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**KLAMATH RIVER CANYON
ETHNOLOGY STUDY**

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by

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PREFACE

Theodoratus Cultural Research, Inc. (TCR) has edited the text of the Klamath River Canyon Ethnology Study which was submitted to the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) by BioSystems Analysis, Inc. in September 1989. The final copy has been prepared at TCR by Dorothea J Theodoratus and Mildred B. Kolander, with the cooperation of Mr. Carl Thelander, Principal at BioSystems. We would like to give special thanks to Richard Hanes of the Oregon/Washington State Office of the BLM for his keen editorial eye and helpful suggestions in preparing the final version of this manuscript.

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INTRODUCTION

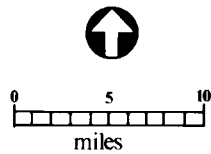
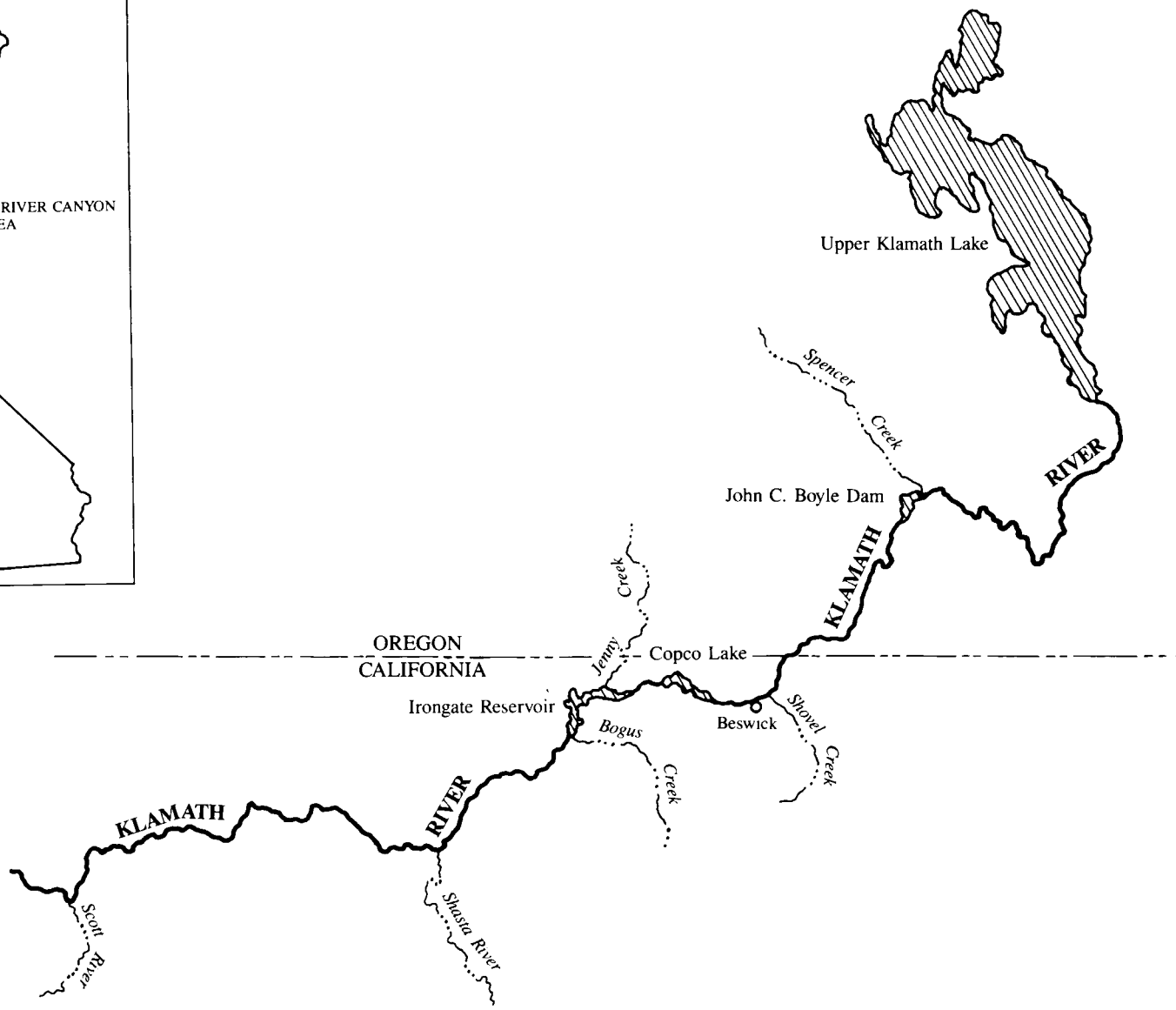
In recognition of Native American concern over public land-use management practices, the Bureau of Land Management, Klamath Falls Resource Area, Lakeview District, contracted in 1989 with BioSystems, Inc., to inventory, describe, and analyze ethnographic sites and regions along a designated stretch of the Klamath River. The research objectives were to collect ethnographic information on the study area, which consists of the Upper Klamath River Canyon from the John C. Boyle Dam in Oregon on the north and downstream to the backwater of the COPCO Reservoir (river mile 204) in California. Upstream the western and eastern boundaries follow the upper rim of the canyon to the Oregon state line, while in California they extend one-fourth mile from the river bank (see map).

The Klamath River is a dominant geographical feature in this region of California and Oregon, and, in the past, its fall and spring runs of anadromous fish provided a major source of sustenance for the inhabitants of the river basin from its mouth on the Pacific Coast to its headwaters well above the study area. Archaeological data from a study area site suggest "the cultural activities of any one or a combination of five 'tribal' groups (Achomawi, Klamath, Modoc, Shasta and Takelma) in the Late Prehistoric times" (Mack 1983:6). The purpose of this investigation, then, is to examine the ethnographic and historical record for information regarding those peoples who used the Klamath River Canyon, the ways in which they exploited the rich resources of the riverine environment, and the sites and locales they frequented. This report presents an evaluation of the ethnographic database; an ethnographic overview including identification of the groups who used the area, along with discussion of the boundaries between them; and a brief consideration of subsistence/settlement systems expressed through their seasonal activities. Finally, a comprehensive list is provided of sites generated by this research.

Native American Spiritual Values

The concept of religion and the associated concept of "sacred" presents problems in meaning when applied cross-culturally, because these are culture-bound categories with particular meaning in western society. In general, religion can be defined "as a system of beliefs and practices toward the 'ultimate concern' of a society" (Lessa and Vogt 1965:1). Religion includes a cosmology--a content which defines the world, the supernatural, man, and the relations between these. Religion thus directs human behavior, and the associated beliefs are acted out in a number of social or private practices or activities. Events of the life cycle, seasonal cycles, or unexpected crises are often marked by ritual behavior. Religion helps to make these events understandable, and offers a means by which the focus behind the events can be controlled (Theodoratus Cultural Research 1984:11).

Rituals can be practiced on an individual level, where a person observes a particular practice as part of her/his daily activities. Small group observances might involve a family gathering with a religious specialist (shaman/"doctor") who, with her/his esoteric knowledge, has special access to supernatural power often used for curing or life-crisis events. Other rituals and ceremonies involve the participation of all of the society's members in events considered to be vital to the



Klamath River Canyon Study Area.

society as a whole (e.g., collection of essential resources such as fish, acorns, epos). These larger rituals renew and emphasize members' needs for, and dependence on, the total society. The rituals must be performed properly according to well established rules. A meaningful ritual involves time, place, verbal proclamations, and symbolic objects. All of these are considered sacred and are treated with respect.

Religion, while having an established order, is not totally static—it responds to changes within a society. Stress or conflict situations often promote reformative religious movements which assist the members to reconstruct their world with new actions for new situations. These "revitalization movements" usually involve a prophet with a new message and new or modified rituals. While some such new religions die out quickly, others adjust to the new situation and help maintain values and "ultimate concerns." Revitalization movements stress unification and solidarity, while seeking to predict social change through belief and ritual. One such example is the Ghost Dance of 1870, which has now become a part of tradition and has been sanctified and maintained the same way as other traditions (Theodoratus Cultural Research 1984:11–14).

The concept of spiritual/supernatural power permeating the environment is a basic element in all Native American religions of the study area. Each individual is influenced by this spiritual life, but the shaman is at the pivotal point with the ability to heal. The people of the study area have strongly developed religious concepts and practice intimate day-to-day contact with features of the environment (e.g., animals, trees, rocks, springs, weather), which are filled with potential power. Myths are expressions of the spirit world that explain, among other things, the relationships between people and the powers—both benign and malevolent—which are infused throughout the environment. Special locations imbued with supernatural qualities are important for use in spirit quests by individuals. Certain plants used by shamans are regarded as possessing supernatural qualities necessary for ritualistic curing.

In general, there were special places within each group's territory believed to be sacred or possessed with supernatural qualities. Topographic features (pools, rock outcroppings, secluded places) often held the qualities for such veneration. Many of these places were (are) used in quests for special powers. Access to such places has continued to be important for the maintenance of Native American traditions.

Cemeteries and burials are culturally sensitive subjects of special concern to Native Americans. Land development projects pose the possibility of disturbance to these sites, resulting in the Native Americans' involvement in the caretaking and protection of these extremely sensitive locales. Archaeological work also constitutes disturbance and thus violation of the sanctity of burial/cremation grounds.

The Ghost Dance movement of the 1870s influenced the indigenous religions of the area and resulted in religious interchange between groups in the study area and those in neighboring areas. Also at this time various pressures on these groups by the non-Indian population resulted in relocation of living quarters—often to locations beyond their traditional tribal boundaries. Consequently, there was frequent intermarriage, resulting in an intermixture of religious traditions and the combined use of territories which previously had been confined or restricted to a certain group. Thus, the various groups have shared cultural traditions as well as

concerns regarding issues from the outside society which affected the various communities and their religious practices. These concerns have been expressed by the groups which have traditional ties to the study area.

Cultural Heritage Values

Cultural heritage sites are those locations across the landscape which are invested with spiritual and traditional values by the people residing in the territory. Some of the most typical types include, but are not restricted to:

- Village sites
- Campsites
- Trails
- Resource gathering sites
- Mythological places
- Power spots
- Sweat locales
- Religious events
- Cemetery (burial/cremations)
- Significant historic events
- Refuge sites

The qualities distinguishing this broad range of sites is not always obvious to the outside observer, who may not recognize the cultural meaning which has been invested in them. There are various visual, auditory, spiritual, and other sensory attributes attached to many of the sites. The symbolic meaning of these places is not readily recognized by persons of other cultures because the meaning is imbedded in the cultural heritage of the specific group from which these traditions derived. Consequently, if traditional values are to be perpetuated, communication must be maintained with knowledgeable Native Americans, because cultural heritage values lie within the repository of their expertise.

REVIEW OF THE DATA BASE

Methods

The research staff, consisting of Dorothea J Theodoratus, Myreleen Ashman, and Donna Genetti, met in a pre-work conference held at Klamath Falls June 27, 1989, with Bureau of Land Management staff, James Beltram (Contracting Officer, Medford), Barbara Young (Contracting Officer, Lakeview District), Carla Burnside (Contracting Officer's Representative and BLM archaeologist), and Sharon Gonzales (Administrative Staff). The history and present-day situation of the study area was discussed and information pertaining to the investigation was supplied to the contractors. The contract was clarified at this meeting. It was determined that, because of time and funding constraints, the scope of the Request for Proposals was too broad. The extensive fieldwork aspects of the study had been modified and reduced in pre-work discussions between James Beltram and Clinton Blount of BioSystems (BioSystaems 1989). It was determined that the significant reductions in the fieldwork allocation could result in incomplete coverage of the study area, but that the constraints were overriding. Time might be better spent with heretofore under-investigated archival materials, for example at University of California's Bancroft Library.

The research staff conducted a thorough and comprehensive review of the available ethnographic literature, archival materials, and historic documents pertaining to the study area. Holdings were examined at repositories including: the Klamath County Library, Klamath Falls; Klamath County Historical Society Archives, Klamath Falls; Bureau of Land Management Records, Klamath Falls; California State Library, Sacramento; Shields Library, University of California, Davis; California State University, Sacramento, Library; and The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Telephone interviews with Klamath National Forest personnel determined that their holdings in Yreka were replicated at the California State Library (J. Rock, personal communication to D. Theodoratus, Yreka 1989).

The research investigators visited the study area with Carla Burnside, Bureau of Land Management archaeologist. Most of the previously identified sites in the Klamath Canyon were visited. This reconnaissance was valuable in acquainting researchers with the general environment and the nature of the sites found in the study area.

Representatives of the concerned Native American groups were contacted about their interests in the study area. Telephone interviews were conducted with a member of the Shasta Nation who was designated by other members to speak for that group regarding cultural heritage values. It is clear from these conversations that the Shasta people are concerned about their heritage in general, and particularly about sensitive sites within what they consider to be their tribal area. They are prepared to address any potential disturbance of sensitive areas that they consider to be within their jurisdiction. The Shasta consider themselves to be caretakers of burials within their ancestral territory and would prefer these not to be disturbed. Other sensitive types of areas/sites for which they would seek protection are rain rocks, springs, and other spiritual places. They are also interested in gathering rights on public lands. Any information or questions could be

addressed to the current tribal chairperson, or Betty or Roy Hall, Shasta Nation, Mugginsville, California. Mrs. Hall expressed strong interest in and concern for the study area, and her comments are integrated into this document. The Shasta medicine woman referred to throughout this report has relocated in the Los Angeles area and at this time is not available for comment.

Repeated efforts were made to reach the Klamath/Modoc tribal chair. Finally, the Cultural Program Director, Mr. Gordon Beetles, was contacted; his comments contributed important information and regarding Klamath/Modoc interests and values in the study area. In the past, the study area has been used primarily by the Modoc, but by certain groups of Klamath as well. Both groups consider it to be important both historically and culturally, and intend to enjoy its benefits as long as possible. People continue to use it today for camping and for spiritual purposes; children are taken into the canyon to learn about their past. Of particular concern is the wildlife, which should be closely protected and guarded. Burial sites, cremation areas, rock cairns and vision quest sites are of considerable concern, and it is the hope of the Klamath/Modoc peoples that these be protected by limited access, a buffer zone and air patrol. It is believed that disturbance of any burial will interrupt the soul's voyage to the afterlife. Vision quest sites in the Klamath gorge are also important, especially for young boys at puberty. These sites are most likely to be located "up on top" rather than in the gorge, and usually have pairs of pits—one for heating rocks (ca. four feet in diameter) and one for sweats (ca. six feet in diameter). Depressions at the bottom of the gorge often are medicine pits used by an ailing tribal member who was separated from the group at the onset of illness (six to eight feet in diameter and two feet deep). Rock cairns in the canyon are important trail markers made by travelers, who would add a rock representing a prayer as they passed. The sky, sun, and moon would bear witness to the prayer for "good life" and to the traveler being there.

The Klamath/Modoc people travel great distances for spiritual/religious practice. Many people may be using the area, but do not discuss their use publicly. Others, however, are unsure of their access rights, but would make use (or more use) of the area if they knew of the possibility. To better inform their members, the tribe is interested in acknowledging potential use through a statement in their newsletter. The Klamath/Modoc tribal cultural committee plays a strong role as an advisory body in these matters; however, they are ready to assist agencies and to assess situations of cultural heritage concerns whenever the needs arise (contact Mr. Beetles at the Klamath and Modoc tribal office).

Often, Native Americans find it difficult to express themselves on general, non-specific issues such as this investigation. If a particular project is generated for the area (e.g., Salt Caves Hydroelectric Project) their concerns might be voiced more publicly. Thus, response to this study does not preclude further Native American interest concerning specific locations which might be affected by future developments in the vicinity. Spokespersons of the Shasta and Klamath/Modoc groups are interested and want to be kept informed of any developments in the study area.

Evaluation of Sources

It was determined during the course of research that the study area is not well represented in the documentary record. This is due in part to the relative remoteness of the river gorge and its consequent lack of chroniclers. The early

removal and/or demise of the peoples in this region is also a contributing factor. The displacement of the Shasta, coupled with the Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Treaty of 1864, and the pursuant controversy which lead to the 1872-1873 Modoc War, undoubtedly contributed to post-contact, fluctuating territorial divisions. As a result, extrapolation and synthesis of general ethnographic information from neighboring groups became an important aspect of this research. By and large, the several ethnographies of the peoples in the study area present a generalized level of information that does not address the specific issues involved here.

In contrast, C. Hart Merriam proved to be a meticulous researcher of the study area. His materials on file at The Bancroft Library provide specific site information on the California portion of the gorge (Merriam n.d.:G/General/N1; see map, Appendix B). Evidence derived from several other researchers corroborates these data for several sites (e.g., Dixon 1907; Holt 1946; Kroeber 1925; Powers 1976). Silver (1978) presents a valuable summary of Shasta studies in *The Handbook of North American Indians*, and Winthrop (1986) has recently added to the data in his work on survival and adaptation among the Shasta.

The basic ethnography for the Modoc is provided by Ray (1963), based on fieldwork in the mid-1930s; however, while this research supplies detailed and important data, it focuses on the lake settlements to the east of the study area. Similarly, Kroeber's earlier (1925) treatment of Modoc/Klamath is also valuable, but does not contain information specific to the study area.

The body of literature that exists about the Klamath is varied and extensive. The Klamath and the Modoc have been lumped together at times on the basis of their close linguistic affinities and, consequently, have often been discussed as a single unit (Barrett 1910; Dixon 1907; Gatschet 1890). Spier (1930) conducted fieldwork with the Klamath in 1925 and 1926, subsequently producing the definitive work on this group. Again, information is lacking regarding Klamath use of the study area.

Historical accounts also exist for "Klamath River Indians" based on reports of pioneers in the area. Descendants of the Hessig family, whose ranch was on the river just above Shovel Creek, have left valuable accounts of early use of the river. They include some information on Native American activities (A. Hessig n.d., 1965; J. Hessig n.d.; cf. Anderson 1974).

Early investigations conducted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are of great importance because the consultants' experience and education extended back into pre-contact times and encompassed the vast changes of post-contact societies. Some of these experiences were not shared by consultants who came later. While some patterns of use have changed significantly since the turn of the century, many of these recent consultants have maintained elements of traditional lifeways throughout their lifetimes. Consequently, older data have been relied on heavily in this investigation. It should also be recognized that time-depths of cultural traditions are not easily approached through ethnographic sources because, conceptually, many ethnographers have tended to work in a static and recent ethnographic past.

In addition to these early ethnographic investigations, portions of the study area have had recent cultural resource evaluations as part of environmental inventories and project impact assessments. The University of Oregon worked on eight sites from 1961-1963 (Mack 1983), and the City of Klamath Falls investigated

the vicinity of the proposed Salt Caves Hydroelectric Project in 1984–1986. The survey and testing program for the Salt Caves project was directed by Gehr for Beak Consultants, Inc., and completed by Jensen (City of Klamath Falls 1985; Jensen and Associates 1987). Both Gehr and Jensen employed Native American monitors on behalf of the Shasta Nation Council. Additionally, Gehr conducted interviews regarding the interpretation of archaeologically known sites within the canyon. Gehr's consultant identified these sites as affiliated with the Shasta, although they are located beyond the traditionally identified territory reported by earlier scholars. While Jensen disagrees with Gehr on the veracity of these data (Jensen and Associates 1987:42–44), Gehr's information has been incorporated in the present study and reported along with other ethnographic materials, some of which lend general support to certain of Gehr's data. However, concerns continue to exist.

One question focuses on Gehr's research methods. It is not clear that he made any attempts to verify information received from his consultant. Standard anthropological inquiry dictates that information be verified from other sources (consultants and/or literature/archives) or, whenever possible, through alternate questioning strategies. It is necessary to be cautious in understanding the background sources of a consultant's knowledge, such as her/his access to published literature. The ethnographer's familiarity with these sources enables her/him to distinguish between this literary knowledge and orally based knowledge. Gehr followed standard procedure by accompanying his consultant to the sites, but it is not clear whether he was discriminating in his evaluation and analysis of the information obtained. Sometimes consultants use terminology from the dominant society (e.g., Adam and Eve) in order to give veracity or value to a site when, indeed, the opposite effect is often achieved. It is up to the ethnographer receiving the information to clarify these instances.

ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Language and Boundaries

The Klamath River Gorge was apparently occupied and/or used by several ethnolinguistic groups: Shasta, Modoc, Klamath, and possibly Takelma. As previously noted in the evaluation of the ethnographic sources for the region, detailed information is not available for a major portion of the river canyon; therefore, precise determination of the territorial boundaries is not possible (see Appendix B for various maps delineating territory). Nevertheless, careful examination of the data collected by a number of previous investigators has allowed qualified findings appropriate to the current issues.

Shastan peoples occupied portions of southern Oregon (Jackson and Klamath counties) and northern California (Siskiyou County), thus including the southern part of the study area. Those Shasta people residing in the study area were the largest of the four Shastan groups. They were speakers of languages of the Shastan Family, which belong to the Hokan linguistic phylum (Silver 1978:211). Linguistically, the Klamath and Modoc are closely related as speakers of Klamath/Modoc, also known as Lutuamian, which belongs to the Penutian phylum. These peoples appear to have occupied the study area north and east of the Shasta. The Takelma, who lived north and west of the Shasta, spoke the Takelma language, an isolate classified within the Penutian phylum.

Shasta

Exact delineation of boundaries between Shastan subdivisions or between the Shasta and their neighbors has been a matter of some conjecture due to a paucity of explicit information. This can be attributed to the native peoples' forced removal from their ancestral lands, and the immense reduction of the Indian population as a result of the Gold Rush and the Rogue River wars in the mid-1800s. These circumstances, along with the concomitant limited access to traditional native villages and resource areas, forced Shastan peoples into alternative modes of survival which did not always allow the passing on of ancestral cultural knowledge. As a result, it remains unclear whether or not the Shasta living from Hornbrook north (including the study area) were affiliated with the Klamath River Shasta division living to their south (Silver 1978:211). It appears, however, that the Shastan subgroups were distinguished by slight linguistic and cultural differences (Holt 1946:301; Kroeber 1925:286; Silver 1978:211), and that the groups in the study area were perhaps part of the larger Oregon Shasta subdivision.

Further, it is not clear precisely how far up the Klamath River the Shasta territory expanded before it met with Klamath, Modoc and/or Takelma boundaries. It is generally agreed, however (as C. Hart Merriam learned in 1907 and 1919 from interviews with Bogus Tom Smith [see photograph], a Shasta residing just out of the study area), that Shasta "territory extends from Shovel Creek westerly to Yreka . . . , north to Ashland . . ." (Merriam n.d.:6/6a-3/E8). Merriam's map locations of Shasta territory and villages along the Klamath reflect this description (Merriam n.d.:map, 1919:map/Shaste villages; Appendix B). An examination of early



**Bogus Tom and wife, Isabel John,
Shasta Consultants to C. Hart Merriam.**

**(Photo by C. Hart Merriam, 1919.
Courtesy of The Bancroft Library,
University of California, Berkeley)**

ethnographic maps illustrates that Powell's map is in general agreement with Merriam (Hodge 1907).

Other scholars' boundary descriptions vary. Powers (1976:243) places the easternmost Shasta village along the Klamath at Bogus Creek downstream from Shovel Creek. DuBois (1939:map [see Appendix B]) similarly divides Shasta and Modoc territory at "Bogus" (town?), extending north from "Bogus" and crossing the Klamath at a point between Iron Gate Reservoir and COPCO Lake. Spier (1930:9, map [see Appendix B]), in close agreement with Merriam, diverges from Powers and DuBois, placing the Shasta northeastern boundary on Shovel Creek (in California) and proceeding to the west, running north of the Klamath River into Oregon where the Klamath crosses Jenny Creek (cf. Spier 1927:360). Kroeber, on the other hand, defines this boundary at a "spot a few miles above the mouth of Fall Creek" (1925:285; Appendix B) thus placing Shasta territory to the west of the study area near where Fall Creek flows south into present-day Iron Gate Reservoir. Holt agrees with Kroeber's boundary "near Fall Creek," and she places a Klamath village site (*Tca'chuduk*) on her map (not discussed in her text) on the southeast side of the river, east of Fall Creek, near the mouth of Shovel Creek (see Ethnographic Site No. KRC-20 below in Ethnographic Sites and Appendix; see also Appendix B). This corroborates Merriam's easternmost Klamath River village site of *Chah'-hah-took* located on the northwest side of the river opposite the mouth of Shovel Creek (Merriam n.d.:G/General/N1, p. 10; see also Ethnographic Site No. KRC-22).

Dixon (1907:386; Appendix B) places this "vague" line to include the headwaters of Jenny Creek, while Heizer and Hester (1970:120-130), using village location data from Dixon (1907), Holt (1946), Kroeber (1925), and Merriam (n.d.:G/General/N1), place Shasta villages in the study area up river to the vicinity of the mouth of Shovel Creek. Berreman (1937:26; Appendix B), also finds the northern Shasta boundary uncertain, and places only the Jenny Creek drainage within Shasta territory. On his maps, however, he places the Shasta boundary at the Klamath River, close to the Oregon/California boundary.

Heizer and Hester conclude that, although there is some slight variation in detail, all boundaries fall within an eight-mile area, and that the upstream Klamath River Shasta village of *Tca'chuduk* is located near Beswick on the south side of the river and on the east side of Shovel Creek (Heizer and Hester 1970:125, 135-36, map). This includes the southern portion of the study area, approximately three miles in length along the Klamath River, from the vicinity of Beswick to the COPCO reservoir. It does not include, however, two sites listed by Curtis (1924:232; see ethnographic site nos. KRC-18 and -19) upriver from Shovel Creek and reaching almost to the Oregon border.

It is concluded here that Shasta territory extended on the Klamath to the vicinity of Shovel Creek. At this point their territory met with that of the Klamath/Modoc, and possibly the Takelma.

Modoc

Definition of Modoc boundaries present a similar problem. Neither Spier (1930:map), Ray (1963:206) nor Kroeber (1925:318) locates the Modoc within the study area, defining their northwestern boundary east of Shovel Creek and south of the Klamath River (see Appendix B). However, Dixon (1907:map [see Appendix B]), and Merriam (n.d.:80/18c, No. 7) place the Modoc on the river within the study

area. Dixon locates the Modoc on the Klamath in the vicinity of Iron Gate Reservoir, claiming for them all of the Klamath River eastward from this point (Dixon 1907:map [see Appendix B]). Merriam is less generous, according the Modoc no territory farther west than Shovel Creek, where they met with the Shasta.

Merriam, Dixon, and Kroeber did not identify Modoc sites within the study area. However, at least two historical accounts (Anderson 1974:33; A. Hessig 1965:63) specifically identified Modoc occupation and use of the Klamath River and Shovel Creek at Klamath Hot Springs (Ethnographic Site No. KRC-21). (Anderson's account may be based on Hessig's.) According to Hessig, a member of a pioneer family in the area, there was an Indian trail between Butte Valley and Shovel Creek, "and Indians used to come in droves over this trail to camp on the river and creek banks . . ." (A. Hessig 1965:63). Hessig identifies these Indians as Modoc, notes Indian use of the hot springs, and describes an Indian burial ground on the northeast side of Shovel Creek (A. Hessig 1965:63).

On the other hand, Spier locates the Modoc southeast of the study area, with their northwestern extension just east of Shovel Creek. Their boundary then continues in a northeasterly direction toward Olene. Hence, Spier does not place the Modoc on the Klamath River (Spier 1930:map).

Ray (1963:206) is basically in agreement with Spier, defining the eastern boundary as running north from Mt. Shasta and to the east of the Little Shasta River, then flanking the eastern side of Shovel Creek and continuing north roughly parallel to but south of the Klamath River. Kroeber does not specify the Modoc boundary in this region, but simply states that the Shasta are "below on the river proper" (1925:318). Merriam places the western boundary of the Modoc at the Klamath River on the eastern side of Shovel Creek. According to Merriam, the Modoc extend " . . . along Shovel Creek to the Oregon line . . ." (Merriam and Talbot 1974:14).

Klamath

The Klamath people are known to have occupied the area generally north and east of the study area, although little is known about their use of the Klamath River Canyon. Spier clearly attributes the Klamath gorge south to Shovel Creek to the Klamath:

The southern boundary of Klamath territory skirts the Klamath valley from this place as far downstream as Spencer creek, near the California-Oregon line, below the canyon of the Klamath. Below this on the river are the Shasta, whose northernmost outposts are on Shovel creek and north of the river on Jennie creek. The Klamath have no settlements on the river, but fish, hunt, and gather roots at such points as Keno, Spencer creek (*ma'lbuk'is*), and at *laik'elmi*, five or six miles upstream from Dorris (?) [Spier 1930:9].

Dixon (1907), Kroeber (1925), Silver (1978), and others place the Klamath somewhat farther north (Appendix B).

Gehr (1986:14) has conjectured the location of a Shasta/Klamath site to be "a jointly occupied fishing site somewhat upstream but below the Klamath Canyon," identified by Spier as *Laik'elmi* Spier 1930:9, 41). Spier's information was

obtained from knowledgeable Klamath consultants during his 1925–1926 fieldwork. At this time he found Klamath consultants to be well informed of their culture. Joint occupation of a locality might not be surprising, considering Spier's statement that Klamath/Shasta relations were not always "unfriendly" (Spier 1930:41). Gehr proposes that the City of Klamath Falls site numbers 5, 6, and 16 (here ethnographic site nos. KRC-5, -7, and -8) could be observed as a cluster of continuous sites which might be *Laik'elmi*, the jointly occupied fishing station described by Spier (1930:9, 41). In one of the justifications that Gehr (1986:15) uses for his hypothesis he points out that these sites are on the west bank of the river, which is easily accessible to the Klamath by the overland route from Upper Klamath Lake past Spencer Creek. Actually, both groups had ready access to the area—probably both sides. Mack also discusses the location of the joint Klamath/Shasta fishing camp and places it within the Salt Cave locality (Mack 1983).

Takelma

Takelma occupation of the Klamath River in the study area is open to question. The only direct ethnographic account of the Takelma is found as an appendix to Drucker's monograph on the Tolowa (Drucker 1937:294–296). Sapir comments on Takelma territory in a footnote:

Dr. Dixon informs me that he found that the Shasta claimed the country east of Table Rock and about Jacksonville, and that he was given Shasta place names belonging to this region. It is possible then that the Upland Takelma did not really border directly on the Klamath, the Shasta intervening; or the country may have been to some extent a debatable territory between the Upper Takelma and the Shasta [Sapir 1907:255 fn.].

Sapir further notes that "The easternmost village of the Takelma beyond Table Rock was . . . *Lat'gau* or *Latgawk*, 'upper country' . . ." (1907:253). He refers to these people as the *Lat'gawa*, ". . . those living in the uplands," and says that they "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" (Sapir 1907:254). He continues with his description by saying, "The Upland Takelma were much more warlike than their western neighbors, and were accustomed to make raids . . . in order to procure supplies of food and other valuables" (Sapir 1907:254).

Spier (1927:362–365) does not locate the Takelma in the study area and states that Gatschet "was ignorant in fact of 'their existence'." Berreman, on the other hand, places the Takelma in the upper portion of the study area (Berreman 1937:map [see Appendix B]). Mack (1983:1) uses Berreman's Takelma boundaries to strengthen her hypothesis that the Upland Takelma may have held a portion of the river gorge.

Betty Hall of the Shasta Nation believes Takelma to be the name of a Shasta village or band. According to Ms. Hall, the Takelma should neither be regarded as separate from the Shasta nor extinct. She bases these statements on genealogical research on behalf of the Shasta Nation (personal communication with D. Theodoratus, 7/29/1989).

In sum, the Shasta held the Klamath River within the study area up to Shovel Creek. Further upstream, the gorge was Klamath and/or Modoc territory. Since these latter two groups were loosely affiliated, they may have shared access. Takelma presence in the upper reaches is only tentative, and it is unlikely that they

enjoyed a long or secure occupation in that region. At the present time these groups do not occupy the study area, although individual descendants may have resided in the area in recent years. It is known that some Shasta have continued to use the area for spiritual purposes into the 1980s (TCR Field Data 1984).

Subsistence/Settlement Systems

The Shasta were basically a river-oriented people whose settlements clustered mostly along the streams in three major areas, the Klamath River and the valleys of the Scott and Shasta rivers (Kroeber 1925:285-286; Silver 1978:211). A favored geographical setting for a Shasta village was at the mouth of a small creek, at its confluence with the main Klamath River, where a small flat or delta had formed. Villages were usually small, consisting of two or three families (Dixon 1907:421; Silver 1978:212).

In these villages the substantial, permanent winter home, *umma*, was rectangular in plan, about 16 by 20 feet, and excavated to approximately three feet. The earthen walls were lined with slabs of cedar bark, and the plank roof formed a single crest supported by a double ridge-pole. The fire pit was located in the center (Holt 1946:305-306; Kroeber 1925:289; Silver 1978:214). The houses in such villages tended to be built in a row, facing the water (Holt 1946:306). A settlement of several families usually had a small sweat lodge constructed of a framework of arched willow sticks (Holt 1946:307; Merriam n.d.:G/6a-e/E8).

A large village also contained an assembly house which was used as a community gathering house and sweathouse, and as a men's sleeping place in the winter (Kroeber 1925:290; Silver 1978:214). While Kroeber (1925:290) describes assembly houses as rectangular, Merriam's description from a consultant residing near the study area depicts them as circular, with "a large center post with four posts around the circumference. The top was covered with brush and earth" (Merriam n.d.:G/6a-e/E8). The circular form may have been introduced to this area with the Ghost Dance, which is known to have been practiced by the Shasta. For instance, Bogus Tom Smith, who lived near the study area, was an important messenger of this movement (DuBois 1939:12-17). A Shasta elder recalled attending dances in the area with her grandmother in the late 1890s and early 1900s. She did not remember any special structures associated with these events, which were held outside around a large fire (Theodoratus Cultural Research 1984:58). One of the sites located on the river has been identified by Gehr's Shasta consultant as a Ghost Dance site (see discussion of Ethnographic Site No. KRC-15).

In the spring, people moved to brush shelters built in the shade near the river where it was cool. Several families lived together here, sharing a single, central fire (Holt 1946:307; Kroeber 1925:290; Silver 1978:214). In the fall, when the people went to the mountains to gather acorns, they lived in single-family conical bark houses (Holt 1946:308; Silver 1978:214).

The traditional subsistence base was diverse, including numerous vegetal resources as well as wild game. However, the bi-annual salmon runs were the major economic focus, and fishing made an essential contribution to the Shasta diet. Salmon were taken by a variety of methods such as the net, basket-trap, weir, hook-and-line, and spear (Silver 1978:216). The type of net most often used was:

a long, flowing bag attached to the base of a triangle of poles the upper end of which is held by the fisherman who sits on the scaffolding projecting over an eddy in the stream [Kroeber 1925:294].

Because these fishing platforms were washed away by the winter floods, they were rebuilt each year in April, with the first yearly use blessed with prayer and pounded epos ("yampah," "squawroot," "wild parsley"; *Perideridia* sp.). Each platform location was named (Holt 1946:309–10). Only two weirs are reported for the Shasta, each built in the shallow gravels at a tributary confluence with the Klamath—one at the mouth of the Scott River and the other at the Shasta River (Holt 1946:309).

The "summer" salmon run began about April, while the "winter" run occurred in late fall. Another anadromous fish, the steelhead, made a late summer run in August (Holt 1946:310). The Shasta:

. . . thought that the first fish to ascend the stream annually brought the 'salmon medicine' put on by the Indians [Yurok] at the mouth of the river. This first fish must therefore be allowed to pass unmolested. As soon as it had passed, fish might be caught; but the first one taken from the water had to be split and hung up immediately to dry, and no salmon might be eaten till this salmon was completely dried and a portion eaten by all who were fishing at that point [Dixon 1907:430–431].

In another ritual, pools were formed by piling rocks around cleared spaces where the fish could rest in quiet waters during their run up the rapids. At these spots, each of which was named, the owner sprinkled tobacco and herbs in the water and prayed, talking about how many fish he hoped for. Later, the owner fished for salmon at night in these pools, and a feast was held for neighbors and relatives on the last day set for this activity (Holt 1946:310). This ritual may be similar in kind to the "salmon calling" activities identified by Gehr's Shasta consultant at Ethnographic Site No. KRC-16 (see site list).

Salmon meat was roasted when eaten fresh, or smoked for storage. It was kept as dried slabs or as salmon flour, which was produced by pulverizing the dried flesh and bones and later used for winter soup (Holt 1946:309; Kroeber 1925:295; Silver 1978:217). In addition to fish the river yielded mussels, which women and children dove for in spring or gathered in low water during the fall. These shellfish were steamed in an oven of hot rocks covered by greens and then opened to dry in the sun (Holt 1946:308).

Many vegetal resources were available in the Klamath River gorge, although the major acorn crop was gathered in the mountains. Various bulbs, tubers, berries, and seeds were collected on the hillsides. Deer hunting also took place mainly in the mountains. While some of these important resources, particularly acorns and deer, were predominantly located in the mountains, it is clear that the Klamath River was the focal point, which played the dominant role in the life of the Shasta.

It is less certain what part the Klamath River played in the Modoc and Klamath peoples' settlement/subsistence systems. The permanent, winter Modoc villages were focused along the shores of Clear, Tule, and Lower Klamath lakes and along Lost River. The people dismantled their winter homes when the snow melted, about March, and began their seasonal collection of resources. The first move was to semi-permanent camps to fish for suckers, a critical component of their diet, and then to the epos digging grounds to procure this root crop which "played the largest

role in Modoc economy" (Ray 1963:180–181). Other moves were made to appropriate locations as the season advanced and additional crops became available. The men hunted deer, antelope, and mountain sheep or fished in local streams for trout while the women gathered the plant resources. The most intensive hunting activities took place in the high elevations late in the fall, after which the people returned to the winter villages (Ray 1963:182).

Ray describes a full, detailed schedule of gathering and hunting activities for the Modoc, but does not include any mention of use of the Klamath River nor an economic interest in the resources, especially the salmon, available there. The Modoc are reported to have traveled to the Klamath for particular occasions (such as use of the hot springs, [A. Hessig 1965, supra]). For instance, her account includes a brief discussion of Modoc mourning rituals and burial practices in the study area.

Many of the Indian women would put pitch on their hair. I've read that they do this when in mourning for their dead. There is a large Indian burial ground on the northeast side of Shovel Creek . . . in the lava rock. Mr. Stockslager told me that the Modocs burned their dead. They would dig a large hole in the lava rocks, gather wood and place the body on it, then burn it with personal belongings. They would roll lava rocks over the ashes. This I believe as I have been there so many times and all the rocks show evidence of fire [A. Hessig 1965:63].

Additionally, she identifies a large cave "directly across the river from the Hot Springs . . ." which she was told was used by Captain Jack and his followers, as well as one other group of "renegade Indians" (A. Hessig 1965:63).

In sum, the river was not reported as a major focus of the Modoc settlement/subsistence system nor as a dominant factor in their lifeways, as it was for the Shasta. Nevertheless, it is clear that since the Modoc buried their dead in this area, it has important spiritual meaning for them.

According to Spier's field data collected in 1925–1926, Klamath settlement focused on the Klamath Lakes, Klamath marsh and the stream which connects them—Williamson River—where the permanent winter villages were established (Spier 1930:8). None of these settlements were located on the Klamath River (Spier 1930:9). Traditionally, the Klamath seasonal collecting schedule was similar to that of the Modoc, with the people leaving the winter villages in spring to move through a series of encampments in order to procure their strategic supplies: fish, wokus (water-lily seed), and game—in that order of importance (Coville 1904; Spier 1930:10–11, 145). The Klamath River gorge was incorporated into this cycle for fishing, hunting, and gathering roots. Locations identified include Keno, Spencer Creek, and *Laik'elmi* (Spier 1930:9).

Unfortunately, more specific information is not available on the use of the river nor the importance of its resources for the Klamath people. It may be inferred, however, from the existence of a "first sucker ritual" that the suckers available in Williamson River and other nearby streams were more important to the economy than salmon taken from the Klamath (Spier 1930:148). While the Klamath people appear to have used the Klamath River to a greater degree than did the Modoc, it was not a major focus of their subsistence system, as it was for the Shasta.

Trade

The river was an important trade route particularly for goods (acorn and dentalia) which moved between the Shasta and the Rogue River Indians (Kroeber 1925:287). Howe describes the Canyon of the Klamath as having provided a "rough but passable trade route through the Cascade Mountains." He illustrates this with a photograph of the river, and states, "This pass near the California–Oregon border enabled the Modocs of the Lower Klamath region to carry on commerce with coastal tribes" (Howe 1968:198). Trade items traveled in both directions, and the Shasta also exchanged food and other commodities when they visited one another's villages (Silver 1978:213).

The Klamath and the Modoc were noted as great traders, often traveling to The Dalles to trade slaves obtained in battles with other groups. Spier (1930:40) describes the slaves as being from the Pit River (Achomawi and Atsugewi), from the Northern Paiute and the Shasta, with a few Upland Takelma from the Rogue River drainage. Gatschet also mentions the sale of slaves "on the Columbia River for Cayuse ponies" (1890:ix).

Slaves, Pit River bows, and beads are taken there to trade for horses, blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), dried salmon, and lampreys. Two slave children are valued at five horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. This is not far from the values recorded by Taylor in 1859; one woman was worth five or six horses, a boy one horse [Spier 1930:41, based on Gatschet 1890:ix].

The salt found in the study area (Ethnographic Site No. KRC-13) is not mentioned by Holt, who does identify two major salt sources for the Shasta located out of the study area. This critical resource was procured for their own use as well as for trade (Holt 1946:309; Silver 1978:213). There is no documentation for contemporary use of traditional salt sources.

Despite the active trade through the region, intertribal relations between the Shasta and the Modoc were primarily hostile. The Modoc conducted annual summer raids and the Shasta retaliated (Silver 1978:213). An account of one such Modoc raid on the "Klamath River Indians" at the mouth of Shovel Creek in the study area tells of a village being "completely wiped out" except for the women who were blinded and taken as slaves (J. Hessig n.d.:85).

ETHNOGRAPHIC SITES

The following list of 26 ethnographic sites for the Klamath River Canyon (KRC) is derived from several sources which contain specific information on the study area. Data from eight sources are based on original fieldwork by early investigators, and represent knowledge retained by the local Native American community in the early part of this century. In some cases these consultants' memories stretched back into precontact times. The chroniclers of these memories include Curtis, Dixon, Holt, Kroeber, Merriam, and Spier. Two historical accounts on the study area were authored by A. Hessig and J. Hessig. Comparisons of these data substantiate site location when recorded by multiple sources. Most of these researchers identify one or more specific sites by name, and a few sites are located on maps. Of these investigators, Merriam's work is important in terms of site locations and specific information because both his notes and maps are carefully detailed. This study relies on his identification of sites in the California portion of the study area, since his information is more complete than other ethnographers for this region. Heizer and Hester's publication (1970) is a compilation of previous work particularly relying on Merriam's data. There appears to be some misinterpretation of the data due in part to problems with orthography, e.g., confusing of *Ah-soo-rah* with *Ah-soor'-a-how'-wah* (see Ethnographic Site No. KRC-21).

Sixteen of the sites were identified by Gehr's (City of Klamath Falls 1985) work for the City of Klamath Falls. These sites were first identified archaeologically through survey methods. Subsequently, Gehr visited the sites with two Shasta consultants, one of whom gave her interpretations of their cultural meanings. Apparently, these consultants did not identify other sites within the study area independently of the archaeologically defined sites. This is a clear expression of Shastan cultural values and concerns for the preservation of their traditions in the area. No Klamath/Modoc people were involved in this portion of the research, although some of the study area was apparently Klamath/Modoc territory.

Gehr's main Shasta consultant interpreted 13 of the 16 archaeological sites, which were identified as having present-day cultural significance (see Appendix:Site Records). In addition to describing possible uses of these sites, she separated the canyon into two parts. One, which she called "Bear's Land," lies upstream from the site of a landslide which dammed the Klamath River approximately 7,000 years B.P. The downstream part she referred to as "Coyote's land," located about one-half mile downstream from Ethnographic Site No. KRC-9 (Frain South Field). The consultant's notion about this arbitrary division has neither been substantiated by this thorough investigation of the literature nor have her interpretations of site-use been verified through standard ethnographic methodology.

Ethnographic sites nos. KRC-5, -7, and -8 comprise a complex of sites that both Gehr and Mack identify possibly as *Laik'elmi*, mentioned by Spier (1930:9, 41). Mack and Jensen identify Ethnographic Site No. KRC-16 (Border Village) as being possibly Takelma (Jensen and Associates 1987:42; Mack 1983:1). One potential site (Ethnographic Site No. KRC-17, not verified by scientific study) was pointed out by the BLM archaeologist (Theodoratus Field Data 1989). Two sites, ethnographic site nos. KRC-18 and -19, were identified by Curtis, but were mapped in the general vicinity because the exact locations were unknown. Ethnographic site nos. KRC-19

and -20 may also be Merriam's *Ah-soor'-a-how'-wah* (Ethnographic Site No. KRC-21). In addition, Merriam has identified five other sites which fall within the study area. Holt identifies one site *Tca'chuduk* (Ethnographic Site No. KRC-20).

Sites

The following ethnographic sites are listed beginning with the northernmost site, closest to John C. Boyle Dam and continuing southward to river mile 204, the southern boundary of the study area. All sites are considered to be Shastan unless otherwise noted. See Appendix A, Site Reports and map locations, for documentation and details.

KRC- [Klamath River Canyon Ethnographic Site Number]

- 1 **The Beginning; Garden of Eden** (City of Klamath Falls, No. 26)
According to Gehr (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report), this medicine area "is the only site of its kind in the canyon." On the east side of the river, this site consists of "a cluster of three circles five meters in diameter, cleared from a natural pavement of cobbles, . . . similar in size to those of deep housepits elsewhere in the canyon." Two rock cairns have been identified by a Shasta consultant as "grave markers for the first Shasta, equivalent of the Shasta Adam and Eve." She states, "As the Garden of Eden, the first medicine power and the first practitioners of the use of that power were brought forth and taught here. There are niches in the basalt cliff east and above the terrace where offerings were received." Other Shasta refer to this site as "The Beginning" (Theodoratus Field Data 1989).
- 2 **Feather Flats** (City of Klamath Falls, No. 20)
According to a Shasta consultant, this is a medicine area to protect Ethnographic Site No. KRC-3 (City of Klamath Falls, No. 24). The site, on the east side of the river, consists of one housepit, "deep under ponderosa pine and oak leaf duff. This is the largest undisturbed pit in the canyon, from Big Bend to the Oregon border" (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report).
- 3 **Women's Ceremonial Area** (City of Klamath Falls, No. 24)
Gehr's Shasta consultant described this as a site for women's ceremonial use, including childbirth, initiation and puberty rites. The site has eight housepits along a spring creek flowing northwest to the Klamath River (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report). This site is located on the east side of the river.
- 4 **North Field Mounds** (City of Klamath Falls, No. 23)
This site, on the east side of the river, contains 27 mounds (two to three meters long by 1 to 1.5 meters wide) of river cobbles. A Shasta consultant said these are "Shasta burials, one of which was of a Shasta medicine woman whose focal area was the ridge at Big Bend, the eastern most part of the Shasta world." According to Gehr, "she identified another mound as the burial of a young girl named Juana Helia. According to Gehr, the mounds are similar

to those at Beswick, California, a documented [sic] prehistoric Shasta burial area in use through the nineteenth century (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report).

5 Camp Two (City of Klamath Falls, No. 16)

This Klamath/Shasta site is one of three that Gehr proposes to form the complex of *Laik'elmi* mentioned by Spier (Gehr 1986:14; Spier 1930:9, 41). The site is located on the west side of the river. See also ethnographic site nos. KRC-7 and -8 (City of Klamath Falls:site report).

Gehr, combining site nos. KRC-5, -7, and -8, states that archaeological research done in 1961 "showed this site to hold Klamath Indian artifacts and cremations" (Gehr 1988:4).

6 Big Boulder Village (Mack 1983)

Baby Rock Village (35-K1-18), (City of Klamath Falls, No. 3)

This site, on the east side of the river, consists of 41 housepits aligned in rows parallel to the riverbank. "A boulder with cupules on vertical and horizontal surfaces . . . lies between housepits excavated in 1961 by the University of Oregon." Three of the cupules (near the rock's peak) appear to be large enough to have been mortars. This type of boulder, often referred to as "baby" or "rain" rocks, is, according to Gehr's Shasta consultant, "a record which signifies the ascendance of shamans or doctors to their position in the area, following the death of the preceding doctor. The rocks are called baby or rain rocks since Indian doctors were called upon to bring rain or pregnancy, or to ensure the replacement of fish and other foods in the environment" (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report).

Gehr states that "adjacent to this village is a Shasta cemetery marked with stone cairns." He comments that "they are similar to those that journalist Stephen Powers described in 1877 for other Shasta burial sites he observed west of the canyon" (Gehr 1988:4).

7 Klamath Shoals Village (35-K1-20) (City of Klamath Falls, No. 5)

This Klamath/Shasta site, located on the west side of the river, is one of three that Gehr proposes to form the complex of *Laik'elmi* mentioned by Spier (Gehr 1986:14; Spier 1930:9, 41). This area is currently used as a campsite. See also ethnographic site nos. KRC-5 and -8 (City of Klamath Falls: site report).

Gehr, combining sites KRC-5, -7, and -8, states that archaeological research done in 1961 "showed this site to hold Klamath Indian artifacts and cremations" (Gehr 1988:4).

8 Klamath Shoals Midden (Mack 1983) (35-K1-21) (City of Klamath Falls, No. 6)

This Klamath/Shasta site, located on the west side of the river, is one of three that Gehr proposes to form the complex of *Laik'elmi* mentioned by Spier (Gehr 1986:14; Spier 1930:9, 41). Materials, including human bones and stone tools, were found to be weathering out of the slope in 1961 (Mack 1983). See also ethnographic site nos. KRC-5 and -7 (City of Klamath Falls:site report).

Gehr, combining sites 5, 7, and 8, states that archaeological research done in 1961 "showed this site to hold Klamath Indian artifacts and cremations" (Gehr 1988:4).

- 9 **Frain South Field (35-K1-19) (City of Klamath Falls, No. 4)**
A Shasta consultant identified one portable rock (not located) with a deeply carved glyph as the altar for the initiatory entrance of babies to the Shasta local tribal unit. The site, located on the east side of the river, is a lithic scatter which probably was repeatedly plowed when it was farmed by the Bryant, Spencer, and Frain families. The Shasta consultant believes there is a possibility that burials may be located at this site. Extensive damage to the site is probably from farm activities (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report).
- 10 **Crayfish Creek Portal (35-K1-23) (City of Klamath Falls, No. 8)**
This site, located on the east side of the river, consists of four housepits. A Shasta consultant described the site as "one which provided the necessary ritual entry and exit for visitors and local dwellers to the complex of sites on the lower terraces (see ethnographic site nos. KRC-4, -6, and -9) (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report). Crayfish Creek is said to be "fed by a warm spring and springs are part of such ritual activity among the Shasta and other Native American groups," according to a Shasta consultant (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report).
- 11 **Butler's Lookout (City of Klamath Falls, No. 13)**
This site, located on the north side of the river, consists of an isolated pit on the southwest corner of the site. The site is located on a point "with an excellent view of the canyon below, and of the 'Mountain Keeper,' a basalt structure (natural) on the northern rim of Secret Spring Mountain, 5.5 meters to the south, with whom the shaman maintains a spiritual connection and asks permission for safe passage." According to Gehr's Shasta consultant, "Isolated pits in the Shasta world are for the Indian doctor, the shaman, or for hunting, except when associated with a village, when they are for social isolation. The consultant also stated, that there is "a basalt dike 20 meters downslope to the east of the pit which is associated with the sacred nature of the area and is used as a meditation site." At the northwest edge of the dike is a basalt rock that has been described by a Shasta consultant as a meditation rock (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report).
- 12 **Salt Cave Lookout (City of Klamath Falls, No. 15)**
This isolated housepit located on the north side of the river may have been a hunting lookout according to Gehr's consultant. "It affords a clear and unobstructed view of the Salt Caves and the canyon up and down stream" (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report).
- 13 **Salt Caves (35-K1-24) (City of Klamath Falls, No. 9)**
This site, located on the south side of the river, includes a cave "with salt deposits on rear wall and floor. Other smaller niches are in the rock cliff face adjacent to the major shelter. The [cave] is within ten meters of the river." Above the rock face (140 meters) is a secluded flat area which, according to a Shasta consultant, was used as a dancing ground and for celebrations and weddings among the Shasta (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report).

- 14 **Men's Hunting Sweat Lodge** (35-K1-26) (City of Klamath Falls, No. 11)
This site, on the north side of the river, contains eight housepits, and overlooks Site No. KRC-16 (35-K1-16) located on a flat near Chert Creek. A Shasta consultants's on-site observations were "that it was an area where ritual functions were performed for the males of the local Shasta group, some of which were concerned with hunting, and that the creek probably had been dammed near the present location of an irrigation ditch take-out point so that the sweatlodge associated with the rituals could be used. The site was seen as complementary in function to the women's sweat and ceremonial site [Site No. KRC-3]" (City of Klamath 1985:site report).
- 15 **Coyote's Paw** (City of Klamath Falls, No. 28)
The site, on the south side of the river, consists of housepits, low stone alignments, and girdled trees. Gehr's Shasta consultant said this was a 1870 Ghost Dance site, and probably also was used for later ceremonials. She found this site to be "one of the most nearly complete sites in the whole of the Shasta use area, and . . . a model by which other sites could be better understood. Within the site are domestic housepits, social isolation areas, doctoring stations, and dancing grounds for the Ghost Dance." She further described this site as a "principal ceremonial area of the cultural geographic unit known as Coyote's land. Further to the west is Eagle's land, and to the east and upstream is Bear's land, each of which hold significance to the Shasta. The Ghost Dance was conducted at the site using specially marked girdled Ponderosa Pines as center poles for each of the dances. The site may have been in use for Bole Maru services which evolved from the original Ghost Dance; these ceremonials incorporated center poles in dance houses, or trees on dance grounds functioning in the same way to channel energy between earth and heaven, to accept prayers, and to transform the people." Three of the four girdled trees remain standing. According to the consultant, "associated with this site was a rain rock, a shaman's marker, stolen in the early 1970's." The site overlooks Ethnographic Site No. KRC-16 (35-K1-16) and is across the river and directly south of Site No. KRC-14 (35-K1-26) at the same elevation (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report).
- 16 **Border Village** (Mack 1983) (35-K1-16) (City of Klamath Falls, No. 1)
Possibly Takelma (Jensen and Associates 1987:42), this site, located along the north side of the river, has 23 housepits. Gehr's Shasta consultant offered the following explanation for this site. A cluster of three housepits at the western end of the site "were used by salmon-callers to invite fish upstream." Separated from this cluster by 18 housepits "is a cluster of two pits used by salmon callers [*sic*] to send the uncaught fish upstream to spawn." Mack (1983) notes that portions of the site had been excavated by the University of Oregon in 1961 (Mack 1983). Gehr's 1984 survey (City of Klamath Falls 1985:site report) added the location of the "salmon calling pits" to the site description. Gehr also states that "the site overlooks the location of an aboriginal Shasta fish weir currently the base for a wing dam supplying irrigation water to a ranch downstream in California."

17 **Burial Grounds**

This site, located on the east side of the river on a long flat bench, consists of several rock piles arranged in rows. These appear to be similar to those identified as "Shasta burials" at Ethnographic Site No. KRC-4 (Theodoratus 1989:field notes).

18 **Wiyahavir**

Identified by Curtis as a Shasta settlement "on Klamath river near the California-Oregon boundary" (Curtis 1924:232, #24). Mapped as to general vicinity.

19 **Chuswi**

According to Curtis located above his *Asurahava* on the Klamath River (Curtis 1924:232, #23). Mapped as to general vicinity.

20 **Tca'chuduk or Ce-cutuk**

Holt places *Tca'chuduk* on the southeast side of the Klamath River just northeast of the Shovel Creek mouth (Holt 1946:map). Silver identifies the site at this locality as *Ce-cutuk* (Silver 1978:211). Heizer and Hester (1970:125) list Holt's identification. Gehr (1986:1) uses Silver's identification; later he uses the spelling *Chechutuk'* (Gehr 1988:6). Gehr reports a "traditional Shasta meeting" with Salt Caves Hydroelectric Project proponents, BLM planners, and his research staff at this site October 19, 1984, "as a condition of Shasta cooperation." He refers to this meeting as a "vision quest," the purpose being to "ask Old Man Who Walks With Coyote and other spirits protecting the canyon to examine all of us." The spirits were to assist the Shasta Medicine Woman/Consultant in determining her contributions about canyon sites (Gehr 1988:2).

21 **Ah-soor'-a-how'-wah; possibly Wah-soor'-a'-hah'-wah**

Merriam, who uses two spellings for this site, identifies it as ". . . Shaste village at Klamath Hot Springs at the mouth of Shovel Creek in Klamath Canyon—the easternmost village of the tribe. The inhabitants [are] called *A-soor'-ah'wah'cho'-ish*, or *Ah-soo'-rah-how'-wah-choo'-ish*. The old village *Ah-soo'-ra-how'-wah* was on the south side of Klamath River, on the flat on west side of Shovel Creek (site of present Beswick Hotel) at Klamath Hot springs, in a grove of large northern cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa*). Named from Shovel Creek, which bears the same name" (Merriam n.d.:G/General/N1, p. 6).

Curtis calls this site *Asurahava* and describes it as "on the Klamath river . . . ; a permanent village with a very large population during the summer fishing" (Curtis 1924:232, #22).

[NOTE: Heizer and Hester confuse this site with *Asurahawa*, which they place on their map (#80) as being located at the mouth of Shovel Creek, but describe as being on the east bank of Bogus Creek four miles above the creek's junction with the Klamath (out of the study area) (Heizer and Hester 1970:125 #80, map). Kroeber (1925:286) and Dixon (1907:map) both place *Asurahawa* above Bogus creek out of the study area. Merriam calls this Bogus Creek site *Ah-soo-rah*, a "large and important Shaste village on Bogus Creek 4 miles above its junction with Klamath River. Cedar bark from the old

houses may be seen there yet. Named from Bogus Creek, *Ah-soo-rah*, which in turn was named for the pale manzanita (*Arctostaphylos viscida*). The inhabitants were called *Ah-soo-rah-ah-choo-ish*" (Merriam 1976:39).]

J. Hessig (n.d.:85-86), reminiscing about the area in 1948, mentions a "small band of Klamath River Indians" living at the mouth of Shovel Creek. This group was attacked and wiped out by the Modoc, except for captive women slaves."

Klamath Hot Springs (Modoc Site)

A. Hessig (1965:63) mentions an Indian trail from Butte Valley to Shovel Creek. The Modoc came over the trail to camp on the river and creek banks, where they would dry their fish for future use. They used the hot springs for bathing. She notes a large burial ground on the northeast side of the creek in the lava rock, explaining that they burned their dead in large holes in the lava rock. She verifies that the large holes showed evidence of fire.

Anderson (1974:33) notes ". . . the Indians partook of the hot springs at the junction of Shovel Creek and the Klamath River. The Modoc Indians had a trail from Butte Valley to Shovel Creek and they came over to fish, rest and make 'sweat houses' at the hot springs."

22 *Chah'-hah-took'*

According to Merriam this is a ". . . Shaste winter camp in a long cave at base of cliff on north side of Klamath River opposite Klamath Hot Springs meadow. The Hot Springs are called *Cha-Cha-took*; the word for cave is *Chah'-ne-kwah*" (Merriam n.d.:G/General/N1, p. 10; cf. Heizer and Hester 1970:125).

J. Hessig (n.d.:86) places a long open cave at the base of a high cliff one fourth mile downstream from the mouth of Shovel Creek. The Indian people had a battle here and had built an earthen breastworks in front of the cave.

***Cave* (Modoc Site)**

A. Hessig (1965:63) mentions a cave directly across the Klamath from the Hot Springs where Captain Jack and other Modoc camped, as well as Hudson's Bay trappers.

23 *Ah-hah'-hah*

Merriam places this ". . . Shaste village on south side Klamath River 1 mile below mouth of Shovel Creek (between river and wagon road). The house of Henry Spanis now stands on the rancheria site (Merriam n.d.:G/General/N1, p. 2; cf. Heizer and Hester 1970:125). According to BLM staff the house is on east side at road, not between road and river.

24 *Kwi-he'-re-ho'-tuk*

Merriam locates this "Shaste village on south side of Klamath River 2 miles below Shovel Creek close to river. House of Herman Spanis now on or very near rancheria site" (Merriam n.d.:G/General/N1, p. 29; cf. Heizer and Hester 1970:125).

25 ***Kwe-chik'-kik-ke-eh'***

According to Merriam this site is of a ". . . Shaste village on north side of Klamath River 2 or 2 1/2 miles below Beswick (about half a mile above *Wahk-nim'-pah* and same distance above Wagon Bridge across Klamath River)" (Merriam n.d.:G/General/N1, p. 27; cf. Heizer and Hester 1970:125).

26 ***Wahk-nim'-pah***

Merriam locates this ". . . Shaste village on north side of Klamath River just above the wagon bridge 3 miles below Shovel Creek" (Merriam n.d.:G/General/N1, p. 39; cf. Heizer and Hester 1970:125).

CONCLUSIONS

An extensive search of the literature has revealed that the Shasta occupied the study area downstream from the mouth of Shovel Creek. The area north from this point could have been occupied through time by different peoples, including the Shasta. The most obvious occupation, however, would have been by the Klamath/Modoc and, secondarily, the area could have been shared with the Takelma and others, as Mack (1983:1) hypothesizes. It is clear that the Klamath River and surrounding territory yielded an abundance of food resources to the occupants of the canyon, whether seasonal or permanent. The canyon was also a corridor for trade and intertribal relations.

Another consideration for the Klamath River Canyon is, as Spier (1930) has suggested for at least one site, a joint occupancy area. Thus some areas of the gorge might have been occupied and used by all three of the major groups discussed in this document. Since the economic strategies followed by these groups were different, use of the canyon and its resources were concomitant but diverse. In addition to subsistence activities, spiritual activities were carried on within the study area and expressed in burial/mourning ceremonies, vision quests, salmon-calling rites, healing ceremonies, and sweat/cleansing rituals. A number of these traditional events or activities have continued to be carried on into the present day, as confirmed by consultants from all groups for this study.

This research has resulted in the identification of 26 cultural heritage sites in the study area. Knowledge of many of the sites is essentially from the last 80 years of research by the various scholars who have worked in the area. Other ethnographic sites have been identified by archaeologists and interpreted by a contemporary Shasta. Many of the 26 sites had multiple usage. There are more living areas identified than other site types. Fifteen are identified as village sites and two are campsites. Four included resource areas, one was identified as a mythological site, one was a power place, and another was a sweat locale. Religious events occurred at eight sites, six sites were thought to contain cemeteries, and one site was associated with a significant event. Detailed ethnographic work might reveal additional use areas, particularly since it is known that the canyon is used for religious purposes by both the Klamath and the Shasta.

A number of concerns and issues have been expressed by contemporary Native Americans with traditional ties to the area. Following are the major findings for this investigation: 1) protection for resources; 2) development, maintenance, and knowledge of access and rights to access; 3) identification of resources such as rock cairns, sweat pits, rain rocks, burial/cremation grounds; 4) incorporation of Native Americans in decision-making processes. It is not surprising that modern Native Americans are much concerned with preserving their traditional values as embodied in these sites. Hopefully, future archaeological interpretation will cast new light on the activities in the canyon through time.

It should be recognized that traditional uses of the spiritual areas has been ongoing, even though it may not be publicized or even known to all members of a tribe. Often opinions are not stated strongly or information given freely until sites or locations of value face imminent destruction.

Present-day Native American peoples have deep and abiding concerns regarding the cultural resources in their tribal areas. The cultural significance of a specific area may be related to a group's present-day view of its past. The manner in which a group views itself as a keeper of the past is also significant here, and the fact that Shasta and Klamath/Modoc consultants view the study area as a unit is important to scholars and Native Americans alike. This study offers a perspective extrapolated from early and present-day ethnographic field data.

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APPENDIX A
ETHNOGRAPHIC SITE RECORDS

(Information in this section has been deleted from the published edition due to site-sensitive information. It may be obtained from the Klamath Falls Resource Area, Bureau of Land Management, upon request.)

APPENDIX B
MAPS: TRIBAL TERRITORIES

(USGS Quads with site locations, under separate cover)