

TABLE ROCK

\$2.50

SENTINEL

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1989



The
Magazine
of the
Southern
Oregon
Historical
Society

Ten Thousand Years Ago and Today



Native Americans lived in the southern Oregon region for at least ten thousand years before white settlement. Now their creekside villages are gone, but there is much today's residents can learn by studying the native people's successful adaptation to their environment.

The public can take advantage of an opportunity to learn from the Indians of southwest Oregon at a symposium co-sponsored by the Southern Oregon Historical Society, Southern Oregon Anthropological Society at Southern Oregon State College, American Indian Cultural Institute, and Oregon Committee for the Humanities. The symposium *Living with the Land: The Indians of Southwest Oregon* is scheduled for October 19-21 on the Southern Oregon State College campus (for a complete schedule see pages 12-13 of this issue).

In addition, the Society opens an exhibit, also titled *Living with the Land: The Indians of Southwest Oregon*, in the SOSOC Stevenson Union Gallery on October 11. The exhibit runs through November 7.

In conjunction with these events, this issue of the *Table Rock Sentinel* features a Native American theme. Two symposium speakers, Dr. Thomas J. Connolly and Dr. Robert Winthrop, contributed articles on the prehistory and present history of local Native Americans. Sue Waldron, one of the Society's principal researchers for the exhibit, prepared a story on Chief John's role in the Rogue Indian Wars. Reflecting the spectrum of symposium presentations, the articles range in style from academic to popular.

All events are free and open to the public.



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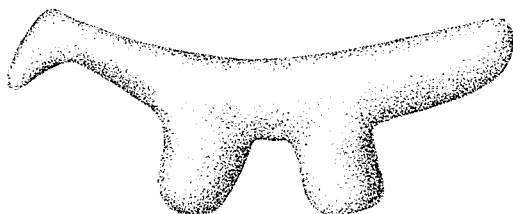
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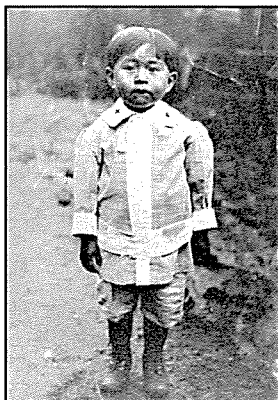
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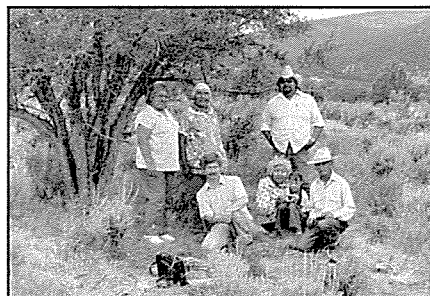
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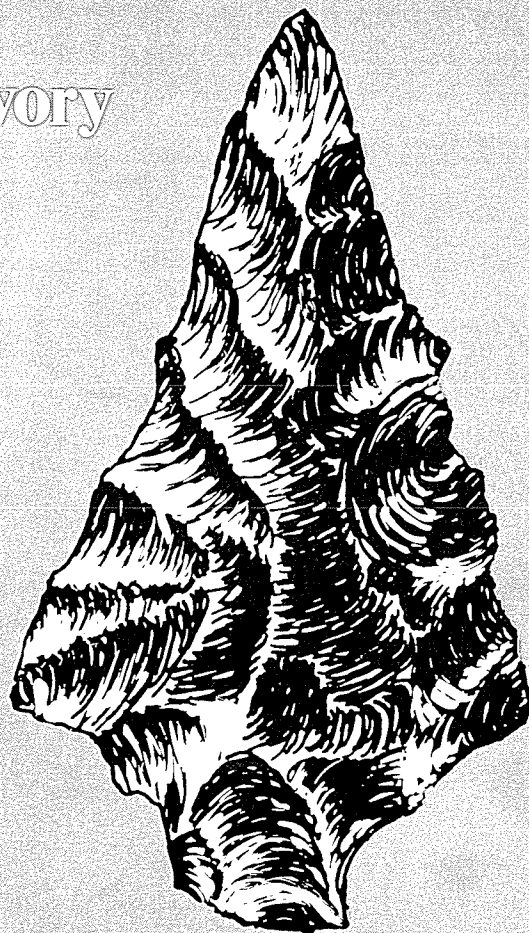


Front cover: An unidentified Native American woman SOHS #8895

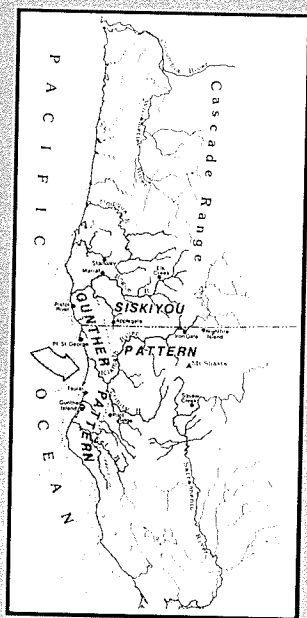


Back cover: Six miners pause for a portrait, possibly at the Sterling Creek mine. SOHS #8525

by Thomas J. Connolly
illustrations by Dana Ivory



Points,



Patterns,

&

Prehistory

Those whose profession it is to study ancient languages have traced vestiges of five great language families among the vanished peoples who once inhabited scattered valleys, ranges and basins in southwestern Oregon and northwestern California. These five families can be assigned to two groups: those who have been in the area for many millennia, and those who have been in the area for 8000 years or less.

Tracing the words these mysterious inhabitants spoke helps to identify them in a very broad sense. Now archaeologists are examining the physical evidence of the Native Americans' past that has been excavated from sites in the region to see how—if at all—the arrowheads, scrapers, mortars and other artifacts identify the ancient peoples in a more particular sense.

Does the physical evidence support the theories of changing cultures suggested by the differences the linguists have discovered? The answer is incomplete, but intriguing.

Speakers of languages which linguists believe have great antiquity in the region occupied the interior portions of southwest Oregon and northern California. Linguists have assigned historic Native American languages in this region primarily to two important groups: the Penutian and Hokan. Pockets of Penutian languages once existed from British Columbia to Central America, a scattered distribution that implies they were spoken in western North America for many thousands of years. The Oregon Takelma and California Wintu spoke languages classified as Penutian. Some linguists believe that the Hokan presence may be even more ancient. The Shasta and Karok, who occupied the Klamath River Valley of northern California,

spoke Hokan languages.

By contrast, Athapaskan-speaking¹ peoples occupied the Pacific coast of southern Oregon and northern California at the beginning of the historic period. Far to the north, in central Alaska and throughout most of western Canada, native inhabitants spoke related Athapaskan languages. Linguists who have studied these languages believe that Pacific Athapaskan speakers separated from their northern linguistic relatives between 1,500 and 1,000 years ago, and subsequently migrated to their historic position within the last 1,000 years.

The two blocks of Pacific Athapaskan languages in the Klamath Mountain region were separated by the Yurok and Wiyot in the lower Klamath River/Humbolt Bay region. The Yurok and Wiyot languages are distantly related to the Algonquin languages of eastern North America, and have been classified together with them in the Algic language family. Like their Athapaskan-speaking neighbors, the Yurok and Wiyot are considered to be relatively late arrivals to the area (after about AD 900).

The relative recency of the Athapaskan-Algic presence in southwest Oregon and northern California has motivated anthropologists to think about the possibility of identifying an immigrant population in the archaeological record. Could it be possible to identify evidence for an ancient indigenous cultural tradition in the region, then pick out cultural elements that are relatively more recent as evidence that other peoples intruded on the ancient ones? Beyond this, what does the archaeological record say about such changes in prehistoric culture for which there are no linguistic clues?



Glade Pattern point (*opposite*), point pattern map (*opposite*), (a) Gunther Tradition pipestem.

The artifacts of any society—whether clothing, house architecture, or common kitchen utensils—change over time. Among the most fundamental tasks of archaeology is to map such changes using the material remains of past human societies. In investigating a prehistoric site, archaeologists prefer to identify discrete periods of occupation, so artifacts from a specific period can be compared and contrasted with those from another time. At some sites the artifacts are considered together as being more or less contemporaneous. At other sites, however, different periods of occupation can be discerned. A collection of artifacts from a site, or from a single discernible period within a site, is called an assemblage.

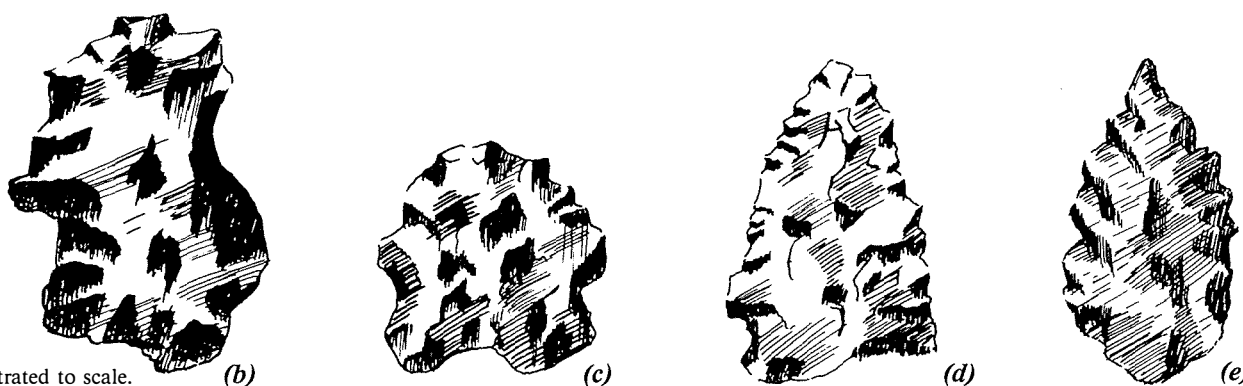
Archaeologists have recently attempted to classify assemblage from 38 sites in southwest Oregon and northern California into meaningful cultural units. The first group of sites is distinguished by a predominance of triangular (usually concave-base) projectile points, oil lamps, flanged and offset pestles, bell-shaped mauls, animal-shaped clubs, and ceramic artifacts (primarily clay pipes). These are among the artifacts considered by researchers as characteristic of the Gunther Pattern² on the northern California coast, named for a site on Gunther Island in Humboldt Bay. Elements of the Gunther Pattern are also present on the adjacent southern Oregon coast. Radiocarbon dates from these assemblages fall within the last 1,100 years.

Net sinkers and hopper mortar bases are attributes shared by both Gunther Pattern assemblages and those of the second Siskiyou Pattern group. Siskiyou Pattern assemblages are characterized by small side-

notched, corner-notched and basally-notched projectile points (Gunther Series), metates (flat grinding stones) and occasional ceramics (called Siskiyou Utility Ware).³ Olivella shell and pine-nut beads are also frequently associated with these assemblages. Many Siskiyou Pattern sites can be characterized as villages, and contained circular houses covered with conical bark-and-timber roofs. Sites of the Siskiyou Pattern are concentrated in the interior regions of northern California and southwest Oregon (middle Klamath and upper Rogue River areas), and have associated radiocarbon dates that fall within the last 1,700 years.

The third group of sites represents the Glade Tradition, which is distinguished by broad-necked side-notched and stemmed projectile points, willow leaf-shaped points (serrated and unserrated), shouldered contracting stem points, stone bowl mortars, hammer/anvil stones, edge-faceted cobbles, and thick-bit endscrapers. If artifacts other than projectile points are considered, there appears to be a strong patterning by subregion, with upper Rogue River sites falling together, lower Rogue River/Coquille River sites grouping together, and upper Klamath River/upper Applegate River assemblages linking together. It is only in the latter grouping, the southernmost of the three, that Glade Tradition assemblages contain food-milling equipment other than bowl mortars, an attribute not uncommon in early northern California assemblages.

The most striking characteristic of Glade Tradition assemblages is the amazing range of associated radiocarbon dates, from nearly 9,000 years ago to within the last 1,000 years.



Artifacts not illustrated to scale.

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(b,c,d) wide-stemmed Borax Lake Pattern tools (after Hayes, 1985), (e) leaf-shaped Glade Tradition point

Radiocarbon Dating

The element carbon is abundant in the atmosphere (in carbon dioxide and other components), and present in all living tissues. Variations of the carbon atom, called isotopes, occur naturally. Carbon-14 is one such isotope, an unstable variation because it contains fourteen neutrons in the nucleus, rather than twelve as in the most common stable isotope form. Because of the unstable nature of carbon-14, it is subject to radioactive decay. The rate of decay, expressed as its half-life, has been measured under laboratory conditions to be 5,568 years. After this amount of time, half the carbon-14 originally present will remain.

All living things ingest carbon-14 during normal respiration, and it is therefore present in living tissue in the same abundance that occurs naturally in the atmosphere. When a living thing (plant or animal) dies, the carbon-14 present in its tissues begins its slow decay. By measuring the amount of carbon-14 present in formerly living tissue (such as a bone fragment or piece of charcoal), the approximate age of the tissue can be determined.

Figuring a radiocarbon age is a statistical matter that has been compared to a life insurance table; although no one can predict who will die, it is possible to predict next year's death rate with reasonable accuracy. Similarly, no one can predict which carbon-14 atoms will decay, but the overall rate of decay for a "population" of atoms is constant. Because of this, radiocarbon ages are expressed with an estimate of the statistical error involved, such as $2,350 \pm 90$ years ago. This represents the probable range into which a particular sample falls.

which exhibit marked cultural continuity from 9,000 to 2,000 years ago.⁴ In contrast, evidence for the presence of the Glade Tradition in northern California is not well established. Similar assemblages have been reported (identified as Willits Pattern assemblages in the local literature), but their antiquity in northern California does not appear to be comparable to Glade components in southern Oregon.

Finally, the fourth group of assemblages include northern California sites which are dominated by exceptionally broad-stemmed points. These sites are assignable to the northern California Borax Lake Pattern, which, in addition to broad-stemmed points, often contain milling stones and manos. The Borax Lake Pattern is thought to be Early to Middle Archaic in age (9,000–4,000 years ago).

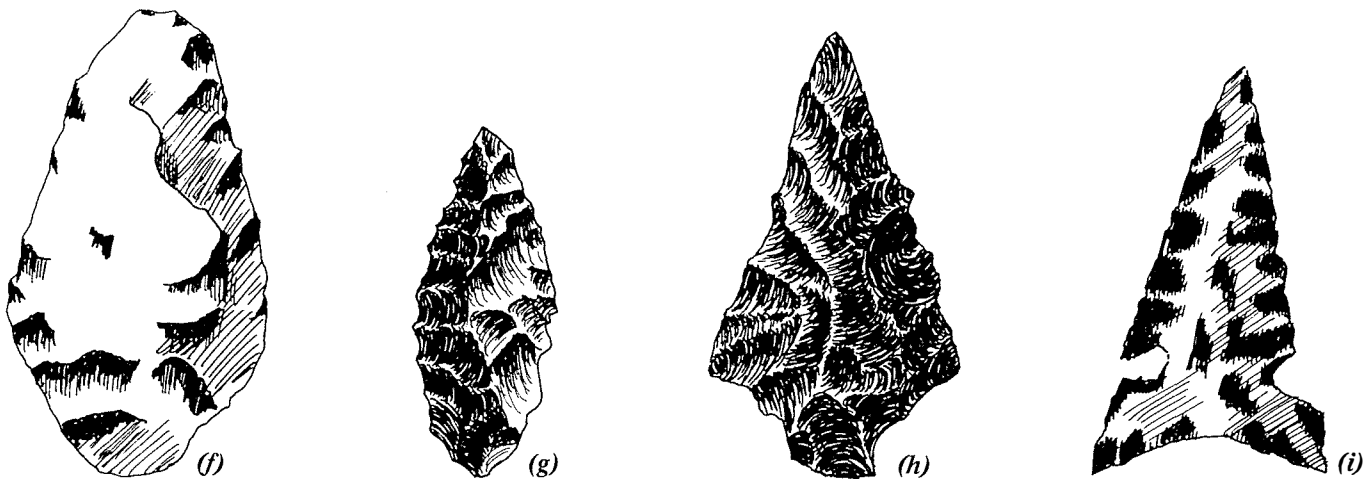
The Borax Lake Pattern

The Borax Lake Pattern is thought to be characteristic of Early and Middle Archaic times in the North Coast Range of California. Some archaeologists designate the period prior to about 3,000 years ago in the Pilot Ridge area as Borax Lake,⁵ while others supported by radiocarbon evidence, restrict the Borax Lake Pattern to between 8,000 and 5,000 years ago in the Squaw Creek locality northeast of Redding.⁶ The principal attributes of the pattern include wide-stemmed projectile points (often with concave bases) and grinding slabs and manos.

The Glade Tradition

A number of attributes, including leaf-shaped points and edge-faceted cobbles, suggest a technological link between southwest Oregon assemblages assigned to the Glade

The most convincing evidence for the existence of a cultural tradition of unusual conservatism and duration in southwest Oregon comes from the Marial Site, located on the lower Rogue River. This site has produced a radiocarbon-dated cultural sequence of strata



(f,g) leaf-shaped Glade Tradition points, (h) broad-necked Glade point, (i) side-notched Glade point

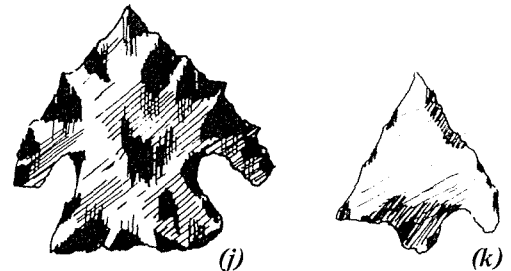


Tradition, and the early Pacific Northwest regional Cascade Pattern. Indeed, a number of undated sites on the upper Applegate River have been assigned Early Archaic ages because of the similarities in shape between projectile points recovered from them, and Windust and Cascade points from the Columbia Plateau.⁷ In support of this chronological assignment, three radiocarbon dates from early components at the Marial Site, which contains leaf-shaped points and edge-faceted cobbles, fall between 5,500 and 9,000 years ago, an expected range for Cascade Pattern and earlier assemblages.

Later dated components, however, from the Marial Site and from other assemblages assigned to the Glade Tradition exhibit little formal change in many assemblage attributes from earlier Marial components, and provide strong evidence for a very stable and conservative cultural tradition that persisted in the southwest Oregon region for several millennia after it disappeared from other sectors of the Pacific Northwest. Indeed, radiocarbon dates from the Standley Site, which range between 2,400 and 300 years ago,⁹ suggest that elements of the Glade Tradition persisted in some areas until just before historic times.

The Siskiyou Pattern

Radiocarbon dates associated with Siskiyou Pattern components fall within the last 1,700 years. Dramatic trait differences are apparent from those characteristics of the preceding Glade Tradition, including a change from a predominance of leaf-shaped and shouldered projectile points to small, barbed points; apparent changes in milling equipment from primarily stone bowl mortars to predominant use of metates and hopper mortars; the first documented appearance of nucleated pit-house villages; and evidence of long-distance trade in marine



(j,k) Siskiyou Pattern points

shells, obsidian, and other foreign materials.

A number of factors suggest that the appearance of the Siskiyou Pattern in southwest Oregon and northern California marks dramatic changes in social relationships throughout the region which altered the character of the local material culture. A marked change in material culture has been noted between Glade Tradition and Siskiyou Pattern assemblages. This change also occurs at a time when population movements in northern California¹⁰ and portions of the northern Great Basin to the immediate east may have taken place.¹¹

A wholesale population change or immigration may not fully explain the observed changes, however. The abundance of marine shell beads, obsidian, and other non-local materials in Siskiyou Pattern sites suggest that fundamentally different social traditions prevailed during Siskiyou Pattern times than were characteristic of the preceding Glade Tradition. Expanded trade relationships and increased population shifts on a smaller scale than required by movement of entire ethnic groups may have played a significant role in modifying material culture. For example, slave raids and inter-marriage may have been enough to spread new technology between tribes. Archaeologist C. Garth Sampson reports archaeological evidence from the Nightfire Island site in historic Modoc territory for raiding beginning about 1,700 years ago.¹² He associates this archaeological evidence with historic slave-raid accounts, which may have been an important means of increasing inter-regions contacts and therefore explaining the presence of out-of-place marine shell beads and other "imported" items. The appearance at this time of nucleated villages in southwest Oregon and northern California may reflect an almost "military" strategy for increasing

security, maintaining control of trade routes, or other factors in the changing social environment.

The differences between Glade Tradition and Siskiyou Pattern assemblages argue strongly for fundamental changes in population density and distribution, broader economic contacts (especially evidence for long-distance trading), and a different social climate (marked by nucleated villages and a dramatic increase in ornamental and status objects). In spite of these changes, direct evidence for actual population movement or replacement has not been forthcoming.

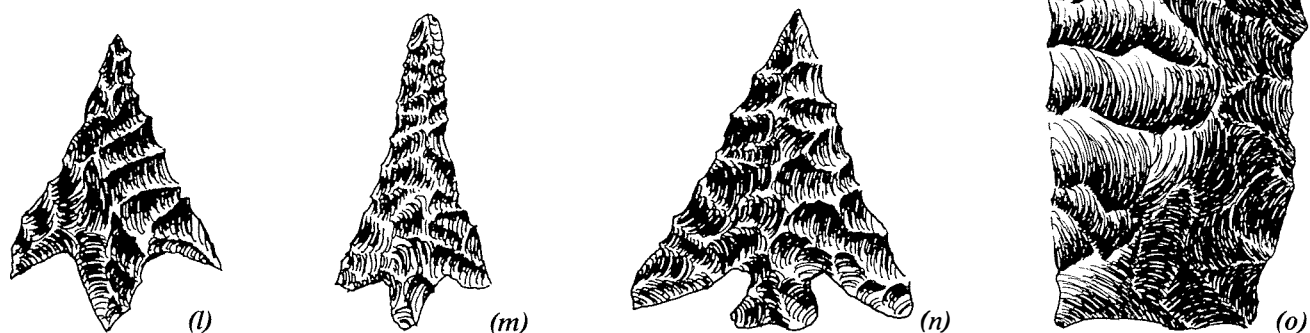
The Gunther Pattern

Paralleling development of the Siskiyou Pattern, the Gunther Pattern differs from earlier coastal occupations in the region by increased intensity of occupation, dramatic artistic ornamentation, and establishment of long-distance trade as seen by the presence of exotic materials such as Dentalium shells and obsidian. Evidence suggests that the development of long-distance trade networks, and the hierarchical social ranking characteristic of northwestern California groups historically, was established at least by 600 years ago.¹³

Those most familiar with the archaeology of northern California have argued that little evidence exists for the *in situ* development of the coastal habitation and subsistence focus that characterized the Gunther Pattern, attributed to "people who seemed originally to have come to the coast fully equipped to deal with this environment."¹⁴ Not coincidentally, it has also been noted that Gunther Pattern sites are, without exception, associated with the territory occupied by speakers of the "intrusive" Athapaskan or Algonquian languages. The linguistic affiliations of historic coastal village sites, which also contain prehistoric

**Excavations at the Mar-
ial site in southern Ore-
gon have yielded points
dated at least 9,000
years old.**

Photo by Natalie Brown



(l,m,n) Siskiyou Pattern points from southern Oregon excavations, (o) Gunther Pattern ceremonial knife



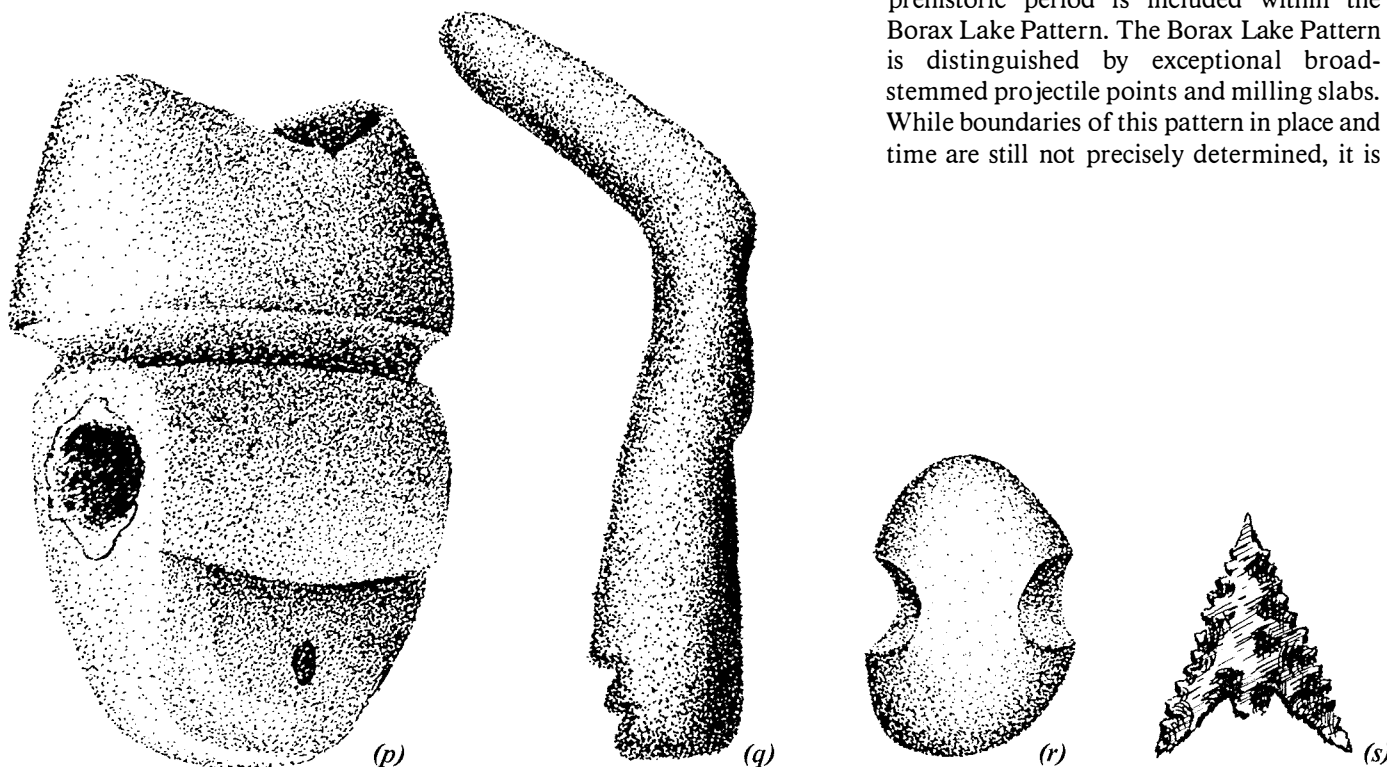
Archaeologists, students and volunteers sifted through excavated earth at the 1987 Lithia Park dig in Ashland. Numerous Siskiyou Pattern points were uncovered. Photo by Natalie Brown

components attributable to the Gunther Pattern, stretch from the Gunther Island itself all the way to the Pistol River Site in Oregon, identified as the historic Tututni (Athapaskan) village of *Chetlessentan*.

Gunther Pattern assemblages are distinguished by a predominance of triangular, concave-base projectile points, identified as harpoon tips used primarily for hunting sea mammals.¹⁵ A close correspondence has been noted between historic Athapaskan-Algic territory and a marine mammal hunting complex focusing on offshore rocks unique to the north coast region.¹⁶

While full utilization of estuarine resources is documented for Early and Middle Archaic times on the central Oregon coast,¹⁷ the rocky southern Oregon/northern California coastline may have been "underutilized."¹⁸ Occupation at the Gunther Island Site, which has produced the earliest radiocarbon date associated with a Gunther Pattern assemblage, probably began about 1,000 years ago.

Four basic archaeological patterns have been distinguished in the Klamath Mountain region of southwest Oregon and extreme northern California. In the southern portion of the study area, the early prehistoric period is included within the Borax Lake Pattern. The Borax Lake Pattern is distinguished by exceptional broad-stemmed projectile points and milling slabs. While boundaries of this pattern in place and time are still not precisely determined, it is



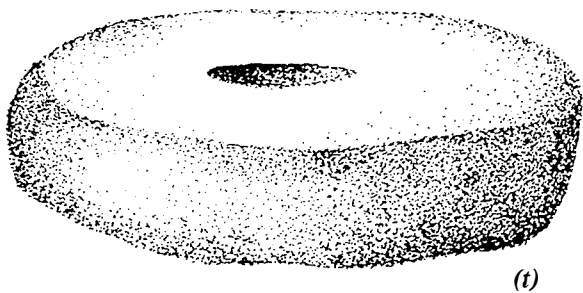
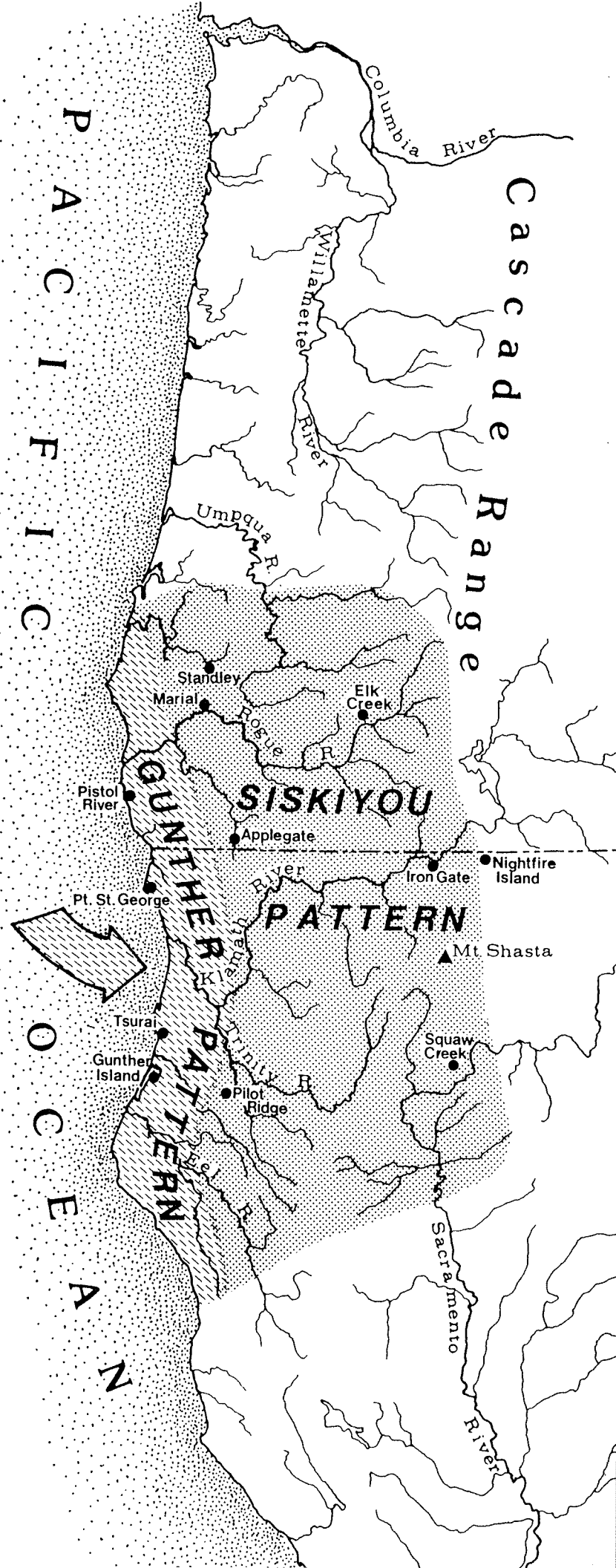
(p) Gunther Tradition pipe, (q) stone adze handle, (r) net sinker (after Connolly, 1986), (s) Gunther point

significant that no Borax Lake-like assemblages have yet been reported from southwest Oregon.

The earliest components for which both radiocarbon dates and sufficient artifact samples are available in the northern portion of the study area represent the Glade Tradition. Evidence of the Glade Tradition appears in the area as early as 9,000 years ago and persists to within the most recent millennium in the Umpqua and Coquille River basins, centuries after it disappeared from the adjacent Rogue River basin. Of immediate concern for regional prehistory is the development of a more satisfactory understanding of the distribution and temporal variation of components linked with the Glade Tradition. While a more precise definition of the actual time span of the Glade Tradition is still needed, the historical relatedness of Glade components of all ages is unmistakable.

Sites attributed to the Siskiyou Pattern occur in the region's interior valleys and date to within the last 1,700 years. The lack of continuity between Glade Tradition and Siskiyou Pattern assemblages, seen especially in chipped and ground stone tool forms and the first documented appearance of nucleated pit-house villages, may be more apparent than real. But it suggests that the sudden appearance of the Siskiyou Pattern represents the arrival of an immigrant group into the region. At present the simplest explanation may be that indigenous populations accelerated their contacts with people out-

Map courtesy Thomas J. Connolly



(t) hopper mortar base (after Connolly, 1986)

side the region, specifically in regard to long-distance trade in marine shells, obsidian, and other exotics; factors which affected all aspects of material culture and social structure.

The Gunther Pattern first appears on the northern California coast about 1,000 years ago. Paralleling the development of the Siskiyou Pattern, the Gunther Pattern differs from earlier coastal occupations in the region by increased intensity of occupation, dramatic artistic elaboration, and establishment of long-distance trade as seen by the presence of exotics such as Dentalium shells and obsidian. While the origin of the Gunther Pattern remains in question, the close correspondence of this archaeological pattern with the historic range of "intrusive" Athapaskan and Algic languages suggests that the ultimate source of this cultural pattern is related to an immigrant population.

What does this all mean? Much more remains to be learned before the answers can be termed definitive. But physical evidence from field excavations continues to fill the gaps.

The evidence seems to support the idea of cultural patterns changing slowly through time, especially where ancient inhabitants may have been isolated by geography and environment. But when outside populations move into an area or an indigenous population increases its contacts with people in distant regions, the rate of change may accelerate even to the point of replacing the

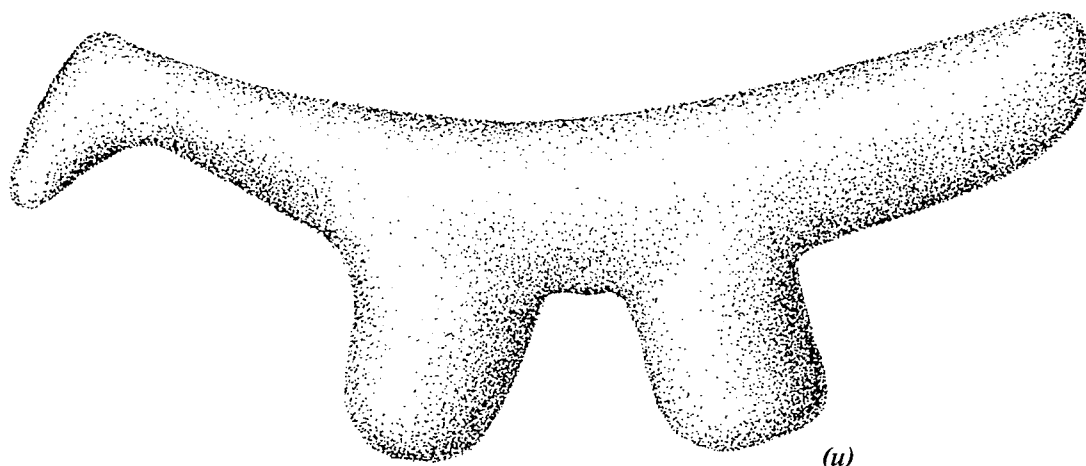
characteristics of an older physical technology with new and distinct ones.

While archaeologists can document the chronological landmarks of prehistoric culture change, it is only with great difficulty that the reasons for change can be determined. The work of linguists provides us with some possible clues as to which changes may have been introduced to the region by immigrant peoples and which could have resulted from local cultural developments.

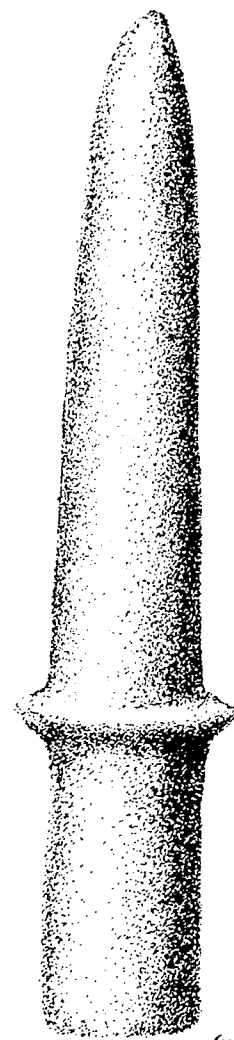
ENDNOTES



1. Scholars have not agreed on a single spelling for this language group. Accepted spellings include Athapaskan, Athapascan, Athabaskan and Athabascan.
2. David A. Fredrickson, "Early Cultures of the North Coast Ranges, California" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1973), and Albert B. Elsasser, "Development of Regional Prehistoric Cultures," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 8, ed. Robert F. Heizer, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), pp. 37-57.
3. Joanne M. Mack, "Archaeological Investigations in the Salt Cave Locality: Subsistence Uniformity and Cultural Diversity on the Klamath River, Oregon," *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 29(1983).
4. Crystal S. Schreindorfer, "Archaeological Investigations at 35CU84" (Report on file at the Bureau of Land Management, Medford, 1985) p. 27.
5. William R. Hildebrandt and John F. Hayes, "Archaeological Investigations on South Fork Mountain, Six Rivers and Shasta-Trinity National Forests" (Report on file at the Six Rivers National Forest, Eureka, 1984).
6. S. E. Clewett and Elaine Sundahl, "Archaeological



(u)



(v)

(u) Gunther Tradition ceremonial zooform club, (after Connolly, 1986), (v) Gunther Tradition flanged pestle

Excavations at Squaw Creek, Shasta County, California" (Report of the Shasta College Archaeology Laboratory, 1983).

7. David R. Brauner and Robert A. Nisbet, "The Reevaluation of Cultural Resources within the Applegate Lake Project Area, Jackson County, Oregon; Phase III: Archaeological Salvage of Site 35JA52 and 35JA53" (Manuscript on file at the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Portland, 1983).

8. Schreindorfer, *Archaeological Investigations at 35CU84*.

9. Thomas J. Connolly, "Cultural Stability and Change in the Prehistory of Southwest Oregon and Northern California" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1986), p. 23.

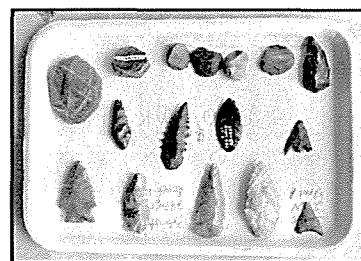
10. Kenneth W. Whistler, "Wintun Prehistory: An Interpretation Based on Linguistic Reconstruction of Plant and Animal Nomenclature" (Paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society, 1977).

11. C. Melvin Aikens, "The Nightfire Island Lakeshore Adaptation in the Broader Context of Desert West Prehistory," in "Nightfire Island: Later Holocene Lakemarsh Adaptation on the Western Edge of the Great Basin," C. Garth Sampson, *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 33(1985):519-528.

12. C. Garth Sampson, "Nightfire Island: Later Holocene Lakemarsh Adaptation on the Western Edge of the Great Basin," *University of Oregon Anthropological Papers* 33(1985):465-467, 514-515.

13. Richard E. Hughes, "Aspects of Prehistoric Wiyot Exchange and Social Ranking," *Journal of California Anthropology* 5(1978):61.

A collection of points excavated at the Marial site in southern Oregon
Photo by Natalie Brown



14. Elsasser, "Development of Regional Prehistoric Cultures," p. 52.

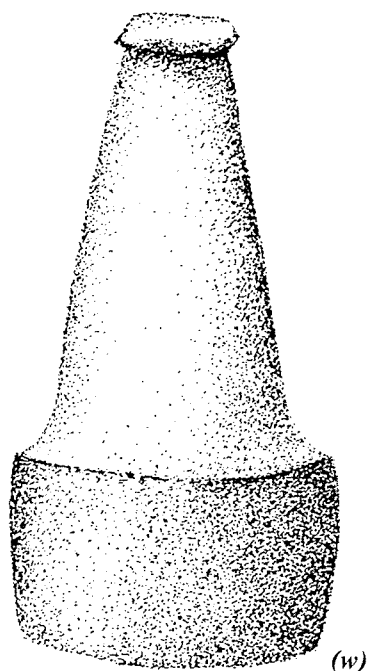
15. Richard A. Gould, "Archaeology of the Point St. George Site and Tolowa Prehistory," *University of California Publications in Anthropology* 4(1986).

16. William R. Hildebrandt, "Native Hunting Adaptations on the North Coast of California" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1981), p. 170.

17. Rick Minor and Kathryn A. Toepel, "The Archaeology of the Tahkenitch Landing Site: Early Prehistoric Occupation on the Oregon Coast" (Report for the Heritage Research Associates on file at the Siuslaw National Forest, Corvallis, 1986).

18. Whistler, "Wintun Prehistory," p. 24.

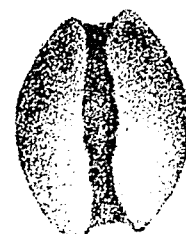
Dr. Thomas Connolly is state highway archaeologist and is affiliated with the Oregon State Museum of Anthropology at the University of Oregon. Although his work takes him throughout the state, he has a particular interest in the prehistory of southwest Oregon.



(w)



(x)



(y)

(w) handled, bell-shaped maul (after Connolly, 1986), (x) Gunther Tradition stone bowl, (y) netsinker

Schedule for the symposium on the prehistory of southwest Oregon

Living with the Land: The Indians of Southwest Oregon

Thursday, October 19, 1989

7:00 p.m., Dorothy Stolp Theatre, Southern Oregon State College

"Toward an Archaeology of the Future"

Keynote reading by Ursula K. Le Guin

Reception following at the Reford Lounge, Stevenson Union, plus a special viewing: *Living with the Land: The Indians of Southwest Oregon*, a Southern Oregon Historical Society exhibit at the Stevenson Union Gallery

Friday, October 20, 1989

Music Recital Hall, Southern Oregon State College



The Archaeological Frontier

- 8:30 a.m. "An Overview of Southwest Oregon"
Dr. C. Melvin Aikens, University of Oregon
- 8:50 a.m. "An Underview of Southwest Oregon"
Nan Hannon, Southern Oregon Historical Society
- 9:30 a.m. "Nine Thousand Years at the Marial Site on the Rogue River"
Dr. Richard Ross, Oregon State University
- 9:50 a.m. "Archaeology in the Applegate Valley"
Dr. David Brauner, Oregon State University
- 10:10 a.m. "Archaeology in the Bear Creek Valley"
Rich Olmo, Southern Oregon State College

- 10:45 a.m. "Archaeology of the Upper Klamath River"
Dr. Joanne Mack, Pomona College
- 11:05 a.m. "Archaeology of the Umpqua Basin"
Dr. Brian O'Neill,
Oregon State Museum of Anthropology
- 11:25 a.m. To Be Announced
Dr. Richard M. Pettigrew, INFOTEC Research
- 11:45 a.m. "Stability and Change in Southwest Oregon and Northern California"
Dr. Thomas Connolly,
Oregon State Museum of Anthropology
- 12:05 p.m. Discussion
- 12:30 p.m. Lunch
- 1:40 p.m. "Sex and Culture in Southwest Oregon"
Dr. Barry Hewlett, Tulane University
- 2:00 p.m. "Ceremonies of the Indians of Southwest Oregon"
Reg Pullen, Coos Bay District BLM
- 2:20 p.m. To Be Announced
Dr. Richard Hughes,
University of California at Sacramento
- 2:40 p.m. Discussion

The Penutian Connection

- 3:10 p.m. Overview by Dr. Aikens
- 3:20 p.m. "A View From the South: Connections Between Southwest Oregon and Northern California"
Ed Clewett, Shasta College
Elaine Sundahl, Shasta College
- 3:45 p.m. "Archaeological Tests of Linguistic Theories"
Discussants: Dr. Kenneth Whistler
Dr. Shirley Silver, Sonoma State University
Dr. Richard Hughes, UC Sacramento
- 4:10 p.m. "Stone Clues to Ethnic Identity"
Dr. John L. Fagan, Cultural Heritage Foundation
- 4:30 p.m. Discussion

Demonstrations

- 4:45 p.m. Flintnapping Demonstration
Dr. John Fagan will make stone tools before our very eyes. Children welcome.
- 7:30 p.m. Stevenson Union Arena
Native Storytelling, Dancing and Drumming
presented by the American Indian Cultural Center
Traditional dancers from the four corners of southern Oregon. Children welcome.

**Saturday, October 21—Rogue River Room,
Southern Oregon State College**

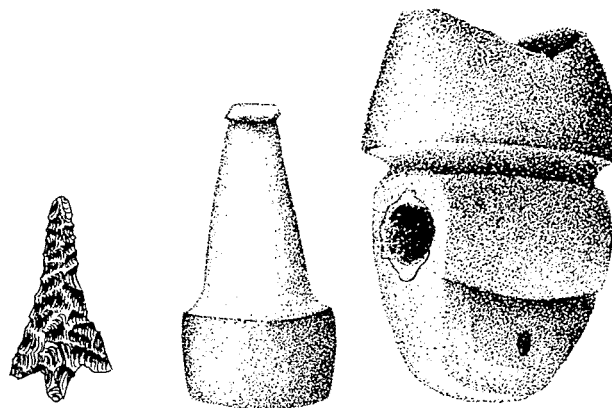
The Land and the People

- 9:00 a.m. Introduction by Dr. Aikens
- 9:20 a.m. "Clues to Past Environments"
Donn Todt, City of Ashland Parks Department
- 9:40 a.m. "The Native Environment: Contemporary Perspectives of Southwestern Oregon's Native Americans"
Dr. Kenneth Liberman, University of Oregon
- 10:00 a.m. "A Time for Burning: Reconstructing Traditional Ecologies of Fire"
Dr. Henry Lewis, University of Alberta
- 10:30–11:00 Discussion
- 11:00 a.m. Lunch
- 11:30 a.m. Film: *Fires of Spring* by Henry Lewis



Persistent Peoples

- 12:30 p.m. "The Shasta"
Dr. Shirley Silver, Sonoma State University
- 1:00 p.m. "The Indians of Southwest Oregon: An Ethnohistorical Review"
Jeff LaLande, Rogue River National Forest



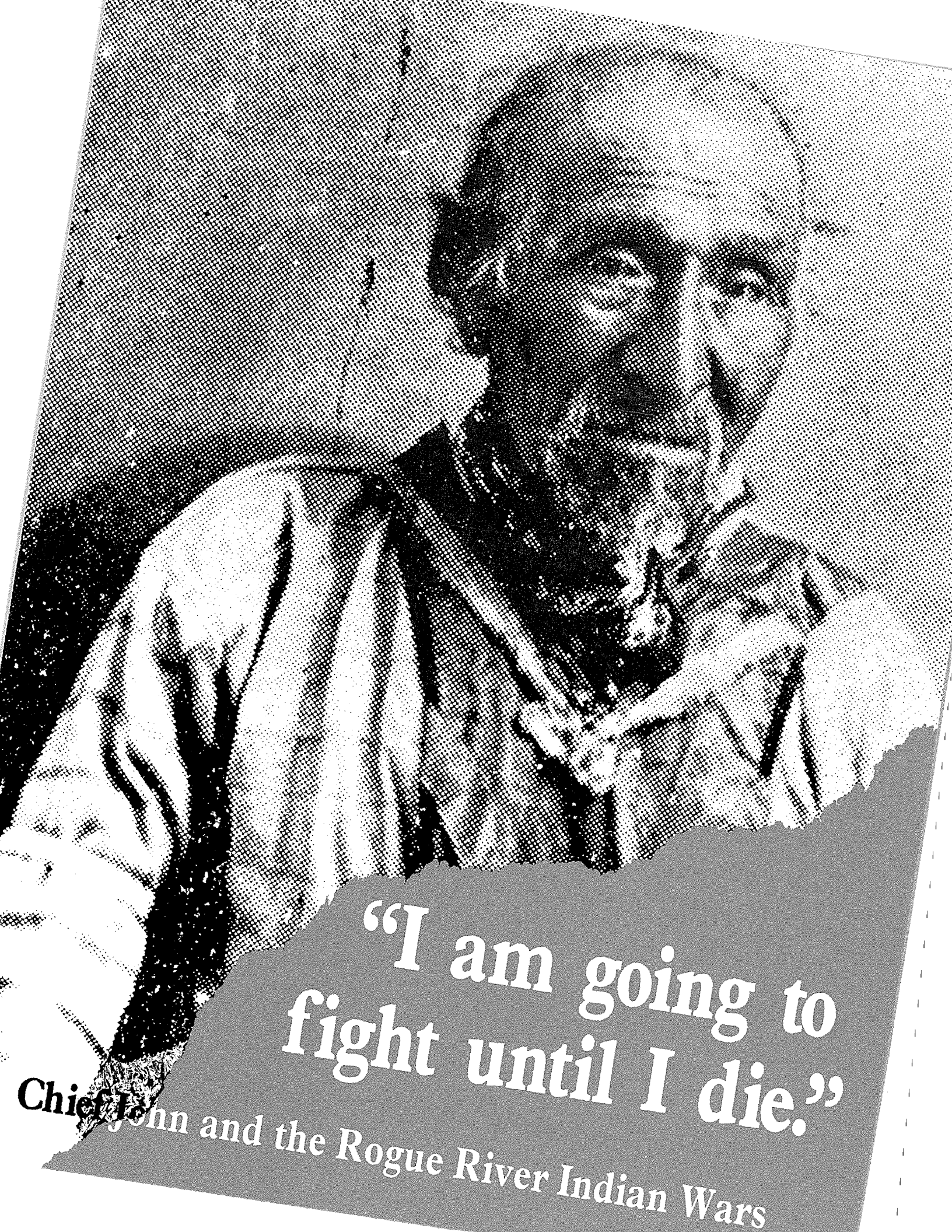
- 1:20 p.m. "Forces of Cultural Change: The Indians of the Klamath, Rogue and Umpqua Watersheds, 1828–1856"
Dr. Stephen Dow Beckham
- 1:40 p.m. "Persistent Peoples: Cultural Survival in Southern Oregon and Northern California"
Dr. Robert Winthrop,
Southern Oregon State College
- 2:00–2:15 Discussion

A Native View

**Facilitator: Dr. Jean Maxwell,
Southern Oregon State College**

- 2:30 p.m. "Faces of the Shasta People"
Betty Hall, Shasta Tribe
- 2:50 p.m. "The Umpqua People: Past, Present and Future"
Sue Shaffer, Umpqua Tribe
- 3:10 p.m. "Today's Rogue Valley Indians: Who We Are and Where We're Going"
George Fence, American Indian Cultural Center
- 3:30 p.m. "Visions and Values"
Lynn Schonchin, Klamath Tribe
- 4:00 p.m. Roundtable Discussion:
"Lessons of the Past for Southern Oregon's Future"
Special guests: Ursula Le Guin; Dr. Joseph Cox, president, Southern Oregon State College; Nancy Peterson, state representative; Jeff Golden, Jackson County commissioner; Richard Sept, Medford Mail Tribune

The symposium is sponsored by the Southern Oregon Historical Society, the American Indian Cultural Center, and the Southern Oregon Anthropological Society at Southern Oregon State College. The symposium has been made possible in part by a grant from the Oregon Committee for the Humanities, an affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities. All events are free and open to the public.



**"I am going to
fight until I die."**

Chief John and the Rogue River Indian Wars

During the Rogue Indian Wars of the 1850s, Chief John led a small band of Applegate Rogues in a defiant but unsuccessful attempt to retain their traditional lands.

Photo courtesy Oregon Historical Society

His son and daughter became friends with seventeen-year-old Daniel Giles, a clerk at a store on the Applegate River. The two young Rogue Indians brought Giles food when he became ill and in July 1853 John's daughter warned Giles that her people were becoming restless.

The Rogue Indians became angry when Edward Edwards, a farmer, "appropriated" a Shasta slave from John's band. When Edwards would not pay for the slave,

**"He was commonly spoken
of as an implacable
Savage, and the most
dreaded of all the Enemy."**

By
Sue Waldron

The records of the brief period when Native Americans and settlers shared the Rogue River Valley (1852–1856) often mention one Native American—Chief John. These diaries and histories relate that he was a brave, daring leader feared by the early settlers, a strong man fighting hard to stay in his homeland.

The population of the western United States grew rapidly with the influx of prospectors following the discovery of gold at Sutter's Fort in 1848. Soon prospectors lined the banks of almost every river and creek in the northern part of California. By 1850, an estimated 2,000 men worked in the Yreka area alone. Concentrating on striking it rich, the miners had little thought for the people who had lived on the land for hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of years. Conflict between those who lived with the land and those who took from the land was inevitable.

In 1852, prospectors discovered gold in Daisy Creek and Rich Gulch near what would become Jacksonville, Oregon. Then gold was found along the Applegate and Illinois rivers and throngs of miners moved north. About 2,000 Native Americans already lived in the valleys of the Rogue River and its tributaries, the Applegate and Illinois Rivers. The Rogue Indians—the combined Athabascan, Takelman and Shastan speakers who shared the name—lived throughout the area in small bands. Those living on the Applegate River were known as the *Ech-ka-taw-a* and consisted of approximately fifty families. Chief John led the Applegate Rogues.

Early contact between the Applegate Rogues and the miners was characterized by wariness. Apparently John tried to get along with the miners when they first met.

the Rogues, with the help of Shasta from Klamath River, went to Edwards' cabin on Bear Creek near Phoenix on August 2, killing Edwards and taking the slave back. This death gave the miners cause to retaliate and the fighting spread. The Rogue Indian War of 1853 had begun.

The Rogues killed several isolated miners in the following week. For protection, miners and settlers in the Jacksonville area formed volunteer militia companies. One company followed the trail of an Indian group to a village on Sterling Creek. When the inhabitants ran away, the militia destroyed the village. On the way home the company met a group of Chief John's warriors near the mouth of Williams Creek on the Applegate River. The ensuing battle lasted about forty-five minutes and the militia, outnumbered two-to-one and in unfamiliar country, retreated. John's warriors celebrated the first victory of war.

Records do not show whether John participated in the major fights at Little Meadows on August 16 or at Battle Mountain on August 23. At the end of the Battle Mountain fight, the Rogues agreed to meet September 4 at Table Rock to arrange a peace treaty. Since John signed the resulting treaty, it is likely that he met with the other chiefs to negotiate its terms. Eight headmen representing 287 Rogue warriors placed their mark on the treaty.

John's people moved to the Table Rock Reservation established by the treaty in the fall of 1853. The 130 square mile reservation was located between Evans Creek, Upper Table Rock and the Rogue River. When Indian Agent Samuel Culver took a census of Native Americans living on the reservation in 1854, John and fifty-three of his people were counted at their camp a mile above the mouth of Ward's Creek.

Confined to the reservation, the free-roaming Rogues found life difficult. Disease and death were an ever-present part of their new life. By the spring of 1854 the federal government still had not ratified the Table Rock Treaty signed the previous September. The promises made by the

federal government representatives for houses, farming tools, clothing, food and money were not kept. The Indian agent did not have money to support the Native Americans.

The Rogues tried to feed themselves, but their old hunting grounds, oak groves and camas fields were now part of a settler's homestead, off the reservation. Conditions on the reservation, bad in 1854, were worse in 1855, and

Concentrating on striking it rich, the miners had little thought for the people who had lived on the land for hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of years.

still there was little government money. In an effort to feed their families, the Rogues began to roam off the reservation to steal cattle, chickens, or whatever food they could find.

The settlers' outrage at the thefts added to their fears of personal injury and their anger at the government for giving "good" farming land to "no-good Indians" for a reservation. As the summer heat dried creeks and lowered river levels, more and more gold miners became unemployed. The hot summer days and the frustration of being unable to work shortened the miners' tempers. In mid-July, when the militiamen received their government pay for participating in the 1853 war, the comment was heard: "A good crop pays well, but a lively campaign is vastly more lucrative."¹

Late in July, Shasta killed twelve miners along the banks of the Klamath, Scott and Shasta Rivers in northern California. The Yreka volunteer militia "trailed" six Indians to the Table Rock Reservation. Racing to nearby Fort Lane, the volunteers demanded the immediate surrender of the "guilty" parties. Captain A. J. Smith, the fort commander, was willing to have the Indians taken to Yreka for trial, but he refused to allow the volunteers to ride onto the reservation to seize the six. Frustrated, the Yreka militiamen called a meeting August 5 with the Jacksonville miners, resolving to *take* the guilty parties if they were not turned over within three days. When Indian Agent George Ambrose placed two of the reservation warriors in irons in the Jacksonville jail, the volunteers returned to California.

With the killing of two teamsters near the Siskiyou summit, however, the desire to exterminate Native Americans became a driving force among many valley residents. On October 6, volunteers from Yreka met with Rogue Valley

miners in Jacksonville to plan that extermination. On the morning of October 8, the vigilantes, led by James Lupton, attacked two villages near Little Butte Creek. Twenty-eight, including women, children and old people, were killed.

When news of the attack reached Chief John, he organized his men to retaliate on October 9, 1855. "Within twenty-four hours . . . a small party of well-armed Shasta [*Rogues*] gathered for revenge. Their leader, Chief John, reportedly killed the first white person himself. William Guin, employee at the Table Rock Reservation, died near the house he was building for John. The chief said, 'I want no house. I am going to fight until I die!'"² John's band was involved in many raids that day. His warriors and others killed at least twenty travelers and homesteaders along the Oregon-California Trail between Evans Creek and Grave Creek. John and his warriors then traveled to their old home on the Applegate River. Once again the Rogues and the white man in the Rogue Valley were at war.

Chief John is credited with leading the devastating attack at Galice October 17, 1855, which resulted in the burning of all but two of the cabins in the community. A survivor of the attack noted:

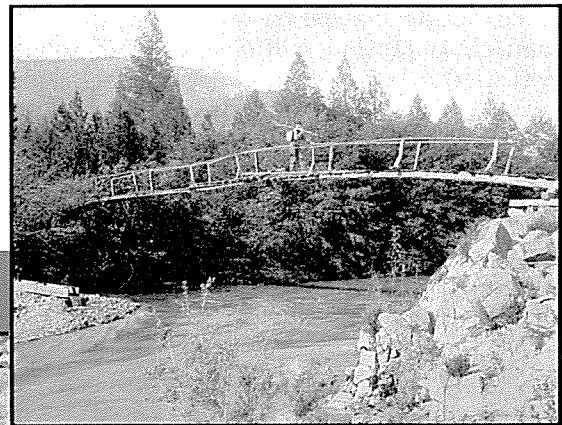
The alliance between Chief John and the Rogue Indians living in the Applegate River area (upper right), and the miners (right) who came to Oregon in search of gold, was tenuous at best. Hostilities between the two groups grew from minor confrontations to the violent battles of the Rogue Indian Wars.
SOHS #5142, 713.

"... the bar exploded with yelping Indians! The stentorian roll of Chief John's voice, echoed again and again, as rocky walls hurled back his shouted orders . . . screaming, firing, dodging—a ragged wave of hate and death, hideously painted, each wearing a single white feather in his headband, charged against the miner's holdout . . . Chief John's voice rolled again, shouting words of encouragement to his attacking force. Close behind him came Chief George and Limpy, leading more than eighty frantic warriors."³

John is not mentioned specifically as a participant in the Battle of Hungry Hill, which took place October 31 and November 1 north of Galice, but it is likely that he was there, too. Later John was seen near his old home where the band conducted raids in the neighborhood of Williams Creek. Indian rights activist John Beeson wrote:

"The fact that Old John and his men were still at large, filled the settlers with constant terror, for they were among the most skillful and courageous of all the tribes . . . Numerous companies had been out in pursuit of Old John; and although no one knew that either he or his men had done a single hostile act during the several months of the war, he was marked for destruction. [*Incidents by members of Chiefs George and Limpy's bands were frequently attributed to John.*] No thought was taken of the wrongs he had suffered, or of the reason of his absence; but he was commonly spoken of as an implacable Savage, and the most dreaded of all the Enemy. It was often said: 'If we could but kill Old John, all would be safe.'"⁴

In January a roaming militia company located John's band in three abandoned log cabins up Star Gulch. Rallying more volunteers from Jacksonville, the militia company marched to attack the cabins. But the Rogues were not easily dislodged. The determined militia sent a message to Fort Lane for more troops and a cannon. Brought over a rough, muddy trail, the cannon finally arrived just before nightfall three days later. Only a few rounds were fired that day. It was decided to wait until morning and mount a strong siege. But during the night the Indians left the cabins without a shot being fired. Beeson later reported in his book *A Plea for the Indians* that there were thirty Indians, including women and children in the cabins and two to four hundred besiegers surrounding them. The regular army troops returned to Fort Lane while the volunteers continued to search for John's people. On January



21 the two forces clashed again at a village near Murphy's Creek; several were wounded on each side and one volunteer was killed.

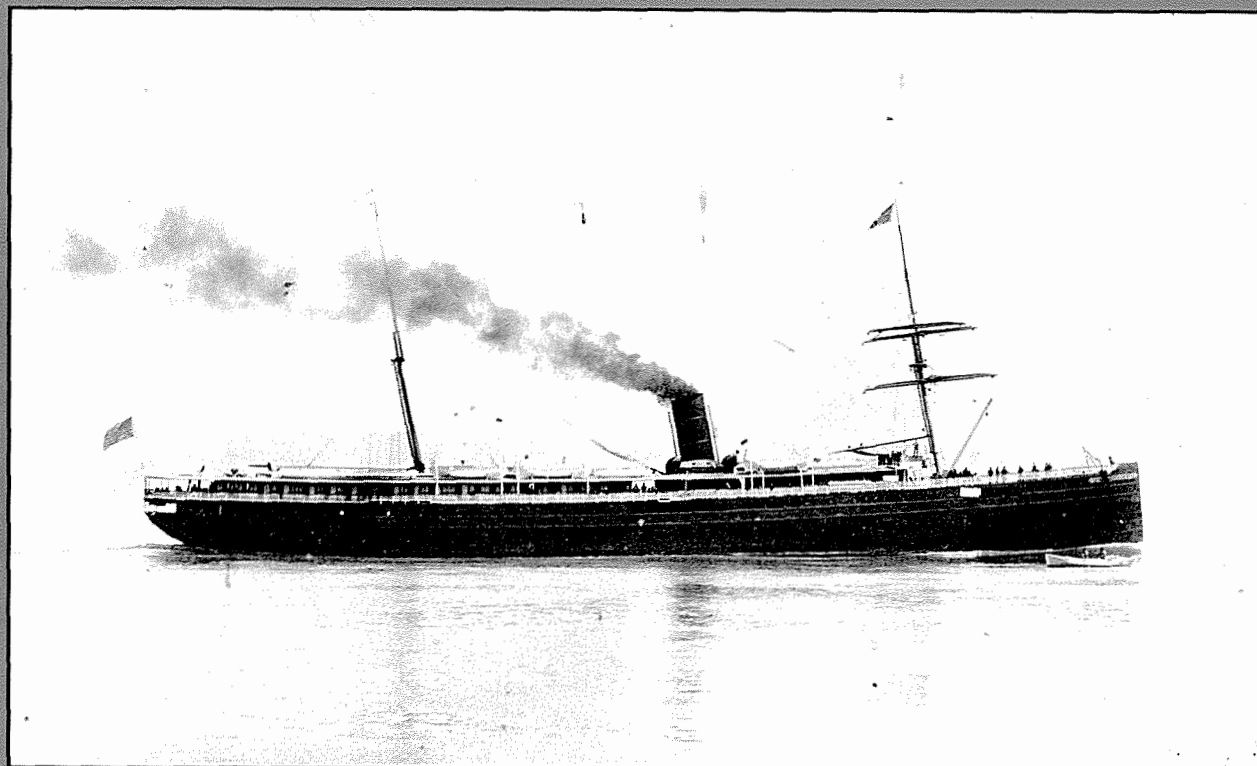
Attempting to find a safer place for his people, John moved down the Rogue River. On March 20, 1856, at the mouth of the Illinois River, John met a detachment of regular army troops under the command of Captain C. C. Augur, working their way up the river from Port Orford. Five Native Americans were killed in the sudden conflict before Augur, unprepared for a long battle, broke off the fighting and returned to Gold Beach. Later Augur reported: "The Indians of the up-river band followed him closely, entering his camp as soon as he had abandoned it and whooping, burning loose powder and dancing to testify to their joy at his personal defeat."⁵

Many of the dislocated Rogue Valley Indians gathered at the Meadows between Horseshoe Bend and Mule Creek on the Rogue River to rest. Soon the spring weather, which made travel easier, brought the military out of their winter quarters. An expedition of more than 500 volunteers led by General John K. Lamerick traveled to the Meadows in April 1856. Setting up camp across the river from the Native American camp, Lamerick attacked on April 27. The battle continued into the next day when the Rogues abandoned their camp. Running low on supplies, Lamerick returned the troops to Fort Leland.

Hoping to end hostilities, Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer and the top military commander, Colonel R. C. Buchanan, set up a conference with the Rogue Indians at Oak Flat on the Illinois River. Years later historian A. G. Walling told of the May 19-22 meeting:

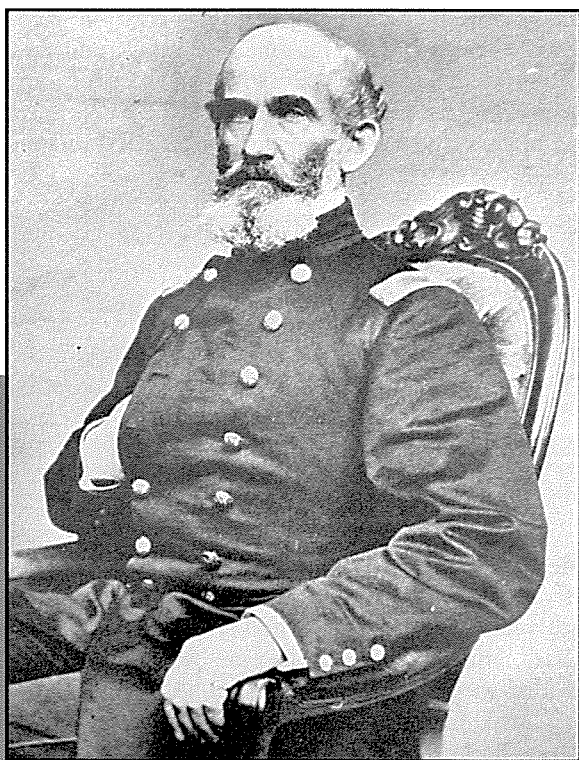
"We will catch and hang you, sir; but if you go on the reservation, you can live in peace."

Chief John would not surrender and said: "You are a great chief, so am I a great chief; this is my country; I was in it when these trees were very little, not higher than my head. My heart is sick fighting the whites, but I want to live in my country. I will not go out of my country. I will, if the whites are willing, go back to the Deer Creek country and live as I used to do among the whites; they can visit my camp and I will visit theirs; but I will not lay down my arms and go to the reserve. I will fight. Good bye."⁶



In response, Captain A. J. Smith, who attended the meeting as part of Colonel Buchanan's staff, said: "We will catch and hang you, sir; but if you go on the reservation, you can live in peace. Do you see those wagons, blankets, clothes, horses? You will have everything good, plenty to eat, peace. If you do not come, do you see that rope, sir?"⁷

John and his people left the conference. Several of the other leaders decided to surrender and agreed to bring their people to Big Bend on May 19. But as they traveled slowly down the steep river canyon on May 24, volunteer troops fired on them. Stunned at the hostility shown after a promise to surrender, the Rogues rejoined Chief John. They, too, would continue to fight.



The final chapter of the Rogue Indian Wars concluded June 29, 1856 with Chief John's reluctant surrender to Captain A. J. Smith (above), an adjutant to Colonel Buchanan's staff. Prior to John's surrender, six hundred Rogues were taken aboard the steamship *Columbia* (left) and sailed north to the newly established coast reservation.

SOHS #3506, *Columbia*
photo courtesy Oregon Historical Society.

On May 27 they attacked the troops gathered at Big Bend. Walling reported: "John developed all the tactics and strategy of a consummate general in his management of these and subsequent charges, and from his station gave commands in the Indian tongue, which were distinctly heard in Smith's camp and interpreted to the Captain."⁸ The battle continued the next day with John taunting the besieged Captain Smith: "Hello, Captain Smith! You go on the reservation? *Hiyu chick, chick* (a great many wagons, good traveling); *hiyu icta* (many things); *hiyu muck-a-muck* (plenty to eat); *hiyu clothes* (plenty to wear); *wake clatawa reservation* (if you not go to the reservation); take lope [*sic*] Captain Smith; do you see this lope; Captain Smith?"⁹

By late afternoon one third of Smith's command had been killed or wounded. At sunset, the Indians made a final charge to finish the soldiers, but were surprised to meet Captain Augur and seventy-five of his men. The reinforcements stopped the charge and the Indians fled into the hills.

Resigned to the inevitability of their defeat, Chiefs George and Limpy, with most of their followers, surrendered on May 29. As the group of soldiers and prisoners marched toward the coast, they met scattered groups of John's followers. Shots were exchanged and a few more Indians captured. On May 31, Superintendent Palmer, having joined the troops to accept the surrender of the Native Americans, sent a message to John to come in. John sent back a challenge to fight. In the battle several days later John deployed his warriors in a double line using a tactic similar to those used by the regular army. But without the years of discipline and training given army troops, the line collapsed and the warriors retreated.

On June 20, John sent a woman to Captain Smith offering to surrender if his people were allowed to retain their guns. When these terms were refused, offers were made for retaining half, then one third, of the guns. All offers were refused and Chief John was told to surrender without conditions or begin fighting. The defeated Indians surrendered a few at a time. Captain Wallen, present at the surrender on June 29, wrote:

When morning came the surrender was completed, John coming in last. He set his gun against the rock, then suddenly grasped it. But before he could raise it to his shoulder fifty rifles were aimed at his heart. He again relinquished it, and sullenly, with a defiant manner, took his place among the prisoners.¹⁰

Thus the Rogue River Indian Wars were ended.

Six hundred of the Rogues, members of George and Limpy's bands, had been taken aboard the steamship *Columbia* on June 24. They traveled north along the coast, then sailed up the Columbia River to Oregon City. They were transferred to small boats to continue their journey on the Willamette River to Dayton. From there they walked through the Coast Mountains to the new coast reservation at Grande Ronde. They were met by the members of Chief Sam's band who, refusing to fight in the

1855 war, had been brought to the reservation in February 1856 to join the members of twenty other Oregon tribes also confined to the reserve.

When war began again in 1855, Superintendent Palmer looked for a haven for the Rogues away from white settlements. He chose a tract of land along the northern coast of Oregon. The Rogues' new home was located between the Pacific Ocean and the summit of the Coast Mountains from Cape Lookout to the Yamhill River.

After their surrender John and his followers were marched from Rinehart Creek, fifteen miles up the coast from the mouth of the Rogue River, to Port Orford. There, on July 12, 592 captives boarded a steamship bound for the new reservation. John and the remaining 400 Native Americans were marched north along the coast to their new home. John, George, Limpy and their people were taken to the northern portion of the reserve to be near the recently commissioned Fort Yamhill.

To contain the Indians on their new reserve, the government built four forts between the reservation and the white settlements: Fort Yamhill in the northeast, Fort Hoskins near the pass to the Willamette Valley, the Siletz Blockhouse about in the center of the reserve, and Fort Umpqua further south in the Coast Range.

In an alien environment the Rogue Indians were expected to survive with almost no assistance from the federal government. Many died of disease and all lacked adequate food, clothing and shelter. In March 1857, 1,100 of the Indians at Grand Ronde, including the Rogues, threatened to leave the reservation. Captain Augur, Commander at Fort Hoskins, decided to separate the more warlike bands to discourage another unified attempt to leave. On May 12, 1857, the nearly 300 followers of John and Limpy were moved from Grand Ronde to Siletz which had a military blockhouse and was closer to Fort Hoskins.

By October 1857 over 200 Rogues had died. John and his people were so frustrated with the living conditions they voiced their discontent trying to arouse the more passive tribes on the reserve into open revolt or an escape. The oratory led to disagreements and John's people were accused of two murders. To restore peace, Augur decided that all the Indians must be disarmed.

On October 7, Augur ordered a detachment of soldiers to the Siletz area to assist the agent in collecting the guns. When the soldiers arrived at John's camp, they found that the Chief and two or three principal men had moved into the woods rather than give up their guns. Captain Augur's report gave further details:

The arms were taken away from the remaining Indians and when Clatus Jim came in to one of the more remote Indian camps the following day, Garber went to arrest him having with him Sergeant Clark and the agent. Upon their attempting to do so he drew a revolver and while trying to mount his horse, fired at the agent but without effect. The three immediately drew their pistols and fired at him—each shot taking effect and killing him instantly. This was the end of Clatus Jim. On the 18th, Old John surrendered to the authorities and the reign of terror was over.¹¹

J. Ross Browne, a special investigator for the government, came to the reservation in the fall of 1857. Chief John told Browne:

"For my own part my heart is sick. Many of my people have died since they came here; many are still dying. There will soon be none left of us. Here the mountains are covered with great forests; it is hard to get through them. We have no game; we are sick at heart; we are sad when we look on the graves of our families. A long time ago we made a treaty with Palmer. There was a piece of land at Table Rock that was ours. He said it should remain ours, but that for the sake of peace, as the white settlers were bad, we should leave it for awhile. When we signed the paper that was our understanding. We now want to go back to our country. During the war my heart was bad. Last winter, when the rain came and we were all starving, it was still bad. Now it is good. I will consent to live here one year more; after that I must go home."¹²

Browne wrote his report in December 1857 and Augur responded several months later acknowledging "that a large portion of the Indians on this reservation were dissatisfied there can be no reasonable doubt, and that they have abundant cause for being so is still more certain, and although this feeling has been produced, I believe, by the removal of General Palmer and the neglect and ineffi-

**"We have no game;
we are sick at heart;
we are sad when we look
on the graves of our families."**

ciency of the present superintendent, I have no reason to believe that any agent has been active in increasing it."¹³ Once again the government had failed to keep promises. Houses, mills, and schools were not built, the food provided was often of very poor quality, and wild game was scarce. Life was miserable.

Over the next several months John kept making plans to return to the Rogue Valley. His plans kept the people on the reservation in a constant state of unease. Fearing another outbreak of violence, Augur arrested John and John's son, Adam, on April 22, 1858. The two Indians were taken to Fort Vancouver where military authorities sentenced them to the federal prison at Alcatraz Island in California. Placed in irons, John and Adam were loaded aboard the steamship *Columbia* on May 23 for the trip south. Late one night as the ship passed the entrance to Humboldt Bay, John and Adam attempted an escape. Finding their guard asleep they tried to strangle him in order to get to the key for the manacles, but the guard awoke and the noise of the ensuing struggle brought passengers and crew to the scene. Two passengers were wounded in the fight that followed and Adam was wounded in the leg with a meat cleaver. John and Adam were subdued and at the end of the trip taken to Alcatraz.

Three of John's daughters remained on the reservation while John was in California. They constantly appealed to the Indian agent for the return of their father and brother. When William H. Rector, superintendent of Indian affairs, visited the reserve in 1862, the daughters appealed to Rector for John's release. The appeal was granted. On May 23, 1862, John and Adam returned to Grande Ronde. Rector wrote in his report of September 2:

I have seen them but once since their return, but learn from agent Condon that their conduct is unexceptionable, and that they exert a very salutary influence over other Indians in inducing them to remain at home and live like white people. The old man is now far advanced in years, but his son is in the prime of life, and although he has lost a leg in battling for life and liberty, he is of great service to the agent. ¹⁴



Rogue Indian
Georgie Evans
(above) in 1900,
and the reserva-
tion's 4th of July
celebration in
1919 at Siletz (right).
SOHS #12547, 12546

Nothing more is known of John's life. It is probable that he died quietly at Grand Ronde as his daughters had families that stayed in that area. Adam moved to the Klamath Reservation but nothing is known of the rest of his life.



ENDNOTES

1. A. G. Walling, *History of Southern Oregon* (Portland: 1884) p. 327
2. Frank K. Walsh, *Indian Battles Along the Rogue River* (Grants Pass: Te-cum-tom Publishing,, 1972) p. 1.
3. Percy T. Booth, *The Legend of Indian Mary and Umpqua Joe* (Grants Pass: Josephine County Historical Society, 1975) p. 16.
4. John Beeson, *A Plea for the Indians* (Fairfield: Ye Galleon Press, Burt Webber reprint, 1982) p. 68.
5. Walling, *History of Southern Oregon*, p. 277.
6. Walling, *History of Southern Oregon*, p. 279.
7. Frances Fuller Victor, *The Early Indian Wars of Oregon* (Salem: Franc C. Baker State Printer, 1894) p. 280.
8. Walling, *History of Southern Oregon*, p. 280.
9. Frances Fuller Victor, *The Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, p. 410.
10. Frances Fuller Victor, *The Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, p. 414.
12. Frances Fuller Victor, *The Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, p. 417.
13. Oscar Winslow Hoop, *A History of Fort Hoskins*, (Eugene: University of Oregon thesis, 1928) p. 64.
14. R. R. Bensell, *All Quiet on the Yamhill; the Civil War in Oregon* (Eugene: University of Oregon Books, 1959) p. 21.

Sue Waldron is a researcher for the Southern Oregon Historical Society. She has spent the past year compiling material for the Society's exhibit Living with the Land: The Indians of Southwest Oregon opening in October at Southern Oregon State College.







Persistent Peoples

Mechanisms of Cultural Survival

by
Robert Winthrop

When focusing on the prehistory of southwest Oregon and northwest California, it is essential not to lose sight of the fact that the Indian peoples of the region exist in the present, and not merely the past. The Karuk, the Coos, the Klamath, the Umpqua, the Tolowa—names such as these reflect living communities, not merely the data of excavated villages, museum collections, or ethnographic field notes. While the experience

One Shasta spoke vividly of learning basketry from her maternal grandmother, stressing that what was transmitted consisted not only of basketry techniques, but also a general attitude toward learning.

of the past century and a half has changed Indian ways of life beyond recall, it has not obliterated a continuity of understanding and experience.

There are two central aspects to continuity in Indian experience, interrelated yet distinct. First, there is a social aspect: the on-going identification of individuals

Annie Ditall, pictured here carrying a woven burden basket in 1918, was a coast resident with possible roots in the Shasta tribe. SOHS #12540

with a particular Indian group. This can be manifested in many ways: by participation in the politics of a particular tribe, by an effort to distinguish oneself in values and behavior from other groups (be these Euro-American or Indian), or simply by an individual's self-understanding. This social dimension on continuity may be described as ethnicity (emphasize the process of identification), or a community (emphasizing the resulting social unit).

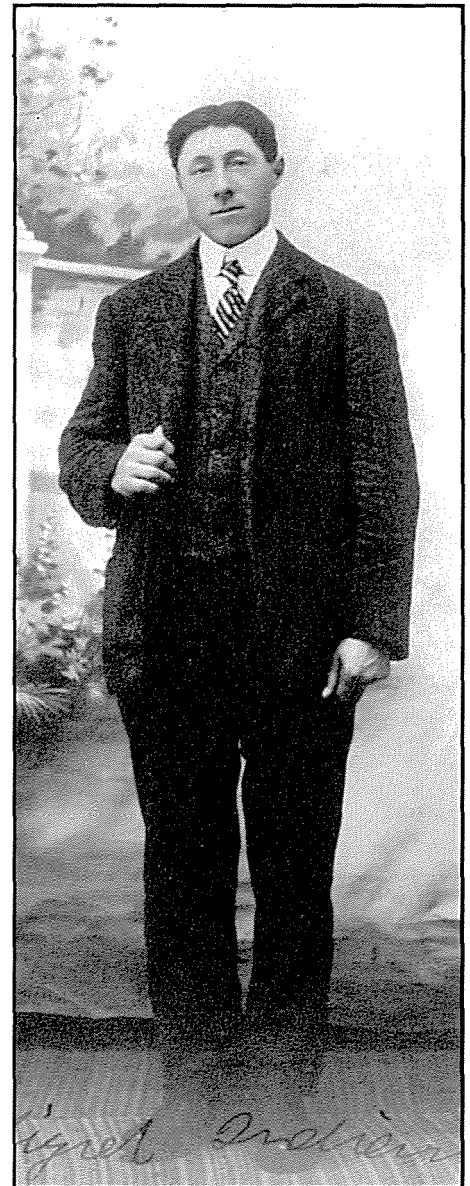
Second, there is a cultural aspect: the perpetuation of particular patterns of thought and action deriving or believed to derive from aboriginal times, though often with considerable modification in the face of changing circumstances. Basketry patterns, diet preferences, myths and tales, the cultivation of medicinal plants, religious complexes such as the vision quest or shamanic healing, or simply a distinctive understanding of nature—all of these find illustration among Indian peoples of the region. This cultural dimension of continuity is perhaps best referred to by that much used word, tradition.

The social and cultural dimensions of continuity—ethnicity and tradition—reflect distinct processes. Forces which encourage ethnic identification can be different from those which foster the transmission of cultural beliefs and practices. Thus it is important to understand how these forces interact. What conditions foster the convergence of an ethnic identity with a continuity of tradition?

One approach to these questions is offered by Edward Spicer's concept of a "persistent people." Theories of ethnicity most commonly are concerned "with problems of the individual and his retention or loss of identification with a group."¹ In contrast, the idea of a persistent people places the emphasis on culture rather than psychology, emphasizing the correspondence of a specific cultural content with a distinctive social system. As anthropologist George Castile has said, "the defining characteristic of a persistent people is a continuity of common identity based on," and here he quotes author Edward Spicer, "common understandings concerning the meaning of a set of symbols."² Spicer has also emphasized that the survival of such a "persistent people" depends in part on the existence of a situation of opposition between this

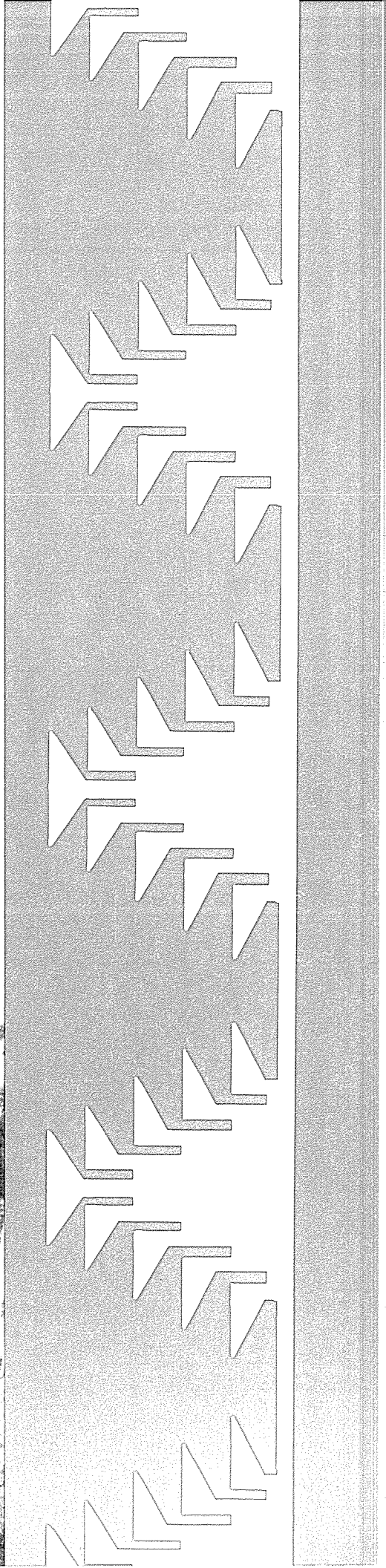
people and a dominant society and culture.³

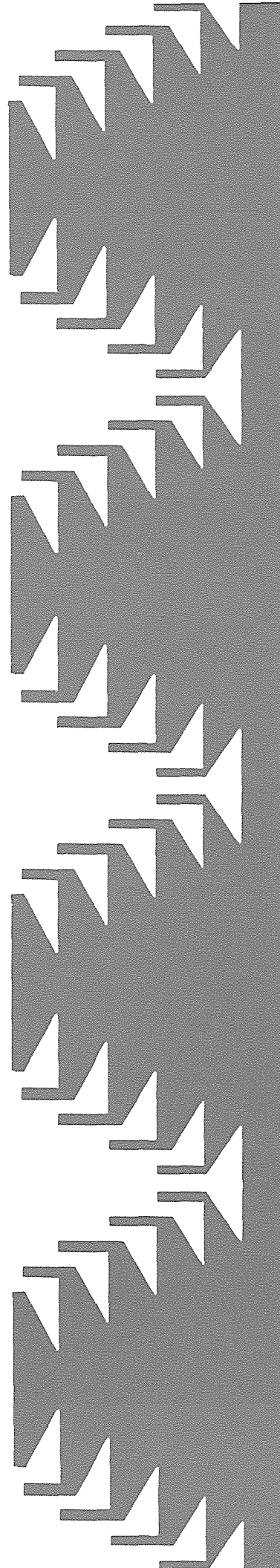
Both points, shared understandings of a set of symbols, and an oppositional relationship with a dominant society, are relevant to an understanding of the cultural persistence of Indian peoples in southern Oregon and northwestern California. To illustrate these processes consider a few examples drawn from three aspects of this very complex matter: first, the varying forms of post-contact community life; second, patterns of cultural transmission in the post-contact period; and third, the significance for Indian groups of one key symbolic domain: the culturally appropriate use of land.



Three unidentified Native Americans pose for studio portraits in the 1920s (left) and in 1900 (below). SOHS #12566, 12567

The political status of the tribes of southern Oregon and northwestern California varies considerably. Few groups in the region possess a reservation. Most incorporate a formal political organization, in some cases federally recognized through a government-to-government relationship, in others, lacking such recognition. From an anthropological standpoint the significance and influence of any formal political body such as a tribal council can only derive from the strength of community. No legal apparatus or federal recognition can call a community into being, though the fact of recognition, funding, federal oversight,





and a land base can significantly influence the institutional history of a given group. It is essential to understand the character of day-to-day social relationships within Indian groups to understand their strengths and limitations as post-contact communities.

In 1978 the Bureau of Indian Affairs established a new process for Indian peoples currently without federal recognition as tribes to petition for acknowledgement.⁴ The review process requires proof, among other things, that members of the group have had enduring ties to a specific territory or community, and that the petitioning group has "maintained tribal political influence or other authority over its members."⁵ In 1989, a decade later, the acknowledgement program is widely criticized for its tortuous pace and overly legalistic approach. Nonetheless, one of the positive results has been to document the continuity of social life and the imaginative strategies for cultural survival pursued in the post-contact period.

The ideas of individual ownership of land, and the total transfer of rights in real property from one party to another are foreign to Native American tradition. In the later nineteenth century the federal government—particularly through the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887—undertook the division of tribal lands into personally held properties as an instrument of social policy, to destroy tribes as collective entities and thus to encourage the acculturation of the Indians.⁶ In 1910 the federal Forest Allotment Act made it possible for Indians to legally homestead lands on the Forest Reserve, and a number of Shasta Indians in Siskiyou County received allotments on this basis.⁷

Typically, such allotment lands were marginal, and productive farming almost impossible. Nonetheless, under the conditions of displacement, abuse, and hunger created by the onslaught of miners and settlers in the later nineteenth century, a number of these allotments served as a type of refuge for the Shasta. There is an irony here, in that by permitting an expression of tribal solidarity, the allotments served an aim entirely alien to the assimilationist, "civilizing" philosophy behind the allotment acts. One such allotment (probably of 120 acres) belonging to Tyee Jim, one of the last Shasta chiefs,

served as a gathering point for many otherwise homeless Shasta. As Betty Hall, a historian of the Shasta tribe, has recounted:

Tyee Jim was the last Shasta chief we had, and it was customary if other Shasta Indians were in the area [*that*] they could always go to the chief's lodge and stay there . . . A lot of the other old Indians who were living in the area at the time—such as Sissy [*John*] and Nora [*Bateman*] who had nowhere else to go, they lived there. Old Mary lived there, and old Martha. Those are two old Indian women that had nowhere else to go. They probably lived in little lean-tos or little shacks, whatever they could get for shelter . . . Lucy Jim was the last one. She died in 1934.⁸

In their ethnographies anthropologists have so emphasized the stylized and formal aspects of culture—the realm of ritual—that they often have failed to give sufficient attention to the more subtle and less dramatic aspects of social life. It is important, in examining the character of Indian communities in the post-contact period, not to make this error. Many informants have described a wide range of gatherings—cooperative work efforts, celebrations, visits to medicinal springs, political meetings, even gambling parties—dating in their accounts from the 1920s to the present which demonstrates the endurance of traditional social ties.

Anthropologists of fifty years ago assumed that the cultures of Native American peoples were fragile, incapable of surviving the encounter with Euro-American institutions.

A Shasta informant, Carraway George, reported attending numerous ceremonies in the 1930s, many at the Sacramento River headwaters in Mt. Shasta City:

They would give thanks to the Great Spirit . . . before they eat. Then when the families got together they would have someone, being the elder at that time . . . give what . . . the Christian people would call a prayer. [*In the prayer*] he would be glad that he had lived this many years, that he had went through another year . . . [*as for*] the fact that so many of the people [*were there*]—he was glad that

Children pose in front of the schoolhouse near the Klamath Indian Agency. SOHS #12568

Cultural knowledge is largely tacit; it is learned—by experience. As Vine Deloria and Clifford Lytle have aptly said in discussing the relationship of formal education and Indian cultures:

A living culture is so much a part of a people that it is virtually incapable of recognition and formal academic transmission. Expecting schools to do the task formerly assumed spontaneously by parents, friends, relatives, and the community in concert is only to reduce tribal culture to a textbook phenomenon.¹¹



they had come . . . *[In the rest of the meeting]* they sat around and talked, talked about the families . . . where certain people lived at, and all these different things that pertained to the Shasta people. This is how that their knowledge was passed down, from one generation to the other.⁹

In a similar fashion, Delphine Masquat, a member of a Tchinouk group dispersed to southern Oregon, described the ongoing social ties within the Tchinouk community in the Sutherlin area:

[We were] at each other's houses all the time. You know we helped each other in any way we could . . . picking fruit, and we shared, and we had the togetherness—picnics, celebrating somebody's birth or birthday, whichever, and weddings.¹⁰

It is particularly important for those seeking the factors responsible for “persistent peoples” that they understand the many subtle ways in which “the community in concert” in the post-contact era conveys its knowledge.

An obvious domain of cultural transmission lies in the inheritance of crafts and techniques. One Shasta informant spoke vividly of learning basketry from her maternal grandmother, stressing that what was transmitted consisted not only of basketry techniques, but also a general attitude toward learning which could perhaps be characterized as a mixture of patience and deference. Shasta traditions

were also perpetuated through many undramatic and often deliberately unobtrusive patterns of behavior. For example, a Shasta woman's traditional clothing (e.g., buckskin skirts) was decorated with patterns of pine-nuts, beads and small pendants.¹² Yet as Betty Hall has pointed out, after conquest and resettlement on reservations the women perpetuated the design in Western modes of dress, work-

The author with Northern Paiutes during a study of the impact of proposed radioactive waste burial on traditional Indian lands. Photo courtesy Robert Winthrop



ing out the traditional patterns in lace and ribbon on their cotton dresses.¹³

Another quite significant domain involves knowledge of a cultural landscape, the environment of a given people seen in terms of culturally significant plants, animals, and terrain. Dibbins Cook, a Klamath informant now in his late eighties, as a boy accompanied his aunt on gathering expeditions. He acquired in this fashion an extremely detailed knowledge of the geographic availability and growing cycle of key plants in the Klamath aboriginal diet, including wocus, ipas, wild celery, and wild plums.¹⁴ Knowledge of medicinal plants offers another important field of traditional knowledge. Among the Fort Bidwell Northern Paiutes, for example, a number of older women continue to collect and preserve both edible and medicinal plants, and possess detailed knowledge of their traditional uses, though it is not clear to what extent such knowledge is

being passed to a younger generation.¹⁵

Matters of diet choice offer many different ties to native ways: as a body of traditional knowledge, as concrete symbols of connection to a landscape, and as ethnic markers differentiating through their customs Indians and Euro-Americans. Such preferences are not static, though. The aboriginal Klamath diet appears to have strongly emphasized fish and the marsh-growing wocus, with a secondary dependence on a wide range of roots, seeds, fruit, and shellfish.¹⁶ Today, however, a strong preference appears to be expressed for hunting. In a survey conducted in 1985 by the Klamath Tribe, respondents were asked to rank "all wildlife resources, including animals, plants, fish and birds that are important to you." The species most frequently included were elk, deer, duck, geese, and fish, in that order.¹⁷ Such shifting diet preferences may reflect, not a declining tradition, but an evolving one.

In few areas does the predominant perspective of Native Americans differ so strikingly from that of Euro-Americans as in the question of the appropriate use of land. Disagreements over land use serve to constellate Indian ideas and attitudes regarding the spiritual significance of nature, and to reinforce the ethnic distinctiveness of Indians within a dominant Euro-American society.

A dramatic example of such conflict occurred in Lake County in the mid-1980s, when the U.S. Department of Energy proposed to relocate in permanent burial some 600,000 cubic yards of radioactive waste stored at the time within the town of Lakeview. The waste was the by-product of uranium mining and milling operations in the region during the late 1950s and early 1960s. The Northern Paiutes, whose ancestral lands included the two proposed alternative disposal sites, responded vigorously to the relocation plans objecting in particular to a site located three miles from a mountain peak which the tribe considered sacred.

The following comment, excerpted from a letter from the tribe to the Department of Energy, is indicative:

It was at these sites (Drake Peak, Hart Mountain and Steens Mountain) that members of the aboriginal Northern Paiute bands sought communion with the Ancient Power. And it is at these same sites, like the Drake Peak area, that now, centuries later, Gidutikad people continue to seek spiritual help. These mountains for the Gidutikad people are comparable to other shrines in other religions, such as Mecca to Islam or the Vatican to Catholic Christians.¹⁸

The group also raised broader concerns, expressing fear regarding the effects of the project upon "cultural resources, plants, animals, soils, water and the scenic beauty of the areas recommended as new disposal sites," as well as the obvious danger of radioactive contamination.

This encounter of two cultures (and two economies) had a reasonably successful outcome, with the Department of Energy ultimately choosing to avoid the disposal plan in the vicinity of Drake Peak. A number of other controversial projects in the region have not had (from the Indian perspective) an equally positive outcome. The Salt Caves Dam project proposed for the upper Klamath River by the city of Klamath Falls struggles forward, despite opposition from the Klamath and Shasta peoples (and the state of Oregon) because

of its environmental consequences and the potential destruction of past village sites along the banks. Interestingly, in 1984 the Shasta held a public "vision quest" ceremony in the area of the proposed dam attended by city officials and project managers to dramatize their concern for the sacred character of the area and the threat posed by the dam project.

Further to the southwest, the Forest Service's highly controversial Gasquet—Orleans logging road was approved in 1988 by the U.S. Supreme Court, overturning the decisions of district and appellate courts, which had ruled for Indian plaintiffs in finding the project incompatible with traditional use of the area for vision quest activities. Both projects have served to catalyze cultural and political assertiveness by Indian groups in the region, a factor likely to have a bearing on the outcome of future controversies.

Anthropologists of fifty years ago assumed that the cultures of Native American peoples were fragile, incapable of surviving the encounter with Euro-American institutions. Certainly the extent of change has been dramatic, and when measured from the standpoint of aboriginal ways of life, almost inconceivable. Yet Indian cultures and self-awareness have not vanished. In greater or lesser degree many Indian groups may be said to constitute "persistent peoples."

The idea of individual ownership of land is foreign to Native American tradition.

It is essential to recognize that cultural persistence is compatible with change. Far from requiring an unvarying replication of past ways of thought and behavior, Spicer has argued that the cultural persistence of a people simply requires "the growth and development of a picture of themselves which arises out of their unique historical experience."²⁰ The values and ways of life of pre-contact times can continue to animate the cultural understandings of modern Klamath, Shasta, or Paiute, without relegating them to some museum dis-

play of static authenticity. In preserving such living traditions, these persistent peoples hold out the possibility of a cultural pluralism, a variety of perspectives on society, on the environment, or on spirituality, from which other peoples—notably those of the majority society—may benefit.



ENDNOTES

1. George P. Castile, "Issues in the Analysis of Enduring Cultural Systems," in *Persistent Peoples: Cultural Enclaves in Perspective*, eds. George P. Castile and Gilbert Kushner (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981), p. xvi.
2. *Ibid.*, p. xviii.
3. Edward H. Spicer, "Persistent Cultural Systems," *Science* 174 (1971):797.
4. See 25 CFR 83.
5. 25 CFR 83 (b) and (c).
6. Felix S. Cohen et al., *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Charlottesville; Michie Company,

- 1982), pp. 89–102, 128–34.
7. Personal communication with James Rock.
8. Robert Winthrop, "Survival and Adaptation Among the Shasta Indians" (Report prepared for the U.S. Forest Service, Klamath National Forest, Yreka, 1986), pp. 52–3.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 58–9.
10. Personal Interview with Delphine Masquat, 11/12/84.
11. Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (New York: Pantheon, 1984), p. 250.
12. Roland B. Dixon, "The Shasta," *American Museum of Natural History Bulletin* 175(1907):409.
13. Winthrop, "Survival and Adaptation," pp. 46, 55.
14. Winthrop Associates, "Multidisciplinary Assessment: Site 35KL680" (Report prepared for the U.S. Forest Service, Winema National Forest, Klamath Falls, 1989), app. 4.
15. Robert Winthrop, "Cultural Significance of

Radioactive Waste Disposal at the Flynn and Collins Ranch Sites (Lake County, Oregon) for the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley" (Report prepared for Jacobs Engineering Group, Albuquerque, 1985), pp. 29–33.

16. Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 30 (1930):145.
17. Winthrop Associates, "Multidisciplinary Assessment," pp. 17–18.
18. Winthrop, "Cultural Significance of Radioactive Waste Disposal," p. 9.

Robert Winthrop is a cultural anthropologist with major interests in cultural resource conservation policy, and the processes underlying cultural stability and change. He is the author of the forthcoming Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology, and editor of Culture and the Anthropological Tradition (in press).

From the Collections

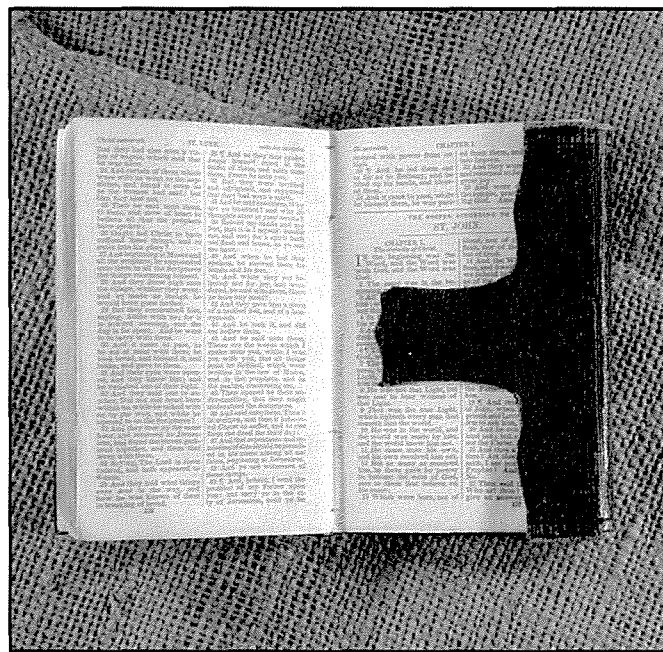
Earlier this summer, efforts to prepare The Willows, the Society's 120-year-old farmstead, for the summer season uncovered a real treasure in the dark recesses of a small side table in the home's dining room. The late Mary Hanley, former Willows owner and avid collector, had tucked away a small leather-bound New Testament once belonging to David W. Harris.

David, the son of George and Mary Ann Harris, moved with his parents and sister Sophia to a homestead north of Grants Pass in July 1855. There on October 9 the family fell victim to a group of raiding Rogue Indians retaliating for Jacksonville militiamen's attack the day before on their villages near Table Rock—an attack that killed twenty-eight of their people.

George was fatally injured in the surprise assault leaving Mary Ann alone to defend their home and daughter. For over five hours, she mounted a steady fire with whatever firearms and ammunitions she had on hand in the log cabin. Under the cover of darkness, Mary Ann and Sophia slipped into the night. The next day a detachment of dragoons drove off the remaining Indians.

Earlier on October 9, eight-year-old David had accompanied a neighbor, Samuel Bowden, to his home about a quarter of a mile north of the Harris place. Bowden said the boy had started for home before the attack began, but the Indians denied ever seeing him. Once rescued, Mary Ann asked the militia for help in finding her son. Four men were dispatched to search for David but found no trace of him. David W. Harris was never seen again.

The New Testament was given to David on February 24, 1853, by his teacher, F. A. Reed, who accompanied



the Harris family in their move from northern Oregon to the Rogue Valley so he could continue tutoring the children. Reed had been working in the woods at the time of the attack; his body was discovered a year later.

The New Testament's inscription reads "Reward of Merit, Presented to David W. Harris, by his teacher F. A. Reed, February 24, 1853." The book is now in the Society's research library.

Then and Now



For hundreds, even thousands of years, humans have created a variety of technologies to collect, preserve, prepare and store their food.

Native Americans utilized ceramics and basketry, creating unique shapes and designs characteristic of the geographic area, tribe, or individual maker. The Pit River Indians (*above*) wove light-colored bear grass and inky-dark maidenhair fern into baskets resplendent with geometric designs. These designs carried symbolic meaning which varied between tribes and bore names as evocative as "lizard's foot," "quail plume," "wolf's eye," and "deer scat in the trail." Made predominately by women, these baskets served for food collection, storage and preservation.

Although time-consuming to weave or coil, the lightweight and durable food-collecting baskets were widely favored by local Native Americans over heavier and breakable ceramics. Women took pride in this skill, producing baskets often used as trade items as well as functional containers.

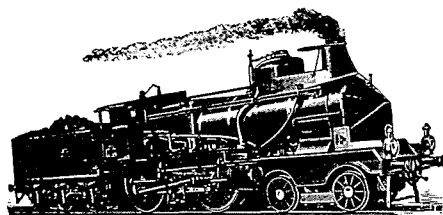
Many contemporary container designs forego aesthetics



and tradition in favor of efficiency and economy. Modern plastics have largely replaced the baskets, ceramics, glass and tinware of earlier times. One of the first companies promoting synthetic housewares, Tupperware® is nearly synonymous with kitchen plastics. Developed nearly 40 years ago by chemist Earl Tupper, the plastic containers and lids featured an air-tight seal guaranteed to preserve freshness. In the early 1950s, plastic housewares were not a common market item, and sales were uninspiring. Company officials decided that the revolutionary seal required a demonstration to convince housewives of its merits, and the "party plan" marketing strategy was started. Today, hostesses still demonstrate Tupperware products in the home environment.

Cathy Mendell, sales manager for Southern Oregon Tupperware Home Parties, shows her company's range of kitchenware products (*above right*). Tupperware has successfully followed contemporary lifestyle trends by offering new items such as microwave-safe containers, educational toys, custom kitchen design services, and commercial kitchen systems.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS



Through 1990

Making Tracks: The Impact of Railroad in the Rogue Valley The Society's major exhibit at the Jacksonville Museum of Southern Oregon History traces the coming and going of the railroad, how it changed people's lives and the Rogue Valley economy, its local role in the nation's battles overseas, and the introduction of the railroad worker as an important member of the valley's communities.

HANNAH: Pioneer Potters on the Rogue This exhibit features the wares and pottery-making techniques of the 19th-century Hannah pottery works (once located near present-day Shady Cove) and focuses on pioneer methods of food preservation and preparation. Jacksonville Museum of Southern Oregon History.



Through September 1989

There's No Place Like Home: Ashland Residential Architecture This panel exhibit traces the evolution of architectural styles in Ashland from the pit houses of the native Americans through the log cabins and early framed buildings to contemporary homes including geodesic domes. Swedenburg Cultural Resource Center.

Cornelius C. Beekman will continue to delight visitors to the **Beekman Bank** through the month of September. Guests will be regaled with tales of gold and adventure from the turn of the century. The bank will be open 1-5 p.m. on Fridays, Saturdays and Sunday. California Street, Jacksonville.

September 13-15

The Society's **bus tour** program enters autumn with a spectacular adventure to the gold and silver mines of western Nevada. Overnight accommodations in Reno. Call (503) 899-1847, Ext. 214, for details, but hurry as seats are filling fast!



September 16

We Knead Bread will be a children's workshop to introduce boys and girls, ages 7 to 14, to the American tradition of baking bread. Participants will investigate methods of wheat harvesting and milling while trying their hand at mixing, kneading, rising, and shaping their own loaf to bake at home. A visit to the C. C. Beekman House to explore a turn-of-the-century kitchen and have a taste of homemade bread (fresh from a wood-stove oven!) is included in the day's

activities. Preregistration and prepayment is required by 5 p.m. Wednesday, September 13. From 1-4 p.m. at the Children's Museum, Jacksonville. Fee: \$2.50 for Jr. Historians, \$3.50 for non-members. Call (503) 899-1847, Ext. 227 for more information.

September 27

The Southern Oregon Historical Society Board of Trustees will hold its monthly meeting at 7:30 p.m. at Jackson Education Service District (ESD) conference room, 101 N. Grape, Medford. Members and the general public are invited.

October 3-4

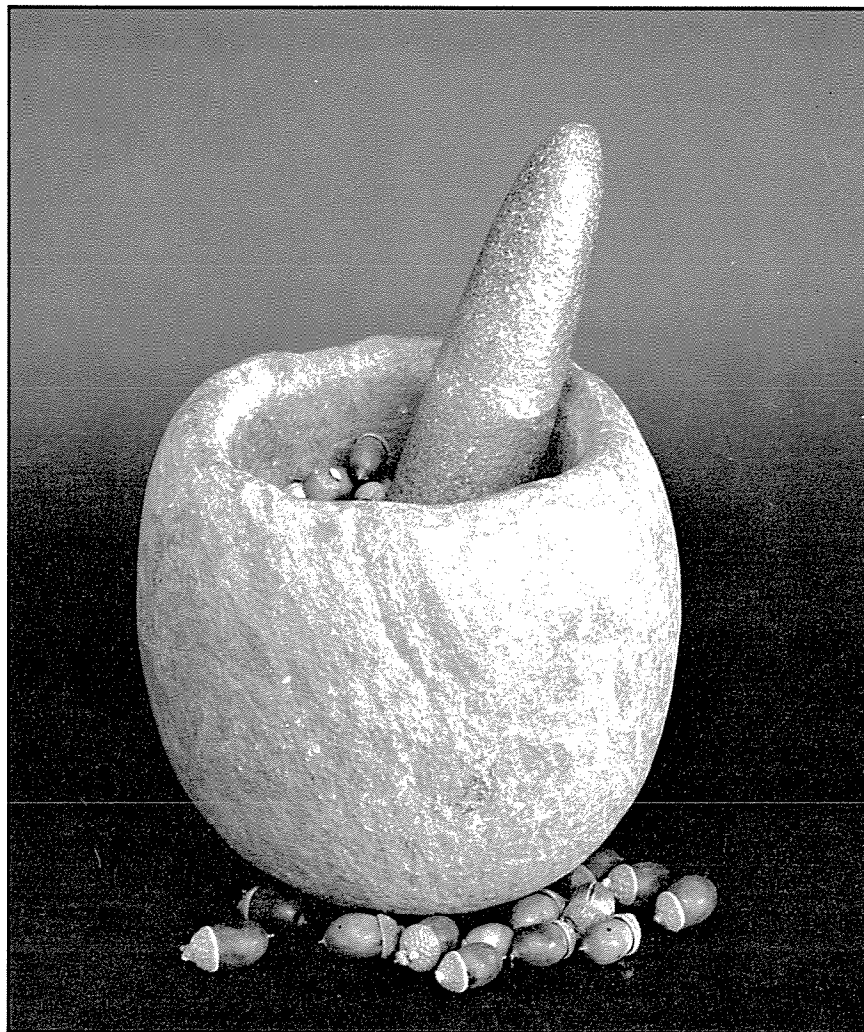
The final bus tour of the season ends with a splash! **Life on the River** takes you past the historic sites and events along the Coquille as you paddle inland on a double-deck sternwheeler. A three-hour cruise from Bandon, this journey includes a steak dinner grilled right on the boat. Fares range from \$96.00-136.00, depending upon hotel occupancy. Call (503) 899-1847, Ext. 214, for additional information.

October 7

Who's that following me? Children who attend the program **Me and My Shadow** will know as they re-discover a favorite pastime of pioneer children: shadow games. In a dimly lit room, participants ages 6 to 10 will enjoy playing "Shadow Bluff" and casting hand shadows in the forms of animals, people and monsters! From 1-3 p.m. at the Children's Museum in Jacksonville. Admission: \$.50 for Jr. Historians, \$1 for non-members. Call (503) 899-1847, Ext. 214.



CALENDAR OF EVENTS



October 11–November 7

In conjunction with the symposium mentioned below, the Society is preparing an exhibit on how local Native Americans viewed and used the environment around them. **Living with the Land: The Indians of Southwestern Oregon** will present critical new information derived from recent research and archaeological excavations in southern Oregon. Following the month-long run in the Stevenson Union Gallery, SOSC campus, the exhibit will travel to the Society's History Center in Medford where it will open on February 5, 1990.

October 19–21

The Society and the Southern Oregon

Anthropological Society at SOSC will sponsor a symposium, **Living with the Land: The Indians of Southwestern Oregon**, bringing together over 30 scholars and community leaders from the U.S. and Canada. The public is invited to attend and admission is free. Call (503) 488-1341 for program information or see related article inside.

October 25

The Southern Oregon Historical Society Board of Trustees will hold its monthly meeting at 7:30 p.m., location to be announced. Members and the general public are invited.

October 25

To celebrate Halloween, preschoolers (ages 3 to 6) are invited to a **Pumpkin Party** at 3 p.m. at the Children's Museum. There they will explore the tradition of the holiday through stories, games, and crafts activities. Participants will enjoy picking and decorating a pumpkin from the Museum's indoor pumpkin patch, too! Preregistration and prepayment is required by 5 p.m. Wednesday, October 18. Admission: \$2 for Jr. Historians, \$3 for non-members. Call (503) 899-1847, Ext. 227.



All offices and departments of the **Southern Oregon Historical Society**, except the Swedenburg Cultural Resource Center, may be reached by calling (503) 899-1847. The telephone number for the Swedenburg Cultural Resource Center is (503) 488-1341.

Jacksonville Museum of Southern Oregon History, P.O. Box 480, 206 North Fifth St., Jacksonville, OR 97530. Open Tues.–Sun. 10 a.m.–5 p.m.

Research Library in the Jacksonville Museum, P.O. Box 480, 206 North Fifth St., Jacksonville, OR 97530. Open Tues.–Fri., 1–5 p.m., Sat. 10 a.m.–5 p.m.

Children's Museum, P.O. Box 480, 206 North Fifth St., Jacksonville, OR 97530. Open Tues.–Sun. 10 a.m.–5 p.m.

Swedenburg Cultural Resource Center, 990 Siskiyou Blvd., Ashland, OR 97520. Open Tues.–Sat. 1–5 p.m.

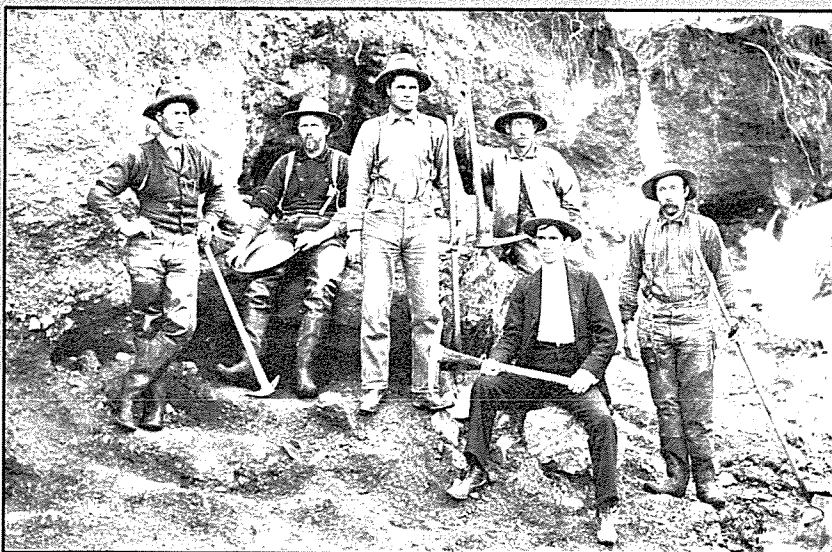
Administrative Offices, Armstrong House, 375 East California St., Jacksonville, OR 97530. Open Mon.–Fri. 8 a.m.–5 p.m.

Other Jackson County organizations associated with the Southern Oregon Historical Society are:

Woodville Museum, First and Oak Streets, P.O. Box 1288, Rogue River, OR 97537. Phone: (503) 582-3088. Open Tues.–Sun. 10 a.m.–4 p.m.

Eagle Point Historical Society Museum, North Royal Ave. (near the Antelope Creek Covered Bridge), P.O. Box 201, Eagle Point, OR 97524. Open Sat. 10 a.m.–4 p.m.

Gold Hill Historical Society, P.O. Box 26, Gold Hill, OR 97525



P.O. Box 480, Jacksonville, Oregon 97530-0480

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