

THE INDIANS OF SOUTHWESTERN OREGON: AN ETHNOHISTORICAL REVIEW

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Using concepts and information from a variety of disciplines, we are working towards a better understanding of how -- over the course of at least ten-thousand years -- people we now call "Indians" lived in and adapted to a land we now call "southwestern Oregon."

Much of what we currently know about the Indians of this region comes from the physical evidence left by people long since gone. Archaeology no doubt will continue to reveal more information. Two other anthropological disciplines have also contributed. Both the linguistic studies and the ethnographies of local Indians are based on the testimony of **living** people who recalled their native tongue and lifeway before the Euro-American onslaught of the mid-nineteenth century. Together, these three endeavors provide the bulk of our knowledge about the region's native inhabitants.

There is, however, a fourth source of valuable information. The journals, diaries, letters, and memoirs of the first European and Euro-American visitors onto the scene contain the earliest written descriptions of southwestern Oregon's Indians. Typically penned well before the arrival of trained ethnographers, linguists or archaeologists, these accounts form the data-base of what is sometimes called "ethnohistory." <1>

My purposes here are (1) to give a brief overview of available ethnohistorical sources; (2) to combine some of this information in the form of a comprehensive (i.e., historically-supplemented) ethnography of the Indians of southwestern Oregon; and (3) to suggest several lines of inquiry for the future. (Because the Indians of the California portion of the Klamath River and Smith River drainages were, in many important ways, culturally similar to those of adjacent southwestern Oregon, accounts of those California groups are included in this discussion as well.)

First, a few cautions. As with any discipline, we must be mindful of the limitations of ethnohistory. The archaeological record, for example, is subject to "distortion" from both natural and human actions (including those of

the archaeologist), and usually contains only a small portion of the original material culture. The use of the ethnographic or linguistic record must account for the faulty memory, the incomplete knowledge (and sometimes even the willfull deception) of the informant, as well as the biases and mistakes of the researchers. For its part, ethnohistory relies on the testimony of persons who often projected a very prejudiced view of native cultures or who paid slight attention to important details, as well as a few who may have included deliberate exaggeration or falsehoods in their writings. We must also be careful not to assume, simply because a certain cultural trait is documented for one native group, that the trait necessarily applied to neighboring groups; although the widely various linguistic groups of the region did share economic and social practices to a large degree, each group was unique. In addition, the ethnohistorical sources for southwestern Oregon date from a time period when epidemic diseases may have already substantially altered the traditional lifeway of Indian groups. <2> Therefore we cannot project the "ethnohistorical present" very far back into the prehistoric past. Still, these sources are all we have; while maintaining a critical eye, we can use them to our benefit.

* * *

Southwestern Oregon's "Contact Period," during which time the ethnohistoric observations were made, lasted from the mid-1770s through the mid-1850s. (The sporadic, poorly-documented European explorations of the region's coastline prior to 1774 are lost in myth and conjecture; after 1855 the Indians' aboriginal culture was destroyed.) This eighty-year span of time can be divided into three sub-periods. The first, lasting from 1775 until after 1800, was the Maritime Exploration and Trade Era, when contact was limited to the Pacific shoreline of the area (and the officers and men of sailing vessels, if they bothered to leave their boats at all, ventured no farther beyond the beach than the first bit of seemingly impenetrable forest). Following a hiatus in contact, the Inland Exploration and Trapping Era began in this area in about 1820 and lasted until 1840. Most of the area's Indian groups were first visited and described in any detail by literate visitors during this period. The final sub-period, from about 1840 until 1855, can be termed the Scientific and Initial Settlement Era. During this time a few government naturalists and soldiers as well as interested tourists and pioneer settlers left accounts of local Indian culture as it was after several decades of contact with Euro-American intruders.

As one might imagine, observations written during the first period tend to be quite brief. My treatment of them will be likewise, and I will concentrate on synthesizing information from the two later periods.

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In the 1770s, after fitful attempts during the preceding 230 years to find the rumored Straits of Anian, Spanish and English ships again arrived off the coast of northern California and the Oregon Country. <3> At first still lured by the old dream of a Northwest Passage, the growing number of European (and by the 1790s, American) vessels soon established a profitable trade with the natives. Although most of the late eighteenth century exploratory and commercial

ventures occurred to the north, a few brief contacts did take place along our coastline.

On June 8, 1775, within sight of the present Oregon-California border, two ships under the command of Lt. Bruno de Heceta made their first landfall nearly four months out of San Blas, Mexico. Cruising south the next day, Heceta's ship Santiago encountered "three canoes of Indians," their occupants "all naked and their hair in disarray." <4> However, the Yurok boatmen revealed leather garments that they had carried along and promptly bartered the clothing for European goods. Thus did the initial documented episode of "contact" begin.

In desperate need of fresh water and fuelwood, Heceta anchored in a nearby harbor (one which still bears the name "Trinidad" he gave it) and went ashore. After formally taking possession of the land for their king, the Spaniards mingled with the Yurok for nearly ten days. Relations with the Indians were generally friendly (so much so that two of Heceta's crew deserted, apparently only one of whom rejoined his countrymen before the ships' departure). After setting sail Heceta noted in his diary that, although occupied with the many duties of command, he had not been "prevented from taking some time off to observe the customs of the Indians." The lieutenant followed with a summary of his observations.

[On the Yuroks' physical appearance and clothing:] The physiognomy of these and neighboring Indians is one of medium plumpness, robustness, and agility...they are dark complexioned, with long, straight hair...they are beardless. The men wear no clothes even to cover their private parts, and only when they are forced by the cold do they cover themselves with hides of deer...bear, or sea otter, and some sorts of cloaks woven from rabbit skins...the women cover themselves from the waist to the knees with skirts of hide or grass, some of which are finished off in different threads as a fringe...Thus, carefully worn, these preserve the modesty that is appropriate to their nature. Concerned with personal adornment, like their sex everywhere, they are eager for glass beads...The captains [chiefs] and their sons, on special days, wear on their heads a garland of fine hides, grasses, or feathers, which distinguishes them from the rest...When they go to war or deal with enemies, they paint their face and body black and other colors, no doubt believing it makes them more horrible and fearsome....

[On subsistence and material culture:] These Indians are engaged in a well-organized economy, hunting wild animals, fishing for shellfish and other kinds of fish [Heceta mentions "sardines dried without salt"], with which they sustain themselves collectively...The weapons they use are the arrow, lance, knife or dagger, whose points or sharp edges are of well-worked flint: They also use iron knives, which generally are carried dangling from the neck on a cord...With the utmost curiosity, I inquired on several occasions as to where those iron knives had come from [the Yurok consistently denied having been visited by previous ships]...They all responded unanimously by pointing to the coast toward the north, except for one who, with lively and intelligible signs, suggested to us his had been made from a spike, which came from the fragments of a ship the sea had cast on the beach...They leave to the care of their women the gathering of

seeds, wild and fragrant grasses, and small fruit, which also serve them for sustenance. They sow only tobacco, which is without benefit of curing -- but it is not bad tasting...Their dwellings are small houses of boards with small oval doors built so as to keep out the winds of the fourth [NW] quadrant which are coldest and most prevalent.

[On Yurok social and religious practises:] The practise of polygamy is unrestrained. These Indians are of a peaceable temperment, docile and timid; they love, revere, and obey the eldest, who governs with his councils. Based on my information, each rancheria is made up of only the descendants of these elders. When old age renders a captain useless for war, the son most qualified becomes captain...They make use of...subterranean dwellings, in the center of which they maintain a fire burning where they offer their sacrifices -- although I cannot swear it. But I can say that they burn their dead...The most diligent efforts have not been enough to enable me to acquaint myself with the sect of paganism they follow. <5>

Leaving the Yurok to puzzle over the huge cross he had erected on a nearby headland, Heceta sailed northward to further explorations. Heceta's account has a familiar ring to it. Aside from the off-hand reference to "sacrifices" being offered (which, being a scrupulous recorder, Heceta admitted was merely an assumption on his part) and cremation of the dead, the diary agrees in major aspects with the general portrait that emerges from later ethnographies: the sexual divisions of labor; the cooperative nature of food-gathering; the extended family village with patrilineal descent; the wooden plank houses; a hint of the observance of ritual ceremonies and the importance of the sweatlodge.

Following in Heceta's wake soon after, Captain James Cook, on his famous Third Voyage, just missed the southern Oregon coast. However, a few English-speaking maritime explorers and traders documented their brief contact with the region's Indians in 1791-1792: Capt. George Vancouver (of H.M.S Discovery) near Cape Blanco, and both Capt. James Baker (of the Jenny, out of Bristol, England) and Capt. Robert Gray (of the Columbia Rediviva, out of Boston, Massachusetts) in the vicinity of the Umpqua River. <6>

Regarding the Tututni Indians' physical appearance, Vancouver describes them as having a "light olive" complexion, a stature "under the middle size, none ...exceeding 5 feet, 6 inches in height," and "slender in their persons."

...besides being punctuated in the fashion of the south-sea islanders, their skin had many other marks, apparently from injuries in their excursions through the forests, possibly with little or no clothing that could protect them; though some of us were of opinion these marks were purely ornamental...They seemed to prefer the comforts of cleanliness to the painting of their bodies; in their ears and noses they had small ornaments of bone; their hair, which was long and black, was clean and neatly combed, and generally tied in a club behind; though some amongst them had their hair in a club in front also. <7>

In contrast to Heceta, Vancouver noted that the Indians "dressed in garments that nearly covered them, made principally of the skins of deer, bear, fox and river otter." Baker, who spent over ten days trading with the Indians of the Umpqua River estuary, remarked on their skill with the bow and arrow, and 17-year old John Boit, Gray's log-keeping fifth officer, noted that they "greedily devoured" raw meat. <8>

Vancouver describes the dugout canoes as resembling the shape of a "butcher's tray," with a capacity of about eight people, and "rudely wrought out of a single tree." Boit merely mentions the crafts' "square stems" and the paddles as having oval blades. All three ships exchanged copper, iron, or glass beads for sea otter skins. Both the Vancouver and Gray parties noticed that these people spoke a language entirely different from that of the Indians to the north. But whereas Baker and Gray saw them as probable cannibals "of a savage disposition," Vancouver found the natives of the southern Oregon coast to be of a "pleasing and courteous deportment" and praised them for their remarkable honesty in trade. <9>

* * *

The final decade of the eighteenth century witnessed the highpoint of maritime commerce in the Pacific Northwest, although trading ships continued to ply the littoral waters between the Columbia River and San Francisco Bay well after 1800. These included not only English and American vessels, but Russian sea-otter hunting expeditions as well.

Beginning during the height of the maritime trade era and continuing through its waning years, the first land-based explorers reached the Pacific Northwest. Between 1793 and 1810, Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark, Thompson, and the Astorians all penetrated west to the coast (and made many valuable observations of the Indians they met along the way), but southwestern Oregon and northern-most California remained unknown for well over another decade. The Inland Exploration and Trapping Era began here around 1820 with a few, poorly recorded forays by North West Company (and, after 1821, Hudson's Bay Company) fur trappers into the Umpqua River drainage and by Russian-American Company sea otter hunters to the Humboldt Bay area. <10> It was not until the late 1820s, however, that the first well documented explorations of this region occurred; Hudson's Bay Company (H.B.C.) men Peter Skene Ogden and Alexander McLeod and American trapper Jedediah Smith led these expeditions, and their journals give invaluable information on both the coast and interior Indian groups. McLeod was accompanied by botanist David Douglas, who added his own brief ethnohistorical account of the Indians inhabiting the Umpqua River area. Trapping brigades continued to pass through the Umpqua, Rogue, and Klamath River drainages throughout the 1830s; H.B.C. Chief Trader John Work's journals provide a glimpse of local Indian culture during that decade.

By 1840 the Indians of southwestern Oregon had become familiar if not altogether friendly figures to the transient parties of trappers who traveled between the Willamette Valley and central California. The Indians' culture probably underwent severe stress during this prolonged contact; trade and disease would have worked to change traditional ways. Between 1840 and 1855,

the Scientific and Initial Settlement Era, the Indians of the region were further described by a few anthropologically or religiously motivated visitors; members of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, Methodist missionaries, and U.S. Army officers left some informative accounts of the local Indians. By the end of the period Euro-American farmers and miners had swept most of the Indian groups from the scene; a few pioneers like James Cardwell, Thomas Smith, George Riddle, and others wrote in some detail about the native residents of their new home.

The following discussion incorporates information from the full range of available, post-1820 ethnohistorical sources. It focuses first on descriptions of the physical appearance and material culture of the Indians, secondly on their social interactions, thirdly on their religious practises, and lastly on their responses to Euro-American contact. Much of this information confirms or complements the accounts given by Barrett, Dixon, Drucker, Harrington, Holt, Sapir, Spier and other ethnographers of the region; however, in a few instances it conflicts with the ethnographic portrait. <11>

* * *

Material Culture

Under the heading of material culture, we will review the physical appearance of the people themselves (physique, body ornamentation, clothing), subsistence activities (i.e., what foods were eaten, how they were gathered and prepared), descriptions of tool-making and tool use ("tool" being inclusive not only of items such as hunting weapons but also baskets and canoes), as well as settlement patterns and architecture.

Physique: Lieutenant Heceta's first impressions of the Indians' "plumpness, robustness, and agility" holds true for later observers as well. In 1826-27 trapper Peter Ogden, for instance, described the Klamath Indians as "fine looking, stout men in good condition" and remarked on the Shasta as "bold and stout looking men." Charles Wilkes' Narrative of the 1841 U.S. Exploring Expedition detachment he sent south through the area similarly describes the Shasta as "a fine looking race...much better proportioned [and darker in complexion] than those more to the northward" and notes the absence of cranial deformation ("head flattening") practised by the lower Columbia River groups. Daniel Giles, who came to the Rogue River Valley in the early 1850s, recounts that "Chief John," headman of the Dakubetede (Applegate Athapascans), was "as fine a looking Indian as [he] ever saw, at least six foot [tall] and would weigh about two-hundred lbs." <12>

Hair: Heceta's mention of "long straight hair" is also repeated by later accounts. In 1828 Jedediah Smith remarked on how strikingly different in appearance the Indians of the lower Klamath River were from those of the Sacramento Valley; his journal takes special notice of "the length of their hair, which is long." Artist-naturalist Titian Ramsay Peale, a member of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, describes the Indian men in the vicinity of Mt. Shasta as having long hair "without ornament," as does Wilkes, who writes "they all wore their black hair down their shoulders." Lt. George Colvocoresses (a

midshipman during the expedition) amplifies Wilkes' by describing these Indians' hair as "fine and glossy, [hanging] down to their shoulders in natural ringlets." Wilkes further discusses the Wintu ("Kinkla") of the northernmost Sacramento Valley as resembling the Shasta; he remarks on their long hair, "extending below the neck and divided from the top," and among some it was "drawn back and gathered in a bunch behind, where it was fastened with a string of deer sinew." Ida Pfeiffer, a European "round the world" tourist who wrote of her 1853 visit to Crescent City, spent three days among the Tolowa and Chetco Indians; she remarks that both men and women wore their hair "in a long roll, and, since they are unacquainted with combs, they make their fingers answer the purpose; they then stroke it smooth, and twist it up round the head with a bit of the skin of some animal; the girls cut their hair short in the front." On garrison duty among the Tututni Indians in 1855, Army physician Rodney Glisan also mentions the long hair, "allowed to hang down over their shoulders," of both men and women. He also affirms that, in contrast to Indians of other regions, Tututni men often allowed their facial hair to grow into beards.<13>

Body ornament: Tattoos and body paint of the Umpqua River natives are mentioned by David Douglas. He states that most of the women he saw were tattooed (typically the entire lower jaw, but "some in lines from the ear to the mouth, some across, some spotted, and some completely blue") by means of a "sharp piece of bone and cinder from the fire." Glisan notes both facial painting and tattooing for Tututni women. (Wilkes' description of the Wintu women, who lived immediately to the south of our area of interest, says that they were tattooed on both the arms and the body but does not mention facial marks.) Exploring the Umpqua Valley while alone, Douglas was suddenly confronted by eight hostile Indian men, "all painted with red earth." (The Wintu men, according to Wilkes, favored a micaceous blue-black pigment to paint triangular designs on their cheeks; they also pierced their ears in order to suspend beads from them.) Fremont notes that unlike the Columbia River and Plains Indians he had passed among previously, the Klamath Indians "wore shells in their noses." Pfeiffer's Chetco hosts similarly used facial ornament: "both sexes follow the widely prevailing fashion of sticking a round piece of wood or brass through the cartilage of the ear; the men and boys wear ornaments of beads at the gristle of the nose"; and following an evening meal, the Tolowa men "daubed their faces...with red, blue, or black paint; they first smeared them with fish fat, and then they rubbed in the paint, sometimes passing a finger over it in certain lines, so as to produce a pattern." <14>

Clothing: Native clothing (as well as the lack of clothing) merited quite a bit of mention. Most visitors who passed through the region during the warmer months of the year (including Jedediah Smith, the U.S. Exploring Expedition, Jason Lee's missionary party, and Rodney Glisan) comment on the men's nudity. Approaching the Umpqua Valley from the north in August, Methodist Reverend Gustavus Hines notes in particular a native man who was "entirely naked, not having so much clothing on as an apron of fig leaves." Daniel Giles, among coastal Athapascans near the mouth of the Rogue River, likewise notes that the men were entirely naked and the women wore only "a small peace of sea grass cloth tied around thare hips." The Tolowa men that Pfeiffer saw were dressed only "in a complete state of nature," excepting "some of the chiefs," who had hides "flung like a mantle over their shoulders." <15>

Travelling the high elevation plateau east of the Cascade Range, the natives' winter garments received attention from Peter Ogden, who remarks on the woven reed leggings and footwear of the Klamath Indians and the goose/duck feather robes of the Modoc. Fremont, visiting the same vicinity in December 1843, also notes the Klamaths' shoes "made of straw or grass." <16> In the Rogue River Valley, however, Ogden met Shasta men "well clad in leather"; most accounts west of the Cascades refer to the "deer skin" leather coverings worn by men. Smith, Douglas, and Peale all note garments made "with the hair left on," but dressed leather was also worn. <17> Umpqua Valley pioneer settler George Riddle gives the following description of the Indians' hide-tanning process:

The brains of the deer was the only thing used. The brains when taken from the deer were mixed with oak tree moss which was formed into balls and hung overhead in their huts to be smoked and dried to be used at any time. The grain and hair of the deer skin was removed with a sharp edge of a split bone after which the skins were soaked in a solution of brains and warm water for twenty-four hours or more. The skins were then wrung out and rubbed until thoroughly dry, then smoked until the yellow color desired was obtained. The smoke also prevented the skins from becoming hard when wet. Furs and deer skins were treated with the hair on in much the same manner. <18>

According to Douglas, the men of the Umpqua Valley wore hide clothing that was tailored into "shirts and trousers," with the wealthier individuals having lines of (dentalia?) shells sewn onto them. The Shasta visitors to the U.S. Exploring Expedition's October 1841 camp near the Klamath River apparently wore tunics or mantles that were cinched around the waist with "ornamented hide belts." Both Ogden and McLeod mention beaver fur robes worn by interior valley and coastal groups. Aside from Ogden's and Fremont's comments on the Klamaths' reed shoes, there are no descriptions of native footwear, although Smith remarks on the Yuroks' (leather?) "Mockasins." <19>

Female clothing was somewhat more elaborate. Peale and Wilkes describe a woman seen at or near the site of present-day Ashland; she wore a hide mantle over her upper body, with a leather skirt hanging from her waist that was "fastened with a girdle having long fringes made of thongs of deer-skins braided." According to Douglas, the women of the Umpqua Valley wore a similar leather gown, but the fringed apron was instead made from western red cedar bark. Pfeiffer comments on such a dress worn by Tolowa women: it was an "apron...sometimes made of elk's skin and sometimes of grass; but the skin was cut up into narrow strips, leaving only a piece of about three inches broad whole at the top"; this "kind of fringe" was wound "twice round them, and it looks like a piece of very rugged fur." Pfeiffer saw this garment worn by all females, including "the smallest girls, who could scarcely walk." Glisan agrees that females, unlike males, rarely appeared nude: "not even the little babies" were seen without "some substitute for the fig leaf." <20> Jason Lee obtained a woman's outfit that was made entirely of cedar bark (it seems similar to those described by Heceta for the Yurok):

The bark was strung out fine about eighteen inches long, and woven together at one end, so as to admit of being tied around the person, thus constituting a kind of fringe. Two of these fringes made a complete dress;

one was fastened around the body above the hips, and hung down to the knees; the other was tied around the neck, and formed a covering for the breast and shoulders; the arms and lower extremities being left perfectly unencumbered. All women dressed in this manner.... <21>

The woven skull cap worn by women of the region is mentioned in passing by Peale ("a cup shaped cap made of rushes") and Fremont ("on their heads a closely woven basket, which made a very good cap"). Glisan states that a Tututni woman's basket hat also served "for a pail, the slits being woven so closely that...the vessel is perfectly water-tight...and, of course, it is used as a basket proper, particularly to carry berries." <22>

Diet: When compared with the various ethnographies of the region, the ethnohistorical accounts give a far less complete record of the foods eaten. However, they do contain interesting and valuable information. A number of observers refer to the importance, even predominance, of deer and elk meat in the animal portion of the Indians' diet. <23> Ogden confirms ethnographer Edward Sapir's notes on the Takelmas' fondness for raw deer meat when he witnessed them "devouring the entr[a]ils as they were taken out of the Body without even attempting to clean them, the blood they drank with the same avidity." <24> Ogden also documents that the Klamath, east of the Cascade Range, hunted antelope. This certainly comes as no surprise, but Wilkes indicates that the Rogue Valley groups, the Takelma and Shasta, did likewise. <25>

Ogden, an indefatigable hunter of beaver, was understandably distressed to learn, while camped in the vicinity of present-day Ashland, that the Shasta ("Sastise") were in the habit of hunting beaver as well, simply burning the valuable fur as they cooked the animals whole. The same year, however, McLeod found that the southern Oregon coastal groups claimed not to know how to hunt beaver, and they apparently did not eat them. <26> Peale and Wilkes mention that the Takelma relied heavily on jackrabbit for food, and Giles indicates that the Dakubetede of the Applegate Valley consumed grizzly bear (the ethnographies indicate that although some individuals observed taboos on eating bear meat, most groups did not proscribe its consumption). Although many groups in this region used dogs to help hunt game, they apparently did not consume them as food. Although the testimony of Ogden and McLeod, based on the large numbers of canines they purchased from the Klamath for eating, could be taken as indirect evidence that the Klamath may have been one of the few groups that did eat dogs (in December 1845 Fremont likewise mentions that large numbers of "singular looking dogs, resembling wolves, were sitting on the tops of the huts" at Klamath Marsh), the available ethnographic accounts deny that dogs formed part of the Klamath diet. <27>

Fish and other aquatic animals were at least as, if not more, important than game to the Indians of the region. Both Smith and Glisan indicate that the Indians of the coast obtained quantities of "small fish" (probably smelt) directly from the ocean; Smith and McLeod mention that whale blubber (no doubt taken from animals that had beached) was a favored part of the coastal Indians' rations. Giles recalls spending several days at the mouth of the Coquille River shooting sea lions and watching "the Indians bring up the wounded or dead seal and roll it into thare canoe" for later consumption, and Glisan saw the

Tututuni of Port Orford gather on the beach at a sea-lion carcass and butcher it for a feast. <28>

Salmon of course was a major food source for both coastal and interior valley groups. Most of the ethnohistorical accounts contain brief references to salmon. McLeod and Douglas write of the Coos Bay and lower Umpqua River Indians consuming both salmon and "salmon trout" (steelhead trout?). In an obvious overstatement, Glisan asserts that "one haul with a seine" at the mouth of the Rogue River would yield sufficient salmon to feed "twelve-hundred Indians a fortnight." <29> Interior groups, located upstream from the bulk of the anadromous fish spawning runs, had no choice but to take what the river offered. Camped on the Rogue River near Table Rock in February, Ogden complains that "the Natives are busily employed in collecting...dead Salmon...no doubt for food...they may find them palatable...even go so far as to select them in a putrid state, giving them the preference, what a depraved taste." In October 1826 in the Umpqua Valley, Douglas met natives who gave him "some salmon such as is caught in the Columbia and at this season scarcely eatable, but I was thankful to obtain it." Wilkes likewise comments on the Shasta Indians of the Klamath River (near the site of present-day Hornbrook) during October taking a poor quality salmon "of a whitish colour, and not at all delicate to the taste, their tails were worn off, and the fish otherwise bruised and injured." Colvocoresses observes that these fish were "greatly inferior in flavor to those taken on the Columbia River." <30>

According to McLeod, sturgeon were taken from coastal streams. Smith purchased lamprey eels from the Yurok, and Riddle recounts that these were also highly prized by the natives of the Umpqua Valley. <31> In the Klamath Basin, east of the mountains, Ogden found the Klamath and Modoc subsisting off of large quantities of "Carp" (up to twenty inches long and "nearly as good as White fish"), as well as "small fish not more than two inches in length and far from being good." Nearly twenty years later Fremont saw "great quantities" of these small fish "smoked and dried...hanging on strings" in the native lodges at Klamath Marsh. <32>

Despite their nutritional importance, particularly along the coast, shellfish are barely mentioned in the ethnohistorical record. Smith only mentions trading with the Yurok and Tolowa for "a few muscles." His clerk, Rogers, writes of trading with them for both "mussels and clams." Glisan describes the Tututni as "very fond of shell-fish, such as oysters, clams, muscles, etc." Hudson's Bay Company trapper John Work witnessed the Indians of the northern Sacramento River "diving for shell fish." The sole reference to freshwater mussel among the southwestern Oregon Indians is Peale's note on the "piles of Mussel (*Unio* & *Arodon*) shells" in the vicinity of Grave Creek, which "seemed to indicate that such formed a considerable portion of" the Takelma diet. At this same place Peale documents that large quantities of land snails ("*Helix nuttallii*") were "found in piles where they had been roasted." <33>

According to Sapir and other ethnographers some of the Indians regularly ate different kinds of insects. While Douglas corroborates this for the Willamette Valley, stating that grasshoppers served as winter food, none of the ethnohistorical sources mention insects in the diet of southwestern Oregon groups. <34>

While the term "hunter-gatherers" is typically applied to the prehistoric people of the area, "gatherer-hunter" probably more accurately reflects the relative nutritional importance of plant foods. However, edible plants get short shrift in the ethnohistorical record. A number of passages refer to the Indians gathering, consuming and trading unspecified "berries" or "roots," but these are too general to be useful. <35>

Camas bulbs and acorns, overall probably the two most important plant foods, do receive some detailed mention. Ogden claims that although their supply was of "an inferior quality," camas was the "principal support" of the Klamath Indians; in the Umpqua Valley he states that "Camass Root" was quite abundant and appeared to be almost the "sole support" of the Indians of that area during the late winter/early spring. Riddle likewise writes that "kamass" was the main winter food of the Umpqua groups. Douglas comments several times on the Umpqua natives digging and eating camas ("Phalangium quamash") in October. Travelling in June along the beach near the California-Oregon border, Smith purchased from the Tolowa "a Root which on the Columbia is called Commass." William Brackenridge, the U.S. Exploring Expedition's horticulturalist, notes that camas bulbs were "dug up by the Indians and Stored away and used much in the same way as Europeans would Potatoes." <36> The other regional staple, acorn, is noted only by Ogden, to whom acorns appeared to be "the sole winter support" of the Klamath River Shasta (who had a "large stock collected and altho subsisting entirely on them...were well in flesh"), and by Peale. Riddle mentions that the "white acorn was used as food, but...not relished and perhaps only used to appease hunger," corroborating ethnographic testimony that in the Rogue River Valley the acorn of the California black oak (Quercus kelloggii) was much preferred to that of Oregon white oak (Q. garryana). (Tangentially, Wilkes and Colvocoresses stress the importance of acorns to the Wintu of the northernmost Sacramento Valley.) <37>

As might be expected, the botanically-inclined visitors give the most information. Whereas Smith and Rogers merely mention obtaining "Pacific raspberries and strawberries," Douglas goes into detail about the huckleberries (Vaccinium sp.) given to him by the Lower Umpqua. He describes these berries, no doubt picked a few weeks previous to his November visit, as "fully as large as marrow fat peas...nearly azure...it grows in the mountains." Brackenridge lists the following berries and fruits as eaten by the natives of the area: salal (coastal groups), huckleberries ("two or three species of which are eatable"), raspberries, currant ("black and Yellow of excellent flavor"), Oregon-grape, "Arbutus" (manzanita or madrone) berries, blackberries ("not very plentiful"), dogwood "berries" (drupes), serviceberries, elderberries, hawthorn drupes, and "fox grapes" ("Vites volpina"). For the Tututni, Glisan lists "blackberry, raspberry, strawberry, salalle-berry; salmon-berry, thimbleberry, and red and black huckleberries." <38>

In addition to camas, the Indians harvested other bulbs and roots. Brackenridge notes balsamroot and some unspecified umbelliferous plants ("the tubers when well dried in the Sun, are bruized or pounded into a sort of Meal, which the[y] bake into Cakes"). Riddle adds the "soap tart" (evidently Chlorogalum pomeridianum [D.C.] Kunth., a large-bulbed member of the lily family now commonly known as soap plant) to the native larder; it was gathered

and prepared in much the same manner as camas. <39> Besides acorns, other edible nuts and seeds mentioned by Douglas and Brackenridge include hazelnut, chinquapin, balsamroot ("Oregon Sun flower") seeds, and what Douglas refers to as "Syngenesious" seeds. The latter are possibly balsamroot or more likely tarweed seeds; these were ground into a meal. Riddle states that tarweed seed (Madia sp.) was "most prized" by the Umpqua people, who gathered it in great quantities during the late summer from low elevation hillsides. <40> One of Douglas's main objectives in exploring the wilds of southwestern Oregon was to locate a specimen of the giant pine he had heard of: sugar pine (Pinus lambertiana). Meeting an Indian hunter near the Umpqua River, Douglas made "a rough sketch of the cone and pine I wanted..."

...he instantly pointed to the hills about fifteen or twenty miles to the south...At mid-day I reached my long-wished Pinus (called by the Umpqua tribe Natele)...[In autumn] the cones are gathered by the Indians, roasted on the embers, quartered, and the seeds shaken out, which are then dried before the fire and pounded into a sort of flour, and sometimes eaten [whole]. <41>

Smith and Rogers document that the Tolowa ate "cakes" made from "sea grass mixed with weeds," evidently kelp or some other sea weed. <42>

The Indians of southwestern Oregon undoubtedly possessed an extensive pharmacopoeia obtained from local plants. Ogden records an interesting observation while camped among the Shasta of the southern Rogue River Valley:

...amongst our visitors this day there was one who had onely (sic) one arm...he lost the other...in battle...the wounds would not heal but were constantly running and were most painful...he affected amputation about three inches below the socket or armpit with his knife...and his Axe...in performing this he must have suffered considerable pain. It is now three years since it is well heal'd, this he affected with roots and is free from pain...this if it were related amongst the wise men in distant Countries would subject the word of the narrative to be doubted as almost incredible, but how many wonderful cures do the Indians not perform that are little known to the World. <43>

Douglas mentions a "decoction" made by the Umpqua Indians from the "leaves and tender shoots" of what was probably Douglas-fir (a tree "2 1/2 feet in diameter and 60 to 70 feet high"), and Glisan simply states that the Tututni used "herbs" as health remedies. Peale and Colvocoresses note the Takelmas' use of sugar pine gum or resin as a gentle laxative; Peale describes it as sweet, tasting "like manna," but Lt. Colvocoresses, despite being told that the trappers used the pitch like sugar, found it to be slightly bitter. He says that "the Indian mode of collecting it is to burn a cavity in the tree, whence it exudes in large quantities." Brackenridge made an erroneous but understandable assumption regarding the madrone tree's bark: "The natives appear to use the bark of this tree for some purpose or another, as the base of the trunks were in general partly stripped of it." Although some northern California groups indeed used its bark for various purposes, madrone -- like sycamore and other exfoliating-bark trees -- simply sheds much of its outer bark while growing; its "peeled" appearance is a natural phenomenon. <44>

Subsistence Activities: If the scattered references to what the Indians ate provide only a brief glimpse at that aspect of material culture, the ethnohistorical accounts of how they obtained and prepared their food are much more informative. Obviously, the actual methods employed in the pursuit of food provoked the most intense interest from Euro-American observers. They witnessed a variety of seemingly unusual and therefore noteworthy practises -- from dog-assisted hunting to the cooking of camas bulbs in "earth ovens" -- that prompted sometimes detailed descriptions and anecdotes.

Hunting was a male activity according to all accounts that address the issue. <45>

Their aforementioned appetite for beaver led the Indians of the Rogue River Valley to devise a number of means to capture the beasts. Ogden, writing in February 1827 near the present site of Talent, relates that his trappers complained that the Shasta and Takelma broke apart lodges and killed the beaver with arrows and spears; later he comments that an average of six out of ten hides taken by his men contained arrow barbs and many had old wounds. Ogden also notes the use of fire to destroy lodges and kill the animals, as well as the setting of snares and wooden traps: "...they sett them in the Beaver paths near the waters edge but I am not of opinion they can take many...otherwise they must be near the spot at the time or [the beaver] will soon cut his way through." <46>

Large game were taken in various ways, including communal drives. As documented by Riddle (and several ethnographers), the drives involved fences, snares and dogs:

In order to snare deer miles of brush fences were made across the heads of canyons. The ropes were set at openings where experience had taught the Indians that the deer would likely go. Then a great drive was organized with Indians strung along the sides of the canyon. Those making the drive, with dogs, set up a great racket crying "ahootch, ahootch," and those stationed on the ridges would make the same sound, while their wolf dogs kept up a howling. All the noise was made to direct the deer to where the ropes were located. <47>

Peale gives a similar account: Rope snares ("made of a substance like hemp, neatly twisted") were set at openings in the "long hedges constructed of thorny brush"; the deer were driven into the enclosures "by a whole tribe uniting to encircle a considerable district of country." Pfeiffer also mentions that the Tolowa and Chetco used snares to capture elk. <48>

The rope snares were woven from strong plant fiber, what Riddle calls "a kind of flag, growing in the mountains" from which the "long, flat leaves" were gathered by Indian women, who then produced individual fiber threads by stripping the leaves "with their thumbnails." This was a slow process that would take a woman a year to make fifteen feet of 5/8" diameter rope. <49> A quarter of a century prior to Riddle's arrival in the Umpqua Valley, David Douglas examined similar snares:

Last spring Baptist Mackay brought me from this country a snare made from a grass, as he said...I now find it to be a small species of Iris...The snare is used in taking elk and Long- and Black-tailed Deer, and in point of strength will hold the strongest bullock and is not thicker than the little finger. <50>

The impressive strength of the rope was witnessed by Riddle, who saw a "great antlered buck" run across a field with a snare rope around its neck; the animal became entangled and the rope held, when "an Indian came running and was greatly pleased at the capture of the buck and recovery of his valuable snare rope." Such snares were not only used in conjunction with piled brush fences; they were set at springs and mineral licks. Riddle also notes that grouse and waterfowl were snared with these iris-fiber ropes; Peale and Wilkes say that large numbers of jackrabbits ("hares...their large ears had somewhat the appearance of wings") were likewise rounded up by Rogue River Valley natives in communal drives that involved brush enclosures and rope snares. <51>

The U.S. Exploring Expedition's members were bedeviled by snares as they travelled south along the trail through the Umpqua Valley; Peale was actually "caught by one of the Indian snares, & swept off the horse without receiving any injury." <52> Although the explorers believed that these had been purposely set with hostile intent, it is more probable that the snares were simply placed along the trail to take deer.

Pits were another method used to trap large game. They are documented for groups on the eastern and western extremes of the region. Ogden named the Pit River of northern California when he found the Achumawi had dug an "almost incredible" number of deep pits into the "paths along the banks of the River." After excavation (some of them said to be "nearly thirty feet deep!"), sharp stakes were driven into the bottom, and the pit was concealed. Made for "entrapping Wolves and Deer," one of Ogden's horses was killed after falling into a pit. Travelling near the mouth of the Rogue River, Smith found that the Tututni also excavated pits in places "much frequented [by elk]...they are 10 or 12 feet deep and much larger at the bottom than top...covered over and some of my hunters with their horses fell into one and got out with considerable difficulty." <53>

Like hunters elsewhere in western North America, Rogue River Valley Indians evidently took advantage of the pronghorn antelope's innate curiosity. In his narrative on southwestern Oregon, Wilkes documents the following method:

The Indians take this animal by exciting its curiosity: for this purpose they conceal themselves in a bush near its feeding-grounds, and making a rustling noise, soon attract its attention, when it is led to advance towards the place of concealment, until the arrow pierces it. <54>

Hunting with bow and arrow receives casual mention in several ethnohistorical sources. Riddle is the only one to provide any detail:

The Indians had another method of hunting deer -- with bows and arrows -- and in order to approach the deer to make the arrows effective they dressed themselves to resemble the deer by covering themselves with a deer skin

with the head and neck mounted to look natural, keeping the deer to the windward and going through the motions of deer feeding. <55>

The use of poisoned arrow points in this region is not mentioned in any of the sources consulted; however, John Work did encounter Indians in the lower Sacramento Valley who used poisoned arrows against his trappers. <56>

Fishing almost certainly provided far more animal protein to most of the Indians of the region than did hunting, and they used a variety of techniques to capture creatures from the rivers and ocean. According to Glisan, Tututuni fishermen would surf-cast with a bone hook on a bark-fiber line. Simply diving into the water worked with some animals. As mentioned previously, the Sacramento Valley groups (and by implication those living to the north) dove for freshwater mussels. Riddle describes how the Umpqua Valley Indians caught lamprey eels, which attached themselves to rocks in the deep pools of the river: "...the Indians would dive in the icy water, seize the eel with both hands and, coming to the top of the water, kill the squirming thing by thrusting its head in their mouth and crushing it with their teeth." <57>

Ogden recounts that the Klamath took carp from lakes and sluggish rivers by means of woven-leather drag nets, "made with the inner rinds of Furs." For the small fish they used a basket-like scoop net, "made of Willows, both ends ...pointed and the middle open and wide." The Tututni's use of "dip nets" for smelt and "cast nets" for salmon is mentioned by Glisan. In contrast, Douglas remarks that he had been informed that the Umpqua Valley groups were "totally unacquainted with fishing with a net." <58>

Several observers document the use of fish weirs by the northern Sacramento groups, and Glisan specifically mentions their use by the Tututni. Ogden notes the Modoc using "stone Barrier[s] made...for taking small Fish" along the Lost River (although these were abandoned during his December visit). <59> George Riddle gives an interesting and thorough discussion of Umpqua Valley weirs and fish traps:

The salmon came in such multitudes in the fall runs that they were easily taken from Cow Creek. Dams of sticks were made across the small channels through the rocks and traps with hazel rods woven together with withes forming a basket about three feet in diameter at the upper or open end which come to a point at the closed or open end. The trap was fastened in the rapid water in the narrow channel with twisted hazel withes fastened to the poles of the dam. The salmon in great numbers would pass up by the side of the trap and, failing to get above the dam, would be carried back into the open end of the trap and the weight of the water would hold them. The Indians would work two such traps and when the river began to raise in the fall they would take several hundred in a night. <60>

Several commentators saw "spears" (barbed-bone gigs?) being used to take salmon from the Umpqua, Rogue, Klamath, and northern Sacramento Rivers. Although most of these were daytime observations, Douglas's guides went out at night to spear fish by torch-light. Pfeiffer accompanied a Tolowa fisherman who used a "pole twenty feet long," with a spear attached to it with a long, elk-sinew cord: "he either let the pole fall on the water, or kept it in his hand, according to the

size and strength of the fish...he never once missed." Brackenridge, camping along the Shasta River, was clearly impressed by the craftsmanship and accuracy of Shasta archers; interestingly, he notes that their "well made" bows were used "with great dexterity, particularly in shooting fish." Ashland pioneer James Cardwell recalls the unpleasant experience during an altercation with the local Shasta band of being stabbed with "a fish spear." <61>

Salmon were eaten fresh or dried for later consumption. Reverend Hines gives a graphic account of a salmon-bake on the lower Umpqua River:

Having made a suitable fire, they commenced the operation of cooking their salmon. This was performed in the following manner: they all provided themselves with sticks about three feet long, pointed at one end and split at the other. They then apportioned the salmon, each one taking a large piece, and filling it with splinters to prevent its falling to pieces when cooking, and which they fastened with great care, into the forked end of the stick; then placing themselves around the fire so as to describe a circle, they stuck the pointed end of the stick into the ground a short distance from the fire, inclining the top towards the flames, so as to bring the salmon in contact with the heat, thus forming a kind of pyramid of salmon over the whole fire. One side being cooked, the other was turned to the heat, and speedily the whole was prepared for eating. <62>

Pfeiffer provides a similarly interesting vignette of the Chetcos' meal of salmon:

They brought out some large, fine salmon...cut off the head and tail, slit up the fish, and stuck in splinters of wood to keep it open, and then put it on a large wooden spit and roasted it before the fire. Of the heads and tails they made a kind of soup. They filled one of their close baskets with water, and threw in red-hot stones, which they continually replaced with fresh ones, till the water began to simmer, and then they put in the heads and tails of the fish and let them boil...The soup they ate with shells; the roasted fish they tore to pieces with their hands, and laid upon flat baskets [mats] that serve them for plates. <63>

Finally, Glisan describes the Tututni salmon preparation method:

Their manner of cooking a salmon...Having dressed it properly, it is laid open longitudinally, and spread out on two sticks, arranged in the form of a cross; the longer and larger one being sharpened at one end, and struck in the ground at a convenient distance from the fire. It thus becomes broiled much better than when cooked on a gridiron; the use of which...is as little known among them as the manufacture of flour, which they imagine is found by the white man in the beds of rivers. [Glisan also mentions "pits," virtually identical to camas ovens, that were used to cook shellfish.] <64>

Where specific mention is given, the ethnohistorical sources point to women as the main gatherers of edible plants. However, men are mentioned as helping occasionally in this endeavor by a few observers. The summer and late fall harvests involved both small and large parties scattered over wide areas of

territory. Peale writes of "small family parties over the country" and Colvocoresses remarks on "one large party" seen near Fort Umpqua "composed entirely of women, who were out gathering roots." Ogden observes that in late March (when the quantity of stored fish and other foods had probably become depleted) the Indians of the South Umpqua Valley were seen "in the Plains at their daily labour...from dawn of day untill late in the evening employed in digging Roots and the greter (sic) part of the night is spent in pounding and preparing their food." Riddle writes of the "army of squaws" using "tennis racket-shaped" beaters made from twigs to beat tarweed seeds out of the pods and into their burden baskets. <65>

Preparation of plant foods is discussed in a few accounts. Riddle's statement that "all seeds were ground into a meal with a mortar and pestle," Ogden's above reference to "pounding" roots, Douglas's previously-quoted description of roasting sugar pine seeds, Peale's mention of an apparent gift to his party of a basket of "cooked roots" are typical. Douglas also notes that balsamroot or tarweed seeds "were roasted in the embers previous to use." <66> Although he is describing the Wintu, to the south of our area, Wilkes' discussion of acorn meal preparation is interesting:

...they make a kind of black cake by shelling the acorns, drying them in the sun, and then pounding them between stones to a meal, which they mix with a little water and arbutus-berries, which gives it a flavor; it is then formed into cakes about two inches thick, when it is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is quite black and eats like cheese. <67>

Riddle recounts that the Indians of the South Umpqua Valley pounded acorns in a mortar to separate the hulls from the meat, and then the latter was ground into a meal (Riddle's description of hopper mortar/pestle use for pounding seeds is given in the following section). The meal was "spread out on clean sand and water poured over to take out the bitter taste." Like the fish soup described above by Pfeiffer, the acorn meal was boiled into a "mush" in baskets:

The boiling was by dropping hot rocks in the water...[by] picking the heated rock from the fires, blowing the ashes from it and dropping it into the mush pot. The cooled rocks were renewed with hot ones until the mess was cooked. <68>

Hines witnessed a group of Umpqua Indians sitting in a circle and each one, armed with a stone, cracking shells and eating hazel nuts with their salmon. <69> Brackenridge's oblique comment that camas bulbs were dug up and stored for use like "Potatoes" is amplified by Riddle's typically helpful description:

In the early morning the squaws would be out in the Kamass field provided with a basket...armed with a kamass stick made of Indian arrow wood fashioned to a point and hardened by burning and rubbing the charred wood off leaving the end as hard as steel. At the top was fitted a curved handle, generally a piece of deer horn. Locating the bulb by the seed top above ground they would insert the stick under the root with the weight of the body, prying up the kamass, which they would deftly throw over the shoulder into the basket. In this manner...[in one day] she could bring home about one bushel...The kamass was cooked by excavating a pit, filling

it with wood with rocks on top. After the rocks were sufficiently heated they were covered with dry grass and then a great lot of kamass, covered them up with earth for several days; when they came out they would be of a reddish-brown color and were sweet and really good to eat. <70>

We now can appreciate that earlier visions of the local Indians as passive recipients of "nature's bounty" are incorrect. Instead these people were quite active participants in ensuring the annual round of food-gathering, manipulating the environment for their own ends through the use of fire. The subject of fire is touched on lightly by a few of the standard ethnographies, but there is much about aboriginal burning practises that is unknown. Some of the early visitors to the region evidently misunderstood the purposes of Indian-set fires. Lieutenant Emmons, perhaps reflecting a military mind-set, felt that the late-summer fires he encountered in the Umpqua and Rogue drainages had been set "doubtless to obstruct" the progress of the U.S. Exploring Expedition. However, these fires were (by the Expedition members' own accounts) light ground fires, and they much more likely were set not to harass the explorers but for normal vegetative management purposes. <71>

The purposes of burning were several, and apparently might differ from one fire to another. To the north, the Kalapuya Indians' fire-setting received better ethnohistorical documentation than did the natives' of southwestern Oregon. Douglas recounts that in late September "most parts" of the upper Willamette Valley had been recently burned. Upon asking the Indians the reason for the fires, Douglas was told "it is done for the purpose of urging the deer to frequent certain parts, to feed, which they leave unburned, and of course they are easily killed." Others explained that fires were set "in order that they might better find wild honey and grasshoppers, which both serve as articles of winter food." In the same vicinity, Hines saw the "prairies...all overrun by fire," probably done to perpetuate the oak savanna vegetation. Also in the upper Willamette, Colvocoresses notes that the Kalapuya had kindled fires in the oak grasslands "for the purpose of procuring a certain species of root, which forms a principal part of their food." <72>

For the Umpqua Valley, Riddle documents that the Indians similarly, "according to their custom...burned the grass during the summer," producing a rich growth of grass after the autumn rains, and that the forests were kept clear of undergrowth by the Indians' annual fires. The late summer tarweed harvest also involved extensive fires. <73>

Although later, secondary accounts of aboriginal burning in the Rogue River Valley are available, the U.S. Exploring Expedition provides us with the only first-hand documentation. Travelling south along Bear Creek through "burned plains," the explorers passed a "sulphureous spring" near the present site of Ashland. One Indian woman was seen, writes Peale, "who was so busy setting fire to the prairie and mountain ravines that she seemed to disregard us." (In contrast, Peale later mentions that the Indians of the lower Sacramento Valley "do not burn the prairies as in Oregon and near the mountains.") <74>

Tools: Very few utilitarian objects are discussed (or even mentioned) in the ethnohistorical record (for example, among the sources included in this study only Riddle specifically states that the Indians used the mortar and pestle for

preparing seeds into meal). This lack of information probably reflects the hurried visits and incomplete nature of the writings more than it does any material "impoverishment" on the part of the native people being described. The above section on subsistence activities gives some of the writers' brief references to nets, snares, burden baskets, and the like. In this section, only the more detailed descriptions of a few aboriginal implements -- bow and arrow, baskets, and canoes -- are featured.

The bow and arrow comprised the main weapons of war and the hunt. Both the manufacture and the skillful use of them merited discussion in the ethnohistorical account. West of the Cascades, Ogden and Douglas mention lithic tools made out of "flint," a reference either to local cryptocrystalline silicates such as chert, jasper, and agate or possibly to obsidian. Peale, in the Klamath River country, is more specific, remarking on the Shastas' "very neat [arrow] points of volcanic glass," and Wilkes similarly remarks on their "barbed [arrow] heads...beautifully wrought from obsidian." (In the only discussion of lithic technology, Douglas describes one Umpqua Valley native as sharpening a "flint knife" by means of a pair of "wooden pincers" that hung from his wrist.) As documented in the ethnographies, some arrows simply had sharp wooden points. Camped on the Rogue River near Table Rock, Philip Leget Edwards, a member of Ewing Young's 1837 California-to-Willamette Valley cattle-drive, notes that a Takelma (?) visitor had a "bow and about 10 or 15 arrows. Only two arrows in the pouch had stone points." <75>

Wilkes' explorers traded for a number of Shasta bows and arrows, and he evidently had time to examine them at length while writing his narrative. He describes the "Shaste" arrowshafts as "upwards of thirty inches long," some made from "spiraea" (Holodiscus?) branches and others from "reeds" (Brackenridge mentions shafts of "Tassle wood" [Garrya sp.?]), with feathers extending for five to eight inches along the base. The stone points were hafted to a separate foreshaft ("from three to five inches long" and sometimes with a "shallow blood channel" cut along its side) that was inserted into the main shaft; this remained in the animal's body after the main shaft fell out. <76>

Arrows were carried in quivers (although Peale says that the Wintu did not use quivers and instead carried a bundle of arrows in the left hand). Ogden describes Shasta quivers made out of "Beaver Skins." Wilkes, writing of the same group, mentions quivers of deer, racoon, or bobcat hides "generally whole, being left open at the tail end" and Brackenridge adds "Seal skin" to the list. Riddle's Umpqua Valley Indians are said to have used quivers of otter or fox, but also made of whole skins. <77>

Bows, according to all who describe them, were made of yew wood and backed with sinew. Wilkes' Shasta examples were "beautifully made," about three feet long and two-and-a-half inches wide, and painted. Riddle's Umpqua bows were about thirty inches long and "very elastic...they could be bent until the ends could almost meet." According to Wilkes, the Shasta held their bow horizontally, "braced by the thumb of the left hand" and the arrow drawn with the thumb and first three fingers of the right ("...to obviate the disadvantage of drawing to the breast, the chest is thrown backwards; on discharging the arrow, they throw out the right leg and stand on the left"). Riddle describes the bowmen as so

proficient "that they could keep an arrow in the air all the time" and Brackenridge allows that he "would as soon at one hundred yards distance have a musket discharged" at him as an arrow from a Shasta's bow; Ashland pioneer settler "Captain" Thomas Smith writes his recollection of being threatened by "young [Shasta] warriors...some of them stringing their bows taking 3 arrows in their teeth and one to bow string and were ready at a moment's notice to dispatch us." <78>

Although their baskets are now considered to be some of the finest examples of the craft, basketry did not receive much attention from the early historic observers. Aside from the previously given descriptions of basket hats, nets, and so on, three other ethnohistorical accounts touch on the quality and function of baskets. Ogden notes that the Shasta did not possess metal kettles, but that they did have "excelent (sic) substitutes," obviously a reference to the tightly-woven containers in which water could be boiled and food cooked by means of heated stones. Peale remarks on a small net bag full of roots as being "neatly wrought," and he describes the burden basket as a "large funnel shaped" container that was used by women of all ages and "all tribes in Oregon & California." Riddle's description of camas bulb-gathering also includes mention of the burden basket, "a cone shaped affair wide open at the top, and swung across the forehead -- a manner in which the Indians carried all their burdens which left both arms free." In the only ethnohistorical reference to native "ceramic technology," Riddle gives an interesting bit of information about the Umpqua Valley groups' method of making water-sealed cooking baskets: "they had...baskets made of hazel twigs closely woven and lined with a blue clay, making them watertight." <79> In addition, he provides the sole ethnohistorical account of a hopper mortar basket:

The mortar was made by forming a hollow in the face of flat boulders, over which was placed a basket with a hole in the bottom to fit the depression in the rock, making a kind of hopper to hold the seeds, then with a stone fashioned about two inches in diameter at its lower end and tapered at the other end to a size easily grasped with the hand the operator would sit upon the ground with the mortar between her knees and would pound the seeds, using the pestle which was usually about ten inches long, and weighing five or six pounds, with one hand and stirring the seeds with the other, often changing hands, using right or left for pounding or stirring the seeds with equal skill. <80>

Although the maritime explorers give brief descriptions of the coastal Indians' ocean-going boats, the water-craft of the interior groups typically are simply labeled as "canoes," without any descriptive information provided. Giles mentions seeing a "big canoe with five Indians in it" on the lower Coquille. (Russian commentator Kyril Khlebnikov, in describing an 1818 battle between Aleut otter hunters and the Indians of Humboldt Bay, relates that the Aleuts destroyed "120 boats on shore, most of which were large and would hold from twelve to twenty men.") <81> According to some ethnographic accounts, the Upland Takelma used only rude log rafts to cross the Rogue River. However, Ogden, writing in his journal while camped near the Table Rocks, mentions one of his trappers who found a native canoe and, after "leaving the full value [in trade goods] of it" on shore (i.e., so that its owner would not think that the whites had stolen the craft), used it to explore the opposite side of the river

-- indicating that the boat was definitely something more than a few logs lashed together. <82>

The canoes used on the rivers of the region were dug-outs, each made from a single tree. Pfeiffer was taken across the Smith River "in a hollowed trunk of a tree...[with] a quite heavy plank for a rudder." The Tututni, according to Glisan, would make a dug-out from a cedar log, "first burning it out with hot stones and shaping it with a knife or hatchet." Wilkes says that the dug-outs of the Rogue River (from which the Taklema speared fish) were squared-off at each end and were "quite rude" in craftsmanship. But Douglas was impressed by the Umpqua craft, which he describes as "large fine canoes similar to those used by the Columbia [River] natives." A party of Ogden's trappers under Francois Payette returned from a foray down the lower Klamath River with tales of the Karok Indians' "fine large Canoes resembling [those of] the Chinook." In the Shasta River, immediately south of the Klamath River, members of the U.S. Exploring Expedition saw "large bundles of rushes, made up in the form of a lashed-up hammock, which the Indians...use instead of canoes." This river, which flows through a largely unforested valley, has abundant marsh vegetation along its meandering upper course, and the Shasta evidently made tule-reed boats similar to those documented for the Klamath Lake and Sacramento Valley groups. <83>

The rivers of southwestern Oregon tend to be turbulent, dangerous waters and the Indians must have been accomplished whitewater boaters. Descending the lower Umpqua River in a "light canoe," Reverend Hines was impressed with their skill:

We ran a number of narrow shoots where the current is at least twelve knots an hour, and in some instances shot past the rocks which projected into the stream within six inches, with the velocity of an arrow. But our Indians -- seven in number -- showed themselves to be on their proper element by the astonishing dexterity with which they ran the dangerous rapids with which the river abounds. <84>

Houses and Villages: The classic northwestern California native house, as shown in photographs from the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries, was a semi-subterranean, rectangular, vertical plank structure with a shallow-pitched gable roof. Based on ethnographic descriptions, most southwestern Oregon groups inhabited similar shelters, although there were definite variations between them in terms of size, materials, and so on. Unfortunately the ethnohistorical record gives little information on house styles; with one exception, however, those details it does provide on native architecture corroborate those available from later sources.

Near the confluence of the Trinity and Klamath Rivers, Jedediah Smith visited a Hupa village. He writes of the lodges as being ten to twelve feet on a side, with gabled roofs, and made of split pine boards. Rogers elaborates a bit with mention of "round holes about 18 inches in diameter for doors" as well as stone foundations and floors. Kyrill Khlebnikov, the chronicler of an abortive 1818 Russian-American Company otter hunt to "Trinidad" (apparently Humboldt) Bay, records that the Wiyot/Yurok houses of this area were "large and built from broad cedar planks, similar to those the Kolosh [Tlingit Indians of

southeastern Alaska] build." Ogden, writing in 1827, notes that his lower Klamath River scouting party found the Karok living in a similar "manner as the Indians of the Coast." with large houses of "Ceador Plank." McLeod likewise mentions the "huts" of the south Oregon Coast Athabascans as made from "planks," but "indifferently erected"; near Coos Bay his men took one of these houses apart and used the planks to build a raft. Rogers similarly records that, at the mouth of the Rogue River, Smith's party dismantled one of the deserted Indians "lodges to get the puncheons [i.e, large wooden slabs] to make rafts," and a few days later, on the shores of Coos Bay, he remarks on the Indians' "houses built after the fashion of a shed." The Tolowa and Chetco dwellings that Pfeiffer stayed in were clearly semi-subterranean lodges (or "holes" as she calls them); she shared sleeping quarters with several other women and some large baskets "containing smoked fish...we lay on the bare cold ground without pillow or covering." Glisan's Tututni neighbors inhabited dirt-floored "sheds" of "bark, logs, and brush." Thomas Smith refers to the Shasta village located at the present site of the Ashland Plaza as consisting of "stick houses," and Daniel Giles recalls that the Dakubetede chief, "Old John," lived near the confluence of the Little Applegate River with the main stream "in an Indian hut made of boards." <85>

There is sparse, somewhat contradictory information on the size of houses and the number of houses per village. Ogden records, in addition to the "20"-lodge Klamath village at Klamath Marsh, a village near the shores of Upper Klamath Lake that contained only "five Huts." According to Ogden, a Takelma village on the north side of the Rogue River (near Gold Hill, a few miles downstream from Table Rock) contained "six large Houses" of a size sufficient to shelter "100 Indians." Thomas Smith describes the Shasta village on Ashland Creek as containing about 100 inhabitants, including one "wigwam" structure (based on his description, most likely a sweat-lodge) large enough to hold "50 Indians." When Hines visited a fishing village on the lower Umpqua, however, he found one-hundred natives "crowded into four small lodges." In the same vicinity Douglas mentions one village of only two houses, containing about twenty-five people, another consisting of three houses, and a third "small village" near the coast that had "seven or eight lodges." Pfeiffer recounts passing through several Tolowa villages, none of them containing more than "seven or eight wigwams." Glisan records Tututni houses as being "usually about ten feet by twelve" and each sheltering up to fifteen persons, "huddled, in bad weather, around a fire, which is invariably built in the centre of the building, with no particular outlet for the smoke." <86>

The U.S. Exploring Expedition accounts do not mention villages of wooden plank houses; they passed through the area during September, a period typically when many Indians were in the uplands and when the village structures were often dismantled for the summer. Peale states that the only shelters seen among the Umpqua Valley Indians were huts of thatched grass, "on hoops about four feet high, and only capable of holding 4-5 persons sitting -- or prostrate." Wilkes mentions and illustrates a "Shaste hut of bent sticks" that was encountered in the Cottonwood Valley near the Klamath River; this was a small summer wickiup, constructed of bent sapling poles and covered with brush, similar to those documented in the standard ethnographies of the Shasta. <87>

The one puzzling account is Ogden's reference to the houses at Klamath Marsh, east of the Cascades. Ethnographically, the Klamath winter house is known to have been a semi-subterranean, earth-covered, circular pithouse (in stark contrast to houses west of the mountains), and when Fremont visited the same village in 1843, he indeed saw "large round huts perhaps twenty feet in diameter, with rounded tops, on which was the door by which they descended into the interior." <88> However, Ogden's 1826 description (provided to him by his scout, Tom McKay, and thus a second-hand account) gives the impression of a Neolithic Swiss Lake-dwellers village and is unique in the available information on Klamath houses (and one that, if accurate, should be traceable in the archaeological record):

...the Village composed of 20 Tents and strange as it may appear built on the water and surrounded on all sides by water and from its depth impossable (sic) to approach them on foot or on Horseback but with Canoes with which they are well provided -- their Tents are well constructed for defence being built of large Logs in form and shape of Block Houses. The foundation of these Tents are made with Stone and gravel and made solid by piles sunk about six feet deep. <89>

Settlement Patterns and Village Locations: Although few ethnohistorical accounts address the topic directly, taken together they support the ethnographic portrait of the Indians' "annual round," with semi-permanent winter villages and dispersal of smaller family groups into the uplands during the warm months. A comprehensive comparison of the sources, taking into consideration what season of the year each of them describes, certainly indicates support for this pattern. Hines' mention of the Umpqua River Indians absence "in the mountains, for the purpose of gathering berries" during August and Edwards' comment about the vacant villages and very few natives encountered in the Shasta Valley during September are among the most unequivocal testimony of the transhumance-like settlement and subsistence pattern. <90>

While the specific location of small upland camps are not given, virtually all "villages" are noted as being next to a permanent body of water. A few examples will suffice: Ogden's Klamath, Modoc, Shasta, and Takelma village sites are all situated adjacent to either a lake or a river. The Karok villages that Francois Payette visited along the lower Klamath River were found "on every point where it was possible to reach the River" (i.e., on alluvial terraces in the steep-walled canyon). Smith, McLeod, and Douglas confirm the riverine situation of coastal villages; the Reverend Jason Lee recounts three separate village clustered at the mouth of the Umpqua River. <91> Cardwell's and T. Smith's memoirs from the early 1850s, which document the Shasta village located on Ashland Creek (at a site where the stream flows out of the foothills and into the Rogue River Valley) show the persistence of this pattern in the face of increasing Euro-American contact and harassment. <92>

* * *

Aspects of material culture -- objects and behaviors that were readily observed and relatively simple to describe -- are the main focus of the ethnohistorical

sources. The early Euro-American observers seem to have found far less to comment on regarding the natives' social and religious practises. (Documentation of subtle, often complex, social interactions, for example, typically requires more interest and patience on the part of an observer than does the description of a deer hunt.) Still, what information they did record is significant to our purpose.

Social Patterns and Practises

Ethnohistorical evidence of social relations, both intra-group and inter-group, is discussed under this topic, as are the few comments on the languages of the Indians.

Kinship, Rank and Obligations: In other than a very vague, indirect way, the ethnohistorical record is almost silent on the subject of kinship systems and associated patterns of residence. (But recall Heceta's mention of patrilocal/patrilineal villages.) McLeod, in the lower Coquille Valley, spent the night in "an Indian dwelling containing two families," possible evidence of the extended family residence pattern known from the ethnographies. <93>

Although living as small groups of hunter-gatherers, the Indians of southwestern Oregon were hardly egalitarian in their social structure; according to the ethnographies, wealth and rank seem to have mattered a great deal. Ogden, McLeod, Douglas, Lee, Giles, Pfieffer and others substantiate this with their references to "chiefs." Ogden notes that the Klamath headmen had "considerable influence over their tribe and make use of their authority with little ceremony." Jason Lee preached to a group of Indians on the beach at the mouth of the Umpqua; because "the chief was ill, the second in rank" stood and addressed the missionaries. Some form of co-leadership seems to have been used by some groups. Cardwell discusses "two chiefs" at the Ashland Creek Shasta village; in addition there were the two headmen of the Takelma, "Chief Joe" and "Chief Sam," who are well documented in historical accounts. When Fremont arrived at the Klamath Marsh village he was first greeted by two individuals -- the "chief" and his wife -- who came out alone across the marsh to parlay with the newcomers and ensure their peaceful intent. Might this incident point to a kind of elevated status for some women in Klamath society? <94>

Glisan, on the other hand, asserts that in the polygamous Tututni society, women were treated as chattel, bought and sold at the whim of fathers and husbands. Hines writes of an Umpqua "head chief" who was so enraged at his wife's reported infidelity that he killed her without compunction, and justified his actions to his missionary visitors in a long speech. (According to the ethnographies of some groups of the region, death was one of the socially sanctioned, possible punishments for a wife's adultery.) Typically, murder or even accidental death called for revenge on the part of the deceased blood relatives; this could be obviated by payment from the party responsible for the death. According to Riddle, most minor offenses were settled by "payment of damages." <95>

Social Rituals and Activities: The ethnohistorical record is extremely sparse for this aspect of native life. Dances are briefly mentioned by three sources. Ogden recounts an honorific dance performed in his Rogue River camp by the Takelma (done to rectify an unfriendly initial meeting between the trappers and the Indians). Seemingly damning this performance with faint praise, Ogden writes that the Takelma "amused the Camp with a dance, in this they acquitted themselves as well as Indians ever did; about midnight they took their departure well pleased." Among the Wintu the U.S. Exploring Expedition witnessed several dances, at least one of which included women. The Tututni, Glisan writes, performed all-night dances involving up to eighty people, "bobbing up and down, both feet at a time, body slightly bent, and limbs as rigid as marble statues." Pfeiffer's Tolowa hosts entertained her with a lengthy concert of native songs, "really more melodious and better sung" than she expected. <96>

Riddle describes a native ball game similar to the "shinny" game documented in the ethnographies:

[The Indians of the South Umpqua Valley] had a ball game something like "La Crosse." In this game they used a wooden ball about one and one-half inches in diameter and played with a stick flattened and crooked at one end to drive the ball. The point of the game was to drive the ball past and between the goal posts at the opposite ends of the field. The ball was put in play in the center of the field by tossing the ball in the air, and then it could be played upon with the crooked sticks. <97>

Riddle says that the game, which could last for several days, was often played by "one tribe or band against another" and that teams consisted of about twenty young men, "stripped to the breech clout and scattered over the field to intercept the ball and drive it through their opponents' goal." He also notes the high stakes gambling that accompanied the sport. <98>

Pfeiffer describes gambling games played by the Chetco and Tolowa men:

They sit in a circle round the fire, holding in their hands little thin sticks, of which most were white, but some black. Every one threw them so as to make the black ones fly far out of the circle; then he took hold of them again, passed them behind his back from the left to the right hand, and began to throw again. There were many lookers on, and some musicians, whose instruments consisted of lobster-claws fastened upon sticks, wherewith they thumped on a board. Another game is a kind of guessing one, played with small clay balls and for money -- shell-money, that is to say the only currency they are acquainted with; for beside other articles, they can buy wives with it! These games, to which they are passionately addicted, are generally played in the hall of the chief; and while the play lasts, the women are banished. <99>

Inter-Group Contacts: Only Ogden and Riddle mention the subject of trading relations between native groups; the former documents trade between the Rogue River Takelma (?) on the south and the Umpqua Valley natives to the north, and the latter recounts that the Umpqua traded with wandering bands of Klikitat from the Columbia Basin. Although the articles of trade were items of

European/Euro-American manufacture, such exchange relationships may well have pre-dated the contact period. <100>

The keeping of slaves is mentioned by McLeod, Douglas, and Ogden; one was a young Kalapuya boy captured by the Umpquas, another was captured "from the south." In the vicinity of Cow Creek, Ogden found out that the reason so many of the natives were fleeing from him was that they feared the H.B.C. men were a slave-raiding party. Giles met a one-eyed "Umpqua Indian" who had been enslaved by the Coquille; this man stated that after unsuccessfully trying to escape his captors, his eye had been put out. <101>

Despite the fact that peaceful relationships did exist between many of the area's native groups, feuds and on-going warfare seems to have been common. Riddle's South Umpqua Valley people seem to have been in a continual state of conflict with the Upland Takelma and Shasta to the south. Ogden in particular documents hostile relations between the Klamath and the Northern Paiute, the Klamath/Modoc and the Shasta, the Shasta and the Upland Takelma. According to his Klamath or Modoc informants, at least one battle with the Shasta led to the annihilation of an entire Shasta (?) village in the Klamath River Canyon. In January, near the present site of Klamath Falls, he notes that his Indian hosts "certainly dread their neighbours and no doubt with just cause, for even at this season they keep regular watch at nights, two at a considerable distance from their Camp and one near at hand so if their enemies approach the alarm is soon given." (Ogden, ever the cynic, found the Indians' hostilities to be a possible benefit; he remarks that if "they may destroy each other, the more the better; if they are fond of war, let them enjoy it and we in the [meantime] will endeavour to wage war with their Beaver.") Nearly twenty years later Fremont found the Klamath still to be at war with neighboring groups "to the south [Shasta?] and east [Northern Paiute and/or Achumawi]. <102>

The causes given for hostilities ranged from slave-raiding and theft to retribution for witchcraft. Work, while travelling through the Umpqua Valley on his way to Fort Vancouver, notes that the Indians were preparing for war:

It appears that an Indian was bitten by a rattlesnake some time ago & died. His friends accuse a tribe [Kalapuya] above of having effected his death by conjuring, & threaten to avenge it if property is not paid for the body. <103>

On his way north through the Willamette Valley, Work came upon a "party of 32 men all armed and ready for war," waiting for the vengeful Umpquas to make their appearance. <104>

Revenge could be tempered with mercy. Pfeiffer found the Tolowa and Chetco ways of war to be more humane than those of "civilized" nations:

These Indians do not scalp their enemies or take them prisoners, but they kill all the men who fall into their power, though never the women. If a woman or a child comes within range of their arrows, they call to them to get out of the way. They fight with men, they say, and not with the weak and helpless. <105>

Dancing at night might precede a raid. Although nighttime battles were apparently unheard of, the U.S. Exploring Expedition members, while camped on the south side of the Rogue River near Rock Point (a short distance downstream from Gold Hill), were threatened by angry Takelmas on the opposite bank; the Indians "collected within hearing of the camp, and had a war-dance" that evening. Giles mentions that, when going to war with the whites, the Dakubetede wore feathered headdresses and "war paint, which was a dull red applied to their faces in a hideous manner." <106>

A special armor garment was worn by some men. Wilkes describes it as "a kind of coat of mail, to protect...from arrows":

It resembled a straightjacket, and only covered the body, leaving the arms free. It was made of sticks as large as a man's thumb, woven together so closely as to resist the force of arrows. It consisted of two parts, fastened together with shoulder-straps at the top, and secured around the waist at the bottom. <107>

Riddle also describes the "war dress" of the Cow Creek band's chief:

The dress was made of two large elk's skins dressed soft, but left as thick as possible, then laced down the sides so as to hang loose about the body and leave the legs and arms free, the thickest part of the skins were back and front and were impenetrable for arrows. The elk skin armor was ornamented with Indian paints forming figures and designs of which I do not remember the meaning...In war times they wore a single white feather from the tail of the bald or white-headed eagle that was snow white. <108>

A few eyewitness accounts of inter-group battles survive. Matthias Harter, a young miner prospecting "the rivers of the Applegate & Rogues" in 1851, describes the Takelmas as "shrewd, cunning & hostile". Somewhere in the Rogue Valley he witnessed "a fight between two tribes" (...it was bloody and desperate. I was anxious to join one side; I want a few of their scalps ere I leave this region"). <109> The following year James Cardwell viewed a battle between two groups of Shastas (about 150 men each) that apparently took place at an open area within what is now the Ashland Railroad District:

The Shasties would all collect (sic) at the edge of the prairie on one side and the Rogue Ribers (sic; i.e., those from the Ashland Creek/Bear Creek band of Shasta) would all collect on the opposite side and each army would build large log fires at the spot where they were assembled, and some 10 or perhaps 15 and sometimes perhaps 50 from one side would go screaming and jumping skipping across to within something like from sixty to 80 yards of, the opposing party and about the same number from the opposing party would start after them and shoot at them all the way back and a new or fresh party would start in and chase the pursuing party back again. This kind of warfare was kept up about 6 hours each day for three such successive days. They then come on to peaceable terms. <110>

Whether due to inter-group hostilities, the more-than-adequate range of resources within an existing "home" territory, or other factors, a few observers record what seems to be a notably circumscribed geographic knowledge

on the part of some groups. McLeod, for instance, found that the lower Umpqua Indians claimed to know nothing of the coast south of the Coos River, and the Coos Indians in turn denied personal knowledge of the area south of the Coquille. Each group in fact attempted to dissuade McLeod from continuing southward by telling him of the "insurmountable obstacles" and "vicious natives" located in that direction. McLeod was sceptical about these claims, as was Ogden, whose Klamath, Modoc, Shasta, and Takelma informants likewise often pleaded ignorance about neighboring territory and/or fear of neighboring groups. Ogden expresses particular surprise when the Shasta inhabitants along the middle course of the Klamath River claimed to know "nothing nor ever heard [original emphasis] any one make mention of the Sea and were suprised when informed the Water there was salt and not fit to drink." <111> (Although some of their unfamiliarity with neighboring areas may have been genuine, it is likely that a major factor was the Indians' desire to keep the trappers, with their supply of metal, beads, and other trade goods, among them for as long as possible.)

Language: Southwestern Oregon and northern California comprise one of the most complex linguistic regions of North America; a bewildering variety of distinct lanuages were spoken within a relatively small section of the continent. None of the ethnohistorical accounts was written by a linguist (Horatio Hale, a philologist with Wilkes' U.S. Exploring Expedition, was not one of the Emmons' party that travelled by land from the Columbia River to San Francisco Bay), and so what little information they provide on aboriginal languages ranges from superficial to unreliable. As an example of the latter, Ogden states that the language of the Shasta he met in the upper Klamath River Canyon differed "but little" from that of the Klamaths (actually their languages belong to the Hokan and Penutian families respectively and are not mutually intelligible). McLeod, on the other hand, observes that his Coos or Coquille guides did not understand the language of the coastal Indians near the Rogue River, apparently an accurate reflection of the linguistic difference between the Penutian-speakers on the north and the Athapascan-speakers to the south. Rev. Hines indicates that the Umpqua River groups were divided into "upper" and "lower river/coastal tribes," and that they spoke "two distinct languages" (indeed, the Lower Umpqua were Penutian-speakers and the Upper Umpqua were Athapascan-speakers). Riddle opines that the Indians of the Cow Creek Valley "spoke the same language as the Rogue River [Takelma?] Indians, or Indians as far south as the Siskiyou" (and Takelma ethnography does place this group's territorial boundaries as far north as the Cow Creek Valley of the Umpqua River drainage). (Khlebnikov, basing his conclusions on the accounts of Russian-American Company otter hunters, states that the Indians of "New Albion" [northern California] could not "understand eachother if they came from areas ten miles apart; interestingly, despite linguistic differences, he notes more cultural similarity between the Wiyot/Yurok of the Humboldt Bay area and the Tlingit of southeastern Alaska than between the formér and the Pomo who resided a relatively short distance to the south at Fort Ross.) <112>

The two references to speaking style are given by Hines, who claims that the Umpqua chiefs "spoke very loud, and their gestures were remarkably violent," and by Edwards, who encountered "unoffensive and friendly" Shastas near the Klamath River: "I was particularly pleased with their language. The enunciation is peculiarly clear and distinct, and entirely free from the harsh gutturals to

which I have been accustomed in Indian languages...they exhibit a great propensity for long and high-toned harangues." <113>

In the Rogue River Valley, Ogden succeeded in finding occasional Shastas who understood the "Clammitte language" and Takelmas who knew the "Umpqua" tongue, and he was able to communicate after a fashion with them through his guides' knowledge of those languages. The limited use of sign language (as opposed to the greater use of Chinook jargon) by coastal groups is mentioned by Glisan for the 1850s. Fremont notes the linguistic difference of the Klamath from the neighboring Columbia River and "Shoshone" (Northern Paiute) Indians, and he states that "otherwise than by signs they cannot understand each other." <114> This is surprising given the fact that by 1843, when Fremont visited the Klamath, the "Chinook trade jargon" had spread throughout much of the Pacific Northwest. Chinook jargon, composed of native (particularly Puget Sound/lower Columbia River), English, and French words, became the lingua franca of the region during the early nineteenth century. Although probably spoken only by a minority of men in any single group, it permitted communication between many of the different language groups of southwestern Oregon by the second quarter of the century. Although Ogden fails to mention whether he encountered jargon-speakers in the region, Douglas and Rogers document that jargon occurred at least as far south as the Umpqua Valley and Coos Bay by the late 1820s. How far south did jargon spread? In 1830 McLeod found that the Indians of the Pit River/upper Sacramento River drainage apparently did not speak jargon ("the language of the Natives is unintelligible to us, so we had to travel at random"), and in 1841 the U.S. Exploring Expedition's experienced guides (who no doubt were fluent in jargon) found that the few Takelma (?) they encountered south of the Rogue-Umpqua watershed divide were unfamiliar with it. As late as 1852, Rogue River Valley Indian Agent A.A. Skinner could complain of the difficulty of communicating with his Takelma and Shasta charges because they had "but an imperfect knowledge of the Chinook jargon." Glisan indicates that the coastal Athapascans possessed at least a rudimentary familiarity with jargon by the mid-1850s. <115>

Based on the admittedly limited ethnohistorical evidence, one could draw an isographic line for the southern limit of Chinook jargon in about 1840-50 that would closely approximate the Oregon-California border.

Religious Beliefs and Practises

Religion is by far the least discussed aspect of native culture in the ethnohistorical record. Only a very few, off-hand remarks are available for what was undoubtedly a rich and diverse set of religious belief systems.

Spiritual Power: Some animals, the grizzly bear among them, are believed to have possessed special spiritual power. Douglas writes that his Umpqua guide "lay great store" by the carcass of a young grizzly that Douglas killed, and Ogden recounts with amazement how his Indian guide, armed only with a small hatchet and his bow and arrows, rushed to kill a wounded grizzly bear near the banks of the Rogue River (the man consequently was severely mauled and lost an eye). Glisan sketches the animistic spitual world of the Tututni, with their

"numerous...ti-hees [spirit "chiefs"] inhabiting particular earthly localities, and having jurisdiction over certain animals, mountains, and streams." <116>

Fear of witchcraft has been mentioned previously as a cause of inter-group hostilities. When the U.S. Exploring Expedition's artist tried to get his Shasta visitors to pose for a group portrait, he showed them a miniature drawing of his mother; this had an undesired effect because "they now believed that he desired to put some enchantment upon them, and thought that he was the medicine-man of the party." Jason Lee's party was endangered when the Indians of the Umpqua Valley came to fear that Reverend Lee's fowling-gun shot pouch contained evil spitual powers "for the purpose of killing them all off; and, that if permitted to come among them, the fatal bag would be opened, and they would all be destroyed." <117>

Pfeiffer mentions that most Tolowa and Chetco villages had "a sort of conjuror or 'medicine-man,' who undertakes by his potent art to cure diseases, discover thefts, and point out the places where stolen goods are concealed." In addition to shamanism, she documents the importance of the sweat-lodge: a "hole in the earth something like their habitations, but still smaller, and in this they make a very large fire, and remained crouched in it till they are literally bathed in perspiration." <118>

Glisan likewise emphasizes the significance of the sweat-lodge in Tututni society, and gives further information on the role of the shaman:

...incantations are the favorite remedies. If the patient has a snake in his stomach, or be possessed of a demon in the form of a rabbit or wolf, the doctor...seats himself beside the couch, and with his hands under the blanket will commence a series of gesticulations, groans, howls, and screams, until the excitement is raised to a proper pitch, then, drawing forth his hands, suddenly throws upon the floor a dead snake, wolf, or other animal. The patient being now dispossessed is expected to recover. Should the laws of nature determine otherwise, the poor doctor's life pays the forfeit, unless he can compromise the matter with the relatives by paying the value of the deceased. <119>

Tobacco, the only plant cultivated by Indians of the area, was grown in small, individually-"owned" plots and was used in various ceremonial contexts. Aside from Heceta, only Jedediah Smith mentions tobacco, "a small kind...pretty generally cultivated" by the Tolowa and other Athapascans of the coast. <120>

Burial Practises: For groups west of the Cascade Range, the ethnographies indicate that the dead were usually placed below the surface of the ground; however, when visiting the lower Umpqua River in 1828, McLeod observed "a Couple of Graves newly erected (emphasis added)," which may reflect above-ground interment practises (like those of the lower Columbia River groups) occured this far south on the coast. Colvocoresses and Wilkes attest to the diversity of burial practises by Lower Columbia and Willamette Valley Indians; the former refers to the red-painted coffins seen along the Columbia above Astoria, some of them placed among the limbs of trees and other placed "in an upright position with about one-third their length buried in the ground"; Wilkes describes Kalapuya graves as "covered with boards in order to

prevent the wolves from disinterring the bodies...surrounding the spot [is] a variety of utensils that had been used by the deceased...the emblem of a squaw's grave is generally a cammass-root digger, made of deer's horns and fastened on the end of a stick." <121> Some of these practises extended into the Umpqua and Rogue River drainages. Approaching the southern end of the Willamette Valley on its way to cross the "Umpqua Mountains," the U.S. Exploring Expedition passed "a number of Indian graves...they were surrounded with poles, one end of which was stuck in the ground, to the other were suspended the goods of the deceased, such as mats, blankets, bows, and arrows." Peale similarly mentions seeing several fresh Shasta or Wintu graves along the uppermost Sacramento River "over which were hung bundles of provisions and near by on a stump a bundle of Salmon." <122> In 1827, somewhere in the vicinity of Grave Creek (which received its name much later and for a different reason), Ogden penned a brief but informative description of Takelma burial practises:

Amongst the different Indian Tribes that I have seen, those in this quarter are the first who come as near to our mode of inter[r]ing their dead...their Graves are sunk from five to six feet deep, the Body carefully wrapt in Deer Skins and at the Head and Feet square Planks are erected, the Head, as is almost invariable the plan with all Indians, placed towards the East. <123>

Tututni burial practises are briefly discussed by Glisan: "When an Indian dies he is thrown into a pit, together with all his goods ...these are generally injured in such a manner as to render them useless to anybody but the dead, to whom they are supposed to be indispensable." <124>

Although burial seems to have been the customary method west of the Cascade Range, cremation was resorted to in extraordinary circumstances. Riddle, for example, states that so many members of the Cow Creek band died during the 1853 epidemic that the bodies had to be placed on makeshift biers of driftwood and burned. <125>

* * *

Most of the testimony given above consists of observations on **Indian ways** of doing things, on aspects of native life that almost certainly pre-dated contact with Euro-American culture. By its very nature, however, ethnohistory also provides information on the kinds and rate of change (particularly the change in material culture reflected by the introduction of exotic items) that occurred during the contact period.

The Spread of Euro-American Trade Goods

Even before dropping anchor, Lt. Heceta was greeted by Indians eager to engage in trade. No doubt word about the trading opportunities offered by the ship-borne newcomers to the region spread rapidly among the natives of the Pacific Northwest. Nevertheless, actual contact was sporadic along the south Oregon coast until well into the nineteenth century, and a few of the initial

land-based trade relationships evidently began awkwardly. McLeod, in 1826, found the Coos Indians to be extremely shy at first, due to the fact that the H.B.C. trappers were "the first people of a different colour to themselves they had ever seen." All along the southern coast he found the Indians either reluctant to trade or unfamiliar with the whites' desire for beaver fur (and some even pleaded ignorance as to how to hunt that particular animal). Ogden, on the other hand, found the Klamath "well versed in trade," and Smith describes the coastal groups as "great speculators [who divided their goods] into several small parcels asking more for each than the whole were worth." (Interestingly, Rogers records that it was mainly the Yurok women who engaged in the barter of food for metal and beads.) <126>

The rates of exchange probably no doubt fluctuated over the years. The only specific mentions for the area are given in 1826 by McLeod (among the Coos Indians one of his men traded a "2 1/2 point" H.B.C. blanket for eight beaver skins) and Ogden (the Klamath, finding Ogden's men hungry for fresh meat, quickly raised the price of their dogs: "4 rings or the same number of Buttons or Thimbles" for one dog and a "Scalper [knife]" for two.) Although he gives no figures, John Work complains about the escalating prices that the Indians of the Umpqua Valley demanded for beaver in 1834. <127>

Metal: As Heceta attests, beginning with the first pieces of iron that washed ashore imbedded in the flotsam from shipwrecks, metal was a valuable commodity among southwestern Oregon Indians. The late-eighteenth century maritime trade dramatically increased the amount of metal available, but most of it may have remained in the hands of coastal natives, with occasional surpluses being traded by them eastward to interior groups. The first trappers found the Indians to be ready buyers of knives, axes, kettles, buttons, and other metal items of utilitarian or ornamental function. Smith's party found that the lower Klamath River inhabitants already possessed "arrow points of iron"; these may have been either manufactured as points prior to trade or possibly made by the Indians from scrap. Theft of metal goods from the trapping brigades began immediately upon their arrival anywhere in the region, but the stealing of beaver traps (which were broken apart and made into knives and such) seems to have been particularly common in the interior valleys, perhaps reflecting the relative lack of iron here as compared to the coast. <128> Although Smith observed a number of iron tools among the Indians of the coast, Ogden notes only a single such item during his 1826-1827 travels in the upper Klamath, Rogue and Umpqua drainages: a "Sickle...[made use of] as a Knife." <129>

Beads: Glass beads proved to be very popular trade items throughout North America. Although they have been recovered from a number of southwestern Oregon archaeological sites, they rated very sparse mention in the ethnohistorical record. Smith found the lower Klamath River groups to be in possession of beads, and he traded beads to the Tolowa in return for food. In 1834 Work found the Umpqua Valley natives very anxious to obtain his "small green beads," but that other beads were "in little repute" and had little value. (Could the other varieties of glass trade beads carried by H.B.C. trapping brigades have declined in value by this time due to the large numbers of them then in circulation?) Euro-American traders apparently were also expected to provide high value items that were part of pre-contact exchange system: Work remarks that "Heyquales" ("hiquas," dentalia shells from the

British Columbia coast) were much in demand among the Indians of southwestern Oregon. Ceramic manufacture was evidently a late and marginally important innovation in the prehistory of the region, but exotic pottery did -- at least according to the single ethnohistorical mention -- have high value: at the same Rogue River village where the sickle was found, Ogden's men saw "two China Bowls...probably procured from some Ship...preserved as ornaments" that the natives would not part with, "appearing to lay considerable value on both." <130>

Clothing: The earliest ethnohistorical account of native interest in Euro-American textiles is McLeod's 1826 mention of a Coos Indian that traded for a "2 1/2 point" H.B.C. blanket. Arriving at Coos Bay two years later, Rogers notes that one native possessed a "blanket cappon" (a hooded coat made from a blanket) and that several others had "pieces of cloth." <131> Although at first the spread may have been slow (and perhaps largely confined to males?), garments of Euro-American cloth had become common by the 1850s among some groups, particularly those located close to the new mining camps and other settlements. A short distance from Crescent City, Pfeiffer observed much evidence of "acculturation" in the area of wearing apparel:

They had...[the] fancy for picking up old clothes that had been thrown away by the whites. One gentleman had mounted a pair of European breeches and a worn-out lady's mantilla, and had on his head a battered lady's bonnet. Another had simply a frock-coat, and nothing else [original emphasis] but had adorned the back of it with glass beads according to his own fancy. Another, though his lower [body] was in the simplest state, had clothed the upper in a waistcoat, and put on his head a round hat, with a hole cut in it to stick some feathers in; and the ladies were no less...attired. <132>

Glisan records the Euro-American clothing of the Tututuni men:

In this whole council you couldn't perceive two Indians dressed precisely alike. One man's apparel consisted of simply a coat; another, of drawers; a third, of pants; a fourth, a jacket; a fifth, a soldier's uniform; a sixth, a pair of boots and a breech-clout, and...a chubby boy with a soldier's jacket, reaching to his knees, and hanging down its back seam a broad scarlet strip. <133>

Giles recalls that by 1855 the Takelma, Shasta and Dakubetede chiefs of the Rogue River Valley "all dressed as the white people did, as near as they were able to get clothing -- being the slowest to change their moccasins for shoes -- often going barefoot, but generally [they] wore moccasins." <134>

Horses and other animals: Although the introduction of horses caused rapid cultural change among the Indians of the northern Great Plains and portions of the Columbia Plateau during the late eighteenth century, their later spread into southwestern Oregon appears to have had a much lesser impact. By the late 1820s, horses seem to have been present only in the northeast fringe of the area. Ogden writes that all but one animal of the Klamaths' small herd (probably obtained from Columbia Plateau native traders) had died from starvation during a winter previous to his 1826 visit. West of the Cascade Range, horses were evidently unknown at this time. Travelling along the Rogue

River in March 1827, Ogden deduced that, from their awe-struck reaction to his brigade's mounts, the Shasta and Takelma had never before seen such animals. Likewise, Smith's trappers found the natives of the lower Klamath River to be unfamiliar with horses. <135> That some soon took advantage of the increased mobility offered by horses is evinced by McLeod's 1828 comment that the Indians of the southern-most Willamette Valley habitually stole his brigade's horses, "[leaving] them in the field at the end of their journey." Work similarly complains in his 1833 journal that the Achumawi Indians gathered across the Pit River from his camp, "examining how the horses were situated." By the late 1830s, the Indians of southwestern Oregon had acquired a reputation among Euro-American trappers as accomplished horse-thieves. <136> However, the actual number of animals in the possession of local Indians likely remained relatively small. Riddle states that the groups in the vicinity of Cow Creek had no horses in the 1850s, and Glisan attests that the Tututni owned very few. During the U.S. Exploring Expedition's trek through the region in 1841, only a single instance of Indians in possession of horses is recorded: in the open plains of the Rogue River Valley "three mounted Ind[ian]s [original emphasis]" were seen. As late as the 1851-56 "Rogue River Indian Wars," native horsemen (although their presence is mentioned in various accounts, for example Thomas Smith's recollections) do not seem to have been particularly numerous; the number of native-owned stock evidently remained small and was often supplemented through theft from the herds kept by Euro-American settlers. <137> Horses apparently never approached the level of importance in the local culture that they did in some other sections of the Pacific Northwest.

Other animal species may have been introduced during the contact period as well. Lieutenant Emmons notes that in the northern Umpqua Valley (along the trail from the Willamette Valley), the U.S. Exploring Expedition passed "a pen that had evidently been erected by the Indians to entrap...wild cattle" (the tracks of which Emmons also saw), and he speculates that the animals were strays from an earlier Euro-American cattle-drive through the region. <138> Trapping the streams of the Rogue River Valley (between present Ashland and Medford) in 1827, one of Ogden's men reported seeing a "domesticated Cat in rather a wild state," having tried unsuccessfully to capture the animal and bring it back to camp. Ogden presumed "it must have come from the Coast; in that quarter all along the[re] are in almost every village a dozen of them, but how this one found its way...he must certainly lead a solitary life and depend on his own industry for support." <139>

Firearms: In 1826 Ogden found the Klamath to be totally without firearms (and apparently not particularly interested in trading for them). The same year McLeod writes that the Indians around Coos Bay, although they had heard about guns, had "never witnessed an instance" of firearms being used and were quite curious to see their use demonstrated. <140> By the 1830s and early 1840s, however, firearms seem to have become incorporated into the material culture of some natives, particularly those located along the main interior route of Euro-American travel and trade. In 1834 Work found ammunition to be "much in demand" among the Umpqua Valley groups, and the U.S. Exploring Expedition encountered the same situation in that vicinity seven years later. Guns, a high value trade item, probably remained relatively rare during this time, owned only by wealthier individuals. According to Riddle, the Indians of the South Umpqua/Cow Creek Valley area had "few guns" as late as the 1850s;

Pfeiffer claims that the "only weapons" of the Tolowa and Chetco in 1853 were "bows and arrows, and also, since the settlement of the whites among them, knives." <141> During the 1850s, laws forbade the sale of guns to the local Indians, and this no doubt artificially restricted the number of firearms that might otherwise have been in native hands. On the other hand, the deadly marksmanship of some Indian riflemen (particularly those of the Rogue River Valley as opposed to the coastal groups) during the 1855-56 war is well documented in the historical record. <142> The sudden influx of Euro-American miners and settlers during the early 1850s may have provided the Indians with increased opportunity for illicit purchase or theft of firearms as well as the incentive to become more expert in their use.

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Conclusions

I have attempted in this paper to assemble a compendium of ethnohistorical information about the Indians of southwestern Oregon and northern-most California. The "raw data" of most accounts have been presented here in the form of original quotations -- with the hope of facilitating future research. Thus, the text is "long" on factual information (i.e., primary historical testimony) and "short" on interpretation.

At least two questions remain: How reliable is the ethnohistory? Beyond that, what is its value?

The first question is of primary concern in any field of historical research, and often must be answered subjectively. In general, the material given in the ethnohistorical accounts seems to me quite reliable. Although there are discrepancies between some observers, such is nearly always the case in history. Overall, the different writings "hang together" as a coherent whole, confirming or complementing each other in numerous ways. Of course many of the writers display an ethnocentric or blatantly racist bias that makes us uncomfortable today. Both Peter Ogden and Ida Pfeiffer display the prejudices of their particular time and place; Ogden as the cynical, hard-driven "Company man" with years of previous experience living among the Indians of the Far West, and Pfeiffer as the interested newcomer with an open curiosity, tempered with the sensibilities of a self-described European lady. Both disparage certain aspects of Indian culture, yet both are able to find positive features as well; and whatever their opinions, they are observant, reliable witnesses.

Regarding a different aspect of the question, it is important to note that some of the most detailed and comprehensive accounts date from the final years before the "Indian Wars" and removal to reservations. The cultures they portray have been affected by several decades of Euro-American contact, and they are obviously less reliable as evidence of pre-contact lifeways than would be similarly detailed writings from the 1820s-30s. Unfortunately, there are no such writings. If only David Douglas had been less interested in plants and more interested in people!

What of ethnohistory's value to the study of southwestern Oregon's Indian cultures? It is clear that the ethnohistorical record contains much that is of interest to us; it indeed provides a useful supplement to the ethnographic record. It comes as no surprise that there much close agreement between the two. Many aspects of native culture documented in the early twentieth century ethnographies -- from the use of elk pits and seaweed cakes by the coastal Athapascans to the hostile relations between the Klamath/Modoc and the Shasta -- were first noted by ethnohistorical observers. These first-hand, "on-the-scene" descriptions not only add important details that may be missing, they impart a satisfying sense of immediacy that is often otherwise lacking in the standard ethnographies.

Despite the overwhelming "fit" between the two sources of information, however, there are at least a few instances of contradiction (e.g., the Upland Takelmas' use of canoes instead of lashed log rafts; the construction of Klamath houses). Perhaps such apparent inconsistencies can be explained. (For example, some later writings seem to indicate that Ogden's scout Tom McKay may have been prone to exaggeration.) Or perhaps they will simply remain as the kind of minor historical puzzles that often intrigue us.

Additionally, the ethnohistorical writings yield valuable information typically absent from ethnographies, particularly in the area of cultural change. This includes more than the effects of Euro-American contact on material culture that are discussed above. For example, the different native groups' widely varying reactions to white intruders are documented in the trappers' and explorers' journals. Might these hint at social norms that may have been specific to each group when confronted with strangers? For example, from Ogden's initial visit to the area in 1827 through the U.S. Exploring Expedition's passage along the same route in 1841, the Takelma are pictured as generally hostile while the neighboring Shasta are portrayed as friendly to Euro-American visitors. <143>

The ethnohistory of southwestern Oregon may also help answer questions about native demographics: can the pre-contact impacts of Euro-American epidemic diseases be discerned in the Indian population levels of the early nineteenth century? The drastic effects of the 1830-33 malaria epidemic on the Indians of the lower Columbia River basin are well documented. Work mentions an epidemic with very high mortality rates in the northern Sacramento Valley during 1832-33, and Riddle discusses a similar episode for the Umpqua Valley in 1852-53. <144> The native population figures that can be inferred from comments by Ogden and others are ambiguous at best, but they can be assessed in light of Ogden's many references to "starving Indians." <145> Admittedly, the seemingly wide-spread "starvation" that he documents for the Rogue River Valley may reflect one of the periodic environmental catastrophes -- poor fish runs or acorn harvests -- that may have afflicted the region. But might not Ogden be recording the after-effects of a severe epidemic? Could the generally low population levels indicated in many accounts actually be the result of severe mortality from diseases that swept southwestern Oregon prior to the actual arrival of Euro-Americans?

Although these particular inquiries may never result in satisfactory answers, they are examples of the way that ethnohistory -- when used with caution and in

conjunction with other evidence -- can help us towards our goal, a better understanding of the Indians of southwestern Oregon.

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NOTES

1. This is certainly not a new idea; for example, the careful use of ethnohistory to complement and amplify ethnography is suggested by Calvin Martin in Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978) pp.6-7.
2. The mortality and consequent impact of European diseases on American Indian populations **prior** to the actual arrival of European explorers is a topic that continues to generate debate. In recent years, consensus has grown that the effects were indeed profound. For a hemispheric perspective on the question, see: Henry F. Dobyns, "Estimating Aboriginal American Population: An Appraisal of Techniques with a New Hemispheric Estimate," Current Anthropology 7(October 1966):395-412; William W. Fitzhugh (ed.), Cultures in Contact: The European Impact on Native Cultural Institutions in Eastern North America, A.D.1000-1800 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985); Ann F. Ramenofsky, Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European Contact (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); and Brian M. Fagan, "Epidemics, European Contact, and American Indians" (Review of Ramenofsky 1987), The Quarterly Review of Archaeology 9(Summer 1988):3-4. Regionally, the cultural implications of pre-Contact epidemics are discussed by: Sarah K. Campbell, Post-Columbian Culture History in the Northern Columbia Plateau: AD 1500-1900, (Ph.D. Dissertation - Anthropology, Seattle: University of Washington, 1989) and, focusing on southwestern Oregon: John A. Draper, A Proposed Model of Late Prehistoric Settlement Systems on the Southern Northwest Coast, Coos and Curry Counties, Oregon, (Ph.D Dissertation - Anthropology, Pullman: Washington State University, 1988).
3. The northwest coast of North America remained virtually unknown throughout this period; in the 1720s Jonathan Swift used the unexplored region in Gulliver's Travels as the setting for "Brobdignag," where the novel's hero was cast among a race of gentle giants.
4. Bruno de Heceta (Herbert K. Beals, trans. and ed.), For Honor and Country: The Diary of Bruno de Hezeta (Portland: Western Imprints, The Press of the Oregon Historical Society, 1985) p.62
5. Heceta, For Honor and Country, pp.68-71.
6. Vancouver's log for this April visit is given in: T.C. Elliott, "Oregon Coast As Seen By Vancouver in 1792," Oregon Historical Society, 30(Spring 1929) 36-39. Vancouver probably met a canoe of Tututni who had traded with Robert Gray only weeks before. Baker's Umpqua River stopover is described

second-hand by a Capt. Charles Bishop of the Ruby, in: F.W. Howay and T.C. Elliott, "Voyages of the Jenny to Oregon," Oregon Historical Society 30(Fall 1929) 197-206. American Gray's visit was documented by John Boit, see: F.W. Howay and T.C. Elliott, "John Boit's Log of the Columbia: 1790-1793," Oregon Historical Society," 22(Winter 1921) 257-351.

7. Elliott, "Vancouver in 1792," 37.
8. Ibid., 37; Howay and Elliott, "Voyages of the Jenny," 201; Howay and Elliott, "John Boit's Log," 304.
9. Elliott, "Vancouver in 1792," 38; Howay and Elliott, "Voyages of the Jenny," 201; Howay and Elliott, "John Boit's Log," 304.
10. The first of these expeditions took place in about 1818, when a North West Co. brigade of over 60 men from Ft. George (Astoria) trapped the North Umpqua country. Alexander Ross later wrote that while the trappers "fell in with numerous bands of natives...who were all very peaceable; but from their shy and reserved manners and wishing to avoid the whites, it was evident that they had never been much in the habit of trading with them; yet they had no objection to our people's hunting on their land." The North West men, aggravated at the natives' unwillingness to barter, resorted to bullying and in a melee (possibly near present-day Yoncalla) 14 Indians were killed. See: Alexander Ross, The Fur Hunters of the Far West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956) 132-133.

The Russian misadventure is documented in: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov (Basil Dmytryshyn and E.A.P. Crownhart-Vaughan, trans. and ed.), Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832 (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1976) 108-109. A group of approximately 100 Aleuts employed by the Russian-American Co. went to hunt sea otters at "Trinidad [almost certainly Humboldt] Bay" in July 1818. Unlike the friendly reception of Heceta in 1775, the Aleuts met fierce resistance from the natives, who launched a flotilla of canoes and attacked the Aleuts in their skin-covered "baidarkas." Stranded on shore by high seas for eleven days, the Aleuts used guns to keep the Indians at bay before fleeing back to Fort Ross.

11. Although by no means an exhaustive list of the ethnographies available for southwestern Oregon Indians, these few sources together form a comprehensive body of information: S.A. Barrett, "The Material Culture of the Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians of Northeastern California and Southern Oregon," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 5(1910): 239-292; Roland B. Dixon, "The Shasta," The Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, 17(1907): 381-498; Philip Drucker, "The Tolowa and the Southwest Oregon Kin," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 36(1940): 221-300; John Peabody Harrington, The Papers of John Peabody Harrington in the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution, 1907-1957, [microfilm reel #28] (Millwood, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1981); Catherine Holt, "Shasta Ethnography," Anthropological Records, Volume 3, Number 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946); Edward Sapir, "Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon," American

Anthropologist, 9(1907): 251-275; Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 30(1930). For a comprehensive ethnographic review of some of the groups, see: Dennis J. Gray, "The Takelma and Their Athapascan Neighbors: A New Ethnographic Synthesis for the Upper Rogue River Area of Southwestern Oregon," University of Oregon Anthropological Papers, 37(1987).

12. Peter Skene Ogden (K.G. Davies, ed.), Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journal, 1826-1827 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1961) 34, 70; Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842; Volume V (New York: G.P. Putnam and Co., 1856), 239, 243. Wilkes, who did not accompany the overland party, took most of his account from the journals of his junior officers, George Emmons and Henry Eld, as well as from the notes of the "scientifics," such as T.R. Peale, who were on this journey. The subject of skin complexion receives conflicting comment; e.g., whereas Wilkes mentions the northern California Indians' dark complexion, Jedediah Smith's clerk Harrison Rogers calls the Hupa "very light coloured Indians"; see: Harrison G. Rogers, "Second Journal of Harrison G. Rogers," in: Harrison Clifford Dale (ed.), The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829 (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clarke Co., 1918), 240. George Riddle, who settled in the South Umpqua Valley in the early 1850s, recalls the local Indian headman, Miwaleta, as being "about six feet tall, of heavy build, with a full round face"; see: George W. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon: A History of the Riddle Valley (Riddle: Riddle Parent-Teachers Association, 1953), 46; Daniel Giles, "Autobiography of Daniel Giles" [and unpaginated appendix] (typescript from original manuscript: Coos County Historical Society Museum, North Bend, Oregon; 1946), 21. Regarding cranial deformation, the Klamath and Modoc, due perhaps to their cultural links with Columbia River groups, did incorporate head flattening into their culture; see: Barrett, "The Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians," 257-258.
13. Jedediah Smith (Maurice Sullivan, ed.), The Travels of Jedediah Smith (Santa Ana: The Fine Arts Press, 1934), 89; Titian Ramsay Peale (Jesse Poesch, ed.), Titian Ramsay Peale and His Journals of the Wilkes Expedition (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1961), 194; Wilkes, Narrative, 239, 243; Lt. George M. Colvocoresses, Four Years in a Government Exploring Expedition (New York: Cornish, Lamport and Co., 1852), 294 (Colvocoresses, a "passed midshipman" during the voyage, wrote an account that was "lifted," almost directly with but slight revision, from Wilkes' original narrative of the Expedition; in only a few places does it give additional information.); Ida Pfeiffer, A Lady's Second Journey Round the World, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1856), 317 (interestingly, Pfeiffer visited the village that had sprung up two years previous on the shore of Lt. Heceta's Trinidad Harbor, which she described as "pretty, but extremely small...and inclosed by rocks fifty or sixty feet high, that leave only an opening just large enough to admit a vessel"; eclipsed in economic importance by Crescent City, the town of Trinidad was "already going to decay"); R. Glisan, Journal of Army Life, (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1874), 251.

14. David Douglas, Journal Kept by David Douglas during his Travels in North America, 1823-1827 (New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd., 1959), 227, 230; Glisan, Army Life, 251; Wilkes, Narrative, 243-244; John Charles Fremont (Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, eds.), The Expeditions of John Charles Fremont, Volume 1: Travels from 1838 to 1844 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 587; Giles, "Autobiography," 22 and n.p.; Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 315 and 317.
15. Smith, Journal, 89 (Smith encountered Yurok Indians on the lower Klamath River in May who wore hide mantles, but the "lower part of [their bodies] was left naked"); Peale, Journals, 194; Wilkes, Narrative, 238 (Wilkes describes a party of Shasta Valley fishermen as "quite naked"); Rev. Gustavus Hines, Oregon: Its History, Conditions and Prospects (Buffalo: Geo. H Derby and Co., 1851), 97; Glisan, Army Life, 247; Giles, "Autobiography," 56; Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 313.
16. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 36, 46-47 (Ogden, the first white to explore much of the upper Klamath, Rogue, and Umpqua basins, met Modoc Indians in the vicinity of Tule Lake who "all had Blankets made of Feathers and from a distance had rather a strange appearance, they are certainly entitled to some credit in devising such warm Coverings"); Modoc ethnography confirms the use of such robes, "woven of feather strips," during extreme winter temperatures (see: Verne F. Ray, Primitive Pragmatists: The Modoc Indians of Northern California [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963], 211). (Note: this paper relies on a revised interpretation of the route Ogden followed through southwestern Oregon/northern California that differs, in places substantially, from that given by the editors of the 1961 Snake Country Journal; see: Jeff LaLande, First Over the Siskiyou [Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1987].) Fremont, Expeditions, 587.
17. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 70; Smith, Journal, 89; Douglas, Journal, 225; Peale, Journals, 193; Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 61.
18. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 61.
19. Douglas, Journal, 225; Peale, Journal, 193; Wilkes, Narrative, 240; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 90; Alexander Roderick McLeod (K.G. Davies, ed.), "Journal of a Hunting Expedition to the Southward of the Umpqua under the command of A.R. McLeod, C.T. Septmber 1826" (Appendix C in Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 1961), 169; Smith, Journal, 89.
20. Peale, Journals, 192; Wilkes, Narrative, 236; Douglas, Journal, 227; Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 313-314; Glisan, Army Life, 247.
21. Hines, Oregon, 107.
22. Peale, Journals, 192; Fremont, Expeditions, 587; Glisan, Army Life, 248.
23. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 70; Smith, Journal, 102 (Harrison Rogers, Smith's clerk, recorded in his final diary entry (the day before he and most of Smith's other men were killed by the natives) that he traded for "some Elk meat & tallow" from the Indians at the mouth of the Umpqua River; see: Rogers, "Second Journal," 271); Hines, Oregon, 113 ("...the elk abound

in this [Umpqua Valley] country and afford a fruitful source whence the Indians derive a subsistence."); Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 61 ("The deer was the principal game...").

24. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 81.
25. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 33; Wilkes, Narrative, 235. Although it is not general knowledge today, small herds of antelope inhabited the Rogue River Valley into the very early historic period; see: Vernon Bailey, Mammals and Life Zones of Oregon, North American Fauna No. 55 (Washington, D.C.: USDA - Bureau of Biological Survey, 1936), 70-71.
26. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 59, 68, 69, 70, 73 (Ogden was gratified to learn that when Shasta Indians raided one of his men's beaver caches, they took only the flesh and left behind the furs; he was surprised to see the Takelma Indians of the Rogue Valley devour beaver meat raw, "...they informed us they were always in the habit of eating it in this way and did them no injury."); McLeod, "Journal," 205.
27. Peale, Journals, 192; Wilkes, Narrative, 235; Giles, "Autobiography," 18 (Giles, while staying in 1853 on the upper Applegate River, near present-day Ruch, recounts that the son of Dakubetede chief "John" brought him "a nice peace of young grisley bare that he had killed the day before.") Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 35-37; Alexander Roderick McLeod (Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., ed.), The Hudson's Bay Company's First Fur Brigade to the Sacramento Valley: Alexander McLeod's 1829 Hunt (Fair Oaks, CA: Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1968), 31; Fremont, Expeditions, 587. Spier (Klamath Ethnography, 7) states that Klamath Indian recollections about the visits of the first whites (obviously the H.B.C. brigades of the late 1820s/early 1830s) include references to the Klamaths' amazement that the visitors purchased and ate dogs. In the Rogue River Valley, Peale (Journals, 191-192) gives several mentions of individual dogs accompanying their Indian owners, indicating that canines served as hunting companions; Riddle (Early Days in Oregon, 79) says that dogs often accompanied the women (quite possibly as watch-dogs) during food-gathering forays.
28. Smith, Journal, 97, 98 ("They also brought [us] some Blubber, not bad but dear as gold dust"); Glisan, Army Life, 249; McLeod, "Journal," 205 (of "Whale Bl[ubber] they [the Athapascans at the mouth of the Rogue River] seemingly have a quantity, a dainty dish to them...my men praised it very much"); Giles, "Autobiography," 43.
29. McLeod, "Journal," 186; Douglas, Journal, 227; Glisan, Army Life, 248.
30. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 78; Douglas, Journal, 229; Wilkes, Narrative, 238; Colvocoresses, Four Years, 292.
31. McLeod, "Journal," 186; Smith, Journal, 91, 93.
32. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 38, 40; Fremont, Expeditions, 587.
33. Smith, Journal, 97-98; Rogers, Second Journal, 253-256; Glisan, Army Life, 249; John Work (Alice Bay Maloney, ed.) "Fur Brigade to the

- Bonaventura: John Work's California Expedition of 1832-33 for the Hudson's Bay Company," California Historical Society Quarterly 23(June 1944), 134; Peale, Journals, 191.
34. Edward Sapir, "Notes on the Takelma Indians," 260; Douglas, Journal, 214.
 35. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 33, 47; Smith, Journal, 91, 97, 102; Peale, Journals, 190.
 36. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 44, 100; Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 64; Douglas, Journal, 215, 225, 228; Smith, Journal, 100; W.D. Brackenridge (O.B. Sperlin, ed.), The Brackenridge Journal for the Oregon Country (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1931), 67.
 37. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 63, 64; Peale, Journals, 195; Wilkes, Narrative, 243; Colvocoresses, Four Years, 299.
 38. Smith, Journal, 100; Rogers, "Second Journal," 270; Douglas, Journal, 233; W.D. Brackenridge, Journal, 66 (Brackenridge's list of berries and fruit is longer but these are the varieties that occur in southwestern Oregon; Wilkes [p.243] also mentions the Wintu as grinding "arbutus-berries" into a meal as well as eating copious quantities of grapes); Glisan, Army Life, 249.
 39. Brackenridge, Journal, 67; Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 65.
 40. Douglas, Journal, 225, 227; Brackenridge, Journal, 67; Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 65.
 41. Douglas, Journal, 230, 231.
 42. Smith, Journal, 98; Rogers, "Second Journal," 254.
 43. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 74.
 44. Douglas, Journal, 225; Glisan, Army Life, 252; Peale, Journals, 191; Colvocoresses, Four Years, 288 (Wilkes, Narrative, 232); Brackenridge, Journal, 59. According to Harold E.Driver ("Culture Element Distributions: X, Northwest California," Anthropological Records 1:6 [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939], 382 and 384), the Sinkyone and the Chimariko used madrone bark for storage pit linings and as part of the roof covering for houses.
 45. Riddle (Early Days in Oregon, 64) goes so far as to say "Hunting and fishing was the only work that I ever knew an Indian man to do, especially in providing food. [The women] were the workers."
 46. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 71, 72. 82, 97. Alexander McLeod (1829 Hunt, 36), while trapping in California's Sacramento Delta region, observed the "Indians attached to the Missions" using "short nets...which they set at ebb tide when the Beaver dens are visible. And while one or two Individuals watch the net a third breaks a hole through the ground which is done with little trouble. The frightened animals take to the water and get

entangled in the Snare. By such means the Indians collect a few Skins each which they barter at the Missions for white and Red Beans and wearing apparel."

47. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 62.
88. Peale, Journals, 192.
49. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 62.
50. Douglas, Journal, 227; Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 317.
51. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 62; Peale, Journals, 192; Wilkes, Narrative, 235. Molly Orton, Drucker's Upland Takelma informant ("The Tolowa," 294), mentioned the use of jackrabbit snares by her people.
52. Peale, Journals, 91.
53. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 113; Smith, Journal, 102-103; Rogers ("Second Voyage," 264), near Humbug Mountain on the southern Oregon coast, notes that "one mule last night...fell in a pit that was made by Indians for the purpose of catching elk, and smothered to death."
54. Wilkes, Narrative, 235. It is ambiguous whether Wilkes is specifically documenting this practise for the Rogue River Valley groups or whether he includes the description here as general information (perhaps applicable only to groups elsewhere in the Pacific Northwest); however, pronghorn antelope were definitely seen in the Valley by members of the Expedition.
55. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 62; Peale (Journals, 190) records meeting Indians in the Umpqua Valley "armed with bows and arrows...with which they kill Elk and Deer, etc. which abound in the mountains."
56. Work, "Fur Brigade (1832-33)," 129.
57. Glisan, Army Life, 249; Work, "Fur Brigade (1832-33)," 134; Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 64.
58. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 38, 39, 55; Glisan, Army Life, 249 (the arrival of smelt in the surf was indicated by "gulls and other sea-birds who hover in the vicinity"); Douglas, Journal, 227.
59. Work, "Fur Brigade (1832-33)", 133, Peale, Journals, 194; Wilkes, Narrative, 243, 244; Glisan, Army Life, 249; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 43.
60. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 64.
61. Douglas, Journal, 227, 228, 231; Wilkes, Narrative, 233, 238, 243; Colvocoresses, Four Years, 299; Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 316; Brackenridge, Journal, 66; James Cardwell, "'Emigrant Company'; Letter to H.H. Bancroft; January 9, 1879" (MS P-A 15, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California).

62. Hines, Oregon, 102.
63. Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 314-315.
64. Glisan, Army Life, 248-249.
65. Glisan (Army Life, 246) provides a typical commentary: "As is customary among all savage nations, the squaws perform all the drudgery; while the men either fish, hunt, or idle away their time in smoking."; Ogden (Snake Country Journal, 93): "we saw several Men and Women employed in drying Roots, on observing us they abandoned all..."; Peale, Journals, 191 (Peale also saw both men and women gathering acorns); Colvocoresses, Four Years, 284; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 103, 104; Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 65-66 (Riddle describes the tarweed seed gathering as lasting a few days, during which time each Indian woman "seemed to be doing her level best to make all the noise she could, beating her racket against the top of her basket."). As is mentioned elsewhere in the text of this paper, Rev. Hines (Oregon, 103) states that during his late summer visit about one-third of the coastal Umpqua population was "absent in the mountains, for the purpose of gathering berries." Pfeiffer (Second Journey, 318) provides information on the role of women in Tolowa society: "The babies they had were put into longish narrow baskets with covers, and bound upon the backs of the mothers, who perform all their customary work with this burden...the greatest part of the work falls upon the women...being principally weaving of baskets and gathering acorns. This last occupation, however, is often very fatiguing, as they have a long way to walk and a considerable burden to carry. The men, if they go with them at all, will only carry a very small portion."

Virginia Hartin McKay, a later Douglas County pioneer (b.1863), adds to Riddle's description of tarweed harvest and preparation; although too late to be considered an ethnohistorical account, her second-hand recollections are worth including here (Personal interview, April 12, 1939: Virginia Caroline Hartin McKay, "Reminiscences of Southern Oregon Pioneers," [WPA interviews with long-time Douglas County residents; held in Douglas County Historical Museum, Roseburg, Oregon]): "Tar-weed, which grew to a height of three or four feet, was another Indian food that was universally used. In the fall of the year when dry and matured, the Indians burned the tar-weed, which destroyed the leaves, but did not hurt the seed, rather loosened them in their pods. Squaws took a large flat basket about two feet wide in one hand and a hand paddle in the other. The basket was placed under the seed pods and the pods were given light taps with the paddle which caused the seed to fall into the basket. The squaws would go over a field carefully until all the seeds were gathered. As fast as the basket was filled with seed, it was emptied into a sack. The seed was kept all winter and used whenever desired."

Although his account deals with the Pomo Indians around Ft. Ross, well to the south of our area, Khlebnikov (Reports, 126) provides a very interesting bit of information about acorn gathering that could have applied to southwestern Oregon groups as well: "Acorns are a major food for both Indians and woodpeckers. These birds [the "acorn woodpecker,"

Melanerpes formicivorus] use their bills to peck holes in the bark of...trees; they put an acorn in each hole to save it for winter [actually, the stored acorns are meant to serve as host to insect larvae, which the birds then eat]. One can see a whole tree studded with acorns. Often the Indians will gather in the cache of the birds after they have eaten their own supply." The acorn woodpecker is quite common in the oak savanna of the Rogue River Valley and elsewhere; it seems entirely possible that local Indians similarly took advantage of this bird's food-storing habits.

66. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 66; Peale, Journals, 191; Douglas, Journal, 225.
67. Wilkes, Narrative, 243.
68. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 65. Virginia Hartin McKay ("Reminiscences," 3-4) has this to say about the subject: "The Indians had watertight cooking baskets or pots as they called them. These baskets were of various sizes, usually about five quarts. Water was put in them and very hot rocks were dropped in the water to make it hot. As they cooled, they were taken out and other hot rocks were used in the same manner until the water was boiled hot. It did not take long to boil the water. In the meantime, venison, bear or any kind of meat was cut up into small pieces and dropped into the water which was thickened with tar-weed flour. The result was Indian mulligan stew which was very popular...The fact that the meat was more hot than cooked did not bother the Indians who rather preferred their meats raw or semi-raw. They would all squat around the pot and scoop the stew out with their hands. The bucks would eat their fill first and the squaws would follow to eat what was left."
69. Hines, Oregon, 102. Pfeiffer, in her description of the Chetco salmon-bake (Second Journey, 315), mentions "raw acorns" being roasted and eaten; it is probable that these were, as with Hines' group, actually hazelnuts.
70. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 64-65. Glisan (Army Life, 249) also describes the Tututni camas oven as a "pit into which wood and stones are thrown, and a fire kindled...when the wood is consumed the [camas] is thrown in upon the hot stones and covered over with dirt."

Virginia Hartin McKay ("Reminiscences," 2-3) echoes Riddle's account of camas gathering and cooking: "These [Umpqua Valley] Indians used large quantities of Camas bulbs for food. These bulbs were dug in the fall of the year when they had seasoned in the ground and the stalks and leaves had withered. The digging was done by the squaws who had a specially designed horn about fifteen inches long which they forced into the ground [this probably refers to the handle of a digging stick, not the digging tip itself] close to the bulb which was pried out with a single movement. The other hand picked up the bulb and tossed it over their shoulder and into a basket which hung on their backs. They never missed the basket and were so expert in the digging that they gathered large quantities in a short time. These bulbs could be kept in a dry place and used any time during the winter. It was interesting to notice the way they were prepared for food. First a pit was dug in the ground of a size to accommodate the quantity of bulbs that were to be cooked. This pit was about three feet deep and was

lined on the bottom and all sides with boulders or stones about the size of a man's fist. Next a fire was built in the pit and made even all over the pit, to heat the boulders thoroughly and evenly. When the pit-boulders were well heated, the fire was taken out and after being lined with flat leaves, the pit was filled with the bulbs. The top surface was flattened and over the top was placed flat leaves till a solid, airtight mat was formed. This again was covered with a layer of dirt to make sure the pit was airtight. The Camas bulbs would steam for hours and in usually about three days they were taken out and ready to eat. When eaten the outside layers of the bulbs were peeled off and the inside was a sweet and very eatable food. The settlers were fond of it and would often trade bread and bisquit for the cooked bulbs."

71. Emmons' Diary (Sept. 22 1841) in Peale, Journals, 91; Wilkes (Narrative, 229 and 231) repeats Emmons' charge, saying the fires "across their path...had without doubt been lighted by the Indians to distress our party"; he thought that the resulting dense columns of smoke were the Indians' signals "to muster their forces for an attack." Although the U.S. Exploring Expedition members were probably in error regarding the Indians' supposed hostile intent in lighting extensive ground fires, Wilkes has some support when alluding to their use of smoke columns for signaling to neighboring groups. Crossing the Rogue River at its mouth, Harrison Rogers ("Second Journal," 263) claims that "the Inds. that run off raised smokes on the north side of the bay, I suppose, for signals to those that were absent, or some other village, to let them know that we were close at hand."
72. Douglas, Journal, 214; Hines, Oregon, 96; Colvocoresses, Four Years, 277.
73. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 51, 65.
74. Peale, Journal, 192, 196; Wilkes (Narrative, 236) also mentions this encounter: "...they met an old squaw, with a large firebrand in her hand, with which she had just set the grass and bushes on fire; when suprised, she stood motionless, and appeared to be heedless of anything that was passing around her." In contrast to Peale's off-hand observation that the California Indians did not "burn the prairies," Khlebnikov (Reports, 126) reports that the Pomo around Ft. Ross "in the fall burn the grass."
75. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 75; Douglas, Journal, 230; Peale, Journals, 193; Wilkes, Narrative, 239; P.L. Edwards, The Diary of Philip Leget Edwards: The Great Cattle Drive from California to Oregon in 1837 (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1932), 43.
76. Wilkes, Narrative, 239; Brackenridge, Journal, 66.
77. Peale, Journals, 194; Wilkes, Narrative, 239-240; Brackenridge, Journal, 66; Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 62.
78. Wilkes, Narrative, 239; Brackenridge, Journal, 66; Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 62; Thomas Smith, "The Rogue River Indian Wars of 1853 and 1855, Letter to H.H. Bancroft; November 6 1885" (Pacific Mss. P-A 94, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California), n.p.

79. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 74; Peale, Journals, Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 64-65.
80. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 66. Virginia Hartin McKay ("Reminiscences," 3) supplements her neighbor Riddle's description of the hopper mortar:
"...a large, flat rock, usually of sandstone, was selected and the center ground out into a saucer or bowl. This was surrounded by a basket to keep the seed from scattering during the grinding process. A pestle was used to do the grinding. It was of some hard rock that would cut the seed...placed in the saucer or bowl depression of the sandstone rock and the pestle was used by beating or grinding them. A crude grain or flour was the result. Wheat and corn was treated in the same manner."
81. E.g., see: McLeod, "Journal," 188; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 54,100; Smith, Journal, 93; Giles, "Autobiography," 50. Khlebnikov, Reports, 109.
82. Sapir, "Notes on the Takelma Indians," 252; Drucker, "The Tolowa," 294; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 87.
83. Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 313; Glisan, Army Life, 251; Wilkes, Narrative, 233,238; Douglas, Journal, 227; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 81. Drucker ("The Tolowa," 272) supplements Glisan's comment on canoe-making, describing the use of heated rocks and water to soften and shape the cavity of a canoe (bringing the water to boil much as was done in cooking acorn mush, etc.). Barrett ("The Klamath Lake and Modoc Indians," 255-256) describes similar tule rafts used on the lakes of the upper Klamath Basin.
84. Hines, Oregon, 101.
85. Smith, Journal, 89; Rogers, "Second Journal," 247 (foundations and floors made from "flat" alluvial cobbles are documented in photographs of lower Klamath River houses); Khlebnikov, Reports, 109; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 81, 204; Rogers, "Second Journal," 263-268; Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 315; Glisan, Army Life, 252; Thomas Smith, "The Rogue River Indian Wars," n.p.; Giles, "Autobiography," n.p. Glisan's comment on "brush"-covered houses is interesting; Drucker ("The Tolowa," 272) notes the Tututni's practise, unusual in the region, of roofing some houses with grass "thatch."
86. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 39, 86; T. Smith, "The Rogue River Indian Wars," n.p.; Biographical sketch: "Capt. Thomas Smith," History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington, Vol. II (Portland: North Pacific History Company, 1889), 573; Hines, Oregon, 101; Douglas, Journal, 224, 229, 233; Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 313; Glisan, Army Life, 252.
87. Peale, Journals, 190; Wilkes, Narrative, 237, 250. (The Wintu [Wilkes, 243] were found living in "rude huts, built of poles, and divided by coarse mats into a number of small apartments"; this village was surrounded by a piled-brush stockade.) For mention of Shasta wickiups, see: Dixon, The Shasta, 416; Holt, Shasta Ethnography, 308.
88. Fremont, Expeditions, 587.

89. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 33. However, upon personally visiting a village near Chiloquin a few days later, Ogden (36) gives a description that fits closely with other information on Klamath houses: "...a few Huts but of a very large size, square made and flat at the top, composed of earth...the door at the top."
90. Hines, Oregon, 103-104; Edwards, Diary, 39.
91. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, passim., 81; Smith, Journal, 89, 93, 103; McLeod, "Journal," 186, 188, 204; Douglas, Journal, 224, 229; Jason Lee, "Journal of Umpqua Tour, August 1841," in: Cornelius J. Brosnan, Jason Lee: Prophet of the New Oregon (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), 184.
92. Cardwell, "Emigrant Company," n.p.; Thomas Smith, "The Rogue River Indian Wars," n.p.
93. McLeod, "Journal," 188.
94. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 37; McLeod, "Journal," 169; Lee, "Journal of Umpqua Tour," 184; Giles, "Autobiography," n.p.; Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 313-316; Cardwell, "Emigrant Company," n.p.; Fremont, Expeditions, 587.
95. Glisan, Army Life, 245-246 (Drucker ["The Tolowa," 246] disposes of the Euro-American perception of coastal Athapascan women as mere property, pointing out the complex system of family prestige and inter-family obligations that were involved in marriage); Hines, Oregon, 113; Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 68.
96. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 82; Wilkes, Narrative, 244; Glisan, Army Life, 251-252; Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 315. Glisan describes the dancers as entering an "elliptical space" formed by the onlookers, "singing: a he-ah.....ah.....ah, he-ah...ah...ah [original emphasis]....They all spring in unison -- and keep pretty good time.")
97. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 80.
98. Ibid.
99. Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 319. Pfeiffer is describing the "many-stick guessing game," discussed in more detail by Drucker ("The Tolowa," 239).
100. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 89; Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 61.
101. Alexander Roderick McLeod, "Journal of Southern Expedition, 1828," in: Smith, Journal, 125; Douglas, Journal, 224; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 96; Giles, "Autobiography," 40.
102. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 47,48; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 33-34, 40, 46, 53-54, 55, 57, 63, 71, 74-75, 103; Fremont, Expeditions, 587.

103. John Work, (Leslie M. Scott, ed.) "John Work's Journey from Fort Vancouver to Umpqua River, and Return, in 1834," Oregon Historical Quarterly 24(June 1923), 260; McLeod, "Journal," 202 (slave-raiding).
104. Work, "Journey, 1834," 265.
105. Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 317.
106. Lt. George Emmons' "Journal 3" as noted in: David B. Tyler, The Wilkes Expedition: The First United States Exploring Expedition (1838-1842) (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1968), 318; Wilkes, Narrative, 234.
107. Wilkes, Narrative, 234.
108. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 48.
109. Dr. Matthias Lair Harter, "Letter from Shasta Butte City, California to Samuel Kyle Harter, Troy, Ohio; October 10, 1851," n.p. (as transcribed ca. 1890s by Jane Abbott Harter; manuscript in possession of Dr. Harter's great-granddaughter, Elizabeth Tilton [3245 Madrona Dr., Sanata Barbara, CA 93105]; photocopy provided to author by David Tilton, USDA Forest Service).
110. Cardwell, "Emigrant Company," n.p.
111. McLeod, "Journal," 168, 186, 189, 195; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 43, 46, 67, 70, 81.
112. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 59; McLeod, "Journal," 205; Hines, Oregon, 117 (on page 109, Hines states that the two groups spoke "similar languages," but he later corrects himself); Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 47; Khlebnikov, Reports, 24.
113. Hines, Oregon, 105; Edwards, Diary, 40.
114. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 73, 89; Glisan, Army Life, 250; Fremont, Expeditions, 587.
115. Douglas, Journal, 221; Rogers, "Second Journal," 269. (Riddle [Early Days in Oregon, 61] credits the wide-ranging Klikitat traders and hunters with bringing Chinook jargon to southwestern Oregon.) McLeod, 1829 Hunt, 33; Wilkes, Narrative, 231; Alonzo A. Skinner, "Letter to Anson Dart [Superintendent Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory] from Indian Agency, Rogue River Valley, July 26, 1852," H. Doc. 1, No. 70, 454; Glisan, Army Life, 250.
116. Douglas, Journal, 231; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 100-101; Glisan, Army Life, 253. (Glisan's commentary on Tututni religion indicates a belief in a "great Ti-hee," the devil, and an after-life; although we can only speculate how much direct or indirect influence Judeo-Christian concepts may have had on their religious outlook by the 1850s, Drucker ["The

Tolowa," 277] does note an apparently pre-contact belief in a Creator deity among the coastal Athapascans.)

117. Wilkes, Narrative, 239; Hines, Oregon, 109.
118. Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 316-317.
119. Glisan, Army Life, 252-253.
120. Smith, Journal, 103.
121. McLeod, "Journal of Southern Expedition, 1828," 128; Colvocoresses, Four Years, 258; Wilkes, Narrative, 219.
122. Colvocoresses, Four Years, 287; Peale, Journals, 194.
123. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 101.
124. Glisan, Army Life, 253.
125. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 50.
126. McLeod, "Journal," 186, 168, 188, 205; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 35; Smith, Journal, 98; Rogers, "Second Journal," 241.
127. McLeod, "Journal," 169; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 53; Work, "Journey, 1834," 257.
128. Rogers, "Second Journal," 247. Theft: Smith, Journal, 99; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, passim.; McLeod, 1829 Hunt, 31.
129. Smith, Journal, 91; Rogers, "Second Journal," 247; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 86. For additional mention of metal trade items, see: Peale, Journals, 193; Wilkes, Narrative, 238.
130. Smith, Journal, 91; Work, "Journey, 1834," 256; Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 86. Based on Pfeiffer's account (Second Journey, 313,317), beads remained a very popular trade item among the Tolowa and Chetco into the 1850s.
131. McLeod, "Journal," 169; Rogers, "Second Journal," 267.
132. Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 312.
133. Glisan, Army Life, 246-247.
134. Giles, "Autobiography," n.p.
135. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 33, 87-88; Rogers, "Second Journal," 240.
136. McLeod, "Journal of Southern Expedition, 1828," 134; Work, "Fur Brigade (1832-33)," 136; Colvocoresses, Four Years, 288.

137. Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 61; Glisan, Army Life, 251; Peale, Journals, 192 (also see: Wilkes, Narrative, 235); "Capt. Thomas Smith's Biography," History of the Pacific Northwest, 572-573.
138. Lt. Emmons Diary, in: Peale, Journals, 91. (Although Emmons speculates that the cattle were from previous H.B.C. brigades, it is more likely that they were strays from the 1837 Willamette Valley Cattle Company drive, led north through the area from California by American settler Ewing Young.)
139. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 76. Harrison Rogers' manuscript ("Second Journal," 253) contains a puzzling entry for June 7, 1828 (near the mouth of the Klamath River) that has been transcribed as: "...when the Ind[ian]s left camp, they stole a small kitten [emphasis added] belonging to one of the men." Before one takes this as evidence that domesticated cats were highly valued in the villages along the northern California coast, compare Smith's entry (Journal, 97) for the same day: "In the evening when they left us they stole a small Kettle [emphasis added]." Although there is undeniably some appeal in the image of hardy American trappers keeping a kitten as a mascot during the trip, it seems far more likely that Smith's entry is correct and that Rogers' manuscript was either miscopied or misread.
140. Ogden, Snake Country Journal, 33,53; McLeod, "Journal," 186.
141. Work, "Journey, 1834," 256; Wilkes, Narrative, 230; Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 61; Pfeiffer, Second Journey, 317.
142. E.g., see Glisan, Army Life, passim.
143. Most of Jedediah Smith's men were killed by Indians near the mouth of the Umpqua River, a dramatic indication of the kind of reception the natives gave them; however, the leaders of the H.B.C. brigades, which passed generally unmolested through the region during the 1820s-30s, provide some of the most useful testimony on the varying reactions of different Indian groups to initial contact with whites. Based on Ogden (Snake Country Journal, 37), McLeod ("Journal," 186-187) and Douglas (Journal, 212, 216, 234), it is clear that the 1826-27 H.B.C. Snake Country and Umpqua Brigades were the first Euro-American penetrations south of Klamath Marsh, on the east side, and the Umpqua River, on the west side of the Cascades. Peaceful/"friendly" reactions are recorded by McLeod ("Journal," 187, 191), Douglas (Journal, 227,228,234), and Ogden (Snake Country Journal, 35, 36, 43, 53, 69, 71, 82); hostile/"fearful" reactions by other groups are mentioned in Douglas (Journal, 232) and Ogden (Snake Country Journal, 74, 78, 79, 86, 91, 93, 96). The apparent persistence of initial Takelma and Shasta attitudes towards Euro-Americans is indicated in Work ("Fur Brigade" [1832-33], 139, 140), Edwards, (Diary, 40-47), Colvocoresses (Four Years, 283, 284, 291, 293), Peale (Journals, 192), and Wilkes (Narrative, 225, 234).
144. Work, "Fur Brigade" (1832-33), 130-131, 132, 133; Riddle, Early Days in Oregon, 49, 50, 78. According to H.B.C. physician W.F. Tolmie, in 1833 the malarial epidemic was prevalent throughout the Pacific Northwest and California, including "round Klamath...Lakes"; see: S.F. Cook, "The

Epidemic of 1830-1833 in California and Oregon," University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 43(1955), 305. Peale (Journals, 193, 196) mentions the presence of what he calls "leprosy" among the Klamath River Shasta as well as the effects of "tertian fever" (again, probably malaria) in the Sacramento Valley. Glisan (Army Life, 252) gives a brief summary of the diseases that afflicted the coastal Athapascans during the mid-1850s: consumption, measles, small-pox, and a veiled reference to what was probably syphilis.

145. As mentioned in note 2 of this paper, the question of pre-contact population levels and the impact of Euro-American diseases has been a major focus of recent anthropological and historical research. In addition to the publications cited above, another important source is the work of Sherburne F. Cook on California Indian demographics. For summary reviews of Cook's research and interpretations, see: Wilbur R. Jacobs, "Sherburne Friend Cook: Rebel-Revisionist (1896-1974)," Pacific Historical Review LIV(1985), 191-199 and Albert L. Hurtado, "California Indian Demography, Sherburne F. Cook, and the Revision of American History," Pacific Historical Review LVIII(1989), 323-343.

References to Indian populations (although actual numbers are usually not given) are found in: McLeod ("Journal," 189, 204); Ogden (Snake Country Journal, 38, 43, 47, 48, 81, 84, 86, 89, 102); Rogers ("Second Journal," 268); Peale (Journals, 191); Hines (Oregon, 103, 116, 117); Edwards, Diary, 39-40. In general, and with a few exceptions, the ethnohistorical accounts indicate relatively low aboriginal population levels for the area compared to those of the lower Columbia or central California regions. For Ogden's comments about "starvation," see: Snake Country Journal, 50, 67, 83, 97, 100, 102, 106, 109. Glisan (Army Life, 250) gives a population of 3,000 for all of the lower Rogue River and immediately adjacent coastal groups as far north as Port Orford; he estimates that each separate band consisted of "from thirty to one-hundred-and-fifty souls."

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