

## TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN SOUTH- WESTERN OREGON

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Our knowledge of the ethnic geography of southern Oregon west of the Cascades is notoriously chaotic. This is largely due to the dislocation and rapid destruction of the Rogue River Tribes in the wars of the 'fifties, but in part to the then prevalent habit of referring to these Indians indiscriminately as "Rogue Rivers." Add the absence of sharply defined physiographic provinces and the reason for the confusion is obvious. Yet the Indians of this region spoke tongues belonging to at least four different linguistic stocks (Athapascan, Takelman, Shastan, and Waiilatpuan) and doubtless recognized sharp political divisions within each language group.

My attention was turned to this while engaged in an ethnographic study of the Klamath Indians living on the lake of that name east of the Cascades. I was told that the Ashland-Medford-Table Rock region was occupied in historic times by their enemies the Walumskni, who called themselves Hanis. As the name Walumskni was unfamiliar, I was lead to attempt an identification.

A Shasta claim to this region was accepted twenty years ago by Dixon who mapped it accordingly.<sup>1</sup> He frankly recognized the uncertainty of their claim, since the Rogue River tribes also ceded this territory in their treaty of 1853. The Shasta maintained that they had driven the Rogue River people from the country a century before and held it at the coming of the whites.

Merriam's recent attempt to show that the name Shasta was given the Rogue River by Ogden in 1827 confirms this by implication.<sup>2</sup> He further cites Framboise's list of tribes of 1835 which places the Shasta Indians on the river of that

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<sup>1</sup>Roland B. Dixon: *The Shasta* (Bulletin American Museum of Natural History, 17, 1907), p. 386.

<sup>2</sup>C. Hart Merriam: *Source of the Name Shasta* (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, 16, 1926, 522-525).

name west of the Klamath people. I have no intention of entering the controversy but by my reading of Ogden's Journal, like Elliott's,<sup>3</sup> Ogden's Shasta River is the Pit.<sup>4</sup> If my identification of the Walumskni is correct, Framboise cannot have meant that the Shasta tribe was located on the Rogue, merely that they lay in a westerly direction from the Klamath people.

There is little to be found in the early sources. I have made no very thorough search but have been unable to find anything explicit on this section of the Rogue drainage. The Indians are referred to indiscriminately as Tinneh (Athapascans), Rogue Rivers, or mixed groups including Shasta. The bands about Table Rock who took part in the Rogue River wars are known by the names of their chiefs, which does not help very much in isolating and identifying the units. During the period of concentration these included Chief John's band, the Ech-ka-taw-a, living on Applegate Creek, and Limpy's band, the How-quo-e-haw-took, on Illinois River. The native names of the chiefs of the Table Rock band are given as To-gun-he-a, Aps-er-ka-ha, and another Ana-cha-ara.<sup>5</sup> It is curious that Lindsey Applegate, who crossed this region in June, 1846 (from Rogue River to Emigrant Creek) saw hostile Indians but no settlements.<sup>6</sup> It is conceivable that the Indians were then summering in the mountains.

Information obtained from old Klamath informants about their western and southerly neighbors is quite explicit.

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<sup>3</sup>T. C. Elliott: *The Peter Skene Ogden Journals* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, 11, 1910, 201-222).

<sup>4</sup>I do not see how Ogden could have failed to note his crossing of the Cascades when he is so explicit as to every other identifiable range no matter how insignificant. My identification of his route is consistent with a journey into the Pit River country and a return without having crossed to the northern side of Klamath River.

I should like to acknowledge here my indebtedness to Mr. Charles L. Stewart for giving me the benefit of his inquiries into the name Shasta, and to Miss Marjorie Thole for searching the early literature on the Rogue River district.

<sup>5</sup>A. G. Walling: *History of Southern Oregon* (Portland, 1884), pp. 190, 191. Dr. Edward Sapir writes me that he cannot identify the language of these names.

<sup>6</sup>Cited in Walling, p. 304.

According to them the Shasta occupied the Klamath River as far upstream as Shovel Creek near the Oregon-California boundary. This was of course in addition to their territory on Shasta and Scott Rivers. North of the Klamath River they held only Jenny Creek. My informants were most certain that they were not north of the Siskiyou in Bear Creek valley, the territory in question. This, as I have stated, was Walumskni country. These people lived on both sides of Bear Creek for its whole length and on Rogue River about Table Rock.<sup>7</sup>

Rogue River above the Walumskni was occupied by Molala according to the same informants. These lived along the creeks of this high ridge country down to the canyon, that is to a little below Prospect or even as far as Trail Creek. The position of these Molala on the high ridge is so anomalous for an Indian group as to be suspected were it not that we have early confirming authority. Joel Palmer wrote in 1853: "While on my late expedition I came to the knowledge of the existence of a tribe of Indians inhabiting the country on the upper waters of the North and South forks of the Umpqua and the headwaters of the Rogue River called the wild Mo-lal-la-las. The name so nearly resembles that of the Mol-al-las of the Willamette that they have been confounded with that tribe; but the information I have obtained satisfies me that they are a distinct tribe, speaking an entirely different language, and having no connection whatever with them. They have had but little intercourse with the whites, being located in a mountainous region off the line of travel from Oregon to California. They roam sometimes as far east and south-east, as the headwaters of the Deschutes and the Klamath Lake."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Dama'djosksi, "a little mountain east of Medford," was named to me as one of their localities; possibly Table Rock was meant.

<sup>8</sup>*Annual Report of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory for 1853*, quoted in C. F. Coan: *The Adoption of the Reservation Policy in the Pacific Northwest, 1853-1855* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, 23, 1922), p. 34. See also Albert Samuel Gatschet: *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, 2, 1890), part 1, p. xxxvi.

Nevertheless these are Molala, whose descendants still live among the Klamath of the lakes. The explanation of their peculiar position is to be found in a paper of James Teit, which is of the highest importance for tribal migrations in eastern Oregon and Washington.<sup>9</sup> It appears that in consequence of attacks by the Snake beginning about 1750, the Sahaptians of the upper Deschutes withdrew to the Washington side of the Columbia and the Cayuse to the east. The Molala were driven out of the lower Deschutes westward into the mountains and even beyond the Willamette valley. The best explanation of their presence on the very headwaters of the Rogue is that they drifted southward on the western side of the Cascades, safe from attack, occupying the ridges of the upper Umpqua and crossing the divide to the Rogue.

The occupation of the Rogue River below Grants Pass is clear in outline although obscure in detail. The coast and the river as far up as Illinois River was Athapascan territory. There were isolated Athapascans again on Galice Creek and Applegate River.<sup>10</sup> Above them were the Takelma. "To the north the Takelma certainly occupied the northern bank of Rogue River eastward of some point between Illinois River and Galice Creek, while they also inhabited part of the country on the upper course of Cow Creek, a tributary of the Umpqua. The middle valley, then, of Rogue River, the country on the southern bank perhaps as far west as Illinois River, its main tributary, the upper course of Cow Creek, and the interior of Oregon southward nearly to the Californian boundary, was the home of the Takelma proper."<sup>11</sup>

Of the territory in question, Table Rock and Bear Creek, Sapir observes "there was, moreover, still another tribe of the same linguistic stock [Takelman] that dwelt farther

<sup>9</sup>James Teit: *The Middle Columbia Salish* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2, No. 4, in press).

<sup>10</sup>J. Owen Dorsey: *The Gentile System of the Siletz Tribes* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, 3, 1890, 227-237). Leo J. Frachtenberg: *Shasta and Athapascan Myths from Oregon* (*Idem.*, 28, 1915), p. 224. Edward Sapir: *Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon* (American Anthropologist, n.s., 9, 1907, 250-275).

<sup>11</sup>Sapir, *loc. cit.*, p. 251.

to the east, occupying the poorer land of the Upper Rogue, east, say, of Table Rock toward the Cascades and in the neighborhood of the present town of Jacksonville. These were known as Latgâwa', 'those living in the uplands,' but were also loosely referred to as Wulx, i.e., 'enemies', a name specifically applied to the Shasta, with whom the Takelma were often in hostile relations. . . . The Upland Takelma were much more warlike than their western neighbors, and were accustomed to make raids on the latter in order to procure supplies of food and other valuables. The slaves they captured they often sold to the Klamath of the Lakes, directly to the east."<sup>12</sup> This is reasonably definite, yet and the territory they occupied.

The question turns then on the identification of the Walumskni or Hanis. Walumskni clearly means in Klamath "those of Walums", which Gatschet identified as "Rogue River Butte, a mountain at the head of Rogue River Valley, almost due west of Fort Klamath,"<sup>13</sup> by which I presume he meant Table Rock. He however identified the Walumskni as Athapascan. "These Indians belong, like the Umpqua, to the Tinné family of aborigines; they formerly inhabited the largest part of the country drained by the Rogue River and its tributaries (Illinois River, Applegate Creek, etc.) and also held the coast of the Pacific Ocean between 41°30' and 43° of latitude. They are sometimes called Tototen or Tutatani after one of the tribes, which was settled at the mouth of the Rogue River." Yet it is clear from the form of this that Gatschet had no specific knowledge of the Rogue Tribes; was ignorant in fact of the existence of the Takelma.

There can be little doubt that the Walumskni were the Upland Takelma. I was fortunate in obtaining a few words of their language from an elderly Klamath woman who knew

<sup>12</sup>*Loc. cit.*, p. 252.

Sapir was none too certain of the character of the group

<sup>13</sup>Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians*, part 2, p. 471.

them however only from hearsay. I give these with such Takelma cognates as I was able to find in Sapir's papers.

<i>Walumskni</i>	<i>Takelma</i>
hetcéga, he is mean	t'obagi, to lie like dead <sup>14</sup>
da'páqE, to kill	wulx, enemies <sup>15</sup>
wols, name for the Klamath	
hánis, name for themselves	

The word wols, enemies, is quite conclusive, for from the Klamath point of view their bitterest enemies were the Walumskni.<sup>16</sup>

The name Hanis adds an element of confusion. I was given this merely as an alternate appellation; the proper term is Walumski. Yet Hanis is the Coos name for themselves; that is, used by members of a different linguistic group. But in addition the Siuslaw call the Alsea Hanis hitch; the usage of still a third language group for a fourth.<sup>17</sup> All of these tribes of southwestern Oregon, or at least many individuals of them, have been concentrated on Siletz Reser-

<sup>14</sup>Edward Sapir: *Takelma Texts* (Anthropological Publications, University of Pennsylvania Museum, 2, 1909), p. 229.

<sup>15</sup>Sapir, *Notes on the Takelma*, p. 252.

<sup>16</sup>Dr. Edward Sapir has been kind enough to scrutinize these attempted identifications. He writes, "wols is exactly what it should be and proves that my upper Takelma (Latgawa') spoke the kind of divergent Takelma dialect Mrs. Johnson [his informant] said they did. For, from internal evidence and from Penutian comparisons (e.g. Takelma xi, "water": si—, Penutian stem), it is certain that Takelma x goes back to older s, while Takelma s goes back to older ts, which is no longer found . . . Now, as luck would have it, two of my poor Upper Takelma words entirely corroborate your wols. There t'eweks, "flea": Takelma t'ewex (t'ewe.s|t'eweks) and yegwetci, "he hit me" (assimilated from yegwekci|yegwekwci): Takelma, yegwexi|yegwegwxi (older —si) . . . Wols is ideal proof. Strange that this unknown tribe and language can be demonstrated by consistent evidence from scraps remembered by Indians west and east of it." The identification of da'pa'qE is not so certain. Dr. Sapir indicates that the form may have been misheard for or misremembered from t'obag—, but "the aorist stem of the transitive, which would be represented by your form, should therefore be t'obog—, which is pretty far from your form. Perhaps your Klamath got Shoshonean mixed with his Takelma. Southern Paiute has pakka—' "to kill"; perhaps your form is really tappakka, which might mean "to kill by stepping on."

<sup>17</sup>Leo J. Frachtenberg: *Coos and Siuslawan (Lower Umpqua)* (Bulletin Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, 1922, part 2), pp. 306, 441.

vation since the middle of the last century. Klamath have frequently visited Siletz in recent years and are quite familiar with them all. In fact, I was told of three old Walumskni women surviving there. Can it be that the name Hanis, properly Coos, has there come into general use for any tribe of western Oregon? It seems plausible that the name as applied to the Walumskni dates only from their residence on Siletz.

It thus seems certain that the Ashland-Medford-Table Rock region was the home of the Upland Takelma, not of the Shasta. It is indeed possible that the Shasta occupied the extreme upper end of the Bear Creek valley, the northern slope of the Siskiyou. But this is so anomalous a position for an Indian group whose prime dependence was on the major streams, that even this is doubtful. It is also possible that the Shasta occupied the greater part of the valley after having driven the Upland Takelma out of it, as their tradition tells, but my Klamath information is that the Upland Takelma were there, or at least about Table Rock, as late as 1850. That the Shasta were involved in the Rogue River wars and some of them later caught up in the movement that placed all of these peoples on the reservations of coastal Oregon, can hardly be adduced as proof that they were linked by joint occupation of this territory. As against their common cause against the whites is set off the Shasta tradition of earlier enmity of the Takelma, as well as Takelma statements to like effect.<sup>18</sup>

The indicated distribution of the tribes of southwestern Oregon is Athapascan on the coast northward nearly to the Coquille River and upstream on the Rogue to beyond the mouth of the Illinois. This is continuous with the occupation of Smith River in California by the Athapascan Tolowa. Isolated groups of the same stock were on Galice Creek and Applegate River. The middle Rogue was Takelman in speech. The settlements of the Takelma proper were from near the Illinois to about Grant's Pass and on the upper course of Cow Creek; thence southward the rough country

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<sup>18</sup>Sapir, *Notes on the Takelma*, p. 252.

nearly to the Californian boundary was theirs. A small section in Oregon along the boundary may have been hunting land of the Karok, whose home was on the lower Klamath River directly south. Above the Takelma on the Rogue were the Upland Takelma about Table Rock and Bear Creek. Still further up on the very headwaters of the river were the Molala, whose main body lay along the upper reaches of the Umpqua and northward. North of all these, the upper Umpqua drainage and the upper Coquille were Athapascan, with the Coosan Miluk on the lower reaches of the latter river.

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