined that “she [was] a nuisance” and an obstacle to development of the riverfront and was removed to the Klamath Reservation (*Klamath Falls Express* 1907).

⁸⁷ The absence of agency control or influence in the Pitt River country was a source of concern frequently mentioned in Klamath Indian Agency reports, especially those of O.C. Applegate (1899: 314; 1900: 358; 1901: 343):

“I have heretofore called attention to the fact that approximately 1,000 Pitt River Indians, along the course of the Pitt River in California and not far southeast of our reservation, are without agency control...” (O.C. Applegate 1899: 314).

Similar calls for an agency presence in Pit River country are commonplace in the Klamath Indian Agent reports of Applegate in particular.

⁸⁸ Likewise, Ray (1963: 23) notes that Modocs traditionally made offerings of pieces of food in four directions when encountering springs, sacred peaks, rock stacks, or other places of religious power (see also Curtin 1912: 203).

⁸⁹ Hathaway produced a detailed written account of his efforts to organize the early Modoc Gatherings, consisting of several memoranda. These memoranda are available in the collections of Lava Beds National Monument.

⁹⁰ Fee waivers for certain activities – including American Indian religious activities and treaty-protected resource procurement – are authorized under a number of federal laws and regulations. These include the Code of Federal Regulations (36CFR 71.13(i)), NPS Guideline 22 on Recreational Fees (Release No. 3 as amended), NPS Guideline 28 (Release No. 5), 1988 USDI NPS Management Policies 8:9, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, and Executive Order 13007 (York 1997). The Klamath Tribes has established similar fee waiver agreements for religious uses of sites on National Forest lands, such as at Mount Thielsen.

⁹¹ At the time of writing, guns are allowed in the park only when in a vehicle (or rented cabin) and must be both cased and unloaded; 36 CFR 2.4 (a)(3). The transportation of lawfully taken wildlife is allowed on Highway 62, but the lawfully taken wildlife should be covered and transported so as to minimize its visual presence to park visitors. State laws applicable to tagging and transport also apply; 36 CFR 2.2 (d).

⁹² Lynn Schonchin, who is an accomplished beadwork artist in addition to being an educator and former tribal Chairman, is a strong proponent of craft sales at the park and may be a good point of contact for park concessionaires. The Klamath Tribes Culture and Heritage Department also maintains connections with skilled traditional artisans and may provide guidance on this front.

⁹³ The preoccupation of past Klamath Tribes staff with Klamath (as opposed to Modoc) cultural issues has created challenges in dealing with the NPS, in the view of some Modoc. For a time, a separate Modoc committee was formed to address cultural issues at Lava Beds and elsewhere, but this effort was short-lived.

⁹⁴ Fieldwork for the current report largely predated the construction of the Monument's new visitor center. Tribal responses to the interpretive content of this new center, therefore, were not solicited as part of the current study.

⁹⁵ Battle reenactments as such are forbidden on all NPS units, as a matter of agency policy; USDI-NPS, *Management Policies 2006* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2006) section 7.5.9, which is consistent with language in the previous (1988) version of the same document (see section 7:3).

⁹⁶ Some tribal members have followed press coverage of the emerging partnership between Glacier National Park and the Blackfoot. This case was frequently cited as a model for how such a co-management agreement might be structured.

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In the Footprints of Gmukamps



Crater Lake National Park and Lava Beds National Monument are places of special importance for American Indians, particularly the Klamath and Modoc. Crater Lake has long served as a center of ceremonial activity for many Pacific Northwest tribes, while Huckleberry Mountain, near its western edge, is a place of ongoing importance for food gathering activities and tribal social life. Situated 80 miles south of Crater Lake, the Lava Beds were a center of Modoc life, but the war of 1872-73 resulted in this tribe being forcibly removed from their homeland. In spite of dislocation, as well as great social and economic changes for tribal members, the cultural importance of these places has persisted into the present. Modern-day tribal members have provided their perspectives on Crater Lake and Lava Beds in a collaborative research effort centered on why these two parks have such enduring significance to native people. Drawing from more than 100 interviews with tribal members, *In the Footprints of Gmukamps* helps non-Indian readers better understand these ties, while also helping the Klamath and other area tribes in their efforts to document and celebrate their own traditions.

In addition to working as the Klamath Tribes' ethnographer since 1998, Douglas Deur, Ph.D, has directed studies of American Indian uses of national park units throughout the western United States. Deur is Research Coordinator for the University of Washington's Pacific Northwest Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit and a Research Professor with the Portland State University Department of Anthropology. He is also an Associate Adjunct Professor of Environmental Studies at the University of Victoria, in British Columbia.

