

Chapter III. Human Use and Occupation

There is very little history or other information available about the people who lived in the study area 200 years ago. The area that became coastal Douglas County enters the historical record in the 1700s; particularly during 1788 and thereafter, with the sea voyages of Captain Robert Gray and others, trading furs, hides, and other products from California (“Mexico”), the Pacific Northwest, Alaska, Canada (“New Caledonia”), and Hawaii, with China, the eastern United States, England, and Spain (Carey 1971). Beginning in 1826, Hudson’s Bay Company fur trader Alexander McLeod, Scottish botanist David Douglas, and others began keeping journals and sending correspondence of their explorations throughout the interior western parts of Douglas County. In the 1830s, beaver trappers, cattlemen, and others following the “California Trail” from the Columbia River to the Sacramento Valley also began keeping journals, filing reports, and sending correspondence that added to the history of western Oregon. In 1841, a party of the US-funded Wilkes Expedition, under the leadership of George Emmons, precisely mapped, illustrated, and described their journey along the California Trail (the general route of today’s Interstate 5), traveling from north to south. In 1846, pioneers following the Applegate Trail (the “South Road” of the Oregon Trail) kept records and documented memories of their south to north travels along the same route. Douglas County visitors and immigrants in the early 1850s -- most notably George Riddle, of Cow Creek Valley (Riddle 1993) -- and participants in the “Rogue River Indian Wars” of that time also kept records; including those kept by federal and territorial government agencies.

Yet, during this entire period of early historical time in Douglas County, little or nothing was noted of the land and people upstream from present-day Tiller, Oregon, where this study takes place. The first historical records of the area begin with General Land Office survey notes in 1857 (Hathorn 1857; Appendix A); the first detailed records of forest conditions in 1899 (Leiberg 1900; Dodwell and Rixon 1903); and the first accounts of local families and personalities, also in 1899 – but in the brief, unpublished memoirs of a forester kept filed in the University of Oregon Archives (Bartrum ca. 1925). Beckham and Minor (1992: 168) note:

Between 1850 and 1900 a variety of explorers had entered the eastern portions of Douglas County. Some were driven by a quest for wealth, seeking gold, other mineral deposits, or pelts and furs. Others, like [John B.] Waldo, sought refuge from human society and contemplated the lofty peaks, pure water, and clean air. Some were government employees carrying out their jobs: surveying townships and mounting geological studies. The land continued to be the traditional use area of Indians who hunted, fished, and picked berries. Few noticed their labors and fewer cared that the Rondeaus, Thomasons, Pariseaus, McKays, Dumonts, or Fearn – Indian and part-Indian

families who lived on the western margins of the mountains – passed their summer and early fall in the backcountry.

Because virtually no written documentation exists regarding the people who lived in the study area during the ca. 1800 timeframe, their history must be inferred and pieced together via other sources of information: from the trails and vegetation patterns and other archaeological evidence they left behind, and from anthropological data collected from nearby people and Tribes of that era who were better known.

Ca. 1800 Trail Network

Trails are a good method for determining where people are likely to be found on the landscape at different times of the day and year, why they're probably there, what they might be doing, where they came from, and where (and when) they might be going. One of the key purposes of this research is to characterize forest conditions as they were in precontact time; because of the landscape-scale influences people have on any environment in which they exist, the use and location of trails in existence for that time period is a critical element of such a characterization.

Trails connect principal seasonal campgrounds, based on food harvesting and processing schedules, fishing and hunting opportunities, and trade. Freshwater springs at higher elevations were a critical element, such as Neil Spring near Huckleberry Lake. Fish runs at South Umpqua Falls, acorn harvests in the Pickett Butte area, tarweed burning at Bunchgrass Meadows, camas digging at Bear Wallows, and huckleberry picking at French Junction would have been the types of activities and locations that would dictate where people were concentrated, and when. The oak orchard shown in Figure 3.01, for example, would have been used while acorns were being harvested; but also, perhaps, at other times of the year for hunting purposes, to harvest seeds, bulbs, or berries, or as a camping location while traveling to more distant spots.

Because people did not have horses 200 years ago and because the South Umpqua headwaters are not navigable by canoe, travel was done by foot, along well-established ridgeline and streamside trail systems. Primary destinations would have been local village sites, seasonal campgrounds, peaks, waterfalls, the mouths of streams, and various crop locations, such as huckleberries, camas, and acorns. Evidence for the great age of many of these routes is provided by archaeological lithic findings, among other evidence (Beckham and Minor 1992: 76):

A number of archaeologists have noted that prehistoric upland sites often occur in proximity to trail systems whose use presumably extended into the prehistoric past (e.g., Jenkins and King 1988: 16; Jenkins and Churchill 1989: 13). Running along major ridges, these trails represent travel routes that often cross from one drainage into another, providing relatively easy access from sites along rivers and streams to high elevation areas. In addition to movement between resource areas, such trail systems may have facilitated the transportation of obsidian into the Umpqua Basin.



Figure 3.01 Relict oak orchard with encroaching conifers near Coyote Point, May 25, 2010.

White oak and pine savannahs, extensive grassland meadows and prairies, and patches of berries, redcedar, and pine typified much of the western and lower elevation portions of the study area 200 years ago. The presence and arrangements of these plants, as well as widespread populations of camas, cat's ears, fawn lilies, iris, tarweed, yampah, and hazel, indicate regular systematic use of the landscape by people – most likely Takelman-speakers -- at that time. Human occupation of this area was likely year-round, with relatively large seasonal villages and campgrounds near the mouth of Jackson Creek and at South Umpqua Falls; two locations that (according to historical reports) were heavily used during times of anadromous salmonid and lamprey eel runs.

The highest elevation ridgelines of the study area formed an international precontact network of foot trails that connected tribes of the South Umpqua with Indian nations in California, Washington, the Columbia Basin, and beyond. This seasonal “travel zone” was covered in snow much of the year, but contained

S. Umpqua Headwaters Precontact Reference Conditions Study: REVIEW DRAFT – DO NOT COPY
BZ/20110101

extensive fields of forbs and grasses, huckleberries, manzanita, and other berries, fruits, nuts, bulbs, edible roots, and fuels that were readily available at other times. The existence of numerous year-round springs, likely “vision quest” sites, flats, benches, and gently sloping ridgelines add further evidence of intensive year-round and seasonal use by local residents; principally Molallan-speakers. In late summer and early fall, other Tribes undoubtedly visited these lands to hunt, harvest huckleberries and beargrass, to move trade goods along the landscape, or simply visiting friends and relatives.

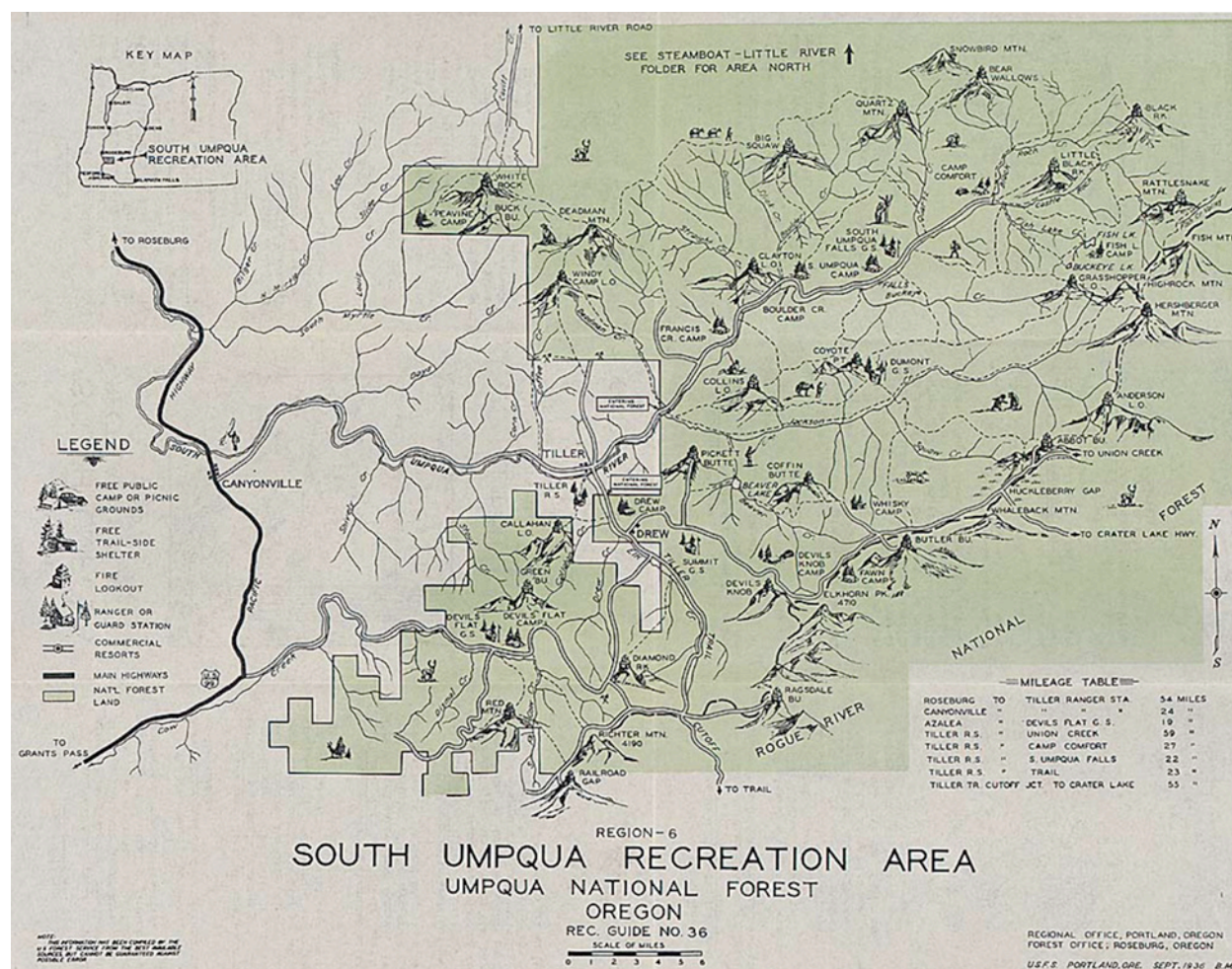
The Umpqua National Forest was created on March 4, 1907, from lands two days earlier having been declared the Umpqua Forest Reserve by proclamation of President Theodore Roosevelt. Although the portion of the National Forest in this study had been under federal control as a part of the Cascade Range Forest Reserve -- created September 28, 1893 by proclamation of President Grover Cleveland -- few improvements and no road-building or logging had taken place in the study area during the first 20 years of federal management. People were still dependent on the ancient Indian trail network to travel from one area to the next, along the very riparian and ridgeline foot-trails (now improved sufficiently to accommodate travel by horseback or to drive stock), that had been used for hundreds and thousands of years (see Figure 3.01).



Figure 3.02 Historical USFS trail marker near Fish Lake, July 30, 2010.

Charles M. Collins, who went to work at the Tiller [nee South Umpqua] Ranger Station in 1913, recalled that the forest personnel first traveled on the old ridge trails, or “what they called the Indian trails.” When asked: Were there Indian trails in the forest at that time,” Collins replied: “That is what they called all the ridge trails, Indian trails. Who made them, I don’t know, maybe, but they was old trails, but they wasn’t blazed; you could go for mile after mile and never see a blaze (Beckham 1986: 191).

Map 3.01 shows the primary road and trail network in existence in the study area in 1936. This was still a time before significant logging and road-building had taken place, and these trail locations likely varied little from those encountered by Dennis Hathorn in 1857, Peter Applegate in 1891, Smith Bartrum in 1899, or by Charles Collins in 1913; i.e., this map is likely a good representation of the primary ancient Indian trail network that had been in existence and use for centuries before the map’s construction.



Map 3.01 Roads, trails and destination points in the South Umpqua River headwaters, 1936.

Although Map 3.01 shows roads and trails that were developed specifically for automobile and horse transport -- and for driving and pasturing domesticated livestock -- much can still be inferred about precontact forest conditions from what is known of neighboring Tribes of that (ca. 1800) time, the presence and extent of current and historical vegetation patterns (particularly those of food and fiber plants), archaeological research, and known precontact travel and trade routes.

Ca. 1800 Indian Populations

Human population had a great deal to do with what lands were exploited, to what degree, and for how long. On March 20, 1827, HBC Trader, Peter Skene Ogden made the following observations near the mouth of Cow Creek (Pullen 1996, III: 15):

With the exception of the Climate which is at this season is very rainy this is certainly a fine Country – the soil is the variety of flowers grass Clover and trees of all kinds very rich and by culture no doubt would produce well . . . from the number of new Graves I have seen lately I am of opinion starvation has been the cause of their death.

The graves noted by Ogden almost certainly were the result of introduced diseases and plague, and could hardly have been attributed to starvation (see Chapter V). In addition to Ogden's observations, there is significant other evidence of both reduced populations and of changing cultures in southwest Oregon during late precontact and early historical time. Numerous eyewitness accounts detail the rapid human depopulation of southwest Oregon in the early 1800s and before. Hubbard, for example, noted in 1861 (Pullen 1996, App. I: 5)

According to tradition, many years ago they were far more numerous than at the present time, wars and disease having in some instances destroyed whole tribes. The marks of the old towns and large settlements everywhere found, now entirely deserted, are strong evidence of the truth of their traditions.

Pioneer field anthropologist John Harrington, using linguistics as a basis for speculation, noted (Pullen 1996, App. I: 1):

It is probable that the Takelma were once the occupants of a territory larger than that just described, and that later on there was an invasion by the Athapascans, who established villages on all sides of them, and imposed Athapaskan names on the Takelma villages, though they never succeeded in forcing the Takelma to abandon their language.

Boyd (1999a) documents smallpox epidemics in Oregon in ca. 1775 and 1801- 1802, and malaria epidemics beginning in 1831 and every summer thereafter. By 1841, Boyd estimates, the Kalapuyan

S. Umpqua Headwaters Precontact Reference Conditions Study: REVIEW DRAFT – DO NOT COPY
BZ/20110101

population in the Willamette Valley had fallen from a pre-smallpox count of 14,760 to 600, or 96 percent.

Archaeological evidence suggests that catastrophic declines in western Oregon Indian populations may have begun at even earlier dates. Zybach (2003: 193-201), for example, uses regional tree ages and vegetation patterns to hypothesize that western Oregon Indian populations may have been in sharp decline since 1500, or perhaps earlier. Beckham and Minor (1992: 95) use local archaeological evidence and continental context to arrive at similar conclusions, and for the same time period:

It is necessary to recognize the *Protohistoric Era* (A.D. 1500 to post-contact) as a subdivision of the Formative Period in Southwest Oregon. This era appears to have been a period of rapid culture change, which included replacement of the circular to oval houses observed in prehistoric sites by the rectangular house form noted ethnographically (Sapir 1907a: 267-268). Archaeological data pertaining to this interval suggest that a decline in cultural complexity occurred in the interior portion of Southwest Oregon prior to historic contact. This decline is reflected most clearly in the disappearance of the local ceramic tradition as early as A.D. 1300 or as late as A.D. 1500 (Pettigrew and Lebow 1987: 11-50).

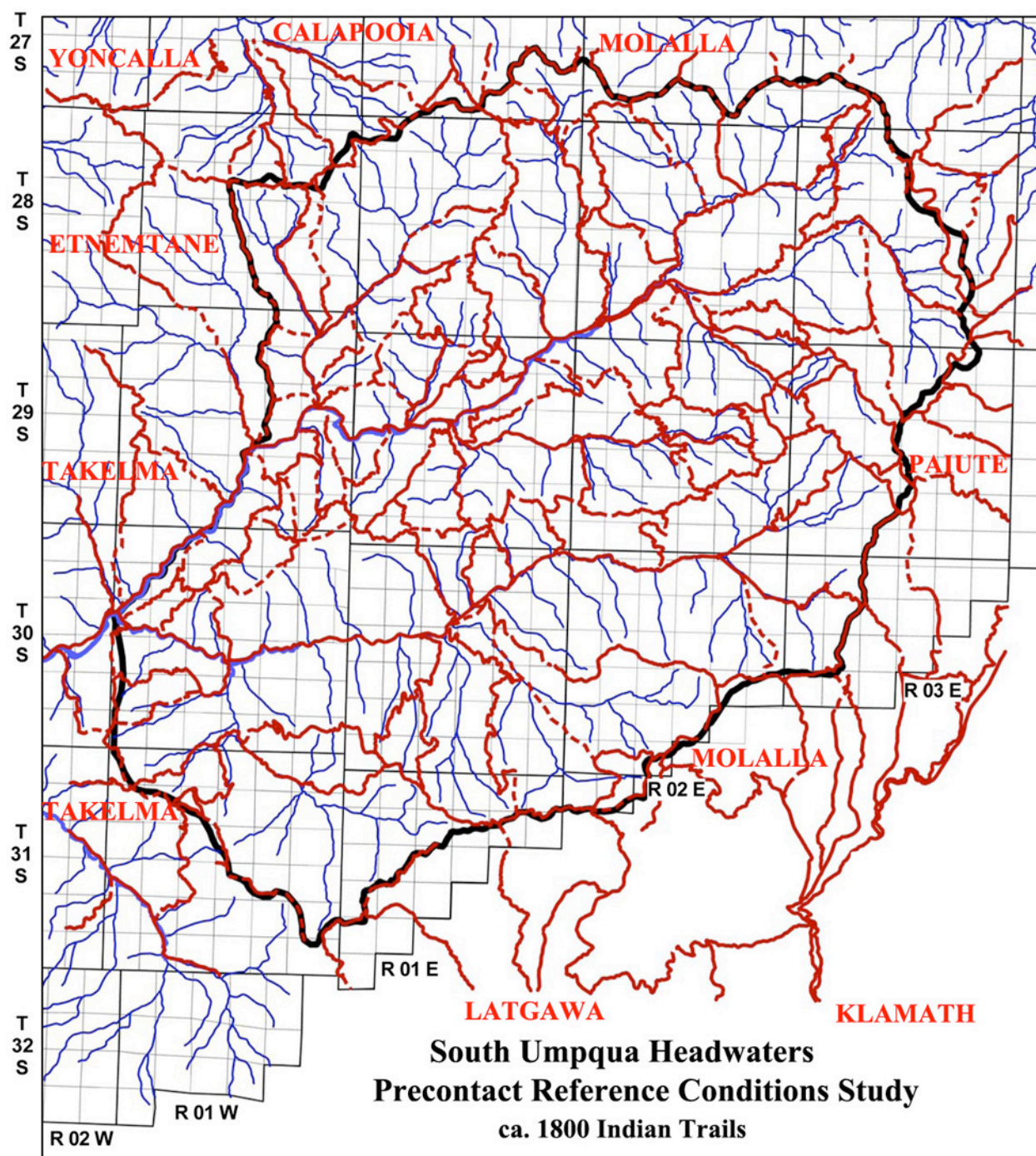
The loss of the ceramic tradition may have coincided with a rapid decline in the size of the native population. The later date of A.D. 1500 coincides closely with the occurrence of a hemisphere-wide smallpox epidemic with mortality rates around 75% from A.D. 1520-1524 hypothesized by Dobryns (1983). Archaeological evidence supporting Dobryns' hypothesis has been found in other regions of North America, including central New York, the Lower Mississippi Valley, and the Middle Missouri area of the Great Plains (Ramenofsky 1987 [1989?]) and the northern Columbia Plateau (Campbell 1990).

Human populations in the study area were undoubtedly greater in the summer and fall than during winter months, due to heavy snowfall in the higher elevations and reduced access to foods and fuel. In late precontact time, the number of people in the study area might reasonably be estimated at 1,000 or 2,000 individuals at the height of harvests, fishing, or trade gatherings. In earlier times, when regional populations may have been much greater, seasonal visitation numbers were likely much greater as well.

Map 3.02 shows the known and hypothetical (Zybach 2002; 2008; Carloni 2005) Indian foot-trail network in use throughout the study area 200 and more years ago. Names in capital red letters surrounding this network represent known tribes and nations that existed in those areas during those times.

The solid red lines on this map represent Indian foot-trail routes that have subsequently been developed into roads and trails that remain in use to this day; dashed red lines represent hypothetical connective routes that may no longer be in use at this time -- or at least are not shown on most modern maps. An analysis of these routes and Tribal locations indicates that Umpqua Takelmans from lower elevations

S. Umpqua Headwaters Precontact Reference Conditions Study: REVIEW DRAFT – DO NOT COPY
BZ/20110101



Map 3.02 Principal ca. 1800 Indian trails through South Umpqua River headwaters.

likely gathered at Huckleberry Lake and Quartz Mountain, among other locations, during summer and fall; Takelma-speaking Latgawans probably used Huckleberry Lake and Hershberger Mountain areas as well as, and likely at the same times as, Umpqua Takelma and Umpqua Molallans; and Athapaskan-

speaking Entename (“Upper Umpqua”) possibly traveled to any and all of these locations, and at the same times and for the same reasons. Klamaths likely moved slaves and other trade goods along the eastern ridgelines, following the historic Klamath Trail to campgrounds in the Black Rock and French Junction areas -- before heading north along Camas Creek into the North Umpqua Basin, or south into the Rogue River basin. It is also possible that Paiutes from the east, Santiam Molallans from the north, and Kalapuyan-speaking Yoncallans from the northwest also entered the area at these (and other) times.

Umpqua Takelma (Cow Creek; Nahankuotana)

Two hundred years ago, Takelma-speaking ancestors of today’s Cow Creek Tribe likely occupied the lower elevations and western oak savannahs of the study area, with strong personal and family ties to local communities in the areas of present-day Tiller, Drew, and Milo. Takelmans fished the lower elevations of the South Umpqua and Jackson Creek, particularly in areas around the falls and mouths of streams, and tended crops of acorns, tarweed, camas (see Figure 3.02), fawn lilies, huckleberries, salal, manzanita, and other foods on the slopes adjacent to these streams.

The Nahankhuotana were Takelma-speaking people based in the Cow Creek area, although some scholars have claimed they spoke an Athapaskan dialect (e.g., Ruby and Brown 1986: 254); possibly because their historical name is Athapaskan and probably assigned to them by neighboring Tribes -- these people lived to the south of the Athapaskan-speaking Etnemtane, and to the east and southeast of the Athapaskan-speaking Mishikhwutmetunne (note Harrington observation on p. 43).



Figure 3.03 1850 Lyman sketch: Umpqua Indian women digging camas (Beckham and Minor 1996: 107).

The Umpqua Takelma maintained seasonal villages and were very dependent on acorns (Dickson 1946: 178), tarweed, and camas production for their livelihood. In many ways they maintained a type of agrarian society, and may not have ventured into adjacent territories for trade, warfare, or slave raids so much as their Athapaskan neighbors. In common with other Tribes in the region, they also cultivated tobacco.

Umpqua Athapaskan (Upper Umpqua; Etnemtane)

The Etnemtane were known as “Upper Umpqua” during historical times, and occupied the Umpqua River upriver from the Kelawatsets, and the South Umpqua headwaters to the north of the Hanis Coos and Miluk Coos, and to the east of the Mishikhwutmetunne. They were well known to Hudson’s Bay Company beaver trappers, and often served as guides or hunters when opportunities presented themselves.



UMPQUA INDIAN GIRL.

Figure 3.04 Woodcut of 1841 sketch of Umpqua Indian girl by Alfred T. Agate (Wilkes 1845: 226).

Although the Etnemtane probably didn't reside in the study area on a permanent basis, they had an obvious familiarity with the local trails and people and likely traded for South Umpqua products, such as elkskins, eels, beargrass, huckleberries, and other common trade items. There are strong indications they also captured slaves from their neighbors, and weren't adverse to warfare (Davies 1961: 202, 213-215). They were noted for their battle dress, which included laced and ornamented two-pieced elkskin armoring, and single, white bald eagle tail feathers (Ruby and Brown 1986: 254; Riddle 1993: 44).

The Etnemtane seemed to rely more on hunting and trade, and less on fishing and vegetable production, than their neighboring Tribes. They were particularly noted, for some reason, for eating grasshoppers (Miller and Seaburg 1990: 582). In common with other Tribes in the region, they also cultivated tobacco.

Umpqua Molalla (Southern Molalla)

South Umpqua Molallans occupied the high elevation ridgelines and upper headwater subbasins, such as the Fish Lake and Five Lakes areas. The Molallans were known for elk hunting, using snowshoes and dogs, and for huckleberries. Winter villages were likely at the lowest elevations of the study area, perhaps even being shared with their Takelman neighbors. Summer campgrounds were probably situated along established trade routes, huckleberry fields, and sources of freshwater.

The name "Molalla" has at least 27 historical spellings. It is said to be derived from the words "moolek" for elk and "olilla" for berries (Winkler 1984:5):

The importance to Molalla subsistence of both hunting and berry- picking is reinforced by the fact that all published references to Molalla subsistence mention either or both of these activities . . . (Winkler 1984: 5).

This would seemingly be a good name for their land, which produced abundant elk and berries, as well as for the people, who were known to extensively trade specialty products from these plants and animals. Chuck Jackson (2010: Appendix E) pronounces the name as Molawa-law (2010: Appendix E), which adds some credence to Winkler's assertions.

Trade goods associated with Molallans include preserved huckleberries and blackberries, elk hides, jerked meat, and elkhorn spoons. Beargrass and willow weaving materials were also important trade items, due to their universal value and general abundance in Molalla lands. The Santiam Molalla to the north were known as good elk hunters, good berry pickers, accomplished traders, bitter and fierce enemies of the

Cayuse to the east; and good friends, family, and business associates with the Klamath to the south. They were also said to be poor guides when more than 35 miles from their homes (Minto 1903); indicating the possibility of a relatively concentrated and productive Tribal territory of seasonal use and trade route patterns, and a related limitation on interactions with their namesakes to the south.

Although there is very little known about Molallan history or culture (Winkler 1984; Ruby and Brown 1986; Zenk and Rigsby 1998), there is good agreement on early historical Molallan geography. During the 1775 - 1825 late precontact and 1825-1855 early historical time periods of this study, Molallans occupied nearly the entire western slope of the Oregon Cascades Range, from the Columbia River on the north, to the Rogue River on the south. The Molalla are believed to have been organized into three (or possibly four) major “bands,” or tribes: the Southern Molalla inhabited the western Cascades of the Umpqua River and Rogue River basins of the western Cascades; the Northern Molalla lived on the western slopes of Mt. Hood in the Clackamas River, Molalla River, and Pudding River headwaters, south to Silver Creek, east of present-day Salem; and the Santiam Molalla lived on the western slopes of Mt. Jefferson and Three Sisters, on the headwaters of the North Santiam, Middle Santiam, South Santiam, Smith, Blue, McKenzie, Mohawk, and Middle Fork Willamette rivers. The Mohawk, Smith, and Blue rivers are northern tributaries of the McKenzie River; an eastern tributary of the Willamette River. A possible fourth Molallan band is formed by a division of the Santiam Molalla into two groups – one along the headwaters of the Santiam River, and the other along the headwaters of the Blue, Smith, McKenzie and Middle Fork Willamette rivers (Winkler 1984). Previous research provides some evidence for the likelihood of such a fourth band, the so-called “Blue River Molalla,” (Zybach 2008), to differentiate them from the 1855 Treaty Band “Santiam Molallans” (Ruby and Brown 1986) who lived along the South Santiam River.

Latgawa (Rogue Takelma)

In common with the Molallan tribes, very little is known of the history of the Takelma-speaking Latgawa of the upper Rogue River basin; but something is known of their geography. These people lived upstream from the Table Rock area in Jackson County. It is very likely they maintained a lifestyle similar to the Umpqua Takelma to their north and northwest. The study area was probably most used or visited by the Latgawa in the Anderson Mountain, Huckleberry Lake and Abbott Butte areas during summer months, after snows had melted and berries began ripening.

Yoncalla Kalapuya (Calapooia; Calapooya)

The Yoncalla were Kalapuyan-speaking people who lived in the valleys and mountains between present-day Eugene and Roseburg, to the northwest of the study area. They were known to harvest and process acorns, dig and bake camas, and burn patches of tarweed before collecting seeds for subsistence. Deer hunting with dogs and seasonal salmon fishing were also associated with this tribe. They have, at times, been separated into two or three bands: Gatschet named two bands as Chayankeld (Yoncalla”) and Tsantokayu; William Martin conducted a Tribal census in 1854 that identified three bands, the Calapooia (along Calapooia Creek), the Applegate (near the Jesse Applegate homestead in Yoncalla), and the Kellogg, along the mainstem Umpqua, upstream from the mouth of Elk Creek (Beckham and Minor 1996: 109).

Eukshikni (Klamath)

The Eukshikni (“people of the lake”), better known as the Klamath, lived to the southeast of the study area, along Klamath Lake and marshes. They are a well-known Tribe and have had a continued existence on their reservation and in nearby towns since early historical time. Of particular interest to this study is their regular use of the historic Klamath Trail, by which they transported and traded slaves as far north as the Columbia River. This trail entered the study area to the south of Black Rock and followed the ridgeline trail northeasterly to French Junction. On July 4, 1883, this portion of the Klamath Trail was noted, by name, by GLO Surveyor Samuel Flint, on the township line separating Tsp. 27 S. from 28 S., near the mid-point between Black Rock and French Junction (see Map 4.03). Another point of interest to this study is the practice of Klamath travelers to transport plants from their homeland to areas along the routes by which they traveled. Wokas (or yellow pond lilies) is a plant long associated with Klamath people and culture. It has been hypothesized that Klamath may have introduced wokas populations along the Klamath Trail to the north, of the study area, in ponds near Wolf Rock and Bear Pass in east Linn County, in precontact time (Zybach 2008). If so, it is worth noting that wokas was also documented in Skookum Pond, Five Lakes, and a few other locations in the South Umpqua headwaters, during this research (see Chapter V).

Metis (French Canadians)

The Metis were French Canadian fur trappers of mixed Indian and white ancestry who first entered the Umpqua River basin in the early 1800s, while working for the Hudson Bay Company and other fur

trading firms. Although Metis typically had eastern US Indian blood, particularly from Tribes such as the Iroquois and Cree, they often married and had children with local Indian women, including Kalapuyans, Athapaskans, and Takelmans. These men helped introduce horses into the Umpqua country, perhaps as early as 1818 (Kathi Flynn, personal communication, 2010, suspects horses may have been introduced even earlier, possibly by Klickitat traders), and began settling into the upper South Umpqua River basin with their families by the 1850s and 1860s. Many of the members of today's Cow Creek Band of the Umpqua Tribe of Indians are descended from well-known local families with such French-Canadian names as Lavadore, LaChance, Rondeau, Pariseau, McKay, and Dumont. These families frequented the study area in the late 1800s as occasional full-time residents, and to the present as seasonal visitors who visited (and visit) the mountains to fish, hunt, powwow, pick berries, peel bark, harvest greens, and – in earlier times – avoid white settlers and militia attempting to send them or their wives and children to reservations (Beckham and Minor 1992: 143):

In spite of the removal programs, not all Indians left the Umpqua. Refugees continued to hide in the mountains and eluded repeated efforts of agents and Army personnel to track them down. In 1859 an estimated 80 Indian men, women, and children resided in the foothills of the Western Cascades . . . Several other Indian families resided at the head of bottomlands on the south Umpqua, especially in the vicinity of Tiller and Elk Creek . . . These families were of mixed ancestry and traced to French-Canadian as well as Calapooya, Umpqua, Chippewa, Cree, Assiniboin, or Algonquin ancestors . . . These Indian families married, intermarried, and lived on the margins of what became the Umpqua National Forest. They used the backcountry for hunting, fishing, and berrypicking. They lived close to the land, avoided removal to the reservations, and largely escaped the scrutiny of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the nineteenth century.