

Huckleberry Mountain Traditional-Use Study
Final Report

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A photo taken in the campsite area of Huckleberry Mountain, circa 1900. A longstanding geographical nexus of American Indian resource activities and social life, Huckleberry Mountain had become an important place to both white and Indian families by this date. Buckets of huckleberries and a freshly dressed deer in this photo reflect the importance of this area in the domestic economy of local families, particularly among members of the tribes of southern Oregon. The multiethnic character of the group assembled for this photo hints at the role of this place as an enduring geographical locus of inter-tribal and cross-cultural interaction, a role that it continues to play to some degree into the present day. Photo courtesy of the Hescoek family, Klamath County, Oregon.

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary	1
Project Background	2
Environmental Setting	3
The Geography of Tribal Distribution: An Overview	4
Historical Context	6
The Road to Huckleberry Mountain	7
Placing Huckleberry Mountain within the Changing Seasonal Round	11
Huckleberry Mountain as Social Gathering Place	13
The Berrying Campsite	15
Berry Harvest	16
Berry Processing and Consumption	18
The Multiple Resources of the Summertime Seasonal Round	19
Divisions of Labor	25
Systems of Land Tenure	25
The Geographical Extent of the Huckleberry Mountain Traditional Use Area	26
Methods of Berry Enhancement	27
Huckleberry Mountain as an Educational Site	28
Sacred Spaces	28
Relations with Non-Indians	30
Contemporary Management Issues	30
Enduring Data Needs	33
Conclusions	34
Quoted Interviewees	36
Notes	37
Appendix: Maps	42

Executive Summary

Huckleberry Mountain, a volcanic plateau sitting in the Rogue River National Forest just west of Crater Lake National Park, is a particularly important place to many of the American Indian tribes of southern Oregon. Traditionally, Klamaths, Modocs, Molalas, Upper Umpquas, Takelmas, and others visited this place annually to gather berries, hunt, and socialize. To some of these groups, Huckleberry Mountain served as one of the most important food gathering sites in their world, and the staging ground for hunting, fishing, and gathering activities throughout the upper Rogue River basin. Arriving as the snow melted from the subalpine zone, families stayed at Huckleberry Mountain for up to three months at a time. Women traditionally gathered huckleberries and other plant materials along the top of the plateau, aided by children and the elderly, while men fanned out to more distant sites to fish for salmon and trout, and to hunt for elk, deer, bear, and a host of other animals. Individual families claimed specific campsites, to which they returned year after year, and held rights to the use of certain berry gathering sites. Fire and other methods were employed to enhance the natural productivity of huckleberries. A complex system of permanent trails connected Huckleberry Mountain to the villages of these tribes in the basins below. These factors allowed in excess of 1,000 people to occupy the site every year through much of the 19th and early 20th centuries, according to both written sources and the contemporary oral testimony of tribes.

A number of changes in the land and in the tribal societies and economies of southern Oregon have altered these patterns. The introduction of the horse, wagon, and ultimately the automobile reduced the time required to travel to and from Huckleberry Mountain while also increasing the dietary importance of the site to more distant tribes. The integration of the southern Molala into the Klamath Tribes enhanced the utilization of western Cascade resources among the high desert Klamaths and Modocs. Dietary, economic, demographic, and cultural changes emanating from contact with the white world slowly diminished tribal dependence upon the resources of Huckleberry Mountain. Fire suppression and modern land management practices reduced the productivity of berry patches. Despite these changes, Huckleberry Mountain has maintained profound significance among the tribes of southwestern Oregon. In addition to being the site of continuing, supplementary resource harvests today, Huckleberry Mountain has become a symbolically charged locus of tribal identity. The mountain serves as a refuge for certain traditional practices, and a place to which families still bring children to teach them what it means to be Indian. While past United States Forest Service policies have created barriers to the continuation of traditional uses at Huckleberry Mountain, certain opportunities exist for cooperation between the USFS and tribes to protect the distinctive resources of this place and to foster continued tribal use into the foreseeable future.

Project Background

Huckleberry Mountain, situated in the Rogue River National Forest just west of Crater Lake National Park, is a very important place to many of the American Indian tribes of southern Oregon and northern California. Traditionally, Klamaths, Modocs, Molalas, Upper Umpquas, Takelmas, and others visited this place annually to gather berries, hunt, and socialize. “We all shared the huckleberry patch...all the tribes gathered there.”(SS) In the course of a National Park Service-sponsored study of traditional tribal uses of Crater Lake National Park and Lava Beds National Monument, Klamath, Modoc, and Cow Creek Umpqua tribal consultants expressed considerable interest in Huckleberry Mountain, and provided numerous insights regarding traditional uses of this area. Indeed, the majority of tribal consultants contacted during this study seemed eager to discuss this place, which has played such a prominent role in their personal and collective histories. Recognizing the potential value of this information, staff of the Rogue River National Forest provided additional funding to the Crater Lake/Lava Beds (CRLA/LABE) traditional use study in order to facilitate the expanded investigation of tribal uses of Huckleberry Mountain.

The research consisted of original ethnography, which relied on the accounts of tribal members to explicate the historical and ongoing uses of Huckleberry Mountain. Literature review and documentary research was not part of the current project, nor was oral history research with non-Native consultants. The principal investigator, Dr. Douglas Deur, sought to identify consistent patterns in the tribes’ oral traditions surrounding Huckleberry Mountain. With time, and with a growing number of interviews, consistent patterns became evident. Many contemporary tribal consultants reported that they have gone to Huckleberry Mountain almost every summer since their childhood, to attend social gatherings with old friends and family, to reflect on traditional lifeways, and to collect berries. Not only did they return to the same campsites, but to the same general patches of huckleberries each year. Almost every consultant remembers the trip to Huckleberry Mountain fondly: “it has always been fun ...I love to pick. I love to come up here.”¹(MW) Klamaths, in particular, consistently report that the berries from Huckleberry Mountain, particularly black mountain huckleberries (*Vaccinium membranaceum*), were a significant component of their traditional diet, and that in excess of 1,000 people gathered there simultaneously each summer to pick berries annually through much of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The many other recollections reported consistently by tribal consultants constitute the ethnographic and ethnohistorical data presented in this report.

The use of the Huckleberry Mountain area has changed over time. This change reflects nominally ‘internal’ factors --- such as changes in Klamath diet, economy, and society, as well as ‘external’ factors---such as incorporation into the United States national political economy, improvements in transportation, federal agency land management policies, and enforced restrictions on American Indian resource use and management. Despite these transformations and attendant changes, the significance of Huckleberry Mountain remains high. Tribal consultants assert that Huckleberry Mountain was one of the most important resource sites in their world prior to the mid-20th century. This place continues to be used by some tribal members for both social and resource-gathering purposes today. Arguably, its enduring use and importance into the 21st century makes it a symbolically charged geographic locus of tribal society and identity. Over the years, some Klamaths have expressed

bewilderment that Huckleberry Mountain was not included in their treaty lands. Both Klamaths and Cow Creeks now seek a voice in the area's future management.²

The document that follows provides thematic summaries of the findings of the Huckleberry Mountain component of the CRLA/LABE traditional use study. The report is based upon formal ethnographic interviews with 38 tribal members that were audio-taped, and over 55 additional informal interviews with tribal members. In addition, the primary investigator made five field visits to Huckleberry Mountain with tribal members between June 1999 and August 2001, visits that involved informal interviews and considerable berry-picking. Most, but not all, of the interviewees for this study were tribal elders. The majority were enrolled members of the Klamath Tribes, a confederated tribe that includes members of Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin Paiute ancestry. In addition, the Klamath Tribes rolls include many (perhaps most) remaining descendents of the Southern Molala; "lots of Molalas lived up in the headwaters of the Rogue...[in the 19th century] many married Klamaths and became part of the Klamath Tribes."³(HW). A small number of additional interviews were conducted with enrolled members of other tribes with strong historical affiliations with the Huckleberry Mountain area. These included the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians and the Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma. The accounts of elders from different families and different tribes exhibited understandable variability. Yet, as a body of shared knowledge, certain assertions, beliefs, and concerns were mentioned with great consistency.⁴ The direct quotations provided below are chosen because they eloquently express themes and ideas mentioned by multiple tribal consultants. Where specific interviewees are being quoted, their names are either indicated in the text or through the use of abbreviations. A list of the interviewees referred to by abbreviations is provided at the end of the document.

Environmental Setting⁵

Huckleberry Mountain is a broad but deeply dissected volcanic plateau, covering an area of nearly twenty square miles, in southwestern Oregon's upper Rogue River drainage. Situated in the northeastern corner of Jackson County, Huckleberry Mountain proper lies entirely within Rogue River National Forest and is adjacent to the boundary of Crater Lake National Park. Traditional use areas associated with Huckleberry Mountain, however, extend beyond the lands administered by Rogue River National Forest and into what is today both private land and Crater Lake National Park.

Huckleberry Mountain represents a remnant of a massive shield volcano of the High Cascades, formed during the late-Miocene and Pliocene epochs, approximately 4 to 8 million years ago. It is composed of andesite lava flows, which are interbedded close to the volcanic vents with pyroclastic deposits of the same age. The rocks of Huckleberry Mountain thus were formed long before the development of Mt. Mazama, which began during the late Pleistocene epoch. However, Pleistocene glaciers dramatically sculpted the deep U-shaped upper basins of Union Creek, Ginkgo Creek, and Red Blanket Creek. These streams occupy steep-walled canyons that bound Huckleberry Mountain along the northeast, southwest, and southeast, respectively. The upper Rogue River flows in a broader canyon immediately to the west of Huckleberry Mountain.

Elevations of the shield volcano *massif* vary from a low of about 3,500 feet above sea level at the southwestern base of the plateau (near lower Mill Creek) to a high of 6,370 feet at

the summit pinnacle of Huckleberry Mountain. The prominence of Huckleberry Mountain was a volcanic outcrop that is one of the shield volcano's original vents. Most of the summit-plateau is situated between 4,500 and 6,000 feet above sea level. Union Creek, Mill Creek, Varmint Creek, and their tributaries all originate from various springs situated on or near the summit of Huckleberry Mountain. The broader region's climate is characterized by relatively droughty summers and snowy, wet winters. Indeed, most of the annual precipitation falls on Huckleberry Mountain as snow. The deep snow pack sometimes lasts as late as May or June.

At the lower and medium elevations of Huckleberry Mountain (up to about 5,000 feet), the vegetation consists of a mixed-conifer forest. This vegetation community is dominated by Douglas-fir (*Pseudotsuga menzeisii*), Ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*), sugar pine (*P. lambertiana*), white fir (*Abies concolor*), western hemlock (*Tsuga heterophylla*), and incense cedar (*Calocedrus decurrens*), with such species as Pacific dogwood (*Cornus nuttallii*), serviceberry (*Amelanchier spp.*), and Pacific hazel (*Corylus cornuta californica*) in the understory. Manzanita (*Arctostaphylos spp.*) and snowbrush (*Ceanothus velutinus*) forms brushfields. Above 5,000' the mixed-conifer community gives way to a true-fir forest dominated by almost pure stands of Shasta red fir (*A. magnifica shastensis*), with scattered western white pine (*P. monticola*), mountain hemlock (*T. mertensiana*), and, increasingly, younger stands of white fir. Small patches of lodgepole pine (*P. latifolia*) and groves of quaking aspen (*Populus tremuloides*) occupy portions of some open meadow locations, and Engelmann spruce (*Picea engelmanni*) grows in boggy ground. This forest's understory is dominated by black mountain huckleberry (*Vaccinium membranaceum*), as well as the much the smaller broom huckleberry (*V. deliciosum*).

Although grizzly bear and timber wolf would have been present in the vicinity prior to 1900, the larger mammals currently found at Huckleberry Mountain include Roosevelt elk, black-tailed deer, black bear, coyote, cougar, bobcat, fisher, marten, and weasel. Snowshoe hare, pika, and a wide variety of rodents (e.g., chickaree, woodrat, deer mouse, and vole) also reside on the mountain. Among the more common birds are hermit thrush, mountain chickadee, Oregon junco, nuthatch, pileated woodpecker, Stellar's jay, gray jay, raven, goshawk, red-tailed hawk, and golden eagle. The lower sections of Huckleberry Mountain's main streams currently support small populations of native and planted trout. Though anadromous fish were formerly present in the Rogue River, about ten miles west and southwest of Huckleberry Mountain, anadromous fish are not believed to have occurred in the upper Rogue drainage immediately adjacent to Huckleberry Mountain.

The Geography of Tribal Distribution: An Overview

Huckleberry Mountain sits at what was, in many respects, a border zone between precontact tribal territories. To the immediate east of Huckleberry Mountain were the territories of the constituent communities of the Klamath, centered on the marshes and lakes of the upper Klamath Basin. To the immediate west and north were the territories of the constituent communities of the Southern Molala, which were situated on the eastern and western sloping drainages of the Cascade Range. The entirety of the traditional use area discussed in this report was situated at what appears to have been a vaguely defined border between the two broadly-defined tribal territories. More distant, to the west, were the Athapaskan-speaking Upper Umpqua, with territories centered primarily on the North

Umpqua River and the main stem of the Umpqua. And, to the southwest were the Takelma-speaking tribes of southwestern Oregon, most notably the Cow Creek, with territories situated primarily on the South Umpqua River and Cow Creek drainages. While this does not exhaust the list of precontact peoples who were associated with Huckleberry Mountain, they were the most proximate, and other tribes arriving at Huckleberry Mountain had to pass through these tribes' territories to access the area.

Today's tribes reflect a considerable admixture of precontact tribal groups. Inter-marriage and the free exchange of ideas clearly were widespread prior to contact (and thus the concept of entirely discrete precontact "tribes" is in itself deeply problematic). However, the circumstances of the contact period and Euroamerican resettlement resulted in the considerable fragmentation and amalgamation of distinct tribes. Thus, while consultants for this study were nominally "Klamath" and "Cow Creek," the count among their ancestors Athapaskan-speaking Upper Umpquas, Southern Molalas, Modocs, and many other tribes.

The subalpine zone of the Cascade Range in the vicinity of Huckleberry Mountain was clearly not a place with sharp inter-tribal boundaries prior to European contact. This permeability of tribal boundaries only seems to have increased in the wake of the social, economic, and demographic upheavals of the contact period, discussed in the following section. Resource-rich subalpine sites along tribal boundary zones in the Cascade Range typically were utilized by multiple tribes, as was clearly the case at Huckleberry Mountain. It was no one tribe's exclusive domain. Nor, for that matter, were other sites of comparable significance in the vicinity the exclusive domain of individual tribes. Huckleberry Mountain appears to have been utilized most intensively by Southern Molala and Klamath tribal members before and after European contact, but it also seems clear that the ancestors of today's Cow Creek Umpqua, and other west-side tribes periodically accessed the site. (This access increased as more efficient modes of transportation became available, as will be discussed in subsequent sections.) Similarly, the "Huckleberry Patch" at Huckleberry Gap, in what is today the Rogue-Umpqua Divide Wilderness was a place of berry gathering, hunting, and a host of social activities comparable to Huckleberry Mountain.⁶ While the Huckleberry Gap area, more proximate to the Cow Creek territories, was certainly the most important huckleberry-gathering site to the Cow Creeks, this did not preclude the utilization of other sites. Likewise, the Klamaths often ventured to Huckleberry Gap, despite the resources at Huckleberry Mountain, and this pattern of use continues in a much-reduced capacity even today. The testimony of contemporary Klamath consultants indicates that scarcity was sometimes a factor in tribes' decisions to visit more distant harvesting sites. Simply put, if the Klamaths ventured to the High Cascades, precluding low-elevation summertime gathering, and found berries or game wanting at Huckleberry Mountain, they were motivated to seek out these resources at the nearest comparable location, Huckleberry Gap. While this was not the sole motivating factor for Klamath visits, oral accounts suggest that it was a significant one. The same pattern of use may be speculated for the Cow Creek patterns of utilization at Huckleberry Mountain. Within the larger constellation of High Cascades resources, these factors resulted in considerable annual variability in the precise geography of resource utilization, and the intensification of many prime resource-gathering sites, which – like Huckleberry Mountain – tended to be dominated by, but not exclusively used by, specific tribes. In light of these facts, this report centers on the testimony of Klamath Tribes consultants, who possess the most direct ties to Huckleberry Mountain, but also incorporates some references to the accounts of Cow Creek consultants, whose ancestors used the site

periodically, in conjunction with their use of more proximate resource sites at Huckleberry Gap.⁷

Historical Context⁸

Patterns of tribal activity at Huckleberry Mountain have changed considerably since the time of European contact, due to a variety of introduced technologies, diseases, ideas, and economic activities. A series of epidemics dramatically changed the demographic landscape of southern Oregon, beginning prior to the direct arrival of Euroamericans; smallpox alone passed through southwestern Oregon in the 1770s, 1801, 1824-25, and 1838.⁹ To be sure, the populations first encountered and documented by Euroamerican explorers represented only a fragment of the much larger populations that preceded these epidemics. By the 1820s, Euroamerican fur trappers were making initial forays into southwestern Oregon, instigating the first instances of cross-cultural contact for most of the tribes of the region. During this same period, the Klamath and Modoc tribes already had become tied into the larger trade networks centered on the Dalles. Through the acquisition of guns and horses, the Klamaths and Modocs were by this time engaging in much expanded raiding of their neighbors (particularly the Achumawi of northern California) for goods and for slaves. These introduced objects and technologies clearly had impacts on patterns of use at Huckleberry Mountain, which shall be discussed in the pages that follow.

As permanent white settlements began to appear in southern Oregon, the aloof, sporadic quality of Indian-white relations began to transform markedly. By the late 1830s and 1840s, particularly west of the Cascade Range, French and mixed-blood trappers intermarried with women from the tribes of the region, and many Cow Creek tribal members of today are descendents of these marriages. This period also witnessed the first entry of a small number of men into the cash economy, as a handful of tribal members took on agricultural jobs in the Willamette Valley and elsewhere. In 1853, the Cow Creek Umpqua became the first Oregon tribe to be federally recognized in the treaty process. However, increased competition for land and resources generated growing tensions between west-side tribes and white settlers and armed conflicts ensued, culminating in the Rogue River Indian War of 1855-56. Following this war, a number of families from west-side tribes, including some with traditional ties to Huckleberry Mountain, were forcibly relocated to Grand Ronde Reservation in the Oregon Coast Range.¹⁰

The late 19th century marked a time of tremendous transition for the tribes of southern Oregon, as the United States consolidated its control of the southern Oregon hinterland and white agricultural settlement became increasingly ubiquitous. A small number of Cow Creeks and other west-side tribal members avoided removal and found refuge in the High Cascades, perhaps enhancing the use of resources at Huckleberry Mountain, Huckleberry Gap, and other subalpine sites. Cow Creeks and other west-side tribes removed to Grand Ronde ceased visiting all sites in their traditional territory at this time. Meanwhile, as shall be discussed in later sections of this report, Southern Molala tribal members rapidly integrated into neighboring tribes, most notably the Klamath Tribes. East of the Cascades, the Klamaths, Modocs, and Yahooskins signed a treaty in 1864, ceding a sizeable portion of their land to the United States (including Huckleberry Mountain). The bulk of the tribal population east of Huckleberry Mountain thus agreed to live solely on the newly formed Klamath Reservation,

but a sizeable number of Modocs resisted this relocation, culminating in their participation in the Modoc War of 1872-73. By 1870, the creation of Indian Agencies on the Klamath Reservation placed tribal members under the direct influence of the United States federal government. Increasingly restricted to the Reservation and schooled in non-traditional pursuits, the “Agency period,” running from roughly 1870 through the 1920s, was a time of dramatic change in the use of Huckleberry Mountain. A growing number of men, in particular, became laborers on farms, ranches, and logging operations, both on and off the Reservation, creating scheduling conflicts with the Huckleberry Mountain harvest and alternative avenues toward economic stability.

The 20th century brought changes that were equally disorienting. A modest return migration of Cow Creeks from Grand Ronde brought some tribal members into renewed proximity to Huckleberry Mountain. Intensified federal efforts at cultural assimilation served to reinforce social and economic changes derived from greater integration into the dominant culture and cash economy. In 1954, both the Klamath Tribes and the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians were terminated. For many tribal members, the decade that followed represented a disastrous period, as federal employment and benefits disappeared, and access to and control over traditional land bases eroded. Some families were separated as individuals left southern Oregon in search of employment; for some, alcoholism, lack of access to health care, and a range of other newly emergent social ills compounded these problems. By the 1960s, these tribes had become ethnically distinct (and often marginal) members of the majority society, despite the perpetuation of many traditional practices and the maintenance of a remarkably high degree of internal social cohesion. In 1982, the Cow Creek regained federal recognition, and by 1984 received \$1.5 million in compensation for lands taken in the 1850s without due compensation. In 1986, the Klamath Tribes officially regained federal recognition, but did not regain their Reservation. Efforts to regain a land base currently represent one of the most pressing agendas of the Klamath Tribes government. Since restoration, both tribes have made impressive strides in reversing the adverse effects of termination, and in generating economic and cultural initiatives that have had tangible benefits for many tribal members.¹¹

The Road to Huckleberry Mountain

Klamath consultants report that, prior to the time of termination in the 1950s, families began to arrive at Huckleberry Mountain as soon as the snows melted, and many stayed until the snows began to accumulate again in the early fall.¹² Most expressed the belief that this chronology of site occupation long predated European contact. The ancestors of contemporary Cow Creeks probably were present for a comparable period of time. Certain mountains are visible from tribal settlements on the Klamath Basin floor that are of similar elevation to Huckleberry Mountain. Klamaths report that they could estimate the depth of snow at Huckleberry Mountain by observing the snow level on these mountainsides. As soon as the snow had melted off these mountains to a suitable elevation, families packed up and left the Klamath Basin for Huckleberry Mountain. During the first half of the 20th century -- the late agency period -- men often did not stay at Huckleberry Mountain for extended stays during the summer. Instead, they held jobs in the Basin and joined their families (the women, children, and elderly) at the extended family campsites on the weekends. At the close of the

harvest season, these men knew when it was time to pick up their families by watching the level of this snow line. Buzz Kirk recalls talking with his grandmother at the family's Huckleberry Mountain campsite one morning when snow began to accumulate; his grandmother told him to begin packing because his grandfather would see the snow level from their home near Chiloquin and would be arriving in approximately two hours to pick them up. In a little under two and a half hours, his grandfather arrived by car.(OK) Cow Creek consultants reported similar techniques of determining when to make the ascent to Huckleberry Mountain, even though their view of the high slopes of the Cascade Range were obscured by lower peaks. Instead, they watched for the presence of a particular type of white moth that appeared in large numbers high in the trees near their homes; "when this happened, they knew that the huckleberries would be ready soon, and it was time to go." (SS)

Prior to the construction of roads in the late 19th century, Huckleberry Mountain was connected to core tribal settlement areas in the adjacent river basins by a network of permanent trails. Most Klamath consultants report that their primary traditional route to Huckleberry Mountain roughly followed the present-day course of Highway 62 through Crater Lake National Park. Originally, this route to Huckleberry Mountain consisted of a primary low-gradient foot trail, as well as a small network of secondary foot trails to encampments and other activity areas located in the adjacent terrain. Many consultants suggest that this primary trail ascended from the Klamath Basin up Annie Creek Canyon, while others report that the trail followed the ridge above this canyon. It is likely that trails followed both the canyon floor and the canyon rim. While the trail following the top of the canyon rim would have provided the easiest route of travel, unobstructed by creek meanders, downed timber, and dense riparian vegetation, the canyon floor provided a number of resources that could have been exploited during the trip, including fish, berries, and abundant water. Some consultants report campsites within Annie Creek canyon that were regularly visited by some families, where travelers could gather modest amounts of fish and berries. However, the viability of the canyon floor route would have fluctuated seasonally, as a result of seasonal variability in streamflow, which sometimes flooded the alluvial bench on which the trail was perched. Possible pathways between the rim and the canyon may be found in such locations as Cold Spring and Squaw Camp, which have documented campsites along these trails. Meanwhile, Molala and Upper Umpqua appear to have arrived via trails ascending along Union Creek, though other trails may have lead up Mill Creek and other Rogue tributaries; Umpqua families crossed over into the Rogue drainage somewhere in the present-day Rogue-Umpqua Divide Wilderness, possibly along trails passing by Huckleberry Gap. A Takelma trail appears to have ascended the Rogue basin through the Red Blanket area, though ethnographic references to this trail system have been both scarce and vague.

Tribal use of the trail network to and from Huckleberry Mountain appears to have intensified after the introduction of horses, and this may have resulted in the increased clearing and expansion of preexisting trails during the early 19th century. The Annie Creek trail to Huckleberry Mountain provided the foundation for the subsequent development of a wagon road that passed along the northern base of Huckleberry Mountain between Fort Klamath and Jacksonville. This wagon road was developed as a military route and cattle-drive trail between the Rogue River Valley and Fort Klamath. This wagon road was improved incrementally by military personnel stationed at Fort Klamath to facilitate wagon passage beginning in 1865. In turn, this wagon road was partially realigned, improved, and designated

as Oregon State Highway 62 (Crater Lake Highway) in the years between roughly 1917 and 1927.¹³

A number of alternative routes to and from Huckleberry Mountain have been mentioned by tribal consultants. One frequently-mentioned trail passed from the villages of the Klamath Marsh area, near present-day Kirk, following along the north side of Crater Lake through the “Pumice Desert” area (formerly known as Antelope Prairie) of the park. From here, the trail followed the contour along the northwestern edge of Crater Lake a short distance upslope from the deeply dissected canyons of National Creek, Copeland Creek, and myriad other creeks of this zone, ultimately connecting to Huckleberry Mountain via Wagon Camp. (This trail also had a spur that continued northward to Diamond Lake.) Another trail passed from the northern edge of Upper Klamath Lake, following the lower slopes of the mountain called Goose Egg, and through the vicinity of Stuart Falls, Injun Camp, and Varmint Camp, arriving at the southern edge of Huckleberry Mountain. This may have served as the preferred trail for people from the villages on the west side of Upper Klamath Lake prior to relocation to the Reservation, and likely connected into the Red Blanket trail descending into Takelma territories. Though the relative pre-contact importance of these routes is unclear, it is apparent that the use of these secondary trails was eclipsed by the Annie Creek route as horses and wagons became an increasingly important part of the Huckleberry Mountain trek. This enhanced use of the Annie Creek route was intensified yet again as Klamath and Modoc peoples became geographically concentrated on the southern portion of the Klamath Reservation. The wagon road route on the canyon rim along Annie Creek was improved and maintained for the use of these large vehicles, while such improvements were not made historically to other preexisting foot and horse trails. For this reason, tribal members’ knowledge of these alternative routes is based solely on their recollection of oral tradition; only the Annie Creek route is recalled on the basis of their first-hand experiences.

The importance of well-established trails in the Huckleberry Mountain area should not be underestimated. In addition to demonstrating regular, long-term patterns of site use, these trails served to minimize disorientation within a potentially difficult navigational environment. Consultants often noted that “the trees all look the same” both on the mountain and on its approaches, and only in places with clearings or distinctive features can one easily discern one’s location.(HW) Traditionally, families were concerned that children picking berries at Huckleberry Mountain without adult supervision could become disoriented in this environment and become lost. Children were told that, if they became disoriented when picking berries away from the campsites they should stop picking and start heading uphill, and should continue to travel uphill until they were at the top of the ridge. Campsites were sufficiently dense along the top of the ridge that they were certain to encounter people who could point them to their family’s camp.

The arduous traditional trek to and from Huckleberry Mountain by foot, with extended families carrying heavy loads for twenty or more rugged miles, required several days and multiple overnight stopovers. The growing efficiency of transportation over the last two centuries, from foot travel to horseback, to wagon, to automobile, had a number of implications for this trek. Campsites along the Annie Creek trail (and the other trails mentioned above) appear to have been numerous in the early 19th century. Such campsites were particularly common near springs with associated meadows, which provided grazing meadows for horses, supplemental resources such as berries, and predictable sources of water. Some consultants express the notion that almost every major spring on the approaches to

Huckleberry Mountain was used as a campsite by some segment of the historical tribal population. "Everywhere there's a spring...that's where people camped."(NE) As modes of transportation grew more efficient with the introduction of the horse and the improvement of trails, fewer stopovers were required, and the use of a number of smaller spring-side campsites gradually discontinued.¹⁴ Larger springs continued to serve as stopover points however, and provided overnight campsites during the two-to-three day trek to Huckleberry Mountain that characterized the horse-and-wagon era. Cold Spring (sometimes called Bridge Creek Spring), sitting within Crater Lake National Park along the modern route of Highway 62, is frequently mentioned as an overnight stopover site. The use of this site persisted through much of the 19th and early 20th centuries, even as the use of the site by non-Native park visitors increased and Park Service officials established a public campground at the site in the early 20th century. The Thousand Springs area is also mentioned as an enduring stopover site.¹⁵ Further west, along the banks of Whiskey Creek, Whiskey Camp was a popular stopover site, with abundant water and patches of berries (particularly blackberries, which were rare but prized in the Klamath world) that were commonly picked there.¹⁶ A small number of Klamath families were reported to have parked their wagons at Whiskey Camp and ascended Huckleberry Mountain from there by foot or horseback.

During the 19th and early 20th century, most wagons were taken as far as Wagon Camp, on the north bank of Union Creek. The site was considered a particularly appropriate stopover and staging area, as it possessed abundant water, nearby grazing meadows (south of the creek), and level wagon "parking" areas on an alluvial bench adjacent to the creek.¹⁷ Families often spent nights at Wagon Camp, on their way both to and from Huckleberry Mountain at the beginning and end of the picking season. People commonly arrived at Wagon Camp in the late afternoon or evening, and camped there until the following morning, when they began their ascent up the mountain or their trip home. A number of secondary berries were gathered in the riparian zone near this site, including thimbleberry, blackberry, and Oregon grape; bracken fern from the riparian zone may have also been gathered and utilized as both a food and a packing material, while tree limbs were sometimes gathered for bedding. Some consultants note that families fished for trout in this area as well, providing a supplementary food at the campsite.

During the trip to Huckleberry Mountain, horses were removed from their wagons at Wagon Camp, and all camp items were taken by foot or packhorse the remainder of the distance to the camping and picking areas atop the mountain. The route between Wagon Camp and Huckleberry Mountain consisted of at least one permanent and rather steep trail; this trail could still be seen until recently. Logging and other site disturbances have eliminated most traces of this trail today.¹⁸ Upon reaching their destination on the ridge of Huckleberry Mountain, tribal members left their horses to graze in the large meadows in the headwaters of Grouse Creek and Crawford Creek on the northern side of the Huckleberry Mountain ridge, a short distance north of the primary campsite areas. Up to 40 horses could be seen grazing there at one time.¹⁹ (HW) Still, horses were not exclusively kept in this meadow, and some families allowed their horses to graze in the meadows immediately adjacent to their camps. Horses were not usually penned, but were hobbled with an unidentified apparatus (perhaps a trammel) on their legs; bells were also placed on horses so that they could be tracked down if they wandered from the grazing areas.

As automobiles eclipsed the use of wagons in the early- to mid-20th century, the number of stopover points along the route to Huckleberry Mountain continued to dwindle. By

the mid-20th century, as automobiles became more dependable and their use became more widespread among tribal members, overnight stopovers largely ceased along the road to Huckleberry Mountain. Families increasingly traveled to Huckleberry Mountain in the morning, only to drive home that same evening, though overnight camping still persists among some families. Some former stopover sites have become picnic spots, where families sometimes stop to eat and to teach children about the site's use during a drive to or from the Huckleberry Mountain harvesting areas.

Placing Huckleberry Mountain within the Changing Seasonal Round

Clearly, the significance of Huckleberry Mountain within the seasonal round of the tribes of southern Oregon has been in flux during the last two centuries. Situated close to the geographic heart of certain Southern Molala bands, it is clear that the resources available from the site were significant to the diet of the Molalas, who ascended from lower-elevation fishing, hunting and gathering sites in the Cascade Range during the summer.²⁰ Some of the northwestern-most Klamath communities were also close enough to facilitate comparable patterns of use. Other tribes, living in more distant locations, also appear to have utilized the site extensively, but the size of resource harvests was restricted by the combined effects of distance and the weight of the foodstuffs that had to be carried back to villages from roughly 25 to well over 50 miles' distance. The utilization of packhorses, and later wagons, appears to have allowed for the intensified use of resources from the Huckleberry Mountain area during the 19th century by these more distant tribal communities. While most consultants agree that the annual use of the area by Klamaths, Takelmas, Upper Umpquas, and others predates the arrival of the horse, it is likely that the arrival of the horse allowed the considerable expansion of the Huckleberry Mountain component of these tribes' seasonal round.

Thus, consultants report that, by the mid-19th century, families brought entire wagonloads of processed salmon, deer meat, and berries back to the Klamath Basin from Huckleberry Mountain camps at the end of the summer. By the turn-of-the-century, Klamaths used "whole pack trains to pack out all the berries, meat and fish." (HW) Cow Creeks likewise say that each family carried out "as much as 3 or 4 horses could carry" and often filled multiple wagons with berries and other goods from Huckleberry Mountain. (TR)²¹ Such levels of per-capita resource extraction would have been impossible to sustain prior to the arrival of the horse, when all packing was accomplished by foot.²² Certainly, game and fish were abundant in the vicinity of Huckleberry Mountain, not to mention berries and a host of other plant foods that shall be outlined below. With the ability to pack out such large quantities of food and other materials, the specter of limited returns, or "scheduling conflicts" with other lowland resources during extended stays at Huckleberry Mountain became increasingly irrelevant for tribes living far from the site. Thus, families' stays of two to three months, a figure reported by many tribal consultants, became not only possible, but in many cases desirable during the hot summer months for the tribes living many miles distant from Huckleberry Mountain. The length of stay at Huckleberry Mountain during this period was reportedly a function of the productivity of local resources; consultants suggest that if food was abundant and it took one month to acquire all of the needed foods for the following year people stayed a month --- if it took two or three months during a year of low berry output, they would stay two or three months.²³

As technological diffusion during the 19th century allowed for the geographical expansion of the seasonal round and the intensified use of peripheral resource sites, other social changes were afoot that appear to have altered the role of Huckleberry Mountain within the larger pattern of tribal land use. Significantly, the mid-19th century witnessed the decimation of many tribes in southwestern Oregon by disease, a series of treaties that extinguished aboriginal title to the southern Oregon Cascades, and the Rogue Indian wars, which raised Indian-white hostilities to a fevered pitch west of the Cascade Range. In light of these changes, surviving members of the Southern Molala increasingly began to migrate onto the Klamath Reservation, a seeming “safe haven” from many of these troubles, and to integrate into the Klamath Tribes.²⁴ Molalas who had once traveled only a few miles eastward from their former village sites in the Cascade Range to visit Huckleberry Mountain now traveled 30 miles or more to the northwest in order to visit their traditional campsites and to utilize the resources on the mountain. As Molalas increasingly integrated into the Klamath population, Klamath Tribes’ uses and knowledge of the resources west of the Cascade crest appears to have increased significantly. While seasonal migrations west of the Cascade crest reportedly had been a longstanding Klamath tradition, the integration of Molala and Klamath interests in the region seems to have drawn many Klamaths ever more into west-side subsistence activities. This inter-tribal integration may help to explain the position of Huckleberry Mountain within the seasonal round of associated tribes as it appears in the 19th century, with particularly intensive Klamath use, no “resident” tribal communities dwelling year-round in the nearby riparian areas of the Cascade Range, and patterns of summertime migration becoming established primarily along routes running east-west to distant tribal communities.

While certain outcomes of Indian-white interaction, such as the introduction of horses and wagons, facilitated the intensification of tribal resource use, other outcomes noticeably limited use of the site for subsistence. Importantly, the length of time spent at Huckleberry Mountain decreased gradually from the late 19th century through the 20th century, for reasons that were not directly related to transportation. Agriculture, as well as the introduction of novel foods from commercial and governmental sources, resulted in the gradual transformation of the tribes’ diets, and a gradual decrease in the utilization of traditional foods, plant foods in particular. Increasing participation in wage employment began to place limits on traditional subsistence activities. It did so both by creating new and more persistent scheduling conflicts and by allowing alternative modes of food procurement. Additionally, Klamath Tribes members were increasingly restricted to Reservation lands during the agency period.²⁵ Thus, as the combined result of these influences, the duration of summer visits had decreased, often to a length of only 2 or 3 weeks per family by the mid-20th century.

As automobiles became widespread in the 20th century, the patterns of resource harvesting and processing associated with Huckleberry Mountain continued to change. Harvested berries and game could be brought to households in the Klamath, Rogue, and Umpqua basins rapidly and then processed there, before spoilage could occur. Thus, by mid-century, food-processing tasks no longer had to be carried out at the Huckleberry Mountain campsites, and were gradually relocated to the comparatively convenient kitchens of each family’s household in the Klamath Basin. Overnight stays at Huckleberry Mountain became relatively rare by the late-20th century. Several-day stays are uncommon (though by no means unheard of) today. Families more commonly drive to the Huckleberry Mountain area each day to harvest berries for a day, or over consecutive days, and return home in the evening to

process berries at their homes. The Huckleberry Mountain component of the seasonal round has thus been transformed, becoming one of a handful of traditional tasks that are accomplished in the brief periods of “free time” provided by a schedule defined by wage labor within the industrialized world.

Huckleberry Mountain as Social Gathering Place

One of the primary recurring themes of tribal members’ discussions of Huckleberry Mountain centers on the significance of the Huckleberry Mountain area as a nexus of social interaction. Traditionally, members of numerous villages, which carried out resource-harvesting activities separately for most of the year, gathered at Huckleberry Mountain in the summer. While there, they had the opportunity to interact freely and to participate in group hunting and gathering tasks. (Asked what they traditionally gathered at Huckleberry Mountain, one tribal member exclaimed “gossip!”[MR]) Moreover, tribal consultants consistently identify Huckleberry Mountain as one of a very small number of productive resource sites where numerous tribes formerly gathered in agglomerated multi-tribe settlement areas. Even when certain tribes or villages were not on good terms, many consultants suggest, these peoples could cohabitate peacefully at Huckleberry Mountain and a small number of other places of resource abundance, such as the obsidian-gathering areas at Glass Mountain in the southern Klamath Basin, in what is today northern California. This pattern of multi-tribal use in productive huckleberry patches appears in several other locations on the subalpine slopes of the Cascade Range.

The diversity of tribes represented at Huckleberry Mountain in the 19th century was impressive. Among the constituent peoples of the Klamath Tribes, the Klamaths used the Huckleberry Mountain site most extensively, but they were by no means the only people from east of the Cascades to visit the area. Several consultants recall their Modoc and Yahooskin Paiute ancestors traveling to the area to harvest berries as well during the 19th century, a pattern which no doubt intensified following Modoc relocation to the Klamath Reservation. As mentioned previously in this report, other tribes arrived from the west. The Molala utilized the site regularly, and continued to do so following their integration into the Klamath tribes. The ancestors of the Cow Creek Umpqua returned to the site annually. The peoples of the upper Rogue basins are also frequently mentioned by consultants as participating tribes in the Huckleberry Mountain harvest. Klamath consultants, such as Reid and Bobby David, recall hearing that families occupied camps that were clustered together in single-tribe encampment areas; each day, a member of each encampment area would call out their identity in a sort of “roll call” that was called out successively from encampment to encampment.²⁶ The order of the calls was not random, but “went in a circle” around the perimeter of each meadow clearing. (NE) This way, everyone knew who else was camping in the Huckleberry Mountain area, and which tribes were represented there at any given time. The fact that members of distinct ethnolinguistic groups were within earshot supports the suggestion of Cow Creek consultants that members of individual tribes, while clustered together, did not stay widely separated but camped in large multi-ethnic conglomerations where people could exchange news and interact freely.

The atmosphere at Huckleberry Mountain, as depicted by contemporary consultants, was festive: “people celebrated here this time of year [late summer]”(HW). Games of chance,

dances, and horse races were carried out in the meadows adjacent to the Huckleberry Mountain campsites, and served as important inter-tribal events during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Inter-tribal trade was also conducted at Huckleberry Mountain. Multi-tribal cohabitation at Huckleberry Mountain during the summer phase of the seasonal round seems to have provided a basis for intermarriage, enduring kinship ties, and cultural exchanges between these culturally and linguistically distinct peoples. Many current members of the Klamath Tribes and Cow Creek Umpqua are descended from more than one of the tribes that gathered at Huckleberry Mountain, and it is likely that this place served as the nexus for social relations that facilitated this trend amidst the social and demographic turmoil of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

In the memories of many contemporary consultants, Alice Hamilton, “Huckleberry Alice” (1882-1972), played an important part in 20th century social life at Huckleberry Mountain. Indeed, so many minute details were reported regarding Alice Hamilton’s life and exploits (and so much has been written of her in the regional literature) that only an attempt at a cursory and highly selective summary will be given here.²⁷ Of mixed Klamath ancestry, Alice Hamilton continued the seasonal migration to Huckleberry Mountain through most of her life. For part of this time she worked as a U.S. Forest Service fire lookout. Alice dwelled in Klamath Falls during the winter, but as the snows melted from Huckleberry Mountain she would move up to her camp. Once there she would stay for the duration of the summer. Alice was, by most accounts, “the first one there, and the last to leave,” continuing the traditional seasonal patterns of the 19th century well into the 20th. (NE) Some consultants recall that she had a team of white horses and a white terrier dog (to alert her of bears) that stayed with her during her mid-century visits, though she had a number of other horses and dogs that she kept before and after this date. (HW) She played fiddle, dabbled in the playing of other musical instruments, and was a regular participant in the dances and other multi-ethnic activities on the site. Reports of her campsite location usually indicate that it sat near the intersection of USFS roads 60 and 6050, in the Brandenburg campground, but a few reports place it in the “Huckleberry City” meadow west of Brandenburg. It is quite likely that she occupied more than one campsite during her lifetime of visits to the site.

Today, the Huckleberry Mountain area continues to serve as an important social gathering area. While the Klamaths report still using the site extensively for subsistence purposes, the Cow Creek consultants reported that “families go up pretty regularly these days, not so much for the berries but for the social gatherings.”(SS) Some families that have been separated, as members move away (to the Willamette Valley seeking employment, for example) still hold working family reunions at Huckleberry Mountain in the late summer. Members of these families gather to pick and process berries together, conversing frequently to catch up on the past year’s events. Klamath Tribes members who have relocated to the urban Northwest also report their continuation the Huckleberry Mountain component of the seasonal round in such locations as Mount Hood or Mount Adams, traditional picking areas of other tribes, where they are commonly accepted into the multi-tribal gatherings at these places.²⁸ Traditional activities persist, many tribal consultants noted, even when people cannot live in their traditional places.

Recent social activities at Huckleberry Mountain have included a growing number of formally organized and institutionalized events. The Klamath Tribes has been hosting a Huckleberry Mountain Elder’s Gathering at the Huckleberry Mountain campgrounds since the early 1990s. Volunteer coordinators bring elders to the site using Klamath Tribes vans. A

number of elders, accompanied by children and younger adults, arrive in separate vehicles. Elders spend a full day at the site, eating a meal barbequed by volunteers and sharing stories of their past visits to the site, as well as visits by parents and more distant ancestors; younger people fan out into the berry patches, pick berries, and return to share their pickings with older tribal members. While the meal generally takes place in the Brandenburg portion of Huckleberry Mountain, some families wishing to visit their traditional picking areas will climb into cars and trucks and drive to other picking areas within a roughly one-to-two-mile radius of the central gathering area.²⁹ People regroup frequently to talk, identify patches of particular productivity, and compare their pickings. The education of younger members of the tribe appears to be an important goal of these events, instructing them in both traditional resource procurement (e.g., berry picking sites and methods) and traditional values (e.g., the virtues of collective labor and redistributive practices, or cooperation and sharing that support elders). Though the functions of these gatherings are in part commemorative of past lifeways, they continue to serve as an important social event to many tribal members and perpetuate many of the longstanding social functions and activities of the site.

The Berrying Campsite

Tribal accounts of the nature of the traditional campsite are remarkably uniform in their content. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, each family that participated in the Huckleberry Mountain harvest maintained a specific campsite on the mountain. Families returned annually to the same campsite. While the family composition of each campsite varied, it was reportedly common to have three generations represented at a single campsite, including grandparents, adults (usually women), and children. Adult men were intermittently present at campsites, but --- through the early 20th century --- spent much of the summertime in peripheral hunting and fishing sites in the upper Rogue basin. An analysis of known campsite distribution at Huckleberry Mountain reveals a tendency toward the “clustering” of campsites belonging to families related matrilineally, probably reflecting the subdivision and apportionment of camp sites within kin groups on the maternal line, as well as the tradition of shared, gender-differentiated subsistence labor within extended families. Groups of camps shared permanent, adjacent dumpsites in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (which were popular feeding areas for bears, and hence a frequent site of run-ins between bears and berry pickers). Each camp served as a combined residential and food-processing space. Traditionally, food-processing areas included certain functionally distinct areas, without overhead cover, often with associated firepits within the campsites. Food-drying areas occupied meadows immediately adjacent to the campsite and may have been viewed as integral to the camp. By the mid-20th century, air drying of food was largely abandoned and some families maintained separate tents for certain food-processing activities, such as canning.

Camps appear in a number of different settings, but were often located on the forested edges of large meadow clearings. Though the meadows were the centers of activity, campsites were reportedly placed primarily in the forested, shady margins of clearings in order to provide additional shelter from extreme temperatures, minimizing exposure to winds and to full-time sunlight. In the early 20th century (and perhaps earlier) some families even partially excavated small “terraces” out of hillslopes to provide level tent spaces that allowed

additional insulation and protection from the wind. People also often dug shallow ditches around the perimeter of their camps; this kept surface runoff and snowmelt from dampening the campsites. Occasionally, fir boughs were gathered and used to provide loft to bedding materials. The traditional shelters and lean-tos made of sticks, hides, boughs, and/or tree bark were gradually replaced in the late 19th century by canvas tarpaulins. Over the 20th century, a growing number of people were able to purchase canvas tents to use at the site.

The clearings were used for numerous purposes, including social gatherings. They were also essential for food drying, which most consultants report involved sun-drying only (atop grass or other vegetable matter traditionally and, later, tarps). These large clearings were seemingly anthropogenic, maintained through tribal use of fire, as is discussed in later sections of this report. Left unmanaged for the last several decades, these clearings are being invaded and reduced in size by successional stands of young conifers, a source of concern to some tribal elders.

The natural springs that occur along the ridge at Huckleberry Mountain were essential to the viability of long-term camping at the site, and campsites appear to have been located with particular density near large and predictable springs. Many of these springs had names; consultants used descriptive English place names – such as “First Spring,” “Second Spring,” “Third Spring” in the “Huckleberry City” meadow south of Brandenburg campground – but suggest that now largely forgotten Klamath terms were once used for these sites.³⁰ During the 20th century, tribal members improved water collection facilities in certain heavily-used springs by constructing wooden impoundments at water outflow points. Dead animals were sometimes found in a spring when people returned to Huckleberry Mountain at the beginning of the summer; under these circumstances, the animal was removed and the spring was not used until the following year. There is some evidence to suggest that durable goods were submerged in springs during the off-season, particularly prior to the use of wagons. This kept items from being lost or damaged by freezing, while eliminating the need to pack large amounts of specialized tools back down the mountain for storage at tribal members’ homes.

Berry Harvest

Women fanned out from campsites each day, generally traveling downhill to picking areas on the slopes of Huckleberry Mountain. Women picked all day, usually starting back upslope toward their campsites in the afternoon.³¹ The black mountain huckleberry (*Vaccinium membranaceum*) was the primary goal of their harvest. These berries grow in dense concentrations on the forest floor, and several hours’ worth of picking could be found within areas of only a few tens of meters square. Simultaneously, the swamp huckleberry (*Vaccinium occidentale*) and dwarf blueberry (*Vaccinium caespitosum*), with their small but sweet berries, appear to have been gathered opportunistically in association with the harvest of black huckleberries and other, more abundant resources. Broom huckleberry (*Vaccinium scoparium*), with its tiny, seedy berry, was gathered in modest quantities and, with their diminutive size and abundant seeds, appears to have been viewed as much as an edible seed as a berry. When found along riparian areas in the vicinity of Huckleberry Mountain, red huckleberry (*Vaccinium parvifolium*) was also gathered.

Berry pickers had strong preferences for particular places, with particular characteristics. “The best berry patches are the ones with the tall bushes...it’s less work

bending over and you can pick a lot longer.”(MW) Often, some note, the richest berry patches were in areas with abundant coarse woody debris; along the edges of downed and decomposing large trees “it’s sort of a mulch.” (MW) The berry growth is lush in these places, probably due in part to prolonged moisture retention and a modest increase in nutrient availability. Such sites were eagerly sought out by berry pickers.

Huckleberries were traditionally placed in baskets, which were suspended on straps that freed both hands for picking. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, newly available metal containers, such as empty lard or kerosene cans, gradually replaced baskets. Buckets made from plastic household refuse, such as ice cream or cottage cheese containers, appear to have become popular in recent decades. Today, containers are strapped to the picker with bailing twine or some other string to leave the hands free in a manner similar to the traditional berry basket. The twine is strung around the picker’s midsection, strapping the bucket against their waist. An additional length of twine is sometimes looped over the neck and tied to the bucket for added stability. Berries are picked by hand with no use of specialized tools, and consultants have made no mention of specialized harvest tools such as “berry rakes.” Still, a few consultants mention a traditional practice of placing mats under berry bushes and hitting the bushes with sticks, which dramatically accelerated berry harvests. No consultant, however, has confirmed whether this method as practiced at Huckleberry Mountain specifically.

Certain animal inhabitants of the Huckleberry Mountain area added complications to the Huckleberry Mountain trek, and are frequently mentioned in tribal members’ accounts of the harvest. Yellowjackets were a source of constant problems at Huckleberry Mountain, being drawn to berries, particularly crushed berries, and possibly to other foods that were processed and eaten at campsites. Sometimes people stepped on a downed log -- a preferred picking area, as indicated above -- only to find that the log contained a yellowjacket nest. During the late 19th and early 20th century, women wore pants and tied off their pant legs to keep yellowjackets and lizards out, no matter what might have been considered fashionable under ordinary circumstances.(NE) Tree sap or mud was placed on stings to minimize the pain and draw out the venom. Today, yellowjackets continue to be a problem, being drawn to food items, perfume, or dead insects on the front of cars and trucks, for example, in addition to berries. (During my few hours spent at the 2000 Huckleberry Mountain Elders Gathering, I saw several elders stung, some several times.) Consultants report that, as yellowjackets become more numerous in the afternoon when the air temperature was at its maximum, people have always attempted to complete as much of their picking as possible in the morning hours. “Our little friends don’t come out early, when it’s cold. They get kind of dizzy...so it’s best to pick in the morning.”(MW)

Bears are also mentioned as a source of danger during huckleberry harvests, and numerous stories center on human interaction with bears at Huckleberry Mountain. Drawn to huckleberries themselves, bears are often encountered in dense thickets containing particularly abundant berries. Consultants report that most confrontations are minor, and that the bears, when startled, usually let out a “woof” noise and run off. Bears sometimes rummaged through unattended campsites, or would become startled by pickers and run through campsites, knocking over tents and food-processing equipment. Rumors mention people having been killed by bears in the huckleberry patches, but no consultant was certain of the accuracy of these tales and some view them as apocryphal. A type of “wild garlic” (probably *Allium* sp.) was believed to be effective as a repellent for bears, and some people

wore charms made of this plant from their necks while picking at Huckleberry Mountain. Dogs were also brought along to Huckleberry Mountain to provide warnings of, and protection from, bears in the campground areas. Children sometimes tried to scare one-another by imitating the sounds of bears while picking berries without adult supervision. Bears were sometimes shot or intentionally frightened to minimize the threat of bear attacks during the huckleberry harvest.

Children reportedly played a role in the huckleberry harvest, but their output was considerably less than that of adults. Many elders recall that, during their childhood, children were required to fill a container in the morning before they could play in the afternoon. The size of this container varied, but some elders reported that the container of choice during the mid-20th century was an emptied half-gallon lard can. Children also reportedly harvested the tiny berries of the broom huckleberry (*Vaccinium scoparium*), which occurs on the dry slopes near Huckleberry Mountain. (MH) In light of the size of the berry and the potentially low productivity of the children's labor, this seems to have served as much as a parentally condoned distraction as a food-procurement activity.

Berry Processing and Consumption

During the summer months, fresh huckleberries were an important staple food. The majority of the harvest, however, appears to have been processed for later use. Berries were traditionally gathered together at campsites and dried. Drying facilitated both transportation and storage of berries, so that they could be brought to settlements in the basins below and used throughout the year. Some elders suggest that the berries could be pulverized before drying, and sometimes mixed with other ingredients, producing a "pemmican" or "fruit leather." One Klamath variant on pemmican involved a mixture of deer fat, wocas seeds from the Klamath basin marshes, and huckleberries; another mixture included huckleberries, sun-dried *chwaum* (sucker fish), and pulverized roots (possibly epos – *Carex oregonum*). (NE) Clearly, foods from different ecological zones were combined together to produce these pemmican mixtures. Still, there are reports of whole berries being dried with little prior processing --- they were simply placed atop grass or a tarp and stirred occasionally to ensure even drying. Fires were sometimes used to accelerate drying, particularly in the late summer as temperatures decreased, but it is suggested that much of the time only sunlight and a light breeze were required in the area's ridgetop meadows.

The berry-drying process was largely abandoned when Klamaths adopted canning technologies. During the late 19th and early 20th century, berries were commonly canned on-site at Huckleberry Mountain. Many women brought stoves and canning equipment with them by wagon or horseback for this purpose. "My grandmother brought her stove up here every year...by horseback." (MW) Those that did not have access to stoves simply heated their cans of berries in tubs of water placed within or beside campfires. Several Klamath consultants remember fondly that during this campsite berry processing, huckleberries were spread on *slápsus*, a fire-baked bread which was an important food during the Huckleberry Mountain visit.³² By the mid-20th century, these labor-intensive processing methods were giving way to the home-processing of berries. Barbara Kirk recalls that during the late 20th century, her extended family returned home every few days from Huckleberry Mountain with several five-gallon containers full of berries. There, the berries were both frozen and canned,

so that they might be used throughout the year. Today, some families use huckleberries as a staple food, while others use the berries only for special occasions. Huckleberry pie is a common holiday food among contemporary tribal members. Other berries gathered at Huckleberry Mountain, such as gooseberries, have also served as popular holiday pie fillings.

Traditionally, berries were redistributed within tribal communities. The elderly and infirm were given berries by other tribal members, who were often but not exclusively members of their extended family. Tribal members still take pride in this redistributive act, which assured that all members of their community had adequate food, they suggest, and thus shared in the proceeds of the Huckleberry Mountain component of the seasonal round no matter their physical abilities. Such redistribution persists in a materially reduced (and, perhaps, increasingly symbolic) form today, providing a modest number of berries to some extended families of pickers, particularly elders.

Huckleberries also appear to have been an important component of the tribes' barter economy at different times in their history, as were the meat and fish collected in the course of the Huckleberry Mountain visit. Some Klamaths also sold berries during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For some late-19th century Klamaths, particularly women, the modest income derived from berry harvests represented one of their first points of entry in to the larger United States cash economy, and allowed unprecedented access to manufactured goods. By the 1940s, however, the sale of huckleberries seems to have been viewed as an insignificant source of cash, used only "to pay for your gas" for the Huckleberry Mountain trip.(HW) By the 1960s, the harvest of huckleberries no longer provided even a supplementary income for tribal members, according to most elders' reports.

The Multiple Resources of the Summertime Seasonal Round

Despite the somewhat distinctive abundance of huckleberries growing on Huckleberry Mountain, the resources of this area are largely characteristic of the subalpine, west-facing slopes of the southern Oregon Cascade Range. Accordingly, the Huckleberry Mountain area provided tribes with an abundance of resources that were rare in lower elevation areas, particularly those areas east of the Cascade Range. This abundance of atypical resources enhanced the relative importance of Huckleberry Mountain within the seasonal round as a source of foods, medicines, and other goods, for groups from both sides of the mountains. Slight, but internally consistent, differences in the accounts of members of different tribes is suggestive of minor inter-tribal variation in the importance of the resources of the Huckleberry Mountain area. Many Klamath consultants indicate that the meat, fish, and additional plant foods gathered during the Huckleberry Mountain visit were in many ways as important as the huckleberries, in terms of both their significance to their diet and the labor expended in their procurement. Cow Creeks, on the other hand, while reporting the harvest of many "secondary resources" as part of the Huckleberry Mountain trek, make it clear that huckleberries and social interaction were their primary goals. For the Cow Creeks, much of the harvest of these secondary resources was coincident to the berry picking (although certain medicinal plants were found at this elevation, for example, were not available elsewhere in their territory). This difference may be attributed to the fact that many of the resources found in the Huckleberry Mountain area are relatively widespread west of the Cascade Range, but

are comparatively scarce to the east, within the relatively arid rain-shadow territories of the Klamath and related Plateau or Great Basin tribes.

In this light, it is worth mentioning how both history and topography have combined to shape Klamath perceptions of Huckleberry Mountain geography, prior to a detailed discussion of the resources acquired at Huckleberry Mountain. Huckleberry Mountain is commonly described as if it is a highly important "outpost" on the west side of the Cascade Range, to a people whose primary territory and lifeways are situated in the high desert east of the Cascades. (Indeed, for the Klamath Tribes' members of Molala descent, it is more of a "final foothold" in the lands and resources of the western slope.) Its significance, therefore, is not limited to huckleberry procurement, nor are its perceived geographic limits set by the neatly-defined physiographic bounds of that geologic feature which we term "Huckleberry Mountain," proper. When asked about what the trip to Huckleberry Mountain traditionally involved, most Klamaths mention picking berries on the mountain by that name, of course, but they also mention other activities that seem strangely out of place to anyone not privy to this facet of the Klamath worldview: hunting as far away as Rabbit Ears (roughly 10 miles north-northeast of Huckleberry Mountain), fishing as far away as Trail (almost 30 miles to the southwest) plant gathering along Union Creek and Union Peak (over five miles away). To the Klamaths, these activities are inseparable components of what it meant (and still means) to visit "Huckleberry Mountain." Omissions of these distant sites in any discussion of tribal use of Huckleberry Mountain consistently incites corrective comments by tribal members. Certainly the products from each of these far-flung harvests were taken back to Huckleberry Mountain for processing, as shall be demonstrated, and this partially explains this perception. However, "Huckleberry Mountain" was perceived as something larger than the mountain itself. To the Klamath, this name denotes a place at the geographic and social center of all resource procurement activities west of the Cascade crest. Huckleberry Mountain was the outpost where the campsites were concentrated, serving as the base of operations for the utilization of a much larger resource hinterland. These campsites provided a foothold west of the Cascades, for women's activities on the mountain, and for men's activities within a much larger area that nonetheless situated Huckleberry Mountain at its core. The campsites thus sat at the center of a diffuse and rich constellation of resource-procurement sites expanding outward from the northern side of the mountain's ridge. The core of this constellation, its nucleus, was situated on Huckleberry Mountain proper and was largely defined by feminine tasks, such as berry gathering. The periphery, diffusely situated on the outer edges of Huckleberry Mountain and expanding some distance into the surrounding terrain, was largely masculine space, places largely used for hunting and fishing. While the content of this report focuses primarily on the harvest and processing of resources at Huckleberry Mountain, proper, it is important to understand how this site related to a much larger geography of traditional use of which the mountain was only a small, albeit very important, part.

The distinctive resources available at this resource outpost were many. In addition to the five species of huckleberries identified so far, contemporary tribal consultants and their ancestors gathered a number of other berries. Berries gathered at or near Huckleberry Mountain in the course of the seasonal visit included wild strawberry (*Fragaria* spp.), evergreen blackberry (*Rubus laciniatus*), black twinberry (*Lonicera involucrata*), currants (*Ribes* spp.), blue elderberry (*Sambucus cerulea*) and possibly red elderberry (*Sambucus racemosa*), thimbleberry (*Rubus parviflorus*), wild rose hip (*Rosa* spp.), Western chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), bitter cherry (*Prunus emarginata*), manzanita berry

(*Arctostaphylos* spp.) and serviceberry (*Amelanchier* spp.). Many of these berries were eaten fresh, but most were also preserved for later use using the methods described for huckleberries. Moreover, many of these plants had multiple uses. Wild rose was used in poultices and other medicines, for example, while its stems were used for arrow shafts, cradle boards, and other manufactured items. Manzanita leaves were smoked like tobacco, and later mixed with tobacco acquired through trade or purchase. Blue elderberry stems were used as straws, and the plant was a source of multiple dyes – purple dye was made of its berries, black dye was made of its roots, and green dye was made of its leaves. The serviceberry stem was a favorite wood for arrow shafts, and the plant was of both utilitarian and religious significance to the Klamaths, whose oral traditions suggested that *Gmukamps*, the transformer, had created the first people from the purplish-brown berries of this plant. Most of these berries grew in the moist meadows at Huckleberry Mountain, or in the wet meadows associated with springs, seeps, or riparian areas nearby.³³ Consultants reported several of these wet meadows that are peripheral to the Huckleberry Mountain area, but were visited in the course travel to, or harvests at, Huckleberry Mountain.

A number of other plant materials, many of them rare in the basins below, were traditionally gathered at Huckleberry Mountain. Where available, the nuts and shoots of the Pacific hazel (*Corylus cornuta californica*) were gathered. Cow parsnip shoots were gathered from moist areas, boiled and eaten; children used the young shoots of this plant as “pea shooters” during their time at Huckleberry Mountain (while mountain ash berries served as the “peas”). “Prince’s pine” (*Chimaphila umbellata*) grows in abundance on the forest floor in the Huckleberry Mountain area, and was regularly collected in large numbers as a medicinal plant. Prince’s pine tea, made from boiled leaves, was considered a powerful tonic by Klamaths, as it was by many other tribes of the Northwest. Some elders recall that, as children, they were given two large doses of the tea per year, once in the fall and once in the spring, as an immunity booster. This tea was also brewed and drunk for specific ailments, such as colds, influenza, or respiratory infection. Black tree lichen (*Bryoria fremontii*) was also gathered as part of the Huckleberry Mountain trek. Gathered from tree branches in the area’s meadow-edge forests, this lichen provided an important supplemental food source; lichen was roasted in pit-ovens similar to those used for camas processing, and were sometimes boiled into a gruel. This lichen could also be used as a poultice, and some lichen gathered at Huckleberry Mountain very likely was brought back to winter villages for year-round use.

A number of other plant species were harvested and used somewhat less intensively. While reeds, sedges, rushes, bullrushes, and other grass-like plants were more common in the basins and valleys below than they were in Huckleberry Mountain, these species were nonetheless available in riparian and moist meadow habitats in the subalpine zone and were used as needed to construct or repair baskets, mats, and other items used in berry harvesting and processing. Camas bulbs (*Camassia quamash* and *C. leichtlinii*) were gathered in modest quantities in the vicinity of Huckleberry Mountain as part of the summer trek, although most known camas-harvesting sites are in moist meadows such as at Thousand Springs, some distance from Huckleberry Mountain proper. Camas ovens have not been reported at Huckleberry Mountain, but it is possible that camas was among the plant foods dried in the sun or beside fires in the meadows associated with campsites. A few consultants mentioned traditionally gathering vine maple (*Acer circinatum*) during the Huckleberry Mountain trek, probably in nearby riparian areas, for the construction of household implements.

Consultants reported that a wide variety of other plant materials were gathered on, and in the immediate vicinity of, Huckleberry Mountain as part of their summertime visit. Specific references to individual plants were sometimes inexact, however, with consultants often mentioning a category of plant or of plant use without being able to clearly recall the species name or other details. This was particularly true when introduced products and technologies had eclipsed long ago the plant uses described. On the basis of consultants' testimony regarding plant use as well as the documented suite of resources in the Huckleberry Mountain area, it is reasonable to conclude that the following plant materials were gathered somewhere on this mountain: white fir (*Abies concolor*) bark for tanning hides; mountain alder (*Alnus incana*) and wolf lichen (*Letharia vulpina*) for dyes; Iris (*Iris* spp.) and stinging nettle (*Urtica dioica*) for the manufacture of twine and medicines; water hemlock for poisoning arrowheads (*Cicuta douglassii*); mint (*Mentha* spp.) and yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*) for medicinal preparations; miner's lettuce (*Claytonia perfoliata*) for its edible leaves; dock (*Rumex paucifolius*) for its edible seeds; wild onion (*Allium* spp.) and possibly brodiaea lilies (*Brodiea* spp.) for their edible bulbs and medicinal properties; horsetail (*Equisetum* spp.) for scouring and sanding; yew (*Taxus brevifolia*) for the construction of bows and staves and willow (*Salix* spp.) for a variety of construction purposes. The sap of certain trees was also reportedly gathered, though the species of tree remains ambiguous; sap could serve as a part of medicinal preparations as well as serving as a waterproofing sealant for baskets and other manufactured items. Importantly for the Huckleberry Mountain harvest, sap was placed on bee stings obtained while picking: "that old pitch is good business!" (HW) This is not a comprehensive list of all plants traditionally gathered. While ethnographic references to these uses of Huckleberry Mountain plants were ambiguous, all of these plant uses have been documented among Klamath consultants in past ethnographic interviews, conducted both for this study and for others.³⁴

Salmon also represented an important resource traditionally gathered in the course of the Huckleberry Mountain visit. Men fished for Chinook salmon with spears in riffles in the upper Rogue and its tributaries. Most of these salmon fishing sites were found between the falls and riffles near Prospect and Trail, though some tribal members report fishing frequently for trout above the falls in the Rogue River and on Union Creek. Other fishing sites may have been found on the South Fork of the Rogue River and on Red Blanket Creek. Scaffolding was reportedly constructed over some riffles to support fishermen, particularly in the canyon area now submerged in the upper reaches of the Lost Creek Reservoir in the area that was known locally as Cascade Gorge. The use of spears, basket traps, and other traditional tackle continued until roughly the beginning of the 20th century. The salmon from the headwaters of the Rogue and Umpqua basins were considered better than the salmon once found in the Klamath Basin. "The water was better for fish over there" (HW) due to a number of biophysical differences, some say, while others note that the salmon that arrived in the Klamath Basin were further into their spawning cycle and therefore more lean and dilapidated than the west-of-the-Cascades fish. The salmon runs in the Klamath Basin were reportedly less predictable as well, and could not always be depended upon for regular harvests, as was the case in the western Cascade drainage basins. "The spring run [in the upper Rogue] was best, but they came before the Huckleberries were ripe," so Klamaths were not there to fish for them. During the fall run, the fish were reportedly bigger but "not as good." (CC) This appears to have been the run that was primarily exploited by Klamaths during their Huckleberry Mountain trek.

Salmon taken from the upper Rogue system were brought back every few days to Huckleberry Mountain camps and processed there. Filleted fish was placed on scaffolding structures in the meadows, near each family's camps. As the men departed to their fishing sites, women, children, and the elderly took over responsibility for completing the processing of salmon at the site. Skip Moore, who is particularly knowledgeable of traditional Klamath fishing techniques, reports that salmon were filleted and sun dried, but not usually smoked. Plummy Wright points out that salmon was made into multiple food products, and that the method of drying had to be appropriate to the product – smoking was only needed in certain cases. More recently, salmon were brought back to fishermen's homes in the Klamath Basin, salted, and hung to dry on barbed wire fences (HW). *Kumuls*, sun-dried salmon, was a particularly important food that was processed in great quantities at Huckleberry Mountain.

The importance of the Rogue River fishery increased following the 1920s construction of the Copco dam on the Klamath River, consultants suggest, though fishing trips may have required venturing lower in to the Rogue basin than was traditionally the case. Within a few years, the construction of dams on the Rogue River – Gold Ray and Savage Rapids - though they were built with fish ladders, began to reduce the Chinook runs to the upper Rogue system as well. (Consultants suggest that small populations of “landlocked” salmon persisted above the Klamath dams and were fished but rapidly disappeared.) During the mid-1970s, construction of Lost Creek Dam impounded the Rogue River above Trail Creek and Elk Creek, ending all salmon runs above that dam. Moreover, during the 1920s, the enforcement of Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife fishing catch regulations placed severe restrictions on the large-scale subsistence fisheries in the upper Rogue. “Poaching,” as such, became a regular part of many family's Huckleberry Mountain trek, and was a source of enduring conflict with the white world: “my dad didn't believe in the white man's limits – his limit was the number of fish needed to feed his family for the winter.”(CC) Klamath fishing on the Rogue has persisted since this time, but is a more intermittent and increasingly recreational activity for tribal members, conducted with modern fishing gear. While the practice of fishing in the upper Rogue basin persists somewhat, the locations of fishing sites have necessarily changed, as fishing can no longer be conducted at known traditional Klamath fishing sites due to the construction of Lost Creek Dam in the 1970s, which blocked salmon passage and flooded traditional fishing sites downstream from Cascade Gorge. “All the places [my family] used to go are gone – all underwater.” (CC)

Klamath men hunted blacktail deer and elk, animals more characteristic of the Cascade Range's humid western slopes, during the Huckleberry Mountain trek. Hunting territories encircled the Huckleberry Mountain berry grounds, extending eastward to the slopes of Crater Lake and westward to the west side of Rabbit Ears. (Productive huckleberry patches are also found in the vicinity of Rabbit Ears in the vicinity of Huckleberry Gap; these patches were most intensively used by the Molala, Upper Umpqua, and Takelma-speaking peoples of the South Umpqua and Cow Creek basins, but were sometimes also harvested by Klamaths. Hunting territories in the Huckleberry Gap area appear to have been utilized by multiple tribes.) Hunting sites included several springs, wallows, and moist prairie clearings in the subalpine forest on and around Huckleberry Mountain. Such sites were abundant not only in the anthropogenic meadows of Huckleberry Mountain, but also at unmanaged sites nearby, such as adjacent to the springs on the lower slopes of Crater Lake, and in the riparian zones along Union Creek and Rogue River. Hunters gathered near the edges of these sites, or would seek to ambush game walking on trails to and from these sites through stands of dense

timber. Starting in the 1940s, men increasingly started to apply these “clearing edge” hunting techniques to the clearcuts that were appearing in the national forest. At this time, groups of men fanned out into the forest and sought to flush deer into clearcuts, where other groups of men waited in hiding with rifles.

Traditionally, hunting parties evidently consisted primarily of small groups of male kin. Men appear to have had a tradition of “secret hunting spots” in the vicinity of Huckleberry Mountain that were learned of and perhaps inherited patrilineally, and these spots were widely viewed to be “owned” under loosely usufruct rights of tenure. Deer and elk meat was taken back to the Huckleberry Mountain campsites, where it was dried. Once this meat was deposited at the campsites, groups of men fanned out once again to surrounding hunting and fishing sites, while women took over responsibility for the processing of game. This repeated cycle of fanning out into the lands of the upper Rogue basin, hunting and fishing, and returning to Huckleberry Mountain to deposit the catch was reportedly continued throughout the entire summer season.

Black bear was also hunted in the Huckleberry Mountain area. Contemporary consultants, such as Bobby David, recall that bear was not a particularly prized game animal and was not taken in large quantities. Instead of being solely a form of resource procurement, they suggest, the bear hunts at Huckleberry Mountain also served to eliminate the threat of bear attacks during the huckleberry harvest and may have served to reduce competition for berries. Simultaneously, the meat, rendered grease, hides, and other materials obtained from bears provided valuable supplementary products during the Huckleberry Mountain trek. This testimony reflects the condition of the bear hunt as it existed in the late 19th and early 20th century, although it is possible that the relative importance of bear in the diet was in transition at this time as tribal diets began to converge with those of their white neighbors.

Huckleberry Mountain, at times, seems to have served as a risk-reducing resource site. During times of unusually low resource productivity in the Klamath Basin, the Klamath appear to have intensified their use of the Huckleberry Mountain area. Bobby David recalled that people spoke of a time prior to the signing of the Klamath Tribes treaty (1864) when the mule deer in the arid Klamath Basin became particularly scarce. At this time, people had to travel to the Huckleberry Mountain area for the majority of their hunting. “Those were bad times...[the Klamath basin] became a big dust bowl... Dust blowing everywhere and the deer all disappeared.”(BD) Many of the marshes began to dry up and portions of the traditional seasonal round were truncated as people evacuated en masse to their camps west of Crater Lake. A similar pattern emerged for a time in the 1930s, when mule deer became scarce as drought and the first widespread logging on the Klamath Reservation placed severe stresses on their habitat. Blacktail deer and elk, rather than mule deer and antelope, became some Klamaths’ primary game species during these times.

Men trapped some small animals as part of the Huckleberry Mountain trek, particularly species rare in the valleys below, such as marten, fisher, and possibly snowshoe hare. Traditionally, these animals were taken with snares and other traps (including deadfalls) in the area. Prior to European contact, these animals provided pelts, and hares and other small species provided supplementary food. During the early- to mid-19th century, pelts from these animals were sold to Hudson’s Bay Company representatives and others, and tribal members acquired metal traps with some of the proceeds (HW). Later, pelts were sold to furriers. In addition, birds were reportedly trapped on the site. In particular, pileated woodpeckers were traditionally collected at Huckleberry Mountain using a variety of traps, including small

basket traps.³⁵ The showy red scalp feathers of this bird were associated with high status, and were common components of chiefly regalia among southern Oregon tribes. (BA)

Prohibitions on tribal hunting off the Reservation began around the turn-of-the-century, followed soon thereafter by statewide enforcement of hunting bag limits. This placed severe formal restrictions on traditional hunting patterns in the Huckleberry Mountain area. Nevertheless, subsistence hunting continued in the Huckleberry Mountain area that was, by necessity, increasingly clandestine. As forest rangers, and soon thereafter, game wardens, began to enforce hunting regulations, tribal members processed deer at increasing distance from their campsites. This created a new constellation of butchering and processing sites in the forests some distance beyond the campsite areas.³⁶ Following the elimination of salmon runs to the upper Klamath and Rogue basins, deer meat acquired in the Huckleberry Mountain area and elsewhere became an important part of the Klamath barter economy. Today, such meat is still traded for salmon with relatives in certain coastal tribes, including the Yurok.

Divisions of Labor

Consultants report that berry harvests and processing were traditionally characterized by sharp divisions of labor based upon age and gender. Rank and socioeconomic status may have also shaped the division of labor at one time, but little oral history appears to be forthcoming on this point. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, berry harvesting and processing were primarily the responsibility of adult females, while children and the elderly assisted in these activities. Men fanned out to hunting and fishing sites, and periodically transported their quarry back to the Huckleberry Mountain campsites. Here, both men and women participated in the processing and drying of fish and meat, though women were often left with the bulk of the processing duties as men returned to hunting and fishing sites.

Over the course of the 20th century, this traditional division of labor appears to have transformed into a more egalitarian pattern of resource utilization, but has also become more spatially and temporally fragmented. This trend reflects a number of causal factors, including the increased efficiency of transportation between the Huckleberry Mountain area and the basins below. By the late 20th century, men's hunting and fishing activities in the area were largely carried out by groups of men traveling by automobile; their trips were only occasionally tied to huckleberry harvests. When huckleberries are harvested, women continue to play a central organizing role, but now in many families men and women often share equally in picking duties. Berry processing is commonly, though not exclusively, the domain of women today, as was traditionally the case. The supplementary role of children and the elderly in berry harvesting and processing provides both additional labor and a forum for social interactions within and between extended families.

Systems of Land Tenure

Traditionally, each family claimed a campsite that, as indicated, served as a combined residential and food processing space during their stay at Huckleberry Mountain. Campsites were reportedly passed from generation to generation, and were apportioned and inherited primarily along maternal lines. "The ladies were the ones that decided where the camps were

supposed to be.”(HW) On the basis of contemporary oral testimony from multiple tribal members, campsite tenure and rights of inheritance can be traced back to the early 19th century (and perhaps earlier). Women appear to have maintained loose usufruct rights to berry patches in the general vicinity of their campsites, and on adjacent slopes downhill from these encampments. The right to return to a family campsite appears to have been considered inviolable. Families that occupied other families’ campsites in the 20th century, even long after the sites had been abandoned by extended families, encountered considerable disapproval from many other tribal members. As Bobby David suggested, in the view of almost all Klamaths “that just wasn’t right.” Non-kin could only occupy a site without seeking permission if the true “owners” had no more relatives living nearby. Campsites were viewed as self-contained domestic spaces, and children were admonished to “*never* walk through other people’s camps” when traveling.(OK)

In addition, men’s hunting and fishing sites appear to have been subject to loose usufruct rights. “Every man had their hunting grounds, their fishing spots,” consultants often report. Family fishing sites were primarily located at riffles in the upper Rogue River, as indicated previously, and family’s claims to these sites in part may have been derivative of, and demonstrated by, the labor required to construct infrastructure such as fishing scaffolds. Family hunting areas consisted of locations with particularly high game densities, such as wallows, small meadows, or narrows along canyon-bottom deer trails. Tribal members considered it inappropriate to hunt or to fish in someone else’s spot unless it was clear that the spot was not going to be utilized by its rightful “owner.” The right to hunt or fish at particular locations was reckoned among male kin, but may have been inherited along either maternal or paternal lines (though paternal lines seem the norm). No information on formal systems of tenure or the ceremonial transfer of land rights has been forthcoming. Most tribal consultants feel that the transfer of rights was conducted informally within kinship groups, and was so widely understood by tribal members that little formal validation of these rights was required.

The Geographical Extent of the Huckleberry Mountain Traditional Use Area

Like the antiquity of the Huckleberry Mountain harvest, the full geographical extent of past use is also difficult to discern on the basis of contemporary ethnographic evidence. This is due in part to the varying distances traveled from tribal campsites each year – a function of variable human demands and variable resource productivity – changing overall historical patterns of resource use, as well as the discontinuous and dynamic patterns of huckleberry distribution in the Huckleberry Mountain area. The geographical patterning of berry harvest areas might best be envisioned as concentric rings of decreasingly intensive use, with its “core” centered in the dense patches encircling the documented campsites. A host of “outlier” sites were visited intermittently or by smaller numbers of individuals. By some accounts, almost every spring along the Huckleberry Mountain ridge had accompanying campsites: “wherever there’s a spring is where they camped.”(NE) Picking areas were largely concentrated in the subalpine fir zone above the 5,000-foot contour, though riparian areas, springs, and seeps facilitated berry growth below this level. In years of low berry productivity, berry harvesters ranged to more distant locations, picking widely around the Huckleberry Mountain massif, and also visited outlier subalpine sites that were not part of the contiguous berry distribution. It was not uncommon, consultants suggest, to have people fan

out from their camps southward to beyond the highest peak of Huckleberry Mountain and to the opposite banks of Union Creek. Several consultants have identified berry-picking areas, conceptualized as part of the contiguous Huckleberry Mountain picking area, as far away as the western slopes of Union Peak and in the vicinity of Red Blanket Mountain.

The traditional hunting territories associated with the Huckleberry Mountain component of the seasonal round are considerably larger and more diffuse than the picking areas, including areas as far west as Rabbit Ears, as far east as the slopes of Crater Lake, as far south as the South Fork Rogue River drainage, at least as far north as the Rogue-Umpqua divide. (Only the “Winwas” area, in the deeply dissected canyons north of Castle Creek was consistently avoided, being a place that was traditionally considered to be inhabited by dangerous carnivorous animals or malicious *gogonas*; even in the mid-20th century, consultants report that men refused to track animals into this area.)³⁷ Associated fishing territories expanded this pattern further, extending the pattern of Huckleberry Mountain related resource procurement at least as far southwest as the Rogue River near the mouth of Trail Creek. (See Map 1)

Methods of Berry Enhancement

Several consultants mention that fire was traditionally used to enhance berry output on Huckleberry Mountain. While oral traditions regarding the use of fire for vegetation management persist, no consultants were identified who recall these methods first-hand. Cow Creek consultants, including Susan Schafer, Tom Rondeau and Michael Rondeau recall that burning was generally carried out every other year at Huckleberry Mountain through the 19th century.³⁸ Cow Creek consultants suggest that fires were set at the end of the season, as people were leaving for their communities in the basins below. Likewise, Klamath consultants assert that burning took place at the end of the harvest. As Cow Creek families returned from the picking areas at Huckleberry Mountain and nearby Huckleberry Gap, they descended down the Umpqua valley. People in the valley below could tell that they were returning because they could see the smoke from the numerous small fires set to manage vegetation along the way growing closer. Cow Creek consultants asserted that burning “needs to be done right to keep [the huckleberries] going” at Huckleberry Mountain and other subalpine berry harvesting sites. (SS) This helped reduce overall danger of catastrophic fire on the site as well: “when they burned, there was only berries and grass under the trees - there was no threat of a big fire.” (TR) Klamath consultants recall few specifics regarding the methods of fire enhancement, beyond the general timing and values of burning. Still, Klamath consultants widely recognized that fire served to enhance several important resources and “whenever there was a fire, the huckleberries come back better.”³⁹(KR) Fire probably also served to improve “secondary resources” at Huckleberry Mountain as well, maintaining foraging areas for elk and deer, maintaining clearance around campsite areas, and encouraging the growth of edible early-successional plants such as cow parsnip, camas, hazel, and a number of different berries.

Further, it is apparent that the Klamath and possibly other tribes may have enhanced berries at Huckleberry Mountain through their “first huckleberry ceremony.” During the 2000 Huckleberry Mountain Elders Gathering, female elders recalled that “the old Indians used to tell us that you had to take the first berries that you gathered up and throw them to the ground,

and give them back to “Mother Earth.””(MH) The pickings from the first day may have ultimately found their way to the ground surrounding the campsite areas. Some say that you had to “feed the earth” there (NE, BA) If this respect was shown properly and regularly, “you would always find lots of berries.” The women were apparently responsible for conducting this ceremony, and consultants joked that “it just wouldn’t work for men.”(MH) By fanning out to numerous picking areas, regrouping at campsites, and tossing berries to the ground annually, these people effectively reseeded huckleberries in the vicinity of their camps. This, combined with annual burning practices, may partially explain the particularly high densities of huckleberry understory in the immediate vicinity of traditional campsite areas.

Historically, berry productivity still varied, despite efforts to enhance their output. For example, “the berries don’t come on well in cold years...and they stay red, instead of turning blue.”(HW) In the event that berries did not grow abundantly in one’s usual picking area during a given year, families relocated to places beyond the main campsites to pick in alternative locations. Commonly, these sites were on the slopes of Huckleberry Mountain, but sometimes they reportedly drew families to locations east of Union Creek (near Union Peak or one the lower slopes on Crater Lake) or as far west as Rabbit Ears.

Huckleberry Mountain as an Educational Site

Tribal consultants report that Huckleberry Mountain has served as an important educational site. While this function no doubt predates European contact, it is clear that the educational function of the site has continued (and perhaps expanded) into the present day. In particular, following the creation of the Klamath Reservation and the arrival of Indian agents, elders used the opportunity of the Huckleberry Mountain harvest as a time to impart knowledge of traditional methods of food acquisition and preparation, “Indian words,” and tribal oral history. Several consultants have noted that “even when we were told to talk and act like white people [in the Klamath Basin] our grandparents taught us to be Indians at Huckleberry Mountain.”(JH) As the area served as a refuge from directed acculturative forces during the agency period, so too has the area served as a nexus of traditional educational activities within the context of contemporary cultural survival and revivalism. The significance of Huckleberry Mountain as a place where traditional cultural practices were taught despite colonial controls is not lost on younger members of the tribes; “Huckleberry Mountain” was like the elders’ Culture Camp!” (SO)⁴⁰ The perpetuation of these functions through such modern events as the Huckleberry Mountain Elders Gathering demonstrate the tribes’ continuing commitment to this function of the site.

Sacred Spaces

Klamath consultants report that most peaks in the vicinity of Huckleberry Mountain were used for religious purposes, including vision and power questing. The peaks in the area were considered to be of intermediate power, more “sacred” than lower mountains in the view of some, but not equal to the imposing and powerful landmark of Crater Lake. Vision quests on such intermediate peaks were viewed as being a prerequisite to conducting vision quests at Crater Lake, which was traditionally considered a source of unparalleled social and

cosmological power.⁴¹ Still, peaks west of Crater Lake were not used as extensively by Klamaths, as most of these peaks lacked clear views of other sacred peaks surrounding the Klamath Basin; views of these other peaks was often an important part of the vision quest experience, according to many tribal members. Molala, Takelma, and Umpqua also held these peaks in particular esteem due to their proximity to Crater Lake, and did not reportedly seek out unobstructed views of the Klamath Basin. Thus, vision-quest sites encountered in contemporary archaeological surveys west of Crater Lake may often be from pre-European Molala, Takelma, or Umpqua populations, despite the intensive use of the area by Klamaths for resource gathering purposes. (This being said, it is important to recall that numerous contemporary Klamath Tribes members are of partial Molala or Takelma ancestry.)

Despite the general religious significance of the zone west of Crater Lake, it was considered inappropriate to conduct vision or power quests in the middle of mundane activity areas. Consultants consistently report that solitude and a distance from everyday social and economic activities was essential to the success of vision quests. Therefore, while vision quest sites are reportedly widespread on the exposed tops of peaks in the general vicinity of Huckleberry Mountain, it is unlikely that the Huckleberry Mountain area, itself, was used for such religious activities as vision quests or power quests. In light of this fact, it may be generally concluded that wherever vision-quest rock cairns are found, such as in the general vicinity of Dead Soldier Meadow, huckleberry gathering areas were largely absent, and where huckleberry gathering is documented, vision quests were seldom conducted.

Clearly, this general statement presumes that sacred and mundane land uses are incompatible, which is not entirely true: first huckleberry ceremonies and other ceremonial activities surrounding mundane activities underscore the extent to which the categories 'sacred' and 'mundane' blurred into one-another within the traditional worldview of southwestern Oregon's tribes. As Albert Summers noted, vision or power quests were conducted in relative solitude, but prayers could be carried out as needed in any location, including work areas. People often stopped in the middle of resource harvesting activities for prayers. Consultants also recall a great deal of everyday religious activity at Huckleberry Mountain: "Dad said you must always respect and feed the land...he would toss some of the food in the four directions as an offering" when at Huckleberry Mountain.(CC) Clinkers Cole suggested that trying to separate out distinct "sacred" and "utilitarian" areas was impossible and did violence to the subject: "it's like taking the Mona Lisa and trying to carve it up...you can't just show the nose or the eyes...or whatever – it's all part of the picture." Also, one account indicates that Alice Hamilton, and perhaps others, had visions that involved encountering bears in the course of berry picking at Huckleberry Mountain; these people were escorted by the bears into more remote locations nearby, where they had visions that made them more knowledgeable and powerful. Cumulatively, this evidence suggests that Huckleberry Mountain was not devoid of religious activities, but that vision and power quests represented a distinct category of religious activity that was not appropriate to the site.

Today, some consultants insist that the Huckleberry Mountain area is "sacred" because of its longtime use by their ancestors and its general significance to the tribes. While this view reflects contemporary cultural revival efforts to some degree, it also seems consistent with documented cultural perspectives on sites that peoples depended on for subsistence over the course of multiple generations. Thus, it is quite likely that this contemporary perspective reflects longstanding cultural perceptions on the significance of Huckleberry Mountain by tribal members.

Relations with Non-Indians

When the Huckleberry Mountain gained the attention of non-Indians as a berry gathering and camping site, it increasingly served as a geographical nexus of cross-cultural interaction. Whites reportedly camped separately from the Indian encampments during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. By the first decade of the 20th century, road construction and the addition of such features as a dancing platform brought a wave of new white visitors. As non-Indian use of the area increased, this served to gradually displace Indians from traditional camping and berrying sites in the view of many tribal members. In the first decades of the 20th century, the "Brandenburg" portion of the Huckleberry Mountain campsite area was given up to whites, who camped separately but grouped together with tribal members for certain multi-ethnic gatherings such as dances and gambling events. The short-term presence of a store on the site in the early 20th century provided avenues for economic relationships between Indians and whites as well. This peace was still marked by subtle inter-ethnic tensions, and tribal children were told to stay away from the white families camped in Brandenburg Camp.

During the second half of the 20th century, the Klamath report that largely amiable relations with non-Indians deteriorated at Huckleberry Mountain, as pressures on traditional camping and berrying sites continued to grow. White visitors, in the view of some, seem to have been arriving from more distant places, and are therefore relatively anonymous, have no enduring knowledge of the site and its protocols, and are distrustful of Indians. Consultants report encountering a growing number of competing berry harvesters, including commercial harvesters, at their traditional gathering areas during the final decades of the 20th century.⁴² People now report having to fan out to locations far beyond their traditional picking areas in order to acquire comparable numbers of berries due in part to these competing harvesters. "We can't pick by our old camp now because people pick all the berries there." (HW) Some Klamath Tribes members report having hostile confrontations with white or Asian berry pickers at Huckleberry Mountain, particularly when large numbers of berry pickers are encountered within the traditional campsites and picking areas of their families. Most Klamaths are eager to defend their claims to the Huckleberry Mountain area in these exchanges, due to both the food value and the symbolic importance of the huckleberry harvest; importantly, Huckleberry Mountain is one of the last enduring strongholds of traditional tribal land use activities. Accordingly, some members of the Klamath Tribes report having used threats of retaliation when encountering non-Indian berry pickers picking on Klamath families' traditional plots. Many tribal members feel that allowing such picking would further erode tribal access to, and use of, the area.

Contemporary Management Issues

Tribal members, particularly Klamath Tribes members, report a number of concerns regarding the contemporary management of the Huckleberry Mountain area. Among all sources of concern mentioned by tribal members, logging was mentioned most frequently. Clearcut logging is identified as a primary culprit in the destruction of traditional huckleberry use areas. Tribal members report that log dragging, soil compaction, and other physical

disturbances can eliminate formerly productive berry patches. “Once they log it takes a *real* long time for the berries to come back.”(MW) In some cases, log loading areas and roads were constructed atop families’ campsites and traditional harvest areas. The traditional usufruct claims on specific berry patches resulted in disproportionate impacts of logging upon tribal members. Some families experienced few impacts on their traditional picking areas due to logging, while others had their entire picking areas destroyed. “We came up here with my grandma and [the family’s entire picking area] had all been logged out...she was real sad. We stopped coming up after that.”(OK) Some families lost their campsites to logging as well, bringing to an end their traditional practices at Huckleberry Mountain during the mid- to late-20th century. Others note that the huckleberries can tolerate only a limited amount of persistent exposure without a protective forest canopy, being damaged by sun or perhaps by rapid frost or evaporation cycles. While the elimination of mature forest canopy characteristics may not uniformly eliminate the berry patches in some cases, they suggest that it does appear to reduce the hardiness and productivity of berry patches. The area is perceived by many to represent a finely-tuned environment in which even minor disturbances can have dramatic effects; there is, in their view, “no way you can cut a tree without impacting the huckleberries.”(NE) In light of these observations, all tribal members interviewed who mentioned logging -- a majority of those consulted -- expressed a general opposition to all further logging of the area, particularly the logging of remaining mature forests with huckleberry understory. There appears to be considerably less opposition, however, for the thinning of second-growth timber to achieve mature forest characteristics, and occasional support expressed for the removal of potentially hazardous limbs. Some express a desire for regular and direct participation of tribal members in formulating any future harvest plans for Huckleberry Mountain.

Free-range cattle grazing has resulted in trampling impacts on the wet meadows formerly used as campsites, and has severely compromised the water quality of the springs formerly used by tribal members. Drawn to the water sources, cattle concentrate disproportionately around meadow-edge springs. Springs traditionally visited in the course of field visits with tribal members exhibited both severe turbidity and turbation of underlying material from trampling as well as impressive accumulations of cattle feces. All tribal members who have visited this site with me express dismay at this situation: “It sure looks grim. It’s hard to believe that we used to *drink* that water.”(OK) Since these water sources were essential to long-term camping at this ridge-top location, the current lack of potable water in most of the traditional picking areas is sometimes mentioned as an impediment to the continuation of traditional tribal uses of the area. Some tribal members express concern that the damage could become irreversible in time, as livestock trampling has been said to seal off springs elsewhere in the Cascades.(AS) Some tribal members also express concern that cattle have adversely impacted the availability of secondary plant resources at Huckleberry Mountain, such as thimbleberries, on which the cattle graze. The Forest Service placed a barrier of cull logs around the campground, thereby creating a low fence, but many of these logs have decomposed so that they no longer exclude cattle from the core camping and picking areas. Some tribal members have apparently attempted to move additional logs around the site to augment the USFS fence, but cattle still commonly enter the central campsite area. There is strong support among tribal members for keeping cattle entirely out of the core campsite areas, and particularly strong support for fencing off the springs within these traditional campsite areas.

In addition to the impacts outlined above, a number of tribal members have made observations of negative changes in the productivity of berry patches, due to fire suppression over the last century. For example, consultants said: "There were many traditional medicinal plants and food plants at Huckleberry Mountain...but they are being lost because of degradation of the land, poor land management, and no tribal burning." (SS) Formerly, "you didn't have to wade through the berry bushes...there were clear areas in-between dense patches of berries." (OK) Now, consultants suggest, there are neither clear areas nor the high-density bushes that they remember from the mid-20th century. It is commonly said of places near the campsites that they "don't look right anymore." Former meadows, where most social and food processing activities were centered, are now overgrown with young conifers, particularly lodgepole pine: "all those trees have grown up over the [Huckleberry City] meadow...you can't use it any more."(HW) Some tribal members have proposed restoring the use of fire on the site, but recognize the difficulties in doing so after many years of fire suppression. A few have entertained the notion of limited manual clearing within former meadow areas. Further consultation with the tribes would be recommended if such management techniques are to be used in the future.

The construction of Forest Service campground facilities on top of former tribal campsites, and the growth in non-Indian camping has reportedly displaced many families from their traditional camping and harvesting areas. Some consultants find the changes disorienting; when visiting the site for interviews, some elders found the tables, toilets, and other camping facilities, as well as the newer roads to be both amusing and confusing. The expansion and maintenance of improved camping sites are also perceived as factors contributing to the influx of competing, non-Indian harvesters. In response to the growing impact of non-Indian harvesters on traditional gathering sites, some consultants have recommended that there be special times or places designated for harvesting by tribal members only. Some Klamaths express concern that extensive public interpretation on the traditional use of Huckleberry Mountain may increase competing, non-Indian uses of the area and are opposed to most forms of on-site interpretation. Simultaneously, some Cow Creeks eagerly favor interpretation. This divergence in opinion probably reflects many factors, including varying degrees of integration into the cash economy, and varying utilization of Huckleberry Mountain resources today.

Official Klamath Tribes policy continues to oppose all archaeological excavation of cultural sites and, among the general Klamath population, there is a strong opposition to the disturbance or excavation of burials, or the removal of artifacts from cultural sites, particularly by non-tribal members. Still, there is considerable interest in certain kinds of archaeological research that might – in conjunction with archival and further interview research --help answer questions of contemporary significance such as, for example, the geographical extent of traditional use areas associated with Huckleberry Mountain. Archaeological research at Huckleberry Mountain to explore questions raised in this report, conducted within this area of enduring tribal use, would be of high visibility and would call for tribal consultation early in the formulation of the research design. Several Klamath Tribes members, themselves, report collecting projectile points and other artifacts. It is important to note, therefore, Huckleberry Mountain, as an area that has continued to be visited intensively by tribal members over the course of the last century, probably now holds limited promise for the discovery of pre-contact artifacts in primary context, particularly within camping areas having long-term patterns of tribal use.

Enduring Data Needs

Further research on traditional Indian uses of Huckleberry Mountain would benefit from the utilization of additional methodologies, beyond the ethnographic methods employed here. A review of literature regarding Huckleberry Mountain would considerably augment the material presented here, although such a review was beyond the scope of the current study. Initial reviews of the regional newspaper archives suggest that written materials mentioning the area are numerous. In addition to methodological expansion of the current study into a full multi-disciplinary investigation, our understanding of Huckleberry Mountain could be much enhanced through the focused investigation of certain themes that remain elusive through contemporary ethnographic and ethnohistorical research. The specific geographic locations of activity areas on and around Huckleberry Mountain remain elusive, beyond those used during the 20th century by the families of study consultants. More detailed information, particularly systematically gathered archaeological data from known sites and sites encountered through additional archaeological survey, might be sought on the precise locations of campsites, picking areas, processing and specialized activity areas within encampments, salmon fishing sites, hunting grounds, and other sites visited in the course of the Huckleberry Mountain component of the seasonal round. This work would benefit from detailed mapping of sites and their apparent relationships to resource harvests. With time and additional funding, such research might help clarify the full geographical range of the Huckleberry Mountain traditional use area and the changing intensity of resource harvests from this site.

Certain themes of particular research interest regarding the pre-contact period have emerged in the course of the study, and should receive more focused attention in the future. Evidence of berry enhancement practices such as anthropogenic burning, while quite suggestive to date, continues to be limited to a handful of accounts; little detailed information regarding traditional techniques has been forthcoming. The same can be said of traditional rules of land tenure. The antiquity of the practice of berry harvesting and related food gathering activities also remains an elusive aspect of Huckleberry Mountain history. Such ethnographic information may be largely lost to time, and some of these questions would require recourse to archaeological or biophysical analyses of the Huckleberry Mountain area. Still, in order to provide a coherent and comprehensive overview of traditional resource use practices at Huckleberry Mountain, such studies seem warranted.

Certain ethnohistorical themes could also receive more detailed consideration than the current, limited study allowed. Thus, one might examine more closely those social processes that altered Huckleberry Mountain resource utilization during the period of Euroamerican resettlement, including changes in kinship structure, the emergence of the cash economy, and enforced restrictions on tribal mobility and resource use. Moreover, while a wide range of traditionally-affiliated tribal members were sought out, future research might seek further input of members of other American Indian tribes (such as the peoples of Grand Ronde) who traditionally visited and utilized the resources of the Huckleberry Mountain area. Finally, and most importantly, regular Forest Service consultation with the Cow Creek and Klamath Tribes should continue to reveal details regarding tribal uses and sentiments, past and present. Tribal members may be able to identify prescriptive and proscriptive measures to minimize or mitigate the impacts, material or perceived, of U.S. Forest Service activities on lands and

resources that continue to be of particular concern to the federally recognized tribes with traditional affiliations with the Huckleberry Mountain area.

Conclusions

Today, tribes living to the west and to the east of Huckleberry Mountain feel a strong sense of attachment to Huckleberry Mountain, and both Klamath and Cow Creek consultants unabashedly referred to the site as "our mountain" in interviews. It is a place of abiding attachment and concern to these peoples. Klamaths, Modocs, Molalas, Upper Umpquas, Takelmas, and others visited this place annually since time immemorial to gather berries, hunt, and socialize, and today the descendants of these peoples continue to carry on these traditions, even if only in attenuated ways. As Huckleberry Mountain served as one of the most important food gathering sites from certain peoples of southwestern Oregon until the early 20th century, it now serves as one of the most symbolically charged landmarks for these tribes. Once the "foothold" of certain tribes within the subalpine Cascade Range, the place has come to be perceived as a foothold of a different sort, where tribal traditions held on, far from the scrutiny of the white world, despite overwhelming efforts to assimilate these peoples into the American mainstream.

This is not to suggest that the contemporary significance of Huckleberry Mountain is only symbolic. Quite the contrary: berries from the mountain continue to augment the diets of many tribal members, and these berries have retained their role as an important food for holidays and other special occasions. Among some tribal members, it is simply very important that, each year, they eat a few huckleberries from Huckleberry Mountain. For some families, Huckleberry Mountain continues to serve as an important meeting area for dispersed relatives, and for a few, it still serves as the staging ground for hunting and plant-gathering activities throughout the upper Rogue River basin. Families no longer stay for months, but for a day or a few consecutive days, often opting to return to the comforts of home in the evening rather than camping on the mountain. Individual families still claim specific campsites, returning to them year after year --- even if they do not still camp there overnight, these sites serve as the staging ground for summertime picnics and for daytime berry-picking excursions. Women, the traditional berry gatherers, still continue to play a leading role in the picking and processing of berries, though men now assist in most phases of the harvest.

Certainly, the riveting changes that transformed the environments and the indigenous peoples of southern Oregon over the last century and a half have disrupted patterns of tribal use at Huckleberry Mountain. The introduction of the horse, wagon, and ultimately the automobile reduced the time required to travel to and from Huckleberry Mountain while also increasing the use of the site by more distant tribes. The dislocation and ultimate integration of the Southern Molala into the Klamath Tribes arguably enhanced the utilization of western Cascade resources among the high desert Klamaths and Modocs. Directed and undirected cultural assimilation slowly changed dietary and economic patterns, in turn diminishing overall tribal dependence upon the resources of Huckleberry Mountain.

The Forest Service also sometimes played a role, often unwittingly, in the disruption of traditional resource use at Huckleberry Mountain. The suppression of fire and a host of other Forest Service land management policies and practices of the past have facilitated a general decline in the productivity of berries and some deterioration of the site as a traditional

use area. Cattle grazing, campground development, logging, and a variety of other workaday agency functions have sometimes served to undermine traditional tribal uses, as have game laws enforced first by the Forest Service and later by the State of Oregon. Despite this history, certain relatively simple remedies present themselves. The reestablishment of meadows through manual clearing or fire, or the improvement of cattle-exclusion fencing around the Huckleberry Mountain campsites are but two examples; other remedies may call for increasing collaboration with traditionally associated tribes. Already, the USFS is making progress in this arena. With a modest investment of time and effort, tribal patterns of use may be able to persist into the foreseeable future. We may never again see over 1,000 people camping together in the subalpine forest, returning every year to the same campsites. The circumstances of daily life for most tribal members make such long-term forays increasingly difficult. Still, we may yet see families returning to their traditional campsites for a day or two, picking a few buckets of berries, swapping stories, and teaching their children about traditional plant use or what it means to be Indian. We may yet hear the grandchildren of today's tribal consultants calling this place "our mountain." If this place continues to hold that kind of significance, if this place continues to be used in these ways by future generations of tribal members, U.S. Forest Service staff will know that they managed these lands well.

Quoted Interviewees

(Only directly quoted interviewees are listed here; a much larger number of Klamath Tribes and Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians members contributed to the content of this report.)

BA – Barbara Alatorre

CC – Clinkers Cole

BD – Belvie Dillstrom

NE – Neva Eggsman

JH – Joe Hobbs

MH – Marilyn Hall

BK – Barbara Kirk

OK – Orin “Buzz” Kirk

SM – Skip Moore

SO – Stephanie Ohles

KR – Karen Ray

MR – Michael Rondeau

TR – Tom Rondeau

AS – Albert Summers

SS – Susan Shafer

HW – Harold “Plummy” Wright

MW – Mary Anne Wright

Notes

¹ A small minority did not share this enthusiasm for the Huckleberry Mountain visit, however, such as Jane Hatfield, who recalled that she “hated to go to Huckleberry Mountain as a child” because of the long distance travel required to get there and the hard work that harvesting entailed. A few others viewed it as a “sad place to visit”: “I think of all the family who have passed away...that I used to go up there with...my aunts and uncles.” (TR)

² While Huckleberry Mountain appears to sit within the reservation boundaries first proposed by the Klamath tribes during 1864 treaty negotiations, U.S. treaty negotiators rejected these boundaries. A smaller reservation was ultimately approved during these negotiations, excluding the Huckleberry Mountain area, and this became encoded in the treaty that was ultimately ratified by Congress.

³ The Molala experienced considerable dislocation during the early history of Oregon. Many Molala were relocated to the Grand Ronde Reservation under the Dayton and Molala Treaties of 1855. The political ties between Molala bands appear to have been very loose, however, and many Molala evaded relocation in the wake of this treaty. Many southern Molala, in particular – those with the most direct affiliations with Huckleberry Mountain – appear to have moved to the Klamath Reservation and married into Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin families during the 19th century. On this point see Albert S. Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southern Oregon*. Contributions to North American Ethnology. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, 1890). 2(1-2): xxvi. Several tribal members consulted during this study mention that they have some Molala ancestry, though all of these individuals are primarily of Klamath ancestry and clearly identify as Klamath today. For brief mentions of both the Molala relationship with the Klamaths and the use of Huckleberry Mountain, see also Leslie Spier (1930). *Klamath Ethnography*. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. 30 Berkeley: University of California Press.

⁴ As outlined in the scope of work, the methods employed in this study were ethnomethodological and ethnohistorical rather than involving historical research in the archives and published literatures. For this reason, the standards of proof are rooted primarily (though not exclusively) in the replicability of oral testimony. If multiple elders report the same past events or phenomena when speaking individually, this is taken as evidence that these claims, or “ethnographic data,” are part of a larger oral tradition within the tribes consulted. Reported ethnographic data may be based on empirically verifiable events, seemingly mythic events, and – often – a combination of the two. To the extent that this study focuses on repeating themes within tribal members’ oral testimony, it is representative of some portion of the oral tradition surrounding Huckleberry Mountain. In many (but not all) cases, contemporary verification of ethnographic facts from tribal oral traditions is possible, using other forms of empirical evidence. Whenever possible, the oral traditions reported here have been verified using historic, archaeological, and biophysical methodologies.

⁵ The “Environmental Setting” section of this report represents a modified version of a text provided by Jeff LaLande of the Rogue River National Forest.

⁶ See Jeff LaLande “Research Summary and National Register of Historic Places Eligibility Evaluation Report for the “Huckleberry Patch” on the Rogue-Umpqua Divide.” (Medford, OR: Rogue River National Forest, 1992).

⁷ Admittedly, the much greater familiarity of Cow Creek consultants with comparable sites and activities at Huckleberry Gap raises the potential of the “blurring” of tribal testimony regarding the two gathering areas: Huckleberry Gap and Huckleberry Mountain. Efforts were made to differentiate between these two places when discussing traditional patterns of management and use, but it is possible that some of the activities that have been described in regards to Huckleberry Mountain might be more applicable to Huckleberry Gap. See LaLande 1992 for comparison.

⁸ The section on historical context is included only to provide a cursory overview of events that have a direct bearing on the interpretation of tribal use of Huckleberry Mountain. A much more thorough overview of

historical changes in tribal society, economy, and demographics will be included in the final Crater Lake National Park/Lava Beds National Monument Traditional Use Study, of which this document is but a part.

⁹ See Robert Boyd “Demographic History, 1774-1874.” In Wayne Suttles (ed.) *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7: Northwest Coast*. (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990) pp. 135-48.

¹⁰ See Stephen Dow Beckham “History of Western Oregon Since 1846.” In Wayne Suttles (ed.) *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7: Northwest Coast*. (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990) pp. 180-88. Stephen Dow Beckham *Requiem for a People: The Rogue River Indians and the Frontiersmen*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

¹¹ On the dramatic changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries, through the time of termination, see Theodore Stern *The Klamath Tribes: A People and Their Reservation*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965).

¹² The termination of the Klamath Tribes’ status as a federally recognized Indian tribe had a number of dramatic social and economic impacts for tribal members. (In addition, termination led to the dispossession of the tribal land base, which has not yet been recovered in the years following tribal restoration.) These impacts, in turn, influenced the ways in which the Huckleberry Mountain area was used. The significance of termination and related social changes shall receive detailed attention in the final CRLA/LABE Traditional Use Study report.

¹³ Steve Mark and Kelly Kritzer, Wagon Road Inventory notes and maps. (files of Crater Lake National Park Historian, Crater Lake Or., 2000). This was the second wagon road to be constructed between these two basins. The first, constructed in 1863, looped south, skirting the northern slopes of Mount McLoughlin; this route proved too steep and difficult for many wagons and was largely abandoned in favor of the Annie Creek route.

¹⁴ Trail maintenance was an integral part of the trek prior to the advent of modern roads, with occasional stops to remove downed trees and other obstacles from the route.

¹⁵ Archaeological evidence of the use of both areas into the late 19th and early 20th century can still be found. At Cold Spring, a large number of lard cans and other items can be found. These lard cans fit the description of the cans used to collect huckleberries by tribal members. At Thousand Springs, blazes and other markings on trees can be clearly seen around former campsites, though it is unclear whether these marks were made by white or Indian travelers, or both.

¹⁶ A distillery once operated near Whiskey Creek, and some consultants believe that the names Whiskey Creek and Whiskey Camp memorialize this operation. Tribal members indicate that this still was the source of much contraband liquor that made its way to the Klamath Reservation. Some tribal members were involved with the liquor production and distribution; the greatest role was reportedly played by a Yurok man with family ties to the Klamaths.

¹⁷ Tribal consultants have not mentioned the ditch running downslope at this site; in interviews conducted for other projects, white consultants reported to Jeff LaLande that this “chute” was used by the Indians to slide gear downslope.

¹⁸ Jeff LaLande, pers. comm. 2001.

¹⁹ While consultants largely discuss horses at the site, it is clear that mules were also commonly used to pack materials to Huckleberry Mountain and often were included in these grazing herds.

²⁰ The precise antiquity of the Huckleberry Mountain harvest still remains unclear. Most Klamaths suggest that the use of the area long predates European contact, but also note that the use of the site must have intensified following the arrival of horses. Living consultants describe individuals and events associated with the Huckleberry Mountain harvest that can be traced back to the early decades of the 19th century. The harvest practices mentioned at that time appear to represent a well-established component of the seasonal round, utilized in conjunction with other subalpine and windward forest resources. The earliest written references to tribal use

of Huckleberry Mountain encountered in the course of this study date from 1872, though earlier written sources have not been sought systematically. The presence of a modest number of lithic artifacts at Huckleberry Mountain indicates precontact (or “early historic”) use, but to date there has been little archaeological evidence that can be analyzed using absolute dating methods.

²¹ By the 1930s, Cow Creek consultants report bringing home enough canned berries to completely load the interior of a Model A Ford.

²² Still, horse travel was sufficiently slow that repeat trips between Huckleberry Mountain and the villages in the river basins below were uncommon during any single season, and almost all food-processing tasks appear to have been conducted at the Huckleberry Mountain campsites, as was the case before the arrival of horses and wagons.

²³ Prior to the advent of automotive travel, if the picking had been particularly good and adequate food was gathered in under two months, people sometimes completed their harvests early and traveled to Diamond Lake for a brief visit before the snows arrived. Regular campsites were maintained at Diamond Lake, and they were accessed by a branch of the trail that passed north of Crater Lake between Huckleberry Mountain and Klamath Marsh. Oral tradition suggests that this was considered a particularly enjoyable experience; food gathering was largely completed for the year and people were free, if only briefly, to recreate.

²⁴ Knowledge of this period and the process of Molala-Klamath integration varies considerably among tribal members; those with the greatest appreciation of this history and its implications are, predictably, those people of mixed Molala and Klamath ancestry. Some of these individuals of mixed ancestry, such as Mary Anne and Plummy Wright, provided particularly valuable and detailed information for the current study.

²⁵ On these restrictions and their effects, see Theodore Stern, *The Klamath Tribe: A People and Their Reservation*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965).

²⁶ Some consultants suggest that this was done in the morning while other say that it was done in the evening. It is possible that it was done at both times, or that the time of this “roll call” changed over the years. Bobby David, Klamath Tribes language specialist, has been a valuable participant in the current study. Chief Reid David, his uncle, was a particularly knowledgeable Klamath elder, but passed away prior to the initiation of the current study; fortunately, Reid David served as a consultant to earlier studies and tape-recordings of his interviews, available from the Klamath Tribes Culture and Heritage Office, make mention of Huckleberry Mountain. The references to Reid David provided in this document are from the 1991 tape series “Klamath Knowledge and Use of Proposed PGT Pipeline Corridor” (tapes in possession of Klamath Culture and Heritage Office, Chiloquin, Oregon).

²⁷ Considerably more detail regarding Alice Hamilton is contained in the author’s fieldnotes, and may be available upon request. While she was a celebrated character in the recent history of Huckleberry Mountain, she is in many respects simply a widely publicized character within a much larger story, and is representative in many ways of ubiquitous practices found among 20th century Klamaths and other tribes affiliated with the area. Many facts about Alice Hamilton reported as if they were distinctive to her are in fact applicable to many different members of these tribes.

²⁸ Klamaths, such as Buzz Kirk’s paternal grandmother, claimed that they could tell where a berry was from by its flavor. The berries from Mount Hood or Mount Adams, for example, tasted different than a Huckleberry Mountain berry. Most Klamath Tribes members reportedly preferred the flavor of the berries from Huckleberry Mountain.

²⁹ There were a number of vernacular terms used in reference to different concentrations of campsites on Huckleberry Mountain. “Brandenburg” was that area near the intersection of USFS roads 60 and 6050, near the water pump and other camping area infrastructure. Several consultants refer to the area west of Brandenburg (where USFS road 6050 makes a sharp north turn at a fork, near spur 980) as “Huckleberry City.” The “White Horse” camp area was mentioned by some consultants but none identified the exact location of this camping

area; their descriptions suggest that it was viewed as being the area near the former ranger station in the meadow adjacent to USFS road 710. “Crawford Camp” was also mentioned, albeit less frequently by contemporary consultants; this camp includes the area of meadow/forest margin along upper Crawford Creek in the vicinity of the 1930s USFS guard station, now defunct.

³⁰ The status of the Klamath language will be discussed in more detail in the final CRLA/LABE Traditional Use Study report.

³¹ Most campsites were located along ridgetops, while picking areas were distributed adjacent and downslope from encampments. For this reason, children were told that if they ever became lost while huckleberry picking, they should simply head upslope. They were certain to find camps, possibly their family’s camps, once they reached the summit.

³² Unless otherwise indicated, Klamath orthography adheres to the Klamath Tribes’ standard, which is based on M.A.R. Barker, *Klamath Dictionary*. University of California Publications in Linguistics Vo. 31. (Berkeley: University of California, 1963).

³³ These meadows may have been at least in part the product of anthropogenic fire.

³⁴ Emanuel, Robert M. *A Field Guide to Ethnobotanical Plants of the Winema National Forest*. (with accompanying ethnobotanical appendix). (Chemult OR: Winema National Forest, USFS Pacific Northwest Region, 1994).

³⁵ Some Klamaths report hunting for introduced wild turkeys in the lower elevation hills west of Huckleberry Mountain in the late 20th century. (BA)

³⁶ USFS rangers only enforced game regulations for a brief period of time, early in the history of this National Forest, but this function was soon taken over by the State of Oregon (Jeff LaLande, pers. comm. 2002). Nonetheless, the period of USFS enforcement was the first period of effective game law enforcement in Oregon’s hinterland, a contentious period in tribal history, and still seems to loom large in the oral history of tribal members.

³⁷ *Gogonas* are small humanoid beings believed to inhabit many of the forested areas around the Klamath territory; they are reported to be very powerful and will kill humans if given the chance. The term sometimes seems to be applied to a more general concept of “malicious spirit being” and stories of their exploits seem to be used to frighten children into not wandering into forested areas alone. When I tried to pinpoint the exact location of the feared Winwas area, Bobby David and Neva Eggsman pointed out to me that it sits in the center of a triangle aligned with Crater Lake, Huckleberry Mountain, and Rabbit Ears at its corners. This symmetrical placement of Winwas between the Klamaths’ three most significant physical landmarks west of the Cascade crest is interesting, though it is unclear whether this geometry has any bearing on the genesis of the site’s hazards.

³⁸ It is likely that much of what is known by Cow Creek consultants regarding the use of fire as a vegetation management tool reflects their experiences at Huckleberry Gap and other locations that were more readily accessible. Still, both Cow Creek and Klamath consultants consistently report that fire was used as a vegetation management technique at Huckleberry Mountain, proper.

³⁹ It is possible that the variability in contemporary consultants’ recollections reflects pre-Contact variability in fire management practices. The Umpqua, Takelma, Molala, and other ethnolinguistic groups from west of the Cascade Range dwelled in relatively humid environments, and were accustomed to utilizing fire as a vegetation management technique in densely forested environments. While the Klamaths, Modocs, and other peoples from east of the Cascades certainly utilized fire to manage vegetation, it is possible that they were unaccustomed to utilizing and controlling fires in moist, forested sites such as Huckleberry Mountain. Such fire management of densely forested sites likely involved environment-specific knowledge and methods, and west-side tribes may have come to the site well equipped. This remains conjectural, though, pending further investigation.

⁴⁰ “Culture Camp” is an important event in the lives of contemporary Klamath Tribes children. Every summer, children gather at Culture Camp to learn traditional stories, crafts, language skills, and so forth, for up to two weeks. Klamath Culture Camp is sponsored and organized by the staff of the Culture and Heritage Department of the Klamath Tribes.

⁴¹ On this point see Douglas Deur “A Most Sacred Place: The Significance of Crater Lake among the Indians of Southwestern Oregon” *Oregon Historical Quarterly*. 103(1): 18-49.

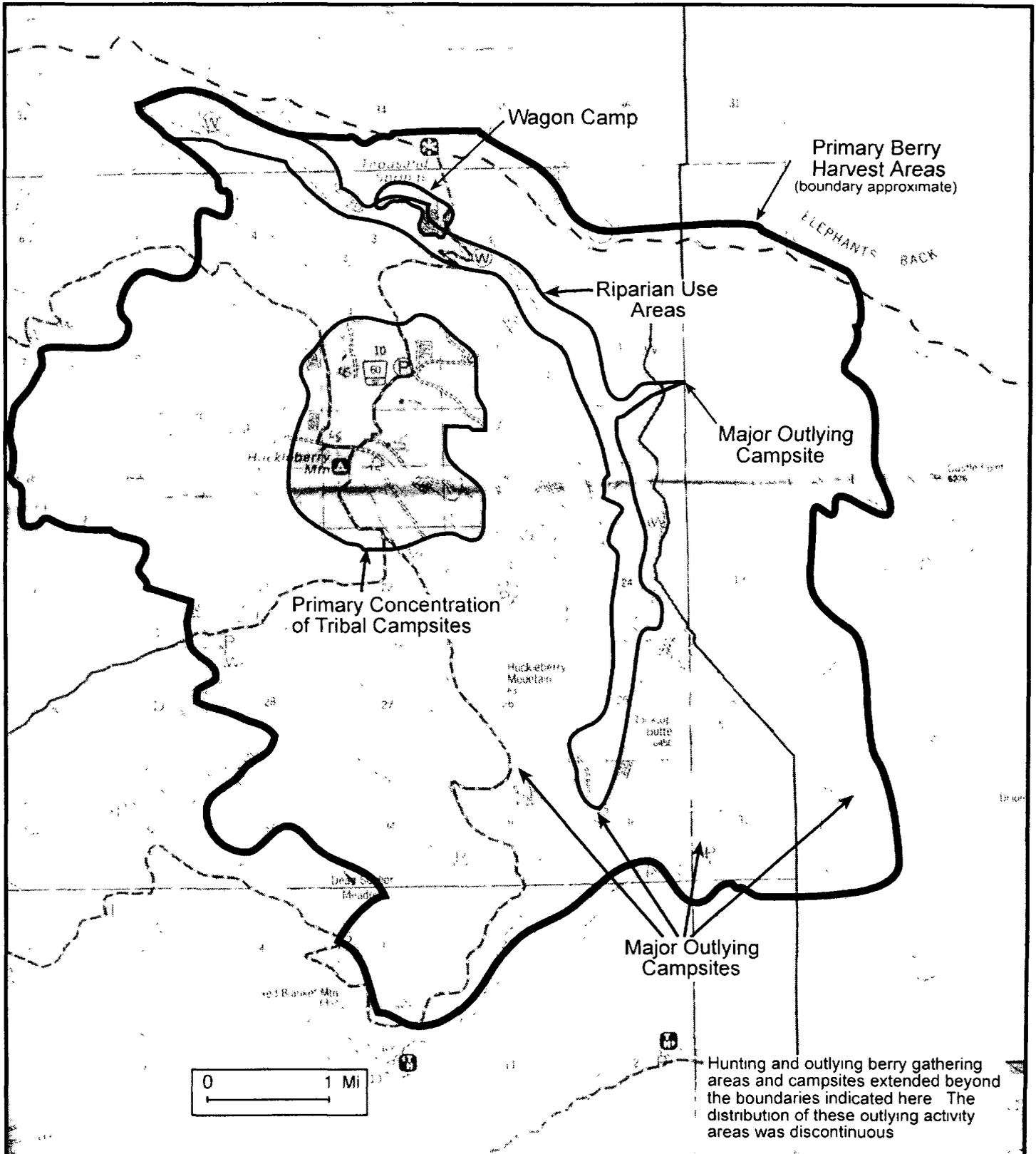
⁴² The U.S. Forest Service does not issue commercial harvest permits for this area, so any commercial harvesting is being conducted clandestinely and illegally. Jeff LaLande pers. comm. 2001.

Appendix: Maps

Map 1

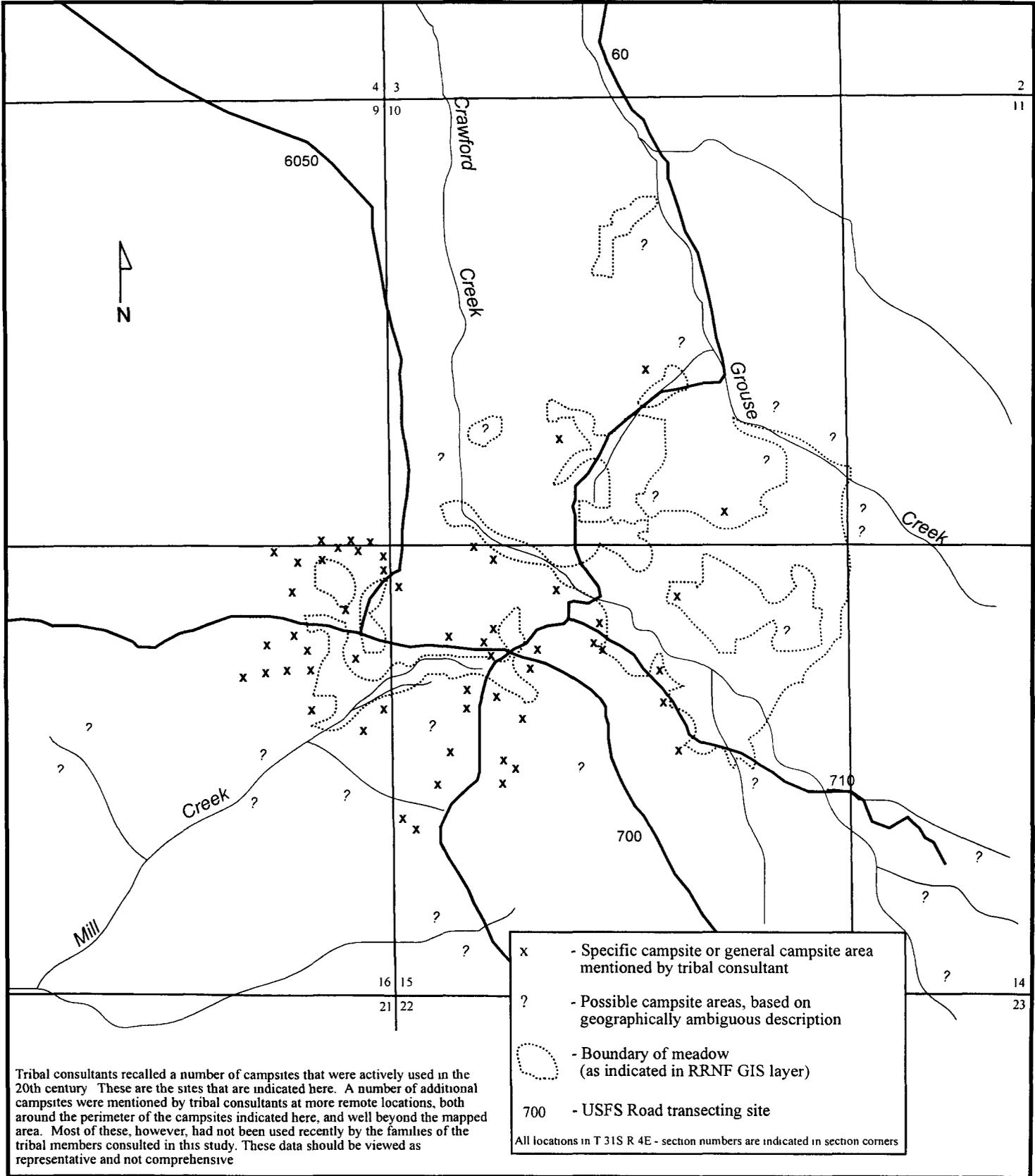
Huckleberry Mountain

Contiguous Areas of Tribal Camping and Berry Harvesting,
Late 19th and early 20th Centuries



Map 2

Specific Campsite Areas Recalled by Tribal Consultants Huckleberry Mountain, Rogue River National Forest



Tribal consultants recalled a number of campsites that were actively used in the 20th century. These are the sites that are indicated here. A number of additional campsites were mentioned by tribal consultants at more remote locations, both around the perimeter of the campsites indicated here, and well beyond the mapped area. Most of these, however, had not been used recently by the families of the tribal members consulted in this study. These data should be viewed as representative and not comprehensive.

