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The Takelma and Their Athapascan Neighbors

*A New Ethnographic Synthesis for the Upper
Rogue River Area of Southwestern Oregon*



University of Oregon Anthropological Papers
No. 37 1987

Cover drawing of Frances Johnson by Christine Jackson; Ashland, Oregon.

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PROSPECTUS

This study synthesizes the available ethnographic and relevant archaeological data pertaining to the Native American groups who formerly occupied the upper Rogue River drainage of southwestern Oregon. The information presented concerns material, social, and religious aspects of aboriginal life as practiced by the Takeima of the Rogue River Valley, and their culturally akin Athapascan neighbors, the Da-du-be-te-de (Applegate Rivergroup) and the Tal-tuc-tun-te-da (Galice Creek group). The ethnographic material represents the time period immediately prior to the subjugation of these Native Americans, and their subsequent removal from southwestern Oregon in the 1850s; however, this synthesis has applications to a much greater time period in regional prehistory.

Significant new information, extracted from the field notes of J.P. Harrington, Melville Jacobs, and P. E. Goddard, adds to what has already been published concerning the lifeways of these Native Americans and clarifies certain territorial boundary questions. This study is intended to facilitate anthropological research into southwestern Oregon prehistory, and to suggest new directions for future research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank my friends and colleagues who gave of their time and energy to review earlier versions of this paper: Janet Joyer, Kathryn Winthrop, Jeff Lalande, David Brauner, Thomas McClintock, Melvin Aikens, Theodore Stern, and Joyce Smith. Thanks also to Robert Winthrop for his guidance in the field of cultural anthropology and to John Mairs for his cartographic assistance. I also acknowledge my debt to the late Tom Hogg of Oregon State University for his friendship and support, which allowed me to begin my studies in anthropology. I am particularly grateful to Jeff Lalande, not only for his time-consuming editorial review, but also for his continual interest in, and enthusiasm for, this project. With love, my gratitude goes to Jane, Jason, and Erin Van Dyke for their patience and understanding.

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INTRODUCTION

Almost fifty years ago, Philip Drucker (1940) published "The Tolowa and their Southwest Oregon Kin," a detailed ethnographic description of the Athapascan-speaking Native Americans of the Lower Rogue River and northern California coast. In a brief synopsis at the conclusion of his work, Drucker noted a few details concerning the Upland Takelma and Galice Creek aboriginal groups of the upper Rogue River. However, no comparable work on the various groups of the upper Rogue River basin has been compiled, and the lifeways of the native inhabitants of southwestern Oregon are still poorly understood.

This study of the Takelma and their Athapascan neighbors, the Tal-tuc-tun-te-de (Galice Creek group) and the Da-ku-be-te-de (Applegate River group), is based on three major sources of information relating to the ethnographic or protohistoric period in southwestern Oregon: (a) previously published ethnographic material; (b) unpublished field notes; (c) recent archaeological data. From the archaeological perspective, this area of Oregon, centered on the middle and upper reaches of the Rogue River, has until recently been one of the least studied and understood regions of the Pacific Northwest. Two federal programs have improved that situation in recent years. The first was the implementation, during the 1970s, of systematic cultural resource management efforts on federal lands. This program, through the on-going identification and preservation of prehistoric archaeological sites, has greatly increased the known data base for future studies, as well as providing data on regional chronology, subsistence behavior, and settlement patterns. The second program, prompted by the construction of major flood control dams in the Rogue River basin, has been the archaeological excavation of numerous sites in the area.

While the research generated by these programs expanded our understanding of regional prehistory, it has, at the same time, created a need for more in-depth knowledge of Native American lifeways prior to Euro-American settlement. A useful approach to archaeological research is the "ethnographic analogy." With a detailed knowledge of employment of various aspects of the material, social, and ideational life of an ethnographically-known people, it is possible not only to answer specific archaeological questions, but also, with suitable archaeological evidence, to project the lifeways of the ethnographic period back in time, and thereby to pose truly anthropological questions on a range of subjects dealing with culture and the forces which change and mold it. One compelling reason for the present study is the need to provide a detailed ethnographic account to underpin on-going archaeological research in southwestern Oregon.

In addition to providing the data necessary for archaeological research, this study also is intended to contribute to the comparative study of Native American cultures. By synthesizing the available data for the Takelma and their Athapascan neighbors into one document, future cross-cultural comparisons may be attempted with greater ease and accuracy. The previously unpublished data expand what is already known concerning the ethnographic period in this area and raise new problems for research.

The introductory chapters of this study are intended to orient the reader to the geography of the region, the anthropologists and Native American informants who generated the ethnographic material, and the territories occupied by the specific ethnographic groups.

Chapter Two, "Physical Setting", outlines the general environmental conditions relevant to understanding the ecological adaptations of the Takelma and their Athapascan neighbors. The Takelma and the Galice/Applegate Athapascans were not the only groups to inhabit an environmental region such as that described in Chapter Two. A similar physiographic province extends west from the Cascade Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, and from slightly north of the Rogue River, south to the area surrounding the Klamath River in California. It was primarily because of environmental similarities and many shared cultural traits among the Native Americans throughout this region that A. L. Kroeber proposed a Northwestern California Culture Area, which included a large portion of southwestern Oregon (Kroeber 1920:156). The Takelma and Galice/Applegate were unique cultures with their own histories and patterns of adaptation, but they shared with neighbors over a wide area the environmental conditions which set the stage for cultural development.

Chapter Three is crucial for an understanding of the limitations and biases of the ethnographic record. Due to the rapidity with which the Native American cultures of the region were destroyed, the removal of the few survivors to the Siletz Reservation in the 1850s, and the late date at which most of the ethnographic material was collected, by the twentieth century only a handful of native informants remained who possessed any recollection of their old culture. The few details that were recorded about the informants' lives and families are presented in Chapter Three, along with brief biographical sketches of the anthropologists who worked with these Native American informants to preserve what is known about the ethnographic period in southwestern Oregon.

The ethnographic material presented in this study must be used with this understanding. The reader is cautioned to remember the limits which are inherent in constructing any account of a past culture, and to view the present synthesized ethnographic account as a foundation upon which future anthropological research can continue to build.

Chapter Four deals with the question of territorial boundaries in the study area. I have used a traditional model of linguistic boundaries corresponding to ethnographic group boundaries. Although there is a relationship between the two in this case, the boundaries were by no means impermeable or fixed. As will be shown in Chapters Five and Six, cultural similarities among the dialect and language groups of the region far outnumber the differences. Language differences were not necessarily a barrier to communication (Hymes 1968). Many instances are noted in the accounts of bilingualism and inter-group marriages. With their primary allegiance focused at the village level, and with their generally exogamous marriage rules, it was often logical for a people to have interacted with nearby speakers of an alien tongue, perhaps more so even than with their own linguistic kin. My use of language as a cultural attribute to delineate territorial boundaries is somewhat artificial, yet grounded in reality.

Chapters Five and Six present the bulk of the ethnographic and relevant archaeological data. The material is arranged in descriptive categories to facilitate reference to specific areas of interest for the researcher, and to organize the data along lines similar to the format of Roland Dixon's (1907) ethnographic account, The Shasta. The Shasta are the other major Native American group in the region, and the use of a similar format for this work will facilitate ethnographic comparisons. The principal drawback to this format, which breaks down a cultural description into material, social, and ideational categories, is the tendency it fosters in the reader to view these aspects of life as separate and distinctive entities with a niche of their own. Quite the contrary is true. The various aspects of Takelma and Galice/Applegate life, as practiced at their subsistence and technological levels, were inseparable from one another. Daily life merged subsistence, social and religious activities into a unified structure which was much more coherent than the mere listing of material objects and activities would indicate.

The conclusions and appendices which follow Chapter Six are self-explanatory; however, some clarification of the footnote citations used in the text is in order. The field notes of John Peabody Harrington have been published on microfilm, and the citations of his work in this text are specified with the frame-numbers from Reel #28 of that series. The field notes of Melville Jacobs and Pliny Earl Goddard are located in the Melville Jacobs Collection at the University of Washington Archives in Seattle, Washington. Jacobs' field notes in this paper appear without specific page reference. Goddard's fieldnotes of 1903-4 concerning the Galice/Applegate cultures were transcribed from his linguistic field notes by Jacobs, and are filed in a similar manner. Where Native American terms are provided, the phonetic pronunciation symbols used by the ethnographers have been omitted; however, the original syllabic spacing has been retained.

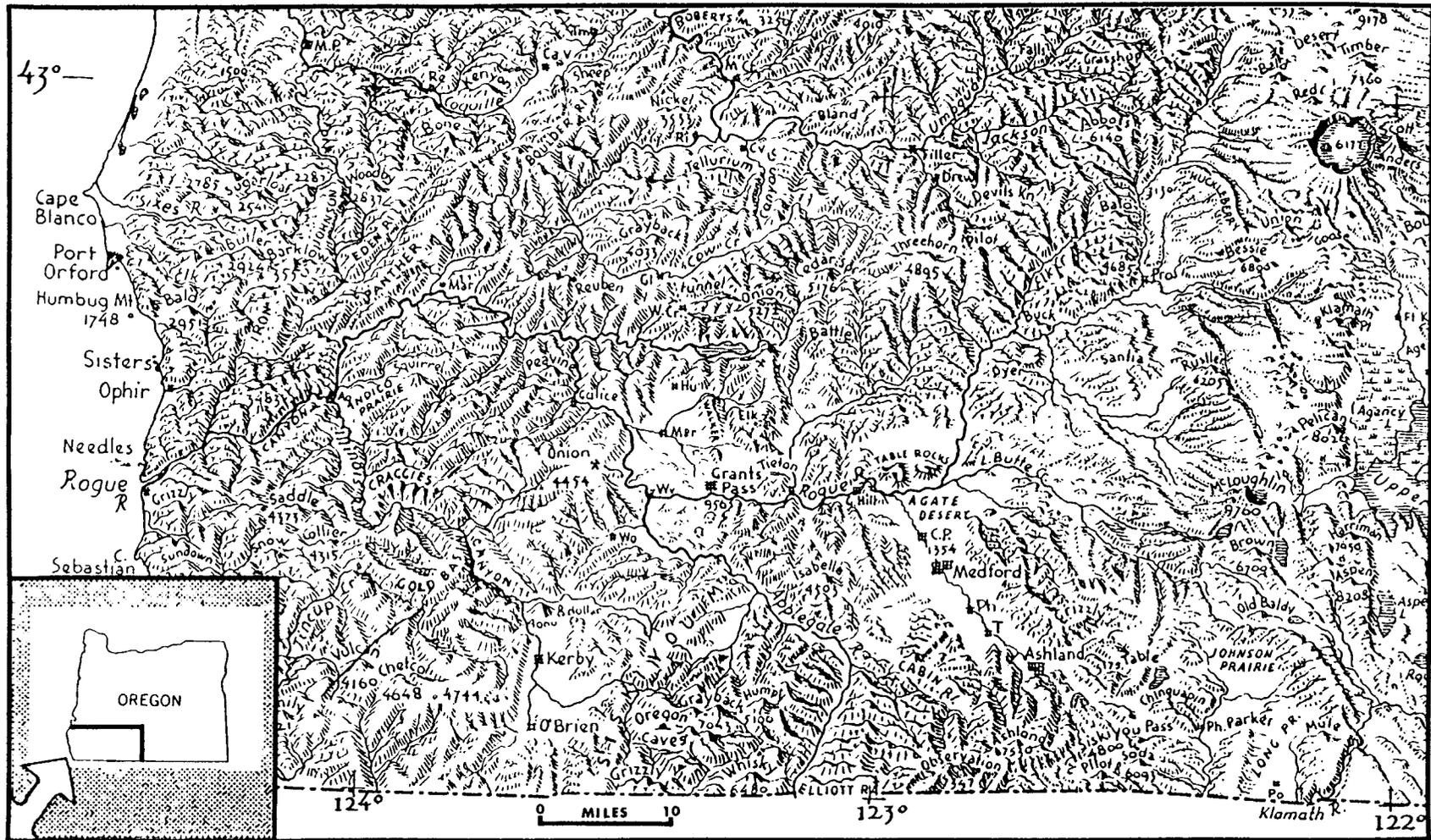
Physical Setting

The study area includes the ethnographic homelands of the Takelma, and Da-ku-be-te-de or Applegate Indians, and the Tal-tuc-tun-te-de of Galice Creek. Located in southwestern Oregon, the territory of these cultural groups was centered in the middle to upper Rogue River drainage basin, extending from near the Illinois River in the west to a portion of the Bear Creek Valley in the east. In general the Siskiyou Mountains along the present day California-Oregon border formed the southern limit, with the Rogue-Umpqua divide the northern-most range of the Takelma (see Figures 1 and 4).

Geology

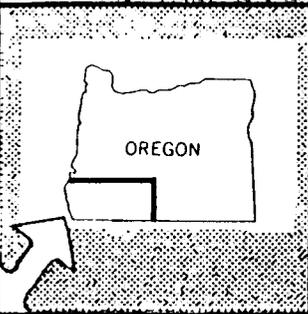
In addition to the valleys formed by the Rogue River and its major tributaries, the Illinois and Applegate rivers and Bear Creek, there are three distinct mountain provinces located within the study area: the Klamath Mountains, the Western Cascades and the High Cascades. Bear Creek Valley in the eastern portion of the region separates the geologically distinct Klamath and Cascade formations (Baldwin 1976).

Figure 1. Southwestern Oregon



43°—

Cape Blanco
 Port Orford
 Humbug Mt. 1748'
 Sisters
 Ophir
 Needles
 Rogue R
 Sebastian



124°

0 MILES 10

123°

Klamath R 122°

The Siskiyou Mountains, a subdivision of the Klamath Mountain province, range generally east-west along the California-Oregon border, and comprise one of the most rugged and complex geologic areas in the Pacific Northwest. Slopes are steep and usually deeply dissected, with peaks along the crest ranging from 6,500 feet in elevation to 7,530 feet at the summit of Mt. Ashland (Badura & Jahn 1977:147). The Siskiyou may contain some of the oldest rock formations in the state of Oregon. Rock ages date from the Paleozoic through the upper Mesozoic (Jurassic) eras (Badura & Jahn 1977:147). Glaciation has occurred on many high elevation north-aspect slopes in the Siskiyou, creating cirques and small cirque basins. Valley glaciers may have been responsible for carving the uppermost portions of several major drainage ways (Badura & Jahn 1977:147).

Geologists have divided the Cascade range into two physiographic provinces, the Western Cascades and the younger High Cascades, which contain a north-south trending range of spectacular volcanic peaks. In southwestern Oregon, the Bear Creek Valley provides a clear division between the Klamath-Siskiyou Mountains in the southwest, and the Cascades to the northeast. The Western Cascades are composed of older Tertiary flows, tuffs and intrusive rock, while the High Cascades contain more recent Plio-Pleistocene lava flows (Baldwin 1976). Stream erosion is evidenced in the Western Cascades by the steep dissected terrain. Alpine glaciation and mass wasting are responsible for many of the landforms in this province. The topographic complexity of the Western Cascades is somewhere between that of the Klamaths and that of the High Cascades (Badura & Jahn 1977:49).

The High Cascades in southwestern Oregon are bounded on the east by the Klamath Basin, and on the west by the Western Cascades. According to Badura & Jahn (1977:50):

The geological material within the High Cascades is generally the most recent to be found in the Forest (i.e., Rogue River N.F.). They consist dominantly of basalts, andesites and recent volcanic pyroclastics ranging in age from Late Tertiary to Quaternary.

The effects of glacial activity are extensive; however, fluvial or stream erosion has not had a major impact on the topography. The High Cascades have the least complex topography of the mountain formations of southwestern Oregon (Badura & Jahn 1977:51).

Two peaks, Mt. McLoughlin and Mt. Mazama, are representative of the most recent volcanic activity of the High Cascades in the area. Mt. Mazama (elevation 8,100 ft.) may have been comparable in size to Mt. Adams (12,000 ft.) before an eruption 7,000 years ago formed a caldera now containing Crater Lake (Baldwin 1976). Large volumes of pumice and ash flowed down the flanks of Mt. Mazama and were deposited over existing valleys, leaving broad gently inclined surfaces. In places these deposits are several hundred feet thick (Badura & Jahn 1977:51).

The valleys of the Rogue River drainage system form the fourth major physiographic province in the area. The two principal valleys relating to this study are the Rogue Valley (with its main arm, the Bear Creek Valley) and

the Applegate Valley. The Bear Creek Valley has been formed by the erosional action of Bear Creek. Bear Creek flows in a northwesterly direction from its sources in the Cascades, and intersects the Rogue River near the base of Table Rock, a short distance above Gold Ray Dam.

The Applegate River has its headwaters in the Siskiyou Mountains and flows north and west to join the Rogue River just below the present city of Grants Pass. The upper fork of the Applegate River dissects the rugged Siskiyou Mountains, forming a fairly narrow, steep-sided valley. Further downriver in the lower elevations, the river has formed a modest-sized level valley. Due to extensive hydraulic mining in the latter part of the nineteenth century, many of the natural terraces along the upper portion of the Applegate River have been eroded to bedrock.

Climate

The climate of the Rogue River Valley and the surrounding area can be characterized as having mild, damp winters and hot, dry summers. Rainfall, of which approximately eighty percent occurs from October through March, averages 20 inches annually in the lowland areas, and increases with elevation and proximity to the Pacific Coast (see Table 1). Snowfall is negligible in the valleys; however, heavy snow occurs above 4,500 feet. Snow at this elevation ranges from 60 to 160 inches deep, and remains on the ground from November through April or May. Fog is common at lower elevations during the winter and early spring, and may last for several consecutive days. Summer daytime temperatures average 90° F., with occasional extremes of over 100° F.

TABLE 1. CLIMATOLOGICAL DATA

Station	Elevation in Ft.	Mean Annual Precipitation In Inches	Mean Monthly Temperatures ° F.	
			Jan.	July
Grants Pass	942	29	39	70
Trail	1434	47	37.5	67.7
Medford	1383	20	35.4	72.1
Ashland	1972	20	37.5	69.1
Siskiyou Summit	4472	33	33.1	67.1
Waldo	1650	50	37.3	67.1

(Whittaker [1960], Beaulieu [1977])

Only about five percent of annual precipitation occurs during the summer months, usually in the form of electrical storms. Flooding has occurred in the major valleys during some winters when a heavy snow pack at low elevation is combined with heavy rainfall and a warm southwesterly wind. The annual peak stream discharge occurs between April and June, the period of rapid snow melt (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Adm. 1978, Badura & Jahn 1977, Beaulieu 1977).

Vegetation

There exist within the study area five principal environmental or vegetational zones, defined on the basis of topography, soil type, precipitation and aspect. Taking into account all of these factors, the zones in order of increasing elevation and precipitation are:

1. Interior Valley Zone (Rogue River Valley and Applegate Valley).
2. Lower Forest Zone (Siskiyou, and a trace in the Cascades).
3. Principal Forest Zone (Siskiyou and Cascades).
4. Upper Forest Zone (Siskiyou and Cascades).
5. Sub-Alpine Forest Zone (Cascades and a trace in the Siskiyou).

Among the various mountain provinces, the vegetation may differ slightly within a particular zone; however, the differences are minor and do not affect the overall classificatory scheme (Badura & Jahn 1977). Table 2 enumerates some of the more common species found within each zone. (For plant species of upland areas of the Applegate Valley, see Appendix 3.)

TABLE 2. VEGETATION DATA

<u>Zone</u>	<u>Conifers</u>	<u>Hardwoods & Shrubs</u>
Interior Valley	Douglas fir incense cedar ponderosa pine sugar pine western juniper	California black oak Oregon white oak Oregon ash black cottonwood Pacific madrone willow birchleaf mahogany manzanita Oregon grape Pacific serviceberry snowberry blackberry
Lower Forest	ponderosa pine Douglas fir knobcone pine	Oregon white oak California black oak manzanita gooseberry
Principal Forest	Douglas fir white fir western hemlock sugar pine ponderosa pine	California black oak Oregon white oak Canyon live oak big leaf maple vine maple Pacific madrone willow California hazel Pacific dogwood golden chinkapin Oregon grape gooseberry blackberry elderberry
Upper Forest	Shasta red fir white fir mountain hemlock	Rocky Mountain maple golden chinkapin Oregon grape snowbrush bitter cherry snowberry big huckleberry red elderberry sticky currant
Sub-Alpine	mountain hemlock Shasta red fir subalpine fir lodgepole pine	manzanita big huckleberry

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Before evaluating the assembled data on the cultures under study, it is necessary to provide information about the people who were involved in the collection and dissemination of this data, and to note the biases and limitations inherent in ethnographic research.

Several factors influenced both the scope and emphasis of subject matter in the accounts pertaining to southwestern Oregon. The Native Americans who provided information about their old way of life were few in number, and were moreover, only young children at a time when their culture had already begun to disintegrate. Subsequently, they spent the remainder of their lives on reservations surrounded by an alien culture and the influence of Euro-Americans. The sex of the informants was another clear influence upon the nature of the information they provided. The two Takelma informants, both women, had extensive knowledge of female-oriented tasks and activities, such as vegetal food collecting and processing, while the primary source of information for the Galice/Applegate groups, a man, had greater familiarity with such traditional male activities as hunting, fishing, and the use of the sweat house.

Another factor, more difficult to calculate, was the possible transformation which may have occurred in the Takelma and Galice/Applegate cultures as a result of indirect Euro-American influences prior to the 1840s and 1850s. The often disastrous effects of epidemic disease, brought to Native American peoples well in advance of actual Euro-American settlement, have been documented for many culture groups in the Pacific Northwest. Disease and other possible Euro-American influences may have altered the traditional lifeways of this region as well. Just how significant and widespread the effects of indirect Euro-American contact were remains an unanswered question at this point.

One final factor to keep in mind is the personal and professional bias of the anthropologists who recorded the accounts. The academic orientation of several of the researchers was primarily linguistic, not ethnographic. Therefore, systematic collection of the ethnographic detail was not a primary objective, and the data that were collected consisted of comments and extracts from linguistic texts and myths. Prejudices are also evident in some of the accounts, based on a perception of Native American cultures as either more or less sophisticated in comparison with other aboriginal groups. Additionally, Sapir, Barnett, Goddard, and Drucker worked in southwestern Oregon early in their careers, hence, they had not yet perfected the field techniques that were to mark their later studies.

Presented below are brief biographical sketches of the six principal anthropologists upon whose work this synthesis is based, along with what is known about their Native American informants.

The Ethnographers

Edward Sapir, linguist and ethnographer, was a brilliant scholar who made a lasting impression on the field of cultural anthropology. Born in Germany in 1884, he emigrated with his family to the United States at the age of five. His scholastic aptitudes were recognized early on, and culminated with a four year Pulitzer Fellowship to Columbia College, where he graduated in 1904. His graduate work continued at Columbia and it was during this time, while in his early twenties, that Sapir undertook research into the Takelma language. This was the study which he presented for his doctoral dissertation. Before receiving his Ph.D. from Columbia in 1909, Sapir also studied and taught at the University of California, Berkeley, and at the University of Pennsylvania. Sapir spent the next fifteen years employed with the Canadian National Museum in Ottawa, where he sought out and studied many of the languages of Canadian Native Americans. The remainder of his professional career was spent at the University of Chicago and Yale University until his death in 1939.

In addition to his talents in linguistics and ethnography, Sapir was a student of theoretical concerns of cultural anthropology, in particular the concept of culture and personality. His work in linguistics over the years included the study of Germanic, African, Indo-European, and Semitic languages, in addition to his work in Canada. His interests ranged far beyond anthropology, for he had considerable skill as a poet, musician, and literary critic. Like many American anthropologists of his generation, he was a student, admirer, and friend of Franz Boas (Mandelbaum 1951).

John Peabody Harrington, probably the most prolific yet least known of the many great ethnographers/linguists of the early twentieth century, remains an enigma. Born in Massachusetts in 1884, he grew up in California and studied anthropology and classical languages at Stanford University. While a student at the University of California he was influenced by A. L. Kroeber and P. E. Goddard (whose notes on the Galice Creek culture are cited in this paper) to devote his career to the study of Native American languages and culture.

Following graduate studies in Germany in 1905-06, Harrington returned to the United States and began a part-time investigation of several California Indian cultures. The years 1909-1915 were spent in the Southwest with various institutions where he engaged in linguistic research. In 1915 Harrington was awarded a permanent position as a field ethnologist with the Bureau of American Ethnology, a position he was to hold for almost forty years.

It was during those forty years that Harrington amassed (figuratively) "tons" of field notes on almost every aboriginal linguistic group in North America. His obsession to record data was such that he rarely took the time to publish or synthesize his material. In the fall of 1933 Harrington pursued work in the Rogue River region. Following interviews at the Siletz Reservation, he took several informants on automobile trips to southwestern Oregon to confirm place names and village site locations. Although primarily concerned with linguistic information, Harrington's field notes are replete with ethnographic and ethnobotanical details.

Harrington's personality could best be described as eccentric and obsessive. He had little contact with his colleagues, and was fearful of such contact lest someone should pirate his work. His wife of seven years, Carobeth Laird, describes a most painful relationship with a man who was obsessed with his work and an economizer with his earnings. Whatever the facets of his personality may have been, he left an amazing amount of valuable information on many now-extinct cultures. This information is only now becoming available through the auspices of the National Anthropological Archives (Laird 1975).

Melville Jacobs, a student of Franz Boas, was one of the outstanding linguist/ethnographers of this century. After completing his doctorate in anthropology at Columbia University in 1927, he went west, and began a long and distinguished career at the University of Washington. Jacobs' field work was concentrated in Oregon during the 1930s, when, for at least half of each year, he was freed from classroom teaching to pursue the collection of linguistic data. His Galice work dates from 1938-39.

Jacobs was highly organized and methodical in his field work, and the material in the Jacobs Collection at the University of Washington Archives reflects this concern. Jacobs, following Boas, concentrated on traditional texts, myths, and tales, from which he extracted numerous ethnographic details.

After 1940, the thrust of Jacobs' work shifted from linguistic field work to broader social and political concerns. He lectured widely and wrote about social issues in America; he was in the forefront of the fight against racism.

Jacobs continued to teach and write in the 1950s and 60s, expanding his interest into several theoretical areas, including the structure of mythology and its function in the psychological life of the community. Jacobs' influence was probably greatest in the classroom where he was a noted lecturer. The legacy he left in his collection of papers and notes will continue to influence the course of anthropology in the Pacific Northwest (Thompson 1978).

Philip Drucker is a well-known anthropologist, and an authority on Native American cultures of the Pacific Northwest. Born in 1911, he attended the University of California, receiving his Ph.D. in 1936, the same year his article "The Tolowa and Their Southwest Oregon Kin" was published. The article was part of a larger ethnographic survey of the Northwest Coast conducted by the University of California. Drucker later made an archaeological survey of the Northwest Coast and has authored several books on the aboriginal cultures of that area (Drucker 1963).

Drucker, influenced by the "culture area" concept, tended to rank Native American groups in relation to what he perceived to be the most sophisticated culture group in an area. This ranking is evident in some of his comments concerning the Upland Takelma and Galice Creek cultures.

Homer Garner Barnett, theoretician, ethnographer and teacher, was born and raised in the working-class atmosphere of the copper mining town of

Bisbee, Arizona. After trying his hand with a shovel in the mines, Barnett, following the advice of a teacher, set his sights on an education in civil engineering and enrolled at Stanford University. However, it was with a degree in liberal arts, with an emphasis in philosophy, that he graduated in 1927.

After a short tour of Europe and a thwarted attempt as a novelist, Barnett again sought new direction; this time enrolling at the University of California, Berkeley. At Berkeley, Barnett discovered anthropology. As a student of A. L. Kroeber and accompanied by his friend Philip Drucker, Barnett undertook his first fieldwork; an ethnological survey of the Oregon coast. It was this survey which produced the data on the Galice culture cited in the present study. After several more years of graduate study and fieldwork among the Yurok of northern California, Barnett received his doctorate in 1938.

Shortly after graduating from Berkeley, Barnett accepted a position with the Anthropology Department at the University of Oregon. He continued to work with Native American cultures in the Northwest; later, during and after World War II, he broadened his fieldwork to the South Pacific. Barnett was a student of the nature and basis of culture change. In this regard his interest was directed towards the ideas of perception and social psychology. His major theoretical contribution in this field was Innovation, The Basis of Cultural Change, published in 1953.

Homer Barnett was active in various forums of applied anthropology over the years and continued to teach and write until shortly before his death in 1985. H.G. Barnett will be remembered, not only for his ethnological fieldwork and theoretical contributions, but also for his exceptional abilities as an educator (Theodore Stern, personal communication).

Pliny Earl Goddard, born in 1869, was raised in a religious Quaker family. While pursuing graduate studies at Earlham College, Goddard taught in public schools and, at the same time, developed a keen interest in American Indians. He subsequently received an appointment as a lay missionary to the Hupa Indians of northern California. On his own initiative he undertook a linguistic study of the Hupa language, but subsequently realized his need for formal training in linguistics and ethnology. He continued his formal education at the University of California, earning his Ph.D. in 1904, the same year he collected primarily linguistic information on the Galice Creek culture. Goddard became an assistant professor in the University of California's newly-instituted Department of Anthropology, leaving in 1909 to eventually become curator of ethnology in the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

P.E. Goddard was an authority on Athapascan languages, and published several linguistic studies of the Hupa. He was editor of the American Anthropologist from 1915-1920, and founder and co-editor, with Franz Boas, of the International Journal of American Linguistics. Pliny Earl Goddard died in 1928 (Johnson and Malone 1931:340-341).

Native American Informants

Frances Johnson (whose Takelma name was Gwisgwashan [Sapir 1909:2]) was the sole informant for both Sapir and Harrington concerning the Lowland Takelma. According to Sapir,

In 1884 there were no more than twenty-seven Takelmas. The Takelma language is spoken by only three or four older women now [1906]. From the most intelligent of these all of my information was obtained. (Sapir 1907a:256)

This last sentence is no doubt a subjective judgement on Sapir's part, and may reflect in actuality the willingness, memory and/or physical condition of those surviving Takelmas. Twenty-five or so years later, Frances Johnson was again to be a primary source of information about the Lowland Takelma, this time for J. P. Harrington (see Figure 2).

Mrs. Johnson's native village was located somewhere north of the Rogue River and slightly east of Grants Pass, Oregon. Sapir gives the name of Dak'ts!asin in the neighborhood of Jumpoff Joe Creek, and near a local spiritual rock (dan-mologol) as her native village (Sapir 1907a:256). In Harrington's notes Johnson says she was born at Rib Creek (i.e. Grave Creek), a place just the other side of Medicine Rock, or maybe at the falls of the Rogue River (Harrington 1981:557). There is, then, general agreement as to the geographic area of her early residence, and indeed most of the information supplied by Johnson concerns the area north of the Rogue River and east of the present city of Grants Pass. In neither account is her age given; however, she stated that she was a young girl at the time of the Rogue River Wars during the 1850s.

Frances Johnson was interviewed by Harrington and Sapir at the Siletz Reservation, in addition to which Harrington brought her to the Rogue River region on a short automobile trip to assist in place name identification.

Some details of her ancestry are as follows. Her maiden name was Harney, and her younger brother, George Harney, was a chief who at one time traveled to Washington D.C. (Harrington 1981:251). Cow Creek Sally and Evans Bill were her first cousins (Harrington 1981:248,251). Her mother's father and also a cousin of her father, Chief Taylor, were from Ta'waxki (possibly Evans Creek) (Harrington 1981:438,598). Frances' mother's uncle and her mother's mother were from the Table Rock region (Harrington 1981:474,598). Frances Johnson died in 1933 (Barnett 1937:199).

Molly Orton, sometimes referred to as Molly Orcutt, was a speaker of the Upland or "Table Rock" Takelma dialect. According to Frances Johnson, "Molly Orton was from Ashland, Jacksonville or somewhere. She is not Shasta. She talks my [Takelma] language" (Harrington 1981:256). Molly Orton was Harrington's and Drucker's informant for the areas around Table Rock and eastward in the Bear Creek Valley. According to Drucker, Molly Orton was the last member of her people to have any recollection of the old culture (Drucker 1940:294). Harrington also brought her to the area by automobile to

identify place name locations. No details are available concerning her age or place of birth; however she stated that while living on the Grand Ronde Reservation, her father told her about the country where he had lived called So-ytanakh (Harrington 1981:809), which was probably near the headwaters of Little Butte Creek, north of Ashland, Oregon. Molly and her husband Steven lived in the Rogue Valley and surrounding mountains during the late nineteenth century, for they witnessed the completion of the Oregon-California Railroad. Molly claimed close kinship with Frances Johnson (Drucker 1940:294). She also had an uncle from the Jacksonville area (Harrington 1981:753) and a cousin known as Table Rock Jenny (Harrington 1981:797) (see Figure 5).

Aneti Scott, or Mrs. Spencer Scott, was interviewed by Harrington in 1933 at the Siletz Reservation. She was a full blooded Applegate (or Da-ka-tu-be-te) and one of the last survivors of that culture. She said she was eighty years old in 1933 (Harrington 1981:248); however, she also stated that she was a fair-sized girl at the time of the Rogue River Wars (Harrington 1981:337) which would put her closer to ninety. She spoke the Applegate and Takelma languages fluently; the latter she learned from a husband she had years ago, Evans Bill (Harrington 1981:248). Aneti Scott's mother spoke the language of the Klamath River Indians (which group is unknown) for she was partly of that descent (Harrington 1981:337).

Hoxie Simmons was the prime source of information for Harrington, Jacobs and Barnett (and probably Drucker as well) concerning the Galice Creek and Applegate Athaspascan cultures. In 1940 he claimed to be 68 years old (Harrington 1981:5); however, in another statement he said he was born in 1882 (Harrington 1981:40). In either case he was not born until after the Rogue River Wars and the subsequent removal of the native population to reservations.

Simmons apparently learned the Galice Creek language from his mother who lived at Galice Creek (Harrington 1981:19). He learned a great deal from his stepfather, a man named Simmons, who was an Applegate Indian and a great storyteller (Harrington 1981:42). In 1940 Hoxie stated that he was only one of two persons alive who spoke the Galice language, and that he spoke it the best (Harrington 1981:45). The only other detail known about his background is that his great grandmother was from Agness, a town near the Pacific Coast at the confluence of the Illinois and Rogue Rivers (Harrington 1981:5).

Netti West, an informant on the Galice culture, was interviewed in 1934 by Homer Barnett. Very little information was recorded concerning her life outside of her lineage. Her mother and mother's father were from the Galice Creek region; her mother's mother was from Cow Creek; her father's mother was from Yamhill and her father's father was white (Barnett 1937:160). Hoxie Simmons stated that by 1940 she (one of the few speakers of the Galice language) had died, thereby placing her death sometime between Barnett's interview in 1934 and 1940 (Harrington 1981:45).

Another informant possibly employed by Harrington was Mary Eagan. It is unclear if she was actually interviewed by Harrington; however, she was referred to by both Frances Johnson and Molly Orton. The few references to her are of some importance because Mary Eagan was referred to as Takelma;



Figure 2. Frances Johnson (Gwisgwasan)
Photograph taken by Edward Sapir in 1906, Logsdan, Oregon
Courtesy of The American Philosophical Society.

however, she spoke a dialect of the language that differed from that spoken by Frances Johnson and Molly Orton. Mary Eagan was from an area known in Takelma as Ha-ne-sakh, and was closely related to both Molly and Frances (Harrington 1981:519).

Harrington was in the habit of using, when possible, local residents to help in identifying place name locations. In the Rogue River area local informants were a Mr. Crow, an early settler from the Jumpoff Joe Creek vicinity, Miss Savage and Mr. Emanuell. Miss Savage's father was an early settler in the area after whom Savage Rapids on the Rogue River were named. George and Evelyn Baker accompanied Harrington and Frances Johnson and Molly Orton on their automobile trip to the Rogue Valley. Ned Evans, who was part Takelma and part Shasta (and who spoke both languages), also provided some information.

TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES

The question of territorial boundaries for the aboriginal groups of southwestern Oregon has been debated and discussed since the the beginning of Euro-American settlement in the region. The problem has been one primarily for the anthropological community since it is self-evident that the Native Americans knew precisely where they lived. With the addition of previously unpublished data, the issue of territoriality as it concerns the Takelma, Applegate, and Galice Creek groups, can be clarified.

Exact boundaries that have been clearly and politically determined are a feature of modern nation-states (Sahlins 1968). A view of territorial boundaries that may be closer to the aboriginal concept of such distinctions has been expressed in regard to Native American groups in northern California.

. . . probably the most important factor in producing contradictory tribal boundaries was that each of the Indian groups in northern California, especially those in high elevation areas, claimed a nuclear territory which constituted their national homeland and in which their permanent villages were located. These tribal homelands seemed to be universally recognized by the various Indian nations, and mainly consisted of river valleys, basins, and lake-shores. The intervening uplands were exploited only seasonally in the warmer months and almost invariably two or more groups exploited these same territories. It is these broad overlapping peripheral exploitation zones which are the cause of many discrepancies in the literature concerning tribal boundaries. (Jensen and Farber 1982:21-2)

Jensen and Farber also cite other factors which help to explain the confusion of territorial boundaries in southwestern Oregon. First is the matter of "informant bias" (i.e., based on their particular cultural affiliation) concerning boundary questions. A second factor was the ethnographers' propensity to draw boundaries that coincided with natural features. Third, at the time ethnographers were drawing boundaries, pressure from Euro-American expansion may have vastly altered traditional group boundaries.

The following discussion of the territorial boundaries of the Takelma and the Galice/Applegate Athapascan groups, in keeping with other ethnographic accounts of the region, equates territoriality with linguistic affiliation.

UPLAND TAKELMA

Probably the most controversial boundary in the region is that between the Upland Takelma (or Lat-ga-wa) and the Shasta in Bear Creek Valley. The confusion arose due to conflicting claims made by the limited number of informants from the two groups. The reach in dispute extends through Bear Creek Valley from Table Rock to the Siskiyou Summit on the California-Oregon border, along with portions of the Western Cascades in Oregon (see Figure 1).

The dispute first emerged in the ethnographic literature with the publication of Edward Sapir's article on the Takelma in 1907. In describing the territory of the Upland Takelma he noted that:

. . . they dwelt further to the east [of the Lowland Takelma], occupying the poorer land of the Upper Rogue, east say, of Table Rock towards the Cascades and in the neighborhood of the present town of Jacksonville. (Sapir 1907a:252)

Later in a footnote Sapir explained that ethnographer Roland Dixon told him that the Shasta claimed the country east of Table Rock and around Jacksonville (Dixon 1907:386), even to the point of supplying Shastan place names for the region (see Appendix 1). Sapir then postulated that the Shasta may have intervened between the Takelma and the Klamath, or that the southern end of Bear Creek Valley was a disputed territory between the Upland Takelma and the Shasta (Sapir 1907a:253). Notwithstanding Shasta claims to the contrary, Sapir's notion of a disputed territory, or what would be a peripheral exploitation zone, appears to be essentially correct.

In 1925 A. L. Kroeber, in his *Handbook of California Indians*, extended Shasta territory into Oregon as far north as Mt. McLoughlin and included the drainages of Little Butte Creek and the "Stewart River" (i.e. Bear Creek) (Kroeber 1953:905-6). The debate continued when Leslie Spier attacked the question from a linguistic point of view, based on information supplied by Klamath informants, and came to the conclusion that:

It thus seems certain that the Ashland-Medford-Table Rock region was the home of the Upland Takelma, not the Shasta. It is indeed possible that the Shasta occupied the extreme upper end of Bear Creek Valley, the northern slope of the Siskiyou. (Spier 1927:364)

However, Spier expressed doubts as to the veracity of any Shasta claims to territory in Oregon (Spier 1927:364). By 1937, when Joel Berreman examined the issue, he concluded:

It has seemed therefore more logical to place the Shasta boundary at the summit of the Siskiyou, which is probably as far north as they consistently occupied. This places only the Jenny Creek drainage (in Oregon) in Shasta territory. (Berreman 1937:26-7)

With the data collected by Harrington and Jacobs, along with a recent reinterpretation of Peter Skene Ogden's 1826-7 fur trapping route through southern Oregon (Lalande n.d.), this boundary question between the Shasta and Upland Takelma can be resolved in favor of Sapir's original hypothesis.

Accepting Lalande's route for Peter Ogden's travels through southern Oregon in 1827, the Hudson's Bay Company trapping brigade crossed the Siskiyou Mountains from the south over Siskiyou Summit and entered the Bear Creek valley in early 1827. On February 10-14, Ogden's party camped near the mouth of Wagner Creek, near the present site of Talent, and was there harassed by the "next tribe." The Ogden party was at that time led by Shasta guides, hence the reference to the "next tribe" would have meant the Upland Takelma. Ogden's guides had already warned him of the danger of their neighbors and were refusing to go further north towards the Rogue River. Therefore, it is clear that the territorial dividing line in the Bear Creek Valley at this time was somewhere between the present day towns of Ashland and Talent (Lalande n.d.:101).

Further confirmation of Sapir's hypothesis is afforded by information from the field notes of Harrington and Jacobs.

Molly [Orton] says plainly that Ashland is Takelma country. 'The Shasta Indians never came to Jacksonville, Ashland or Table Rock in old times. At war time they came in. Shasta Indians came to Table Rock and wanted to fight.' Informant's ancestors are regular Ashland Indians. (Harrington 1981:395)

In other statements Molly Orton claimed that "there are lots of place names in the open place east of Table Rock, old folks knew place after place there (Harrington 1981:646)" and that "she was never on the Siskiyou divide (Harrington 1981:792)." Hoxie Simmons related that "long time ago an Applegate person was killed by one of the upriver Shasta groups near Ashland (Jacobs n.d.)."

The evidence for a Shasta/Upland Takelma boundary in the Bear Creek Valley near Ashland at the time of Euro-American contact is thus based on several sources: a) Shasta claims in Bear Creek Valley; b) the harassment of Ogden's party near Wagner Creek; c) Molly Orton's statement that Ashland was Takelma territory; d) Hoxie Simmons' placement of the Shasta "near Ashland." The preponderance of the evidence suggests a Shasta presence in Oregon along the upper reaches of Emigrant Creek and Neil Creek (principal tributaries of Bear Creek), possibly along Jenny Creek and on the northern slopes of the Siskiyou near Siskiyou Summit. As to the southeast portion of the Bear Creek Valley, Sapir was indeed correct that it was a disputed area and one that was seasonally exploited by both Shasta and Upland Takelma.

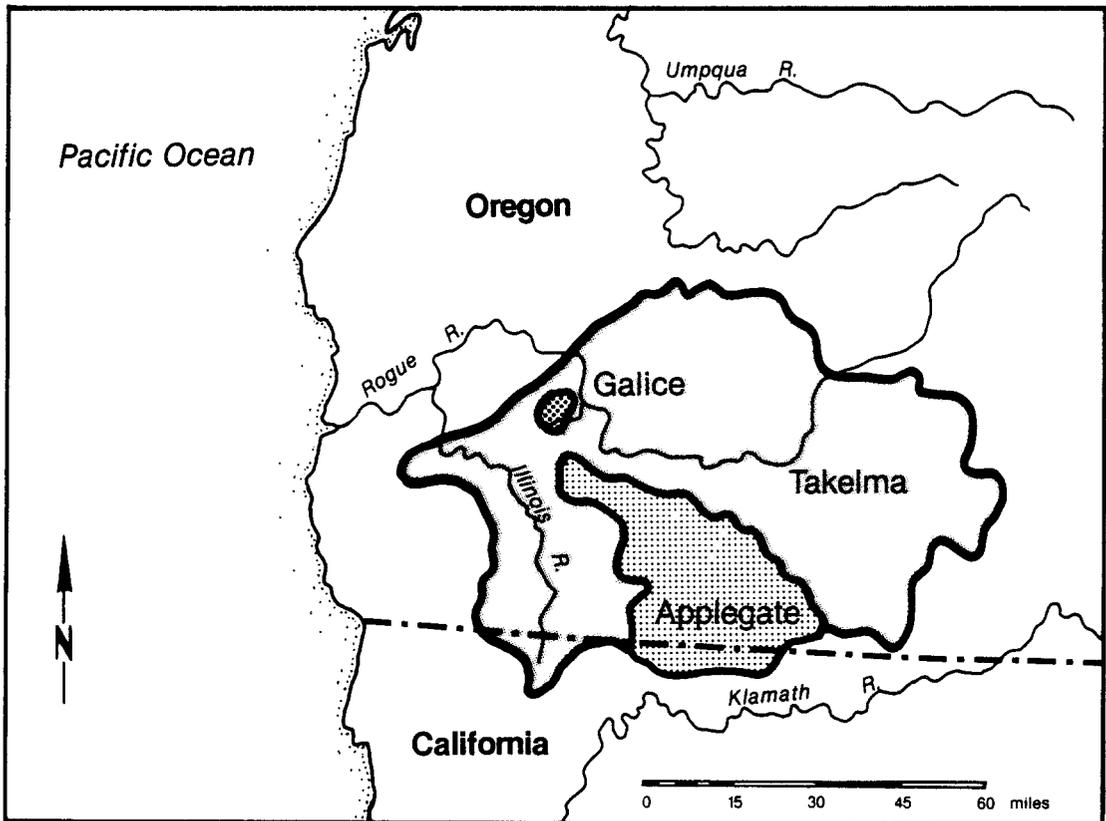
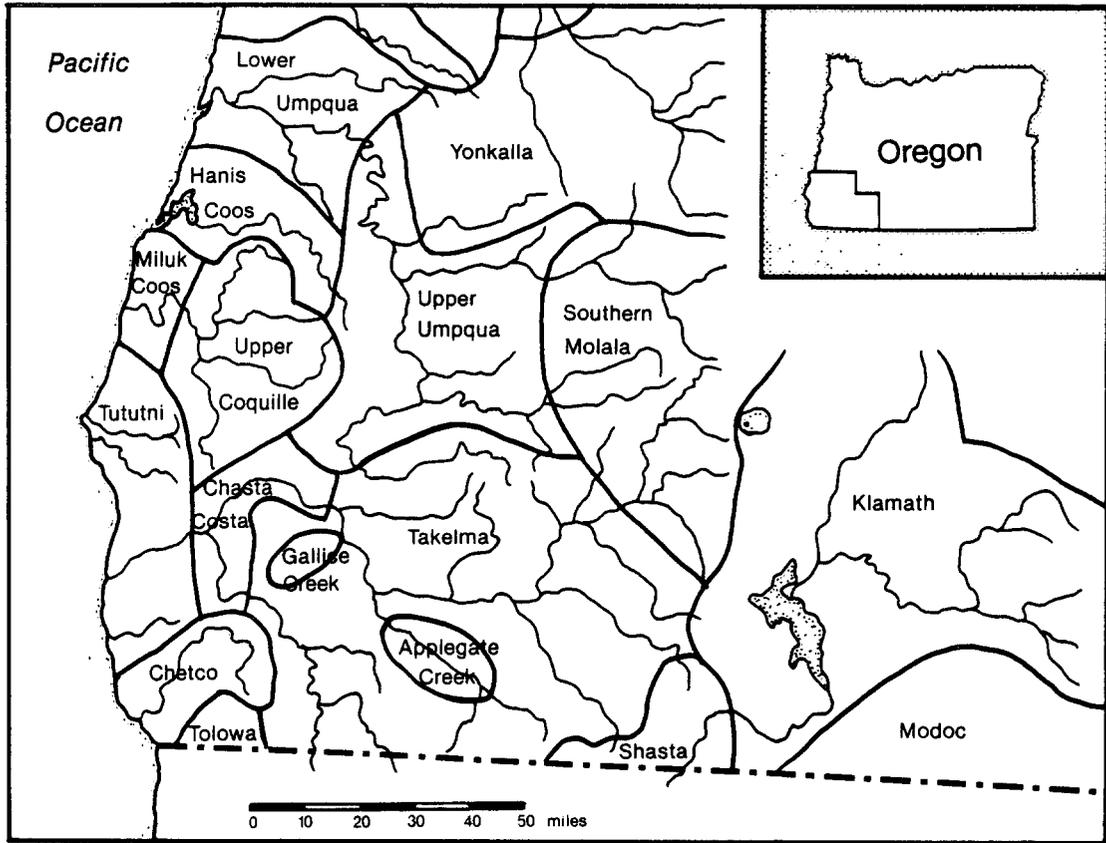


Figure 3. Linguistic Relations in Southwestern Oregon (after Schaeffer 1959; Loy 1975).

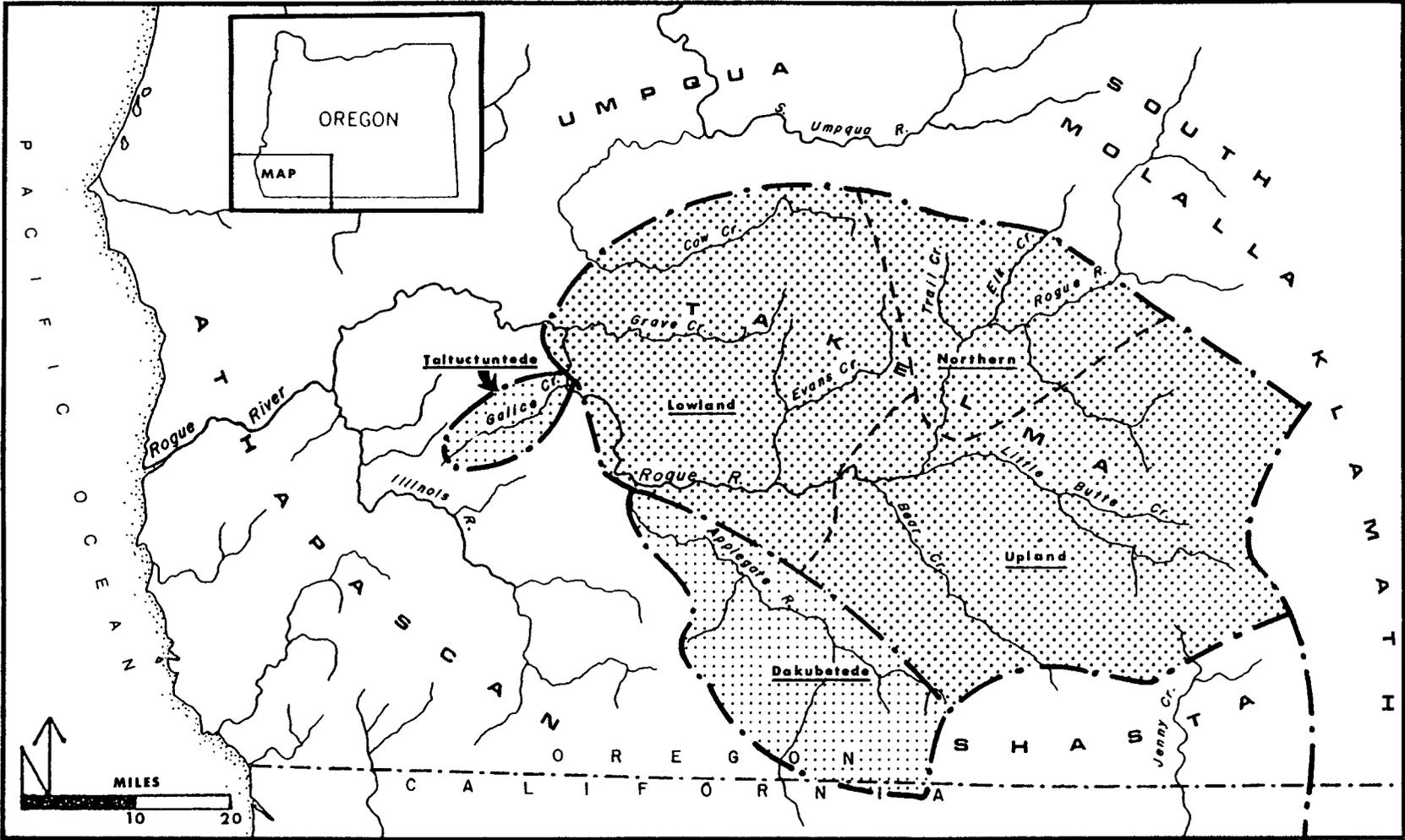


Figure 4. Territorial Boundaries in Southwestern Oregon.

The remaining boundaries of the Upland Takelma are more easily ascertained. Directly east of Bear Creek Valley the limits of their territory extended to Greensprings Mountain or Table Mountain (known as Pa'kaythkam), "the last mountain to the south in her [Molly Orton] territory (Harrington 1981:712)." From that point the border continued along the summit of the Cascades, adjoining Klamath territory to the east, to the headwaters of Little Butte Creek near Bieberstedt Butte. Molly Orton declared that So-ytanakh (i.e., Bieberstedt Butte) was at the easternmost end of Takelma territory (Harrington 1981:647). Little Butte Creek drainage formed the approximate northeast boundary to its junction with the Rogue River. The entire Table Rock region extending to Gold Hill was Upland Takelma land, and according to Molly Orton " . . . a line goes from Gold Hill to Jacksonville separating the Ashland-Jacksonville-Table Rock language from Frances' [i.e., Lowland Takelma] language (Harrington 1981:647)." (See Figure 4).

Lowland Takelma

Lowland Takelma nuclear territory extended westward from the Gold Hill-Jacksonville line along the northern bank of the Rogue River to a point somewhere between the Illinois River and Galice Creek (Sapir 1907a:252). In point of fact, the furthest downriver point mentioned by Frances Johnson was Taktkamayh, "a portage of canoes and big waterfall way down the Rogue River (Harrington 1981:509)." According to Mr. Crow, Harrington's local informant, this location was "evidently the lower falls of the Rogue River, three miles below the mouth of Grave Creek (Harrington 1981:509)." Therefore, the western boundary of the Lowland Takelma nuclear territory would have been near the confluence of Grave Creek and the Rogue River. Northward from the Rogue, Takelma territory extended to the upper drainage of Cow Creek (Sapir 1907a:252) and then east to include the entire drainages of Grave Creek, Jumpoff Joe Creek and Evans Creek (see Figure 4).

South of the Rogue River, Lowland Takelma territory was confined to the small area just west of Jacksonville and northeast of the Applegate Valley, within close proximity of the Rogue River. Also south of the Rogue River, but west of the Applegate, were three additional Takelma place names: Sal-waxk'an and Talkwa-lk, near the confluence of the Applegate and Rogue rivers, and Yawa-kha, a village on the south bank of the Rogue, opposite the mouth of Jumpoff Joe Creek (Harrington 1981:410,437,489). The area between the Applegate and Illinois valleys, south from the Rogue River to the Siskiyou divide, has been traditionally acknowledged as Lowland Takelma territory (Sapir 1907a:252). Both Leslie Spier (1927) and Joel Berreman (1937) repeat this claim, as do the current tribal distribution maps of Oregon in use today (e.g., Loy et al 1975, Schaefer 1959) (see Figure 3). They have apparently based their statements about the territory south of the Rogue and west of the Applegate primarily on the work of J. Owen Dorsey (1890). Dorsey listed seventeen Takelma villages, all on the southern bank of the Rogue River, and all (save one in the Illinois Valley) bearing Athapascan names. Dorsey attributed the phenomenon of Athapascan names for Takelma villages to an invasion by Athapascan speakers, who imposed their names on the Takelma villages but never quite succeeded in forcing the Takelma to abandon their own language (Dorsey 1890:235). Sapir discounted Dorsey's theory. While

accepting the fact of Takelma villages on the southern bank of the Rogue River downstream of the Applegate, he attributed the Athapascan names for Takelma villages to the ascendancy of the Chasta Costa Athapascan dialect at the Siletz Reservation during the latter years of the nineteenth century; hence Dorsey's informant used the Athapascan dialect to label Takelma villages (Sapir 1907a:254).

It is my hypothesis that the Rogue River, not the Siskiyou divide, served as the approximate southern boundary for the nuclear territory of the Lowland Takelma, west of the Applegate Valley. This hypothesis is based on five major considerations.

First, the principal sources of Dorsey's information for the placement of seventeen Takelma villages on the southern bank of the Rogue River were a "Mr. Hugh" (Dorsey 1890:235), whose cultural affiliation is unknown, Evans Bill, a Takelma, and John Punzie, a speaker of the Illinois Athapascan dialect (Harrington 1981:25). Sapir, following Dorsey's account, described Lowland Takelma territory as extending along the southern bank of the Rogue to perhaps as far west as the Illinois River, and southward to the California border (Sapir 19071:252). Yet, the specific place name information Sapir collected only mentioned Lowland Takelma sites north of the Rogue River. Other than Dorsey's account, the only specific mention of Lowland Takelma sites south of the Rogue River in this area was the three place names given by Frances Johnson (see above), two of which were located at the confluence of the Rogue and Applegate rivers.

Secondly, of the three significant tributary drainages south of the Rogue and west of Bear Creek (i.e., the Applegate River, Galice Creek, and the Illinois River), each was reported ethnographically to be inhabited by Athapascan speakers. The intervening territory is steep mountainous terrain suitable for seasonal resource exploitation, but not likely as an area for semi-permanent settlement.

A third consideration is that "in the total dialect area of the Applegate, Galice and Illinois group, there were less than ten villages (Jacobs n.d.)." ". . . from four of five miles above Agness [i.e., the confluence of the Illinois River with the Rogue], to Galice Creek, there were no people (Jacobs n.d.)." Both of these statements by Hoxie Simmons indicate a sparse population in the Athapascan territory south of the Rogue River, and there is no mention of a Takelma presence in the area.

Fourthly, as to the Takelma having occupied the upper courses of the Illinois River (Berreman 1937:28), Hoxie Simmons stated that

On the Illinois there was a village at the mouth and another three or four miles up the Illinois, way up the Illinois were two more villages which were deserted, the survivors joining in with the Galice [Athapascan] people. (Jacobs n.d.)

Berreman (1937:28) stated that Chasta Costa [Athapascan] settlements centered around the mouth of the Illinois and that they also occupied the lower stretches of that river drainage. The village Sal-wa-ga, located by Dorsey as

a Takelma settlement on the Upper Illinois, was likely Salwaxk'an, reported by Frances Johnson to be near the confluence of the Applegate and Rogue rivers (Harrington 1981:410,462) [see Appendix 1, Salwaxk'an].

Dorsey also assigned to the Takelma the village of Tul-sul-sun, in the Illinois Valley, but he was unable to locate it. Tul-sul-sun was the village of John Punzie's mother (Dorsey 1890:235). However, according to Hoxie Simmons: "Mrs. Punzie's language was the Illinois Valley Indian [Athapascan?]. Their language became extinct when old John Punzie died. (Harrington 1981:25)." Sapir obtained the place name Dalsalsan, the Takelma name for the Illinois River, and he declared that it was linguistically identical to Dorsey's Tul-sul-sun (Sapir 1907a:254). Harrington later was told by Frances Johnson that Talsalsan was a location on the Illinois River, near a waterfall, where the "Takelmas [emphasis added] used to go . . . to gamble and play shinny and to buy salmon (Harrington 1981:525)." It therefore seems probable that the Takelma designated a village in the upper Illinois Valley as Tul-sul-sun, but it was not a Takelma settlement.

Finally, the treaty concluded in 1853 between the United States Government and the "Rogue River Tribe" tends to confirm the lack of Takelma settlement in the area in question. Unfortunately, it is unclear which linguistic groups were included under the rubric of "Rogue River Tribe". However, it appears to have been the Takelma and the Applegate groups. An addendum to the treaty in 1854 included the mark of Hart-tish ("Applegate John"). The point is, that the territory they claimed south of the Rogue River was as follows:

. . . Commencing at a point one mile below the mouth of Applegate Creek, on the south side of Rogue River, running thence southerly to the highlands dividing the waters of Applegate Creek from those of Althouse Creek, thence along said highlands to the summit of the Siskiyou range of mountains, thence easterly to Pilot Rock, thence northeasterly to the summit of the Cascade range . . . (Kappler 1904:603)

In contrast, the territory claimed in an 1854 treaty with the "Chasta" (Chasta Costa), the Grave Creek band of Umpqua and the Scotons (Galice Creek group?) south of the Rogue River was:

. . . a line running due south would cross the Rogue River midway between the mouth of Grave Creek and the great bend of the Rogue River; thence east along said boundary to the summit of the main ridge of the Siskiyou Mountains or until this line reaches the boundary of the country purchased of the Rogue River Tribe . . . (Kappler 1904:655)

In effect, the treaties say that the boundary south of the Rogue River between Chasta Costa and related Athapascan speakers and the "Rogue River Tribe" (which included the Takelma and the inhabitants of the Applegate Valley) was the western edge of the Applegate Valley. The area south of the Rogue River from a point one mile west of the mouth of the Applegate was claimed by the Chasta Costa Athapascans.

None of the above cited data, in and of themselves, constitute solid proof of the absence of a Takelma presence south of the Rogue River between the Applegate and Illinois valleys. There were, in fact, at least three Takelma place names on the southern bank of the Rogue. However, taken in aggregate, the evidence weighs heavily in favor of an Athapascan nuclear and peripheral territory existing south of the Rogue River, from the Pacific Ocean to the eastern edge of the Applegate drainage (see Figure 4). It is indeed possible that certain bands of Takelma may have seasonally exploited resources in portions of the area. However, I do not find it probable that this region was recognized by the Takelma, or their neighbors, as part of the Takelma nuclear homeland.

Northern Takelma

The one remaining territorial limit to be discussed for the Takelma concerns how far up the Rogue River their territory extended. Both Sapir (1907a:252) and Berreman (1937:27) place their northern boundary, at the time of Euro-American contact, no further up the Rogue River than the present-day town of Prospect, or perhaps only to Trail Creek, the Molalla having occupied the mountainous country above that (i.e., the uppermost drainage of the Rogue to near Crater Lake, and the headwaters of the Umpqua River) (Berreman 1937:27). Of interest in the area however, is the possibility of a third dialect group of Takelma. Specifically, in the field notes of Harrington, both Frances Johnson and Molly Orton made reference to Ha-ne-sakh, referring both to a region and a people. The location of Ha-ne-sakh is difficult to ascertain with precision. Molly spoke of the area as ". . . the distant blue mountains seen through the gap between Upper and Lower Table Rock, way up behind Sam's Valley . . . far away . . . there is a big waterfall (Harrington 1981:658,706)." This would seem to place Ha-ne-sakh's location near Chimney Rock Butte and upper Evans Creek, somewhat west of the upper Rogue River. Frances Johnson claimed that the Rogue River ended at Table Rock, where Little Butte Creek enters the Rogue. Above that she said was ". . . a little creek that comes from the north. East and north of Table Rock there is no more river, just a little creek called Ha-ne-sakh (Harrington 1981:519)." This statement seems to refer to Ha-ne-sakh as the upper Rogue River, or perhaps the Trail and Elk Creek region. Whichever of the two accounts is accepted, the general area is the mountainous terrain of the upper reaches of the Rogue River drainage above Little Butte Creek, and no further north than Prospect area (see Figure 4).

Frances Johnson was quite clear that this territory, whatever its specific location, was the homeland of a distinct Takelma dialect. "Mary Eagan's country was Ha-ne-sakh, up that creek that comes in from the north and there is a waterfall up that creek." (Harrington 1981:519) Harrington collected a few examples of the variance between the dialects, although it is not clear whether his informant was Frances Johnson only, or also the "Northern" Takelma speaker Mary Eagan. The examples collected by Harrington are listed below (Harrington 1981:519,545):

English	Lowland Takelma	Upland Takelma	Northern Takelma
Little	<u>Toso</u>	<u>Totsit</u>	<u>Totsxwanaps</u>
Horseflies	<u>Winsa</u>	<u>Thleantkan</u>	<u>Thleantkan</u>

This language was referred to as a distinct dialect which differed from the dialects of both Molly Orton and Frances Johnson (Harrington 1981:519).

One further reference which may relate to the Northern Takelma or Ha-ne-sakh linguistic group, is that made by Hoxie Simmons. "A Takelma speaking group known as the 'rotten log people' lived above Frances Johnson's Takelma. They were so called because the ground there was red like rotten logs (Jacobs n.d.)." This is a much more apt description of the often reddish-brown volcanic soils of the upper Rogue River country than it is of the Table Rock-Medford region inhabited by the Upland Takelma. Although Hoxie Simmon's comment is not conclusive proof, it does lend substance to the existence of a third subdivision of the Takelma language.

Applegate/Galice Creek Athapascans

If the thesis is accepted of a Takelma nuclear territory essentially north of the Rogue River between the Applegate and Illinois Valleys, the territorial positions of the Applegate River and Galice Creek Athapascan cultures become more easily determined. Instead of isolated linguistic groups surrounded by speakers of an alien tongue, there would have existed Athapascan nuclear territories centered in prominent drainages, with intervening Athapascan peripheral exploitation zones.

The Applegate Athapascans appear to have occupied almost the entire course of the Applegate River from near its headwaters in the Siskiyou divide to its confluence with the Rogue River. There is some evidence of a Shasta presence along the Siskiyou divide, near the headwaters of the Applegate River. Dixon (1907:386) noted that the Shasta claimed territory southeast of the upper courses of the Applegate, along the crest of the Siskiyou. Frances Johnson referred to Wagner Butte as "Shasta Land" (Harrington 1981:871) and Molly Orton stated that ". . . they got Indian bullets and basketry grass at 'alke takh (i.e., Wagner Butte area). Everyone owned that mountain (Harrington 1981:647)." Due to the area's high elevation and rugged topography, Shasta presence in this area was likely limited to seasonal resource exploitation.

Evidence of the Applegate Athapascan group's presence near the headwaters of the Applegate is the statement by Hoxie Simmons concerning their hunting ground.

The round mountain at the head of the Applegate River is the Applegate Indian hunting ground. NaattIntcha . . . what the Galice Indians called the round mountain hunting ground of the Applegate Indians. (Harrington 1981:42,48)

Concerning the lower courses of the Applegate River, Dorsey first mentioned the claim of an Athapascan people called the Da-ku-be-te-de (their own name) to Applegate Creek (Dorsey 1890:235). Hoxie Simmons noted the village of Da-ku-tee at the mouth of the Applegate (Jacobs n.d.), and Aneti Scott, Harrington's sole Applegate informant, said that the name of her father's place by the mouth of the Applegate was La'kho-ve (Harrington 1981:347). There seems little doubt as to the claim of the entire Applegate Valley by these Athapascan speakers (see Figure 4), although the area seems to have been sparsely settled. Simmons stated that "Applegate and other villages consisted of only two to ten houses, but there were perhaps only three villages." (Jacobs n.d.)

There is no controversy regarding the territorial extent of the Galice Creek group. Centered at the mouth of Galice Creek where it joins the Rogue, the nuclear territory of this group no doubt included the area some distance up that tributary (see Figure 4). Dorsey (1890:235) noted that ". . . the dwellers along this stream were of Athapascan stock," calling themselves Tal-tuc-tun-tu-de. Hoxie Simmons stated that "there was only one Galice village on both sides of the Rogue and its name was Tal da'c dan (Jacobs n.d.)." Drucker (1940:283), from the same source, identified the village at the mouth of Galice Creek as Talustun. The other reference to Galice Creek place names was by P. E. Goddard (n.d.) who also listed Taldacdon, as well as several other place names on Galice Creek, although it is unclear to what they refer (see Appendix 1).

THE TAKELMA

The Takelma of southwestern Oregon, who spoke in dialects of a language which has no close relatives (Takelma has been shown to have relationships to languages classed as members of the Penutian phylum [Hopkins et al, 1976:10]), have no known survivors. These people, as a culture and with a distinct spoken language, failed to survive the onslaught of Euro-American culture. Yet, due to the dedication of a few elderly Takelma and committed anthropologists earlier in this century, enough information has survived to provide at least a glimpse back to the time when the Takelma flourished and their culture prevailed along the banks of the Rogue River. The following description of the Takelmas' material culture and their social world is, in reality, little more than an outline. Future research may add to that outline; however, much about Takelma lifeways will remain hidden in the past.

Material Culture

Clothing and Personal Adornment. During the warmer months of the year, men wore merely a deerskin apron and one-piece moccasins. Women's apparel consisted of a two-piece buckskin skirt (Drucker 1940:295), and a round basket-hat twined of white grass, which was generally imported from either the Shasta (Sapir 1907a:264) or the Karok in California (Drucker 1940:295) (see Figure 5). Sapir also noted that the ts!uns, a decorative head piece made of redheaded woodpecker scalps attached to strips of buckskin, was worn across the forehead by women (Sapir 1907a:264). However, Frances Johnson later said that the ts!uns was a feather-decorated buckskin cap worn by men on a daily basis (Harrington 1981:230).

With the onset of winter weather, women wore a knee-length deerskin shirt which was fringed, at least among the wealthier classes, with tassels of white grass. The men wore shirts, leggings tied with a belt, deerskin blankets or robes, and hats of deer or bear skin, often with the ears of the animals still attached (Sapir 1907a:263). Moccasins lined with fur and grass shod the feet, while the arms and hands were protected with a mitten-like sleeve of foxskin. For travel through the winter snows, a bear-paw type snowshoe was employed (Drucker 1940:295). (For a list of Takelma names for various clothing items see Appendix 2.)

Decorations and embellishments on clothing and the body were some of the ways in which artistic expression was achieved by the Takelma. Tassels of white grass fringed shirts. Abalone shells were cut and attached to dresses (Harrington 1981:132), while half-black, bean-shaped shells (Sapir 1907a:265), were used to decorate womens' shirts. Buckskin tassels and strips of otter skin were used to tie womens' hair, and porcupine quills were woven into hat baskets (Harrington 1981:204). Among the men, the elkskin armor used in warfare, both the hats and the body armor, were painted with designs (Sapir 1907a:273). Medicine men tied their hair in two parts with otter skins and feathers (eagle, woodpecker, and yellowhammer) as decorations (Sapir 1907a:264).

Body adornments included facial paints, of which red and black were commonly used by both men and women, with the color white used only in time of war (Sapir 1907a:264). Black paint (sel) was made by burning pitch on a flat rock; the resulting residue was then mixed with grease to form a paint (Harrington 1981:235). Also adorning the body were strings of shells worn through holes in the nose and ears, and tattooing (Sapir 1907a:264). Girls had three vertical stripes tattooed on their chins, as well as tattoos on their arms. Tattooing was accomplished with a bone needle and charcoal. Men were generally tattooed on the left arm only, between the elbow and the shoulder, with a series of marks used to measure the length of a string of dentalium shells (Sapir 1907a:264).

Basketry and Domestic Implements. Vessels for cooking, storage and the transporting of goods were primarily baskets. In common with the Native Americans of the Pacific Northwest and northern California, pottery evidently was very little, if at all, utilized. However pottery was known in the area. Several pieces of baked clay were recovered during test excavations at Elk Creek, site 35JA100 on the Upper Rogue River (Brauner and Lebow 1983). However the extent to which pottery was utilized is still unknown. It is also unknown whether it was manufactured at the site or imported from outside the area. Other published evidence for pottery in the region comes from the archaeological excavations at Salt Cave, along the Klamath River. Joanne Mack (1983:172) concluded that the baked clay pottery sherds and figurine fragments recovered at the site and in the possession of private collectors in the area, are representative of an independent pottery tradition which developed in the region "around A.D. 1400 and ceased to exist sometime before 1800. It appears to have a limited distribution which includes the upper Rogue River and upper Klamath River . . ." Mack termed this pottery style "Siskiyou Utility Ware." The ethnographic accounts make no mention of pottery and, in fact, basketry served in its place with remarkable efficiency. The only other containers

noted in the literature were those made from animal hides, for instance deer hide buckets and quivers for carrying arrows and fire-starting implements (Sapir 1907a:261).

Sapir recorded the following basket-making technique while at the Siletz Reservation.

The twined basket was built on a bottom of four short hazel twigs, perpendicular to four cross pieces, the twining was done with some root or grass on a warp generally of hazel or willow. (Sapir 1907:261)

The roots used in twining were in fact the roots of the sugar pine (kwels). Apparently spruce roots were used during the reservation period at Siletz in the place of the traditional sugar pine roots (Harrington 1981:554). Baskets were decorated with designs in red, black, or white, the colors obtained by dyeing the strands in either black clay or alder bark, or by twining with a white straw grass called ge-t (Sapir 1907a:261).

Baskets were manufactured in a variety of sizes and shapes. Baskets were employed in all stages of food gathering, preparation, and serving, ranging in size from large burden and storage baskets to plates and cups. Basket-cradles were used to carry infants, and tightly woven baskets of high quality were utilized to hold and boil water (Sapir 1907a:258). (For a list of various basket types and their Takelma names see Appendix 2.)

A few other articles of everyday use are mentioned in the various accounts of domestic life. Needles (yexi), were made of hard wood or bone, and thread from sinew (Sapir 1907a:261). Combs were made from a split stick into which were inserted porcupine quills for teeth (Harrington 1981:322). Pipes (nax) were used for smoking tobacco and were fashioned from wood or stone. They were straight and at times nearly a foot in length (Sapir 1907a:259). For the manufacture of string and rope, the iris plant (k'eta) was employed (Harrington 1981:222). Spoons (tlak) were made from either elkhorn or wood, and small wooden paddles (s-umxi) were used to stir cooking foods (Sapir 1907a:261).

By far the largest category of domestic implements manufactured and used daily in a variety of tasks were tools made from stone. The ethnographic accounts have little information on these implements; however, it would be safe to assume that the lithic tool-kit of the ethnographic Takelma was similar in many respects to that recovered from the excavation of Site 35JA42, a protohistoric house-pit site on the Upper Applegate River. Implements recovered there include various forms of projectile points, knives, choppers, scrapers, drills, perforators, hopper mortar bases, and pestles. Unmodified stone flakes also were employed for a number of specific domestic tasks. Many of these lithic remains were at one time hafted to shafts or handles of wood and bone. Local cherts and imported obsidians were the favored material for these tools, along with indigenous river cobbles. (For a complete inventory of recovered material from site 35JA42 see Brauner 1983).



Figure "Lady Oscharwasha"

[The photograph on the preceding page was entitled "Lady Oscharwashna, the last of the Rogue Rivers." Photograph was taken by Peter Britt, of Jacksonville, Oregon ca. 1880s. The image was used for a postcard, which provided the following information, "One of the last of her tribe, 'Jennie' died in Jacksonville, May, 1883, and was laid to rest in the burial robe she had prepared with her own hands many years before. Weighing nearly fifty pounds, the buckskin garment was trimmed in the most costly and elaborate manner." It is entirely possible that "Jennie" was in fact a cousin of Harrington's and Drucker's Upland Takelma informant Molly Orton. Molly Orton had a cousin named "Rogue River Jenny" or "Table Rock Jenny", with whom Molly stayed in Jacksonville during the 1880s (Harrington 1981:797). (Courtesy of the Southern Oregon Historical Society: Photograph #6454).]

Food Gathering and Preparation. Of the several vegetable foods known to have been gathered and utilized ethnographically, Sapir put acorns (yana) at the top of the list. Several varieties indigenous to the area were collected, although the black acorn (yana yahals) was the favored species. Acorns were gathered and prepared for consumption in the early spring (Sapir 1907a:257). The broad river valleys, low surrounding hills and the southern aspect of higher elevations would have been principal source locations for acorns.

Another main staple of the Takelma vegetable diet was the camas bulb (Camassia quamash) whose general Takelma name was dip (Sapir 1907a:258) or tip (Harrington 1981:528). At least three and possibly four varieties of this important plant were known and utilized. The gathering of camas occurred in a number of localities, generally in flat well-watered areas adjacent to the Rogue River. Areas mentioned in connection with camas gathering include Tapuxtán on the Rogue downriver of Galice Creek; Tanthi-tha, a flat on the north edge of the Rogue; Teme'hawan just south of Grants Pass; and Sa'thkawkh, across the Rogue from Table Rock where apparently several varieties grew in proximity to a spring (Harrington 1981:808). The top of Table Rock and surrounding areas (i.e., Sam's Valley) were also rich root and other food gathering areas (Harrington 1981:653).

The camas bulb was dug with the aid of a digging stick (haxiwkh) (Harrington 1981:538) or (t'gapxiut) (Sapir 1907a:258). This was a sharp pointed stick from the xiw or xiu bush (mountain mahogany, Cercocarpus betuloides), which was exceedingly hard when dry. A handle of deer antler was fitted to the upper end (Sapir 1907a:258).

Another food source was either the sugar or white pine tree (ya-l) (Harrington 1981:538). The outer bark was stripped off and the inner cambium layer was eaten. It was best in the spring when it was sweet. "Men folks when they hunt they do this . . . peel it off (Harrington 1981:403,538)." A sufficient number of these trees grew near present-day Grants Pass to give the area its Takelma name Kelya-lk. The sugar pine nuts (tkall or t'gal) were also harvested there by means of a pole ladder with tied cross rungs and a long pole with a hook (Drucker 1940:294, Harrington 1981:403).

Other sources of plant foods included wild plums, both red and white, located at Sa'thkawkh (Harrington 1981:808) and at Hayawakh in the bottomlands across the Rogue River from Table Rock (Harrington 1981:516); manzanita

berries; tarweed; and sunflowers, both the stalk and the seeds. The sunflower seeds were gathered in the late summer or early fall when the plants were dry, by beating the seed out with a stick (mot!op) into a funnel-shaped deerskin pouch (u-xi) (Sapir 1907a:259). The sunflower stalks were eaten when young and tender. Wild parsnips were gathered in a ". . . sort of little swamp between Jacksonville and Forest Creek (Harrington 1981:759)"; and ts'a-sap, possibly the berries of the dogwood tree, were gathered in the fall (Harrington 1981:231). Also there was hat'on, a weed, the seeds of which were cooked (Harrington 1981:615).

The only plant cultivated by the Takelma, in common with their Athapascan neighbors, was tobacco (o-p). The plant was grown by the men on plots of land which had been cleared of brush by burning (Sapir 1907a:259). Sapir noted that smoking tobacco was "indulged in to a considerable extent and had a semi-religious character." Drucker (1940:295) stated that "only old men and shamans smoked."

The ethnographic accounts of both Sapir and Harrington describe certain food preparation techniques. The acorn, a staple of the Takelma diet, was first shelled, then mashed on a flat mortar rock (p!es) by means of a pestle (either a s-elek or telma). The former was two to three feet in length, the latter about half that. The hopper basket, which contained the acorn upon the mortar base-rock, was funnel-shaped, open at the bottom and wider at the top. The mashed acorns were sifted in a shallow basket pan. In order to leach the bitter taste from the acorn, the sifted meal was placed on clean sand and hot water was poured over the meal (Sapir 1907a:258). According to Frances Johnson, the hot water process was repeated twice (Harrington 1981:538). After the leaching process, the Takelma women boiled the acorn meal in a basket-bucket, resulting in an acorn mush (Sapir 1907a:258). The women cooked acorns and other foods by picking up heated stones with a pair of tongs and putting the hot stones into a basket-bucket with water and the food to be cooked, changing the stones frequently. They used a small wooden paddle to stir food while cooking (Harrington 1981:696).

The other primary vegetable staple in the Takelma diet, the camas bulb, was baked in an earth oven prior to consumption. The oven was simply a pit dug in the ground, which was filled with camas bulbs and stones previously heated in an alder brush fire. A layer of alder bark separated the hot stones in the bottom of the pit from the camas bulbs which lay on top. The pit was then filled in with earth and left to bake for a day or more until the bulbs were thoroughly roasted (Sapir 1907a:258). The roasted camas bulbs were termed hix. Often the hix were mashed into a dough, formed into cakes (xlep̄x), and stored for winter use (Sapir 1907a:259).

Sugar pine nuts were also roasted in pits (Harrington 1981:403), then mixed with the flour of pounded manzanita berries. This mixture was also used as a winter food, stirred with water (Sapir 1907a:259). Other vegetable matter that was cooked included the seeds of the tarweed plant, which were parched and ground before eating (Sapir 1907a:259), and the seeds of the hat'on weed (Harrington 1981,615).

Salmon were skinned and split through the backbone; the head, tail and entrails were removed, and the meat roasted on spits (k!ama) of split hazel branches stuck into the ground. Salt was used in the cooking of salmon, but apparently not used when the salmon was dried (Sapir 1907a:260). Cooked salmon was pulverized and stored for winter use (Drucker 1940:294). "His [the salmon] tail and fins are the last grub, and eaten with acorns when other food is gone (Harrington 1981:145)." Frances Johnson's words are indicative of the intensive utilization of this prime resource.

Besides fresh deer or elk meat, which was boiled with a small amount of salt (Harrington 1981:499, 508; Sapir 1907a:260), the only other ethnographic reference to meat preparation by the Takelmas concerned deer fat (yamx). This was often eaten raw, or formed into dough-like cakes and stored for winter use (Sapir 1907a:260).

Fishing and Hunting Techniques. A primary food source for the Lowland Takelma, and probably to a lesser extent the Upland Takelma, was fish, especially salmon. (For a list of riverine resources known and probably utilized by the Takelma see Appendix 2.) Trout, freshwater mussels and possibly eels were also part of the Takelma diet. Fishing for salmon occurred during the seasonal spawning runs. Drucker noted that in times of summer low water on the Rogue, the Upland Takelma often went to fish near Table Rock (Drucker 1940:294). Frances Johnson stated that they caught "lots of fish at a waterfall (Altiwi) on Grave Creek in the wintertime (October) (Harrington 1981:559)," and the pae-wi salmon came when the paem wood leaves came out (i.e., springtime) (Harrington 1981:141). Molly Orton mentioned that at So-ytanakh (Little Butte Creek) there were only salmon in the winter (Harrington 1981:781).

The most favored fishing locations were located at the falls and rapids of the Rogue and its tributaries. Locations mentioned in Harrington's notes include 'Altiwi, a waterfall on Grave Creek; So-ytanakh or Little Butte Creek, at a place near Table Rock upriver of Gold Ray Dam; and at Ti'lo-mi-kh on the Rogue just above the town of Gold Hill near the site of the Gold Hill water works dam (Harrington 1981:559,781,704,683). It was at Ti'lo-mi-kh falls, near a major village site and prime salmon fishing spot, that the "Story Chair" was located. Molly Orton described this stone "chair" as a portable blue-colored rock on which a fisherman would sit, just downriver of the falls, and fish with a dipnet. There was a groove on the left hand side of the chair into which the pole of the dipnet could be inserted. This "Story Chair" was located on the south side of the Rogue at the foot of a steep bank (Harrington 1981:680,683). Harrington, during his visit to the area with Molly Orton, went to Ti'lo-mi-kh and located a rock which he felt to be the Story Chair, although Molly was not convinced, possibly because she may have never actually seen the rock. The name "Story Chair" may relate to the first salmon rite referred to by Drucker, when an old man using a dipnet at Rocky Point (i.e., Ti'lo-mi-kh) caught the first salmon of the season and then told the story of the origin of that fishing place. According to Drucker, this was the only place where a first salmon rite was performed (Drucker 1940:296).

Other locations mentioned in connection with fishing were possibly along the Applegate River, as Frances Johnson said ". . . there used to be a lot of

steelhead (Yu-ls) in Applegate (Harrington 1981:141)." Additionally there were eels in the Rogue up as far as Ti'lo-mi-kh (Harrington 1981:706), although Frances contradicted this statement, claiming there were no eels in the Rogue, nor eels or salmon in Cow Creek (Harrington 1981:142,561).

A multitude of techniques were used to secure the various riverine resources. Sapir described fishing done with a hook and line. The line was made of grass (k!eda) and the hook was a two piece affair of bone connected with sinew. Crawfish or mudcat [catfish] were used as bait. Fish were also caught in long nets (lan) from canoes, and by spearing with a harpoon-like device (mal), consisting of a shaft and a three-piece bone tip (Sapir 1907a:259-60). Dip-netting at falls (Harrington 1981:683) and harpooning with a two-pronged spear were also noted (Drucker 1940:294). Frances Johnson stated that once her father caught 300 salmon in one night at the falls on Grave Creek. This reference to night fishing correlates with an account of spearing fish on the Rogue at night by the light of torches. According to this account, from a manuscript entitled The Shasta and Their Neighbors (Bancroft 1883), fish were driven into ponds created by temporary dams; the trapped fish were then speared at night by the light of fires built around the edge of the pond. From the variety of techniques employed by the Takelma it is evident that fishing was a valued and vital occupation, one in which a great deal of time, energy and ingenuity were expended.

The Upland Takelma hunted deer in several ways: stalking with a deer head disguise, "running down" deer in winter snows, snaring, and using dogs to drive deer into fences set with nooses (Drucker 1940:294). Frances Johnson elaborated on the latter technique of driving deer into a system of snares. The fences or snares were built either by creeks or by a salt lick. One such favored spot was Yuk-yak-wa (Sapir) or Yukyakhwan (Harrington) at the head of Grave Creek (Leaf Creek in Sapir 1907a:260), an open field with a salt lick or marsh. Sapir described the process as being one of men and dogs driving the deer into an enclosure full of finely-spun semicircular traps of k!eda grass. After a sufficient number of deer were within the enclosure, dry deer shoulder blades were rattled, frightening the animals, which then became entangled in the snares. The trapped deer were dispatched with clubs (Sapir 1907a:260). In Frances Johnson's account to Harrington, hanging shoulder blades acted as an alarm system to alert the hunters when deer were entrapped in the enclosure (Harrington 1981:558). As many as 150 rope snares could be set at any one time, and frequently fires were set in the forest to aid in driving the deer (Sapir 1907a:260).

Although deer and elk were the primary upland game, other smaller mammals such as rabbit and possibly ground squirrel also were taken (Harrington 1981:310). A number of animals were specifically not eaten by the Upland Takelma, such as porcupines, weasels, civet cats (either a spotted skunk or "ring-tailed" cat), screech owls, coyotes, wolves, eagles, snakes, and frogs. It was also stated that certain people would not eat bear meat (Drucker 1940:294). Most of the above mentioned animals, which were not eaten, were associated with supernatural spirits.

Not quite in the same category as upland game, but nevertheless a source of protein, were insects and birds. The Upland Takelma ate grasshoppers,

caterpillars, yellowjacket larvae, ants' eggs, snails, and the meat of crows and woodpeckers (Drucker 1940:294; Sapir 1907a:260; Harrington 1981:354). The Lowland Takelma were recorded as having dined on grasshoppers picked from burnt grassy fields and then cooked, the larvae of yellowjackets (Sapir 1907a:260) and black and white caterpillars that lived on ash trees (Harrington 1981:134). (For a list of Takelma names of various mammals and insects see Appendix 2.)

Transportation and Trade. River transportation apparently differed between the Upland and Lowland Takelma, the former using log rafts and the latter canoes (Sapir 1907a:252). Frances Johnson, when later interviewed by Harrington, repeated that the Indians up the Rogue River by Table Rock had no boats but rather used rafts of logs lashed together with hazel witches (Harrington 1981:525). Molly Orton claimed that canoes were seldom, if ever used, even by those living on the river (Drucker 1940:294). Frances Johnson, however, did specifically state that canoes were used to ferry across the Applegate River, and that Indians used to travel up and down the Rogue River both on foot and in boats (Harrington 1981:435,441). There were also specific references made to canoe portages, one at Taktkamaykh "way down the Rogue River," possibly below the mouth of Grave Creek, and another portage upriver of Galice Creek at an unspecified falls on the Rogue (Harrington 1981:509,437). Three Takelma words dealing with this aspect of material life are ('e-y) boat, ('e-y lokta) big boat, and (lumuhi) paddle (Harrington 1981:608). It seems apparent that canoes and rafts were used for transportation as well as for fishing, although there is no evidence that their manufacture was developed to a high degree.

The Lowland Takelma, who seem to have been dependent upon riverine resources, would often trade salmon for deer hides and meat with their upland kin (Drucker 1940:294). Sapir noted that the trade relations between these groups were less than friendly, with the Upland Takelma at times raiding their brethren on the lower stretches of the Rogue for slaves and food, the slaves then being sold to the Klamaths to the east (Sapir 1907a:252). When the water level of the Rogue was too high for salmon fishing and supplies of this staple were running low, the Takelma went to the Illinois Valley to a place named Talsalsan and purchased dry salmon from the Athaspaskan speakers there (Harrington 1981:525,523). One possible exchange commodity for this dry salmon could have been the brown salt obtained from Yukyakhwan. Salt was obtained at this location both for personal consumption and as a commercial item (Harrington 1981:499).

Other articles received in trade by the Takelma were the basket hats worn by women, "acquired from the Shasta by the purchase of wives" (Sapir 1907a:264). Molly Orton claimed that a variety of baskets were bought from the Karok near Happy Camp, California, for ". . . they made the best one (Drucker 1940:295)." Obsidian, an important lithic raw material not found in the area, was certainly imported (most likely from the Glass Mountain area of northern California), and dentalium shells were imported from Vancouver Island, British Columbia. The abalone shells used to decorate dresses (Harrington 1981:132,51) came from the California coast. Another example of the trading network of the Takelma during this period was the acquisition of Euro-American goods, either directly or indirectly. In 1827 when Peter Ogden

was trapping in the region, he investigated the village of Dilomi, near Table Rock. His men saw that the Takelma possessed a "sickle and two china bowls," the source of which was evidently his own employer, the Hudson's Bay Company (Davis 1961). How early this trade with Euro-Americans began is a matter of speculation (see Brauner 1983); however, the presence of these items among the Takelma at this time is indicative of the great distances encompassed by the aboriginal trading network.

Warfare and Weapons. As a people the Takelma were no strangers to the art of warfare, with the Upland group described as ". . . much more warlike than their western neighbors (i.e., Lowland Takelma) (Sapir 1907a:252)." This information concerning the warlike nature of the Upland Takelma was provided by Frances Johnson, a Lowland Takelma, and hence it may be suspect, although she did concede that her Upland cousins were good fighters (Harrington 1981:470). Molly Orton described her forefathers from the Little Butte Creek area as ". . . short men and mean all the time . . . make arrows, you say something and they get mad quick (Harrington 1981:647)." With these few references, along with the historic record of their fierce defense of their homeland, Sapir's conclusion as to their warlike disposition cannot be easily dismissed.

Preparations for war centered around a form of dance, with both men and women participating. The men, in anticipation of battle, would tie their hair tightly in back of the head and paint their faces with white paint to mimic the silver-tipped fur of the grizzly bear (Sapir 1907a:273). Warning that war or an attack was imminent was by means of a fire on "Altakanxita Mt., in which case the necessary precautions were taken (Harrington 1981:499)." It was not uncommon for women to take part in the actual battles by keeping watch on the slaves and preparing food for the male warriors (Sapir 1907a:273).

The primary weapon of war, as well as hunting, was the bow and arrow. The bow (gal) was constructed of a single piece of wood, approximately an inch and a half wide in the center and tapering at each end. The ends of the bow were notched so that sinew could be applied in layers to the back of the bow, the sinew affixed with a fish glue made from steelhead. The final product was then painted with geometric designs in black and white and strung with a bow string (gal-ts'uqwa) of deer sinew (Sapir 1907a:272). Arrow shafts (smela-x) were polished and smoothed with a rough surfaced plant, and tipped with an arrowhead (p'uxkam). The completed projectile (wilau) was carried, along with flintknapping and fire making tools, in a hide quiver. When on the hunt or in battle, an arrow was carried in the mouth, ready for a quick second shot (Sapir 1907a:272). The bow was held in a horizontal position when fired, in contrast to the vertical bow position of the neighboring Athapascans (Sapir 1907a:272).

For defense against their enemies, the Takelma wore body armor (k'apas) made from elkskin, and an elkskin hat (tkamtruhapa) (Harrington 1981:201,229). The body armor was fashioned from two elk hides, or at times two deer hides, sewed together, over a structure of sticks. The armor was sleeveless and covered the upper body from the neck to the hips. Both the war cap and armor were painted and/or decorated with designs (Sapir 1907a:273). The image of a Takelma warrior that emerges is one of a man wearing decorated armor, his hair

tied back under a protective cap, a white painted face with an arrow clenched between his teeth, and a bow held horizontally at ready: a truly impressive and threatening figure.

Games and Music. The "national sport" of the region seems to have been a game of shinny or field hockey, played by both men and women. In the women's game each team, composed of three members, would endeavor to score a goal by tossing the "ball" through the other team's goal. The ball consisted of two small pieces of wood tied six inches apart with buckskin. The shinny stick was a long pole and the goals were simply branches stuck in the ground. The men's version was similar although an actual ball was used (Sapir 1907a:261). Frances Johnson stated that her mother saw a shinny game played in the Illinois Valley at Talsalsan. Apparently the Takelma would visit this area not only to buy dry salmon, but also to play shinny and to gamble (Harrington 1981:525-6). The form of gambling for the Takelma was not recorded; however it was probably similar to that of their Athapascan neighbors.

Sapir remarked that, unlike the Athapascan speakers in the area, the Takelma did not use the drum. And the only musical instrument played by them was a flute (xdeit) made from a reed of the wild parsnip (Sapir 1907a:273). Drucker, however, mentioned the use of a deerhoof rattle by young women in the dance ceremony celebrating the first menses (Drucker 1940:295).

Settlement Patterns

The settlement pattern approach is a convenient and logical system to use in analyzing the "built environment" and spatial relationships of the Takelma. It has been defined as:

The way in which man disposed himself over the landscape on which he lived. It refers to dwellings, to their arrangement and to the nature and disposition of other buildings pertaining to community life. These settlements reflect the natural environment, level of technology and institutions of social interaction and control which culture maintained. (Willey 1953:1)

In order to describe the settlement patterns of the Takelma, a model developed by Bruce Trigger provides a satisfactory framework. Trigger views settlements on three levels: the individual structure, the manner in which these structures are arranged within a single community, and the manner in which communities are distributed over the region (Trigger 1968:55).

Habitations. A typical Lowland Takelma winter house was described as rectangular in shape and semi-subterranean to a depth of between 18 and 24 inches. The framing consisted of upright posts in the corners, connected by cross beams to which exterior siding was attached. The siding was of split sugar pine planks (wili-s-idibi). The roof was a single gable design covered with additional split planks (wili-he-lam), which extended from a center ridge pole to the sides of the house. The doorway was rectangular; its bottom was raised approximately three feet from the exterior ground surface, necessitating the construction of an earthen ramp as an approach to the doorway. The door itself was made from two or three pieces of lumber attached

together, which slid to one side to allow entry. Inside, a ladder (gak!an), consisting of a pole cut with notches to serve as steps, led from the doorway to the floor of the house. The fire hearth was located in the center of the structure with a corresponding smoke hole in the center of the roof. Economic realities were reflected in architecture as in other realms of material life; the poorer members of a group had to content themselves with houses sided with pine bark rather than split lumber (Sapir 1907a:263). As to the exterior dimensions, the only mention is by A.L. Kroeber (1953:905-6) in a cultural trait comparison list of Northwest cultures. In that listing, Takelma houses are described as being 12 feet wide and 15 to 20 feet long, with no interior partitions. The only details of interior living arrangements recorded are that sleeping mats of cattail rushes were spread out on the ground around the fire hearth, and that unmarried girls slept on raised wooden platforms (Sapir 1907a:262). Summer dwellings (gwas wili), constructed when families were away from their winter village sites, consisted of simple brush shelters built around a central fire pit.

The Takelma also built sweathouses, generally one to a village. The men's sweathouse was rectangular and semi-subterranean, that portion which was above ground level being covered with earth. Stones to provide heat were first fired outside of the sweathouse, then passed inside through an opening in the wall. On another side of the structure was the door through which entry was effected. The sweat was a "wet sweat" achieved by pouring water over the heated stones. The sweathouse was large enough for six men, who often spent the night there before jumping into water the next morning. The women had to content themselves with a smaller, temporary sweathouse, constructed of a stick frame covered with woven mats. This type of structure had very little headroom and would accommodate only two or three women at a time. In this sweathouse also, water was poured over heated stones (Sapir 1907a:263).

Descriptions of Upland Takelma winter houses are brief, but do indicate some differences between the Takelma groups. The winter dwellings were also semi-subterranean, gabled structures, but covered with bark-slab (as were the poorer houses of the Lowland Takelma). The roof was sometimes earth covered and generally speaking ". . . the clearest point was the rudeness with which the whole affair was constructed (Drucker 1940:294)." The sweathouse was described as small and earth-covered; men went there occasionally for training or purification, but not on a regular basis for sleeping. The Upland Takelma, like the lowlanders, utilized a crude shelter of boughs or brush for summer quarters (Drucker 1940:294).

Before conclusions are drawn about the relative degree of cultural refinement expressed in the architecture of the two groups of Takelmas, one additional eyewitness source must be reported, which adds a bit of confusion to the picture. Peter Ogden, passing through the area in 1827, reported that he observed "six large houses sufficiently so to contain upwards of 100 indians" located on the north bank of the Rogue River (Davis 1961). Although this statement would appear to be in contradiction to the ethnographic description of Upland Takelma housing, it does agree with the location of the large village at that site reported by both Harrington and Sapir. This was also the site of the "Story Chair" and the first salmon rite of the Upland

Takelma. If Ogden's description is correct—and I believe it is, for he not only observed the village but also sent three of his men there to barter for a canoe—then it is evident that the Upland Takelma at times built rather large structures, able to house perhaps twenty persons. Whether these structures were consistently occupied at that level, or whether they served as seasonal lodgings for larger numbers of people during salmon fishing seasons is a matter of speculation. Unfortunately Ogden left us no details of construction or function.

The Community. Settlement pattern information for the community level in the ethnographic record is scarce. Essentially we know only that, in addition to family houses, the village contained usually one permanent men's sweathouse and an occasional sweathouse for women. Sapir's only comment on villages was that they generally were "very insignificant (Sapir 1907a:267)." As to the spatial arrangement of structures within the village or their orientation to their natural environment, nothing is known. The only information on village size is the previously mentioned account of Ogden, relating to the Upland Takelma village of Dilomi at Ti'lo-mi-kh falls on the Rogue, upriver from Gold Hill. It may well be that the size of the village, and of the individual habitations, varied with location, season, and economic subsistence activities.

The Region. The regional settlement patterns of the Takelma, not surprisingly in a basically subsistence-level economy, reflected environmental patterns and economic procurement needs. Permanent winter villages were generally located in lower-elevation river and creek valleys near the confluence of two streams, or near sites of economic importance such as early spring vegetable sources or traditional fishing spots. Frances Johnson mentioned wintering on Cow Creek, and also at a falls on the Rogue (probably Rainie Falls below Grave Creek) (Harrington 1981:440,557). Molly Orton reported that . . . "Indians lived all the way from Jacksonville to Gold Hill in winter (Harrington 1981:332)." From Ogden's account of the village of Dilomi, it clearly was a winter community, for it was in February, 1827 that he recorded his observations. (For a listing of place names and sites see Appendix 1.)

Summer settlements varied with economic pursuits. Molly Orton's relatives told her that ". . . in summer Indians travelled all around (Harrington 1981:332)." For the Indians to follow the spring season as it advanced in altitude to collect edible plants would have necessitated frequent moves, thus the need for the temporary brush shelters used for summer homes. Collecting raw lithic materials for tools and grass for baskets was apparently done at 'Alke-takh (Wagner Butte). (There is a great deal of beargrass [xerophyllum tenax] on the west slope of Wagner Butte [LaLande n.d.: personal communication].) Molly Orton claimed that ". . . everyone owned that mountain (Harrington 1981:647)." Hunting deer and elk and other game was another upland pursuit carried out away from the primary villages of the lower elevations.

To divide the regional settlement pattern into a strictly seasonal model of winter river valleys, summer uplands, would be an oversimplification. Drucker noted that the Upland Takelma assembled in the summer for salmon

fishing at Rocky Point (Ti'lo-mi-kh) (Drucker 1940:296). Therefore the Upland Takelma would have been in their largest winter village during at least part of the summer. It is apparent that mobility to exploit a variety of resources, either in the uplands or in the river valleys, was more indicative of the summer settlement pattern, and that sedentary village life near the major streams was characteristic of winter life.

Social Organization

In common with other hunting-fishing/gathering groups of the Pacific Northwest and California, the Takelma depended upon a few abundant seasonal food sources, primarily acorns and salmon.

The seasonal and annual fluctuations of these principal resources, combined with the need to gather widely scattered vegetable and animal foods in upland areas, served to isolate families and communities at various times. This restricted the development of any strong central authority (Sahlins 1968). This is not to say that the Takelma had no sense of a larger group identity or organization. Despite Sapir's contention that the local village community was the only sociological grouping outside of the family (Sapir 1907a:267), there is circumstantial evidence of the Takelma having possessed a strong sense of identity to a larger social group. This sense of identity was based on language dialect, nuclear territory, dietary preferences, and food procurement techniques. The existence of the large village Dilomi, at Ti'lo-mi-kh Falls, may argue for a socio-political structure sufficiently extensive to have at times brought a number of smaller communities together in order to exploit the seasonal salmon resource. Such a larger group organization could have temporarily functioned to achieve community-wide goals, while for other economic and social tasks, the more mobile and independent family or village groups were more appropriate. Within the village community itself, social organization was limited to the domestic arrangements of the family and to the status level achieved by wealth. Clan organization, or social groupings outside kinship relations, appear to have been absent (Sapir 1907a:267). No clear lineage associations were recorded; however, many village communities must have been related by marriage, for marriage rules forbade unions between family members, including cousins. Although there was no specific rule against marriage between village members, a majority of the villages were probably made up of related kinship groups (Sapir 1907a:268). (For a listing of Takelma kinship terminology see Sapir (1907a:268-9).)

The acquisition of worldly goods was an important feature of Takelma social stratification. "Anyone who was comparatively wealthy could be called a chief da-anak (Sapir 1907a:267)." The possession of such items as dentalia and flints enhanced status among the kin groups of the Upland Takelma (Drucker 1940:295). A position of wealth carried with it certain responsibilities as well as privileges. A wealthy man was expected to support and benefit his poorer relations in times of economic distress, in addition to providing for their marriages and legal obligations. In return, a wealthy individual would receive the labor of his beneficiaries in food gathering activities and domestic chores, as well as their support in times of political turmoil (Sapir 1907a:263; Drucker 1940:295).

Slavery. The institution of slavery was noted among the various cultures of the region, including the Takelma. How widespread or common the practice of slavery was for the Takelma is difficult to ascertain. Sapir noted that the Upland Takelma, during some of their raids on their Lowland cousins, enslaved their kin and often sold them to the Klamaths to the east. Slaves were also acquired through barter (Sapir 1907a:267). The Takelma were also victims of slave raids by some of their hostile neighbors. Frances Johnson reported that "it was dangerous to leave children alone, for people took and sold children in old times, in war times (Harrington 1981:391)." Molly Orton also noted a fear of the Shasta Territory, stating that the Indians near Yreka ". . . all the time fight, take away wife, Shasta Indians mean (Harrington 1981:391)." Hoxie Simmons also related an incident of about 1800-1810, when the Shasta raided Takelma territory and took some of their young men and women away as slaves (Jacobs n.d.).

Hoxie Simmons, speaking about the treatment of Galice Creek slaves by their Klamath masters, stated that the male slaves were used largely for gathering wood and water, and for packing meat. Female slaves also were made to carry burdens, but were primarily used to dig root crops (Jacobs n.d.). It may be assumed that Takelma slaves were treated in a similar manner and that, in turn, slaves held by the Takelma were used for similar functions.

Law. The Takelma legal system operated on the principle of demanding blood money (wergild) for injuries sustained, be they minor assaults or murder. For minor offences, a demand for compensation could be made on the spot by the aggrieved party, and payment was justifiably expected. In more serious cases, the injured party or his living relations generally employed the services of a go-between (xa-wisa) to negotiate a suitable compensation. Negotiations in these instances followed a formal pattern generally witnessed by the entire community. The go-between, at times accompanied by his wife and others, would shuttle between the feuding parties communicating demands and counter-demands. Upon reaching agreeable terms, payment was made to the injured party and, in turn, a nominal gift was offered to the offender in order to renew friendship bonds. The go-between was paid for his services out of the settlement (Sapir 1907a:270).

Ceremonies

The ceremonial side of life for the Takelma was not highly developed, although important life crises, warfare, and the annual renewal of significant food resources all warranted a ceremonial display. By defining ceremony as a more or less formal, dignified act on religious or public occasions, the ceremonial acts of the Takelma can be described as follows.

Birth. Approximately one month after the birth of a child, the infant was "baptized" by moving the child, face up, five times over the surface of a nearby river, then gradually lowering the child into the water and making it "swim" face down (Harrington 1981:237). (The number five held special significance [particularly in mythology] for the Takelma [Sapir 1907a:44].) (For a comprehensive discussion of the Takelma numeral system see Sapir 1907a:265-7.) During the month between childbirth and the baptism ceremony, the mother was forbidden to eat meat or other fresh food (Sapir 1907a:275),

and she did not make use of her headscratcher (Drucker 1940:295). The father likewise abstained from fresh food, and sweated himself for five days after the birth of a child (Drucker 1940:295). In addition, the father was expected to make further bride payment to his father-in-law, consisting of a deer skin sack filled with "Indian money" (Sapir 1907a:275).

Puberty. By far the most important and best-documented ceremony of the Takelma was that celebrating the transition to womanhood. At the time of a girl's first menses, neighbors were invited to a feast and ceremony which lasted for five nights. A round dance involving the invited men and women guests was the highlight of the celebration, with the young woman, dressed in her finest, circled by her singing and dancing guests (Sapir 1907a:274). At some point in the ceremony the young woman danced alone with the rest of the group observing (Drucker 1940:295). During each of the five nights of the ceremony, the songs and dances were repeated. According to Drucker's information, the ceremony was repeated for each of the young woman's first five menstrual periods. During the five-day celebration, the initiate had to observe certain rituals and taboos. She was permitted little food (nothing fresh) and very little sleep--and then only with her head secured in an acorn basket to prevent her from dreaming bad omens. She was required to wear a blinder of "blue jay" feathers to prevent a view of the sky (another ill omen) and her bangs were cut and face painted with one red and four black stripes on each cheek (Sapir 1907a:273). Fastened to her wrist was a scratching stick of bone (Drucker 1940:295). There were no puberty rites for boys (Drucker 1940:295); however ". . . a young man must not eat the heart of the first deer killed (Harrington 1981:240)."

Marriage. Marriages were determined for Takelma children at an early age. Prior to a girl's marriage, her freedom to move about was restricted and she was closely guarded by her parents. Girls were at times married so young that they were fearful of their husbands (Sapir 1907a:274-5).

The marriage ceremony was quite perfunctory, merely formalizing by exchange a previously agreed-upon match. A bride price was paid by the groom's father or other male relative, after which the bride was delivered, accompanied by her relatives bearing exchange gifts of household articles and food. Singing and dancing were not a factor of the marriage day (Sapir 1907a:274). In addition to the taboo of marriage within the family, several other marriage rules were enforced. A man was not allowed to wed the sister of his brother's wife, and if a man died, his brother had to take his widow as a wife, no matter how many other wives he already had (Sapir 1907a:268). Obviously, polygyny was accepted.

For some period of time after the marriage ceremony, the new bride had certain family obligations including gathering firewood for all of her husband's family. The husband, in addition to the bride price, also had further obligations to his in-laws. Periodically, he and his new wife would journey to her former village to visit and to present gifts (e.g., dried salmon) to his wife's parents (Sapir 1907a:275).

Death. The last life crisis observed by the Takelma was at the death of a group member. The Upland Takelma kept the body of the deceased in the house

until the kin could assemble. The body was then washed, painted, dressed and flexed, prior to its removal from the dwelling through an opening in the wall or roof. A male relative carried the body to the grave site, where it was interred in a small, oval-shaped grave. The mourners wailed and threw items of value into the grave. Such items included money, probably dentalia, tools and "flint" blades (Drucker 1940:296).

Luther Cressman's 1932 excavation of a burial site on the southern bank of the Rogue River across from Gold Hill confirms many of these burial details, even though Cressman assigned to the burials an age pre-dating the ethnographic period. Found in association with the flexed skeletal remains at this site were numerous large flaked stone blades (up to twelve inches in length) made from imported red and black obsidian, mortars and pestles, strings of shells (e.g., abalone and pine nuts), projectile points, and obsidian knives (Cressman 1933:9-19). Although Cressman dated the site between about 2,000 years ago and some time prior to Euro-American contact (due to the absence of dentalia), it is evident that burial customs in the region, even at an early date, were similar to those described for the ethnographic period.

The Lowland Takelma prepared the body for burial in a manner similar to the Upland group; Sapir (1907a:275) noted that the grave goods accompanying the deceased consisted of acorns, dentalia, and other finery, and that a large number of baskets were placed over the grave. A species of "Indian money" (ts!ulx), made of "round flat bone-like disks (Sapir 1907a:265) "was often put around the neck and arms of the body. This ethnographic reference has a parallel in the archaeological findings at Gold Hill, where fragments of abalone shells were noted under the chin and around the left arm of one of the burials (Cressman 1933:17).

For an unspecified period of time after the funeral, widows would observe a period of mourning, demonstrated by cutting their hair short and smearing pitch on their head and face. Widows also fasted for some time (Drucker 1940:296; Sapir 1907a:275).

When a man died away from his home and could not be buried in the prescribed fashion, his body was cremated and the bones then returned to his native village to be interred (Sapir 1907a:275). Internment was apparently in graveyards. Frances Johnson located such a graveyard for Harrington near the confluence of the Applegate and Rogue Rivers (Harrington 1981:460), and Molly Orton described how, due to a squirrel digging up some gold in a graveyard, "Whites got the idea of digging up Indian graves. The Whites dug out all the Indian bones in the Table Rock region cemeteries and threw out the bones and left them lying (Harrington 1981:329)."

Subsistence and Warfare. Ceremonies were held to celebrate the annual renewal of the two prime subsistence resources of the Takelma, acorns and salmon. An acorn ceremony performed by the men was conducted without the presence of females; nothing is known about its details because the principal informants on Takelma culture have been women. After the men had performed their rite and partaken of the first spring acorns, the eating vessels were

cleaned and the women were allowed to eat of the new crop (Sapir 1907a:258).

A first salmon rite conducted by the Upland Takelma at Ti'lo-mi-kh Falls was described by Molly Orton as follows:

A dance similar to the Athapascan wealth-display performance was often performed. An old man trained for some days, then with a dip net, caught the first salmon of the season in a large pool below a waterfall. He dressed and cooked the fish, and told the story of the origin of the fishing place.

'The first owner of the place (Evening Star?) challenged all who came there to a wrestling match and killed them. He allowed no one to fish. At last someone (Swallow?) managed to vanquish him, and gave the salmon to be free to all the people.' (Drucker 1940:296)

According to Drucker's information this was the only place in the region where such a ceremony was held, and its location agrees with that of the previously discussed "Story Chair."

Religion

The following synopsis of Takelma religious beliefs and shamanism is based primarily on the information recorded by Edward Sapir. (For a more in-depth study of Takelma religious practices, refer to Sapir [1907b, 1909].)

Supernatural Beings. For the Takelma, the forces of nature and the fate of humans were determined by numerous supernatural spirits. Many of these supernaturals were associated with organic elements such as plants and animals, which were believed to be the transformed manifestations of primeval earthy inhabitants. Some physical forces of nature, for example thunder and lightning, were believed to be caused by the actions of the organic supernatural spirits. Inorganic objects such as the sun, moon, or rain also were identified with their own supernatural beings.

On a more localized level, some supernatural beings were directly associated with particular natural objects, including rocks, trees, and mountains. It was to these specific objects that offerings of food and valuables, as well as prayers, were often made. An example of the practice was noted by Sapir and Harrington in regard to dan-mologol or Medicine Rock. This spirit was localized in a large rock located in Lowland Takelma territory near Sexton Mountain (Harrington 1981:876). Medicine Rock had the power to cure various kinds of illness, as well as inflict pain or death. Offerings of food (e.g., salmon or camas) were deposited on top of the Medicine Rock and prayers were directed to its spirit. Associated with the rock were several implements including a bucket, a stick for picking up hot rocks to use in boiling food, a stirring paddle, and a pipe. It is not clear from the accounts whether these were, in fact, the actual implements of daily life or were other spirit rocks which represented the actual tools. In either case, Sapir recorded a myth from Frances Johnson which details the use of these implements by dan-mologol to inflict revenge upon an evil shaman (Sapir

1907b:46-47). Other specific spirit objects mentioned by Frances Johnson include four mountain spirits, two of whom were brothers. They shared the name Aldauyak'wadis and were subordinates to the spirit of dan-mologol. One of the mountains was located near Medicine Rock, and most likely was Sexton Mountain (Harrington 1981:876); the other was near the Illinois River. The third spirit mountain, Alsawent'adis, located near Sexton Mountain, was likely Walker or Roberts Mountain. An interesting side note concerning this spirit mountain was that Frances Johnson told Harrington that it was on this mountain that ". . . the boat rested after the world flood, they found boat there (Harrington 1981:608)." The fourth mountain spirit recorded by Sapir, called Aldank!olo'ida, was near Jacksonville. Apparently each of these localized spirits was capable of defending the average person against the evil caused by shamans.

Still within the realm of supernatural beings was another class of spirits more imaginary than real to the Takelma. Half human, half animal, these spirits roamed the woods or inhabited the waters and received the blame for otherwise inexplicable misfortunes. Molly Orton described one as "a human-shaped being that had a big light above his head and walks at night," and another as a magical animal that lived in the mountains and had the horns and body of a deer (Harrington 1981:279,280). Sapir also noted examples of mermaids who taunted fishermen, and a race of dwarfs no bigger than children. Although examples of these beings are numerous, they did not seem to be as important as the other types of supernatural spirits, with whom there was direct interaction and formalized ritual to mediate the effects of natural forces or the fortunes of life.

Charms. Mediation between the spirit world and everyday life was generally accomplished through the services of a shaman. However, individuals also directly interceded in their own behalf through the use of prayer formulas or charms. The charms or prayers were invoked whenever a spirit being made its presence known either through the cry of certain animals or the appearance of natural phenomena such as a winter storm or the new moon. In general these incantations were uttered in order to stave off evil consequences or to wish for good fortune. The charm spoken at the appearance of the new moon illustrates this type of spiritual mediation.

May I prosper, may I remain alive yet awhile. Even if people say of me: 'Would that he die!' May I do just as thou doest, may I rise again. Even then when many evil beings devour thee, when frogs eat thee up, many evil beings such as lizards, when those eat thee up, still dost thou rise again. In time to come may I do just like thee! (Sapir 1907b:37)

Shamanism. Among the Takelma, a shaman (Goyo) held extraordinary powers to effect good and evil. He or she (for both men and women were shamans) was deemed responsible for causing illness and death, as well as preventing the same. Additionally, shamans were employed to intercede in the affairs of nature, for example by inducing rain in time of drought or halting a severe winter storm. Shamans were generally distrusted, so much so that some

villages would not permit their residence. The attitude of the Takelma towards shamans was exemplified in the legal system; the relatives of a slain shaman were not allowed to make the usual blood money demands upon the slayer, but were forced to settle for a nominal fine.

The shaman obtained power from one or more guardian spirits; these might be animals, natural objects, or natural phenomena. In order to obtain guardian spirits, prospective shamans would isolate themselves in a mountain location for a period of time, praying and fasting. Guardian spirits would then appear in dreams, bestowing upon the shaman their own unique medicine songs. Shamans were not free to choose their guardian spirits, but rather became the instruments through which guardian spirit power was used. The average person did not possess personal guardian spirits, for they only manifested themselves to those who intended to practice the shamanistic arts.

Disease and death were not thought of as natural occurrences, but as the evil doings of a shaman or of an enemy through the services of a shaman. Ailments were caused by a "disease spirit" or "pain", which was conceived of as material object lodged in the afflicted part of the patient's body. When the object (in the form, for example, of a splinter) was removed, the ailment was cured.

In actually affecting a cure, the shaman would communicate with his/her guardian spirits through song and dance, aided by several helpers, in order for the spirit powers to indicate the exact location of the "pain", which was then physically removed. Success of the operation would depend upon the power of the shaman, and the use of more than one shaman on a specific case was not unknown. If it could be determined which evil shaman had caused the malady, that person was required to cure the victim or face death. Shamans were compensated for their services in a measure depending upon the difficulty of the cure and/or importance of the patient.

In addition to shamans, another class of "medicine men" operated within Takelma society, the S-omloholxa's. They differed from the Goyo in several ways. The S-omloholxa's appealed to a different set of guardian spirits; they could cure illness, but not inflict it; they did not dance or require the services of helpers in singing the medicine songs; and they cured a patient by rubbing the afflicted part of the body, rather than "catching the pain". The S-omloholxa's and Goyo maintained a hostile and competitive attitude towards one another, with the former often employed to undo the evil perpetrated by the latter. This hostile relationship also applied to the guardian spirits of the S-omloholxa's, who exalted in inflicting punishment on evil shamans. The Medicine Rock or don-mologol was an instrumental spiritual being used in such a manner (see Sapir 1907b). The exact limits of the S-omloholxa's curative powers are unclear, but it seems that in cases of serious illness, only the spirit power of the shamans had a chance of success. In many daily crises, the S-omloholxa's may have been the preferred choice if for no other reason than to prevent association with a possible evil-minded Goyo.

THE GALICE/APPLEGATE ATHAPASCANS

The limited available information indicates that the Athapascan speakers who inhabited the drainages of Galice Creek and the Applegate River, the Tal-tuc-tun-te-de and Da-ku-be-te-de, shared a language and lifeway that were identical in most respects. Drucker described the Applegate Valley dwellers as being congenerous (i.e., one of the same kind) with the Galice Creek people (Drucker 1940:283), and Hoxie Simmons stated that "the Applegate and Galice talked to each other a little, but they got along years ago (Harrington 1981:6)." The affinity of language between the two groups was also noted by Simmons: ". . .Applegate tribes talked nearly Galice, just about the same thing (Harrington 1981:5)." Frances Johnson said that the Applegate and Galice both talked like the "Saltchuck Indians" (i.e., the coastal Oregon Athapascans) (Harrington 1981:496,507). The preponderance of ethnographic material on these cultures is attributable to two people: Hoxie Simmons, whose mother was from the Galice Creek region and whose stepfather was from the Applegate (Harrington 1981:19,42); and Nettie West, whose mother was from Galice Creek; Aneti Scott, from the Applegate, also contributed a few recollections. Therefore, the cultured descriptions in this chapter may be assumed to apply to both groups of Athapascan speakers.

It should also be noted that Applegate/Galice culture was closely affiliated with and influenced by neighboring groups. The Applegate and Shasta were at times allies during disputes with the people living in the Illinois Valley, even though there was frequent inter-marriage between the Illinois and Applegate groups (Jacobs n.d.). Hoxie Simmons mentioned as similar the dialect groups which included the Applegate, Galice and Illinois (Jacobs n.d.), and Frances Johnson noted that some of the Galice talked the Takelma language (Harrington 1981:507). Finally, Drucker concluded that the Galice Creek culture was ". . .so permeated with Takelma elements as to be scarcely distinguishable from the culture of these alien people (Drucker 1940:284)."

Material Culture

Clothing and Personal Adornment. Galice/Applegate apparel was very similar to that of their Takelma neighbors. During the summer men wore buckskin breechcloths and were commonly barefoot. Winter weather occasioned the use of buckskin shirts and leggings as well as one-piece deerskin moccasins (Barnett 1937:172). Men also wore fur caps, and for winter travel, bear paw type snowshoes were employed (Drucker 1940:283).

Women wore knee-length, fringed buckskin aprons, sleeveless buckskin shirts and basketry caps. Moccasins and leggings were primarily for winter use (Barnett 1937:173). The only other clothing items described for the Galice were deer hide blankets with the fur left on (Jacobs n.d.).

Dentalium shells were a favorite item of personal adornment for both men and women. They were sewn onto clothing and caps, were worn in the hair as ornamentation, and were carried on strings. Jacobs (n.d.) noted that men wore

dentalia shells through their nose septums and hung strings of the shells around their necks; however, Barnett's informants agreed that men did not pierce their noses or ears in order to attach ornaments (Barnett 1937:173).

Women with light complexions and thick, long hair were deemed attractive, whereas women who were dark-skinned and carried excess weight were not so considered (Jacobs n.d.). In order to enhance her beauty, a woman would decorate her face with red pigment. Other colors used for facial decoration were white and black. The children were reported to have had their faces painted in stripes (Jacobs n.d.). Hair styles varied with sex. Men wore their hair short, cut at the neck, while women let their hair grow long, tied into two side-clubs with either mink skin or otter skin strips (Jacobs n.d.; Barnett 1937:173).

Tattoos were evidently commonplace for men. Batise, P.E. Goddard's Galice informant, had four tattoo lines on his face, two of them down his chin and two others crossing diagonally from either corner of his mouth. Tattoo marks were also made (by both men and women?) on the inside of the arm below the shoulder. These marks, as with the Takelma, were used in measuring the length of strings of dentalia, a typical string of which contained ten shells (Goddard n.d.). Women exhibited a single vertical tattoo line on their chin, accomplished by incising the skin with a flint blade and rubbing soot into the cut (Barnett 1937:173).

Basketry and Domestic Implements. In common with their Takelma neighbors, the Galice/Applegate made extensive use of baskets. Although the manufacturing process was not recorded, a number of basket types were described. The bg'tsdan was an open-bottomed, tightly woven "hopper-mortar" basket made from spruce roots, (khaii) (Harrington 1981:60), which was used when women mashed acorns, berries, and camas (Jacobs n.d.) upon the sika. This was a "flat rock, not hollowed out (Goddard n.d.)." There were large and small versions of the pack-basket, made of hazel and used for carrying burdens or storing dried foods. The men would carry these conical baskets on their backs, attached with a rope of fiber or skin around their shoulder (Barnett 1937:171), while women looped the pack rope around their forehead (Jacobs n.d.). Other forms of baskets included: mush (acorn) cooking and eating baskets, flat sifters, circular winnowing trays, water baskets, "finger bowls," water cups, and water dippers with handles (Barnett 1937:171-2).

Two specialized forms of basketry were cradles and fish traps. Cradles were constructed with hazel and conifer roots and lined with rabbit skin. The child was firmly laced into the cradle, which was (presumably) carried on the mothers back. A collapsible cradle hood of animal skin protected the infant from the elements (Barnett 1937:171). The fishing basket-traps were of at least two types, a cylindrical style and a flat style. The flat trap measured four feet wide by six to eight feet long, and from twelve to sixteen inches high (Jacobs n.d.). Barnett (1937:164) listed the two styles of fish trap baskets as conical-mouthed eel pots and triangular base, open top, salmon traps. These fish traps were constructed by the men of either willow or fir.

Other recorded implements associated with domestic life included: mattresses and carpets made from cattails (Jacobs n.d.), a headrest probably

made of wood (Goddard n.d.), digging sticks for root harvesting, spoons of maple and elkhorn for eating soup (Jacobs n.d.; Barnett 1937:168), combs made from salmon vertebrae, and hair brushes of pine burrs or porcupine tails. In addition there were fire drills, wooden stirring paddles and meat platters, sticks (either two separate or one split) for removing cooking stones, squirrel-tail swabs for eating and a thumb guard of mussel shell used when stripping fiber for cordage (Barnett 1937:168-9). Cordage (t'cabe) was made from "white grass" (Iris [Barnett 1937:168]) and used for game snares. The grass twining for the rope was soaked, covered with ashes, split and then rolled into rope on the thigh (Jacobs n.d.). Cordage was either two or four ply depending upon its intended use, and was made by men and women (Barnett 1937:163).

In addition to the above mentioned domestic implements there was also the bone and lithic tool kit common to the various cultures in the area (see Brauner 1983 and The Takelma, above), which included long flint knives (Jacobs n.d.), bone awls, unhafted stone drills, elkhorn chisels, wooden and horn wedges, wooden club-shaped mauls and--for manufacturing flaked stone tools--antler flint flakers (Barnett 1937:169). Barnett also recorded that during the lithic reduction process local jaspers and cherts were heat-treated prior to retouching. Lithic reduction was accomplished by both percussion and pressure flaking (Barnett 1937:169). One additional item of everyday use noted in the accounts was the tobacco pipe. These were described as concave wood pipes with mortised steatite (i.e., soapstone) bowls (Barnett 1937:175).

Food Gathering and Preparation. Vegetable resources gathered by the Galice/Applegate included camas bulbs, acorns, a type of wild radish (the greens of which were eaten in spring) (Jacobs n.d.), tarweed (tlohtay), sunflower stalks (yltltts'ayee), a wild carrot-like plant (tlkhaao) (Harrington 1981:26,27,30), and wild parsnips (Barnett 1937:166). Drucker also noted pine nuts and grass seed, the importance of which in the diet ". . . was perhaps environmentally conditioned (Drucker 1940:283)." Family rights to certain acorn gathering areas apparently were not a feature of their subsistence patterns (Goddard n.d.).

The grinding of dried food (seeds, bulbs, acorns, nuts, etc.) was accomplished in the hopper mortar described above, consisting of a bg'tsdan set atop a sika, with a stone pestle as the pounding instrument (Jacobs n.d., Goddard n.d.). The seed of the tarweed plant was cooked into a rich soup (Harrington 1981:27), no doubt boiled in a basket with heated stones in the manner of the Takelma. For preparing camas bulbs for consumption, Jacobs (n.d.) recorded the following description of a camas baking oven:

To roast camas, first maple leaves are put in a hole. On top is laid camas. Then more maple leaves, ferns and dirt piled on top. A fire is built on top and kept going for some days.

Other foods prepared in an earth oven were mussels and fern roots (Barnett 1937:166).

The one "agricultural" crop raised by the Galice/Applegate was tobacco. They did not merely gather the wild plant, but rather sowed seeds in small

hillside plots which had been cleared by burning and were then surrounded by a protective brush fence (Jacobs n.d.).

Included in the diet of the Galice/Applegate was a variety of small game (Drucker 1940:283) as well as deer, elk, and bear. As did the Takelma, they also consumed roasted yellow jacket larvae (Jacobs n.d.), grasshoppers and boiled angleworms (Barnett 1937:165). Deer meat was a major staple of the diet and was prepared in several ways. Fresh pieces of butchered game were wrapped in fir boughs for transport back to the village, where they were either boiled or cooked in an earth oven. The oven was described by Hoxie Simmons as follows:

Rocks were roasted in the fire and thrown into a pit, so that it was full of rocks. Then the meat is put over the rocks and over the meat something thick is laid over as a cover (Jacobs n.d.).

The left-over meat, grease, and blood obtained when butchering an elk or deer were sometimes packed into a deer "paunch" (i.e., stomach or intestines) to form a type of blood sausage. This was then cooked in hot ashes, sliced open and eaten (Jacobs n.d.). In the autumn months, deer and elk were taken in large numbers specifically for the purpose of drying meat for winter use. The only portion of the deer eaten at this time was the bones with meat adhering to them. This part of the kill was made into soup for immediate consumption; the remainder was smoke-dried (Jacobs n.d.). Dried elk meat was pulverized before storage (Barnett 1937:165). An important cultural practice in the disposition of butchered deer bones was recorded by Goddard (n.d.):

The Galice threw bones of deer away back in the brush somewhere, where a woman would not step over them. If a woman stepped over deer bones, the deer in the woods would get wild!

Salmon were roasted by the fire on spits, with two or three cross sticks spreading open the body of the fish. In the fall, quantities of salmon were dried, pulverized and stored for winter use (Jacobs n.d.; Barnett 1937:165). Salmon bones were thrown back into the river (Barnett 1937:167), and the entrails from the fish-cleaning process were handled in the following manner:

Galice threw salmon blood into the stream...they never left it any place. They always threw the slime or skin of a salmon into the stream, but only at nighttime. (Goddard n.d.).

Other riverine resources included salmon eggs, clams, mussels (Barnett 1937:164,166), and crawfish (Jacobs n.d.).

Fishing and Hunting Techniques. Fishing techniques for salmon were varied and imaginative. Among the methods employed were the previously mentioned basketry fish traps; dip-netting at falls in the river with a long, narrow-framed plunge net of the north-central California type (Drucker 1940:283; Jacobs n.d.); possibly the use of a fish poison (Drucker 1940:283; Barnett 1937:164); fishing with a line and baited sharp-angled fish hook (i.e., a wood or bone stem lashed to a pointed bone spur at an acute angle [Barnett 1937:164];) and spearing salmon during spawning season using a double

fore-shafted harpoon (Drucker 1940:283; Jacobs n.d.). An interesting embellishment to the spearing of salmon in shallow spawning riffles was the use of the "fishing shed".

For fishing salmon at the river, a shed is built at an eddy. The shed consists of fir boughs laid on two poles. The purpose of the structure is to cast a shadow over the water so that fish may be seen. Men sit there to spear salmon. After the salmon was speared, it was clubbed on the head. (Jacobs n.d.).

In addition to generalized fishing locations at spawning grounds and at falls, one geographically specific location was recorded: "Right at the mouth of the Applegate River there were a lot of people. That's where they were dip-netting salmon (Jacobs n.d.)." Among the Galice, rights to particular fishing sites passed from father to son or brother (Goddard n.d.).

In May, June, and July, deer were hunted with bow and arrow, the hunters using a deer head disguise (t'can'i) when stalking their prey (Jacobs n.d.; Drucker 1940:283). The Da-ku-be-te-de of the Applegate River drainage had their prime hunting grounds on the "big round mountain" Naattlntcha, near the headwaters of that river (Harrington 1981:45-46). From this hunting ground (probably in the area around Squaw Creek and Carberry Creek [Lalande n.d., p.c.]) they packed their kill back down to temporary encampments in the Upper Applegate Valley (Harrington 1981:445). During the fall hunting season, large numbers of deer were caught in order to ensure a winter supply of dried meat. Snaring the deer in elaborate traps was the favored technique. Due to its useful detail, the following description by Hoxie Simmons is quoted in its entirety:

Brush fences for snaring deer were about a mile in circumference. They were made by men only, not women and children. The fence had openings at certain spots which deer trails lead to. At the openings were the snares. About twenty snares were placed at openings in the fence. The fence was built around the east to west deer trails, since the deer come from east to west, but went back in October. When caught in a trap, the deer were killed by stabbing in the neck with a t'sandi-mia, "sharp bone". Everyone packed the meat back home (Jacobs n.d.).

After the kill, the deer were always gutted and hung up at or near the kill site. The meat was carried back to the village in either a deer's stomach or on fir boughs (Jacobs n.d.). The hides were then dressed by the men using scrapers of stone, mussel shell and/or wood. The hides were soaked in water to facilitate dehairing, after which they were cured using the brains of the deceased animal (Barnett 1937:165).

When hunting elk, head-type disguises and snares were not used. Instead, the elk were driven into a ravine or river and dispatched with bow and arrow (Jacobs n.d.; Barnett 1937:165).

Specially trained hunting dogs were used by the Galice to hunt grizzly bears. The dog pack would attack the bear, causing it to move around, while

the hunters perched safely in nearby trees taking shots with their bows and arrows (Jacobs n.d.). Hoxie Simmons described the preferred technique for shooting a grizzly bear: "One had to wait until the bear was standing erect, then try and place an arrow near the collarbone region or into the 'small floating ribs (Harrington 1981:108,110).'" Hunting grizzly bears must have tested the courage of many hunters, for it was said that ". . .if an Indian kills ten grizzly bears, then the grizzly is sure to kill the Indian (Harrington 1981:110)."

Smaller game and birds were taken in a number of ways. Burning brush to drive game (e.g., rabbits and larger mammals) was practiced; deadfall traps were used for both small mammals and larger game; spring snares were constructed with a bent-over branch; and fences of sticks were used along with snares to capture rabbits and quail (Barnett 1937:164).

Transportation and Trade. Until direct contact with Euro-Americans and the subsequent availability of the horse, the Galice/Applegate depended upon their own two legs for most travel. In fact, for the transport of goods, it was reported that a man could carry up to 150 pounds of food on his back for a considerable distance (Jacobs n.d.).

No specific references to river travel by the Applegate Athapascans were recorded; however, Frances Johnson did report that "Indians used to ferry across Applegate River with Indian canoes (Harrington 1981:435)." Due to the geography of Applegate territory (i.e., the generally shallow and rocky waterway), need for river transport was limited. For the wider and more navigable stretches of the Applegate and Rogue Rivers, canoes may indeed have been utilized.

The Galice Athapascans, whose principal village was located on the more navigable Rogue River, were reported to have used cedar dugout canoes characterized by blunted ends rising to a point (Barnett 1937:170). The interiors were furnished with carved seats, gunwales and foot braces and structurally supported with three or four cross braces. These canoes were hollowed by burning and scraping cedar logs, the final product then being finished by scorching the interior and exterior surfaces. The canoes were propelled by means of a single paddle which featured a splayed-butt grip and rounded paddle blade.

One of the principal recorded commodity exchanges of the Galice/Applegate involved trading furs for dentalium shells (Jacobs n.d.). The shells, which came from the coast of British Columbia (Harrington 1981:51), were prized as a medium of exchange as well as for their intrinsic beauty. During the contact period, animal hides were also exchanged with Hudson's Bay Company traders. "The Indians would trade the Hudson's Bay Company many hides for a hatchet. The Indians liked much to get a hatchet (Harrington 1981:50)." Hoxie Simmons also stated that by 1840 swords or large knives had come into the possession of local inhabitants through exchange with Euro-American fur traders (Jacobs n.d.). (The 1840 date is probably rather late. In 1827 Peter Ogden noted several items of Euro-American origin already in the possession of the Takelma.)

Archaeological data from site 35JA42 on the upper Applegate River also establishes the existence of a far-flung trading network. At this proto-historic house pit site, a small assemblage of historic artifacts was recovered. It included glass beads, one complete and one fragmentary glass projectile point and a fragment of a brass hinge (Brauner 1983:87). As to their acquisition by the Applegate group, "Whether the items were obtained directly from Europeans or were obtained through aboriginal trade networks is unknown (Brauner 1983:88)." In addition to the historic artifacts, a variety of exotic projectile points were also recovered during the excavation. Point styles from the lower and middle stretches of the Rogue River, as well as small triangular side-notched points (imported from the east) were part of the lithic tool kit of protohistoric people on the Applegate River (Brauner 1983:89). This use of possibly imported finished tools in the area had not been observed in earlier dated sites along the Applegate River and the reasons for this apparent shift to a more cosmopolitan outlook by the Applegate dwellers is so far unknown (Brauner 1983:89).

One item that was not valued as a medium of exchange by the Galice was the scalp of the redheaded woodpecker, although Hoxie Simmons noted that further south one hundred such scalps would buy a woman (Jacobs n.d.). Considered a "high" form of money were strings of clamshell disks; measured by arm-lengths (Barnett 1937:174).

Warfare and Weapons. Warfare was a fact of life for the Galice/Applegate. Hoxie Simmons mentioned occasions when the Applegate people, either alone or in alliance with the Shasta, fought with their neighbors in the Illinois Valley (Jacobs n.d.). Simmons also related the story of a time when the Klamaths from the east came to fight the Applegate people and subsequently enslaved several members of that group (Jacobs n.d.).

War was commonly waged against neighboring groups to avenge evil witchcraft or unadjusted injury and murder (Barnett 1937:186). Preceding a morning attack against the offending foe, an all night dance of incitement took place away from the village. Shamans participated in these dances by making death signs and by attempting to foretell who would be killed (Barnett 1937:186). War paint was either red or black and no doubt served the purposes of invoking spiritual assistance as well as striking terror into opponents.

An effective offensive tactic noted by Barnett (1937:187) was surprise attack upon an enemy's sweat house. This method of attack would have caught the opposing force not only concentrated in one location, but also perhaps in a languid stupor. However, certain rules of warfare must have been applicable, for in the Applegate/Shasta war with the Illinois Valley groups, women and children were not killed, although a number of them were enslaved (Jacobs n.d.).

When the Galice/Applegate were either expecting attack or going into battle, they wore elk skin armor (Jacobs n.d.). Barnett (1937:187) recorded the armor as a sleeveless one-piece gown with a hole for the head. Around the waist a wide rawhide belt was worn and the head may have been protected with an elkhide helmet. The best bows were made of yew; vine maple bows were considered inferior. The bows were apparently not sinew-backed as with the

Takelma, although like the Takelma the Galice painted their bows with decorative designs. Arrows with foreshafts were likewise painted for decoration and were tipped with points of both local cherts and imported obsidian. Men carried the arrows in a quiver of animal hide slung on their back. The only other mention of weaponry was of straight-stick war clubs (Barnett 1937:170).

One notable difference in style between the Galice Athapascans and the Takelma, in warfare as in hunting, was the position in which the bow was held. The Galice held the bow in a vertical position, with one end resting on the ground when the arrow was drawn to shoot (Goddard n.d., Barnett 1937:170). The Takelma held their bows in a horizontal release position. Whether this difference in style related to the technological function of the particular weapon system, and/or to some culturally transmitted behavior pattern, is unknown.

Games and Music. The Galice played shinny, or field hockey. Before a game the participants would practice a bit and lay their bets on the outcome of the contest. Strategy involved moving the ball up field, with another teammate following close behind as a guard, ready to "take the ball up" if the lead player missed his shot (Jacobs n.d.). The shinny ball was a round piece of wood; the playing sticks were approximately three feet long with a bend at the end (Goddard n.d.). Boys and women played a similar game, although the "ball" was actually two sticks tied together with a cord (Barnett 1937:175).

The Galice not only wagered on shinny games but also gambled on a "stick" game called da'lyi. Hoxie Simmons described it as:

. . . a game in which one foot long sticks, 100 to 150 of them are used. Of these sticks there is one 'ace' which is bigger in the middle and black for two inches in the middle. This game is not played by women; they help by singing. One man plays at a time but there is a row of them on each side . . . one group of players (one side) fix the 'game bed' thus challenging their host. It is answering etiquette that he must play with them; he doesn't dare refuse (Jacobs n.d.).

In this story, a man not only bet his money but his wife and two children as well (Jacobs n.d.). The winners of a gambling match would share their winnings with rich and poor alike (Jacobs n.d.).

Closely associate with da'lyi was a stick guessing game song, da'lyi-da'lyi. This game song was not intended for gambling, but merely for entertainment. According to Hoxie Simmons ". . . all the Galice/Applegate sang this song; this type of game was played from Galice through Takelma, up to Shasta people (Jacobs n.d.)." Other games recorded by Barnett (1937:175) included jacks (played with stones), cat's cradle, throwing sticks at a stake, throwing a wooden spear at a stake, and flicking mud balls from the end of a springy stick.

Musical instruments used by the Galice were the deer hoof rattle, and the drum. The rattle was used to keep time in the dance ceremony celebrating a

young woman's maturation (Drucker 1940:284) as well as in gambling songs (Barnett 1937:174). The drum, be'ida, was a large (two feet in diameter) round-hooped device, with a head of elkskin. It was held on the ground on its side, and played with a drum stick, the bat'a'lgal. The drum was played during the gambling 'stick' game and for various other dances (Jacobs n.d.). Like their Takelma neighbors, the Galice played a flute. According to Barnett's (1937:174) informants the flute was a six-holed instrument made from the stalk of a wild parsnip. It was held to the side while the player blew at the edge of one end. Songs were sung on many occasions, but specific mention was made only of songs relating to gambling and war (Jacobs n.d.).

Settlement Patterns

Habitations. Informant descriptions of Galice family dwellings have been recorded in some detail by Barnett (1937:161-2). Although there is a measure of disagreement between Hoxie Simmons and Nettie West over architectural style and detail (as noted by Drucker 1940:283), the similarities between their descriptions far outnumber the differences. Both informants recalled the family habitations as excavated (or semi-subterranean) wooden structures with a post and beam framing system. Posts at each corner were connected by beams, with additional posts on each end and in the center of the house which served to support a single ridgepole. The roof was a two-pitch design, covered with planks which allowed for an adjustable smoke hole. The houses had low door entrances on the ground level which were round. Doorways were located to one side of a center end post and were generally oriented to the east or south. A sliding plank door closed off the entryway.

Differences in housing descriptions between the accounts recorded concern the degree of structural refinement and the nature of material used for exterior siding. Hoxie Simmons described the structures as either half or full bark-covered walls with the remaining earth walls covered with woven mats. Nettie West, on the other hand, recalled that the exterior siding was split planks (Barnett 1937:161). This difference in the degree of exterior refinement is perhaps best explained as the architectural reflection of wealth and status, the ruder bark/earth construction belonging to the poorer members of the group, while the more labor-intensive plank-walled structures were affordable only by the wealthier classes, as with the neighboring Takelma.

A ladder of alder wood led down into the house (Goddard n.d.), onto a mat-covered earthen floor which sloped towards a "squarish" fire pit in the center of the structure (Goddard n.d., Barnett 1937:162). Furnishings consisted of storage racks located overhead and around the walls on raised planks; beds of either a pole-frame design or suspended planks; mat or hid partitions screening off the sleeping area of young girls; and stools of cylindrical blocks which were only used by men (Barnett 1937:161-2). Jacobs (n.d.) noted that it was customary for older members of the family to sleep close to the hearth, while younger people slept in the corners of the house. Pitch torches were an additional part of the domestic inventory kept within the house (Jacobs n.d., Goddard n.d.), while firewood was stacked outside under the eaves of the house (Barnett 1937:161).

The archaeological excavation of site 35JA42 added supporting data to what is known about family dwellings during the proto-historic period in the Applegate River drainage. Houses at this site were semi-subterranean to a depth of approximately 20 to 25 centimeters, the excavated area being 4.5 to 5.5 meters in diameter (Brauner 1983:19,35,53). Although the subsurface depressions were saucer-shaped, the remains of the superstructure indicated a rectangular design for the house, with walls constructed of vertical incense-cedar planks that had bark remaining on one surface (Brauner 1983:56,87). The fire hearths were centrally positioned and roughly "squarish".

Based on the distribution of artifacts and features within the excavated house-pits, Brauner (1983) concluded that entrances were located generally in the northwest or west walls and that, within the interior, several discrete activity areas could be postulated. These areas included a primary food-processing place in the northwest quadrant near the entrance of each house, general work areas in the southwest and northeast quadrants, and a sleeping or storage area in the southeast quadrant (Brauner 1983:86,87).

Associated with the family dwellings were individual winter drying structures. The drying shed was constructed on ground level and was of a bark-sided, gable-roof design with a mat or grass door (Barnett 1937:162). Precisely what was dried within these structures is not recorded; however, vegetable crops, fish, and game are the most logical possibilities. It was said that these structures were not used for storage.

The sweathouse was a separate structure within the village and a considerable amount of information has been recorded describing its construction and function. Drucker (1940:283) reported it to be ". . . a small crude affair consisting of a gabled roof over an unplanked pit," and only used sporadically. Hoxie Simmons related to Jacobs (n.d.) a rather more detailed account:

The men's sweat house was semi-subterranean. Slats were put over its framework above ground and then dirt. It was made in various sizes, some for a community of twenty, some for ten and some for only five. The smoke hole was at the side of the structure. None went in when they built the fire, only when the coals were glowing. No water was thrown on the coals. They had a dry sweat only, just cooking coals. They slept in there all night on fir bough beds.

Entry into the sweathouse was through a below-surface doorway closed to the outside with a hanging mat. A tunnel-like trench provided a fresh air draft (Barnett 1937:162-3). To heat the sweathouse, the Galice collected and bundled little sticks of hardwood which they then burned in a round pit in the corner of the structure (Jacobs n.d., Barnett 1937:162). The resulting coals would ". . . keep three or four men who slept there warm all night (Jacobs n.d.)." After sweating, the men would take a swim (Jacobs n.d.). Men would use the sweathouse for minor curing and purification purposes, for prayer and for singing hunting and gambling songs. Regular nightly use of the sweathouse for a sleeping abode for the men apparently was not a feature of Galice society (Barnett 1937:163).

Generally speaking the women did not sweat bathe. "For them it was poison and a bad omen for women to sweat (Jacobs n.d.)." If a woman was trying to "get a power" (i.e., training to become a shaman), she would build a "beehive" sweathouse (Jacobs n.d.). This may have been similar to the temporary structures described for Takelma women.

An interesting discovery during excavation of site 35JA42 was evidence of what may have been a menstrual hut. Although use of this kind of structure was specifically denied in the ethnographic account of the Galice (Barnett 1937:181), Brauner makes a persuasive argument for its existence at this site based on the size, location and artifact assemblage recovered from the floor of one structure (Brauner 1983:82).

Summer dwellings, like those of the Takelma, consisted of brush or grass walled shelters with a flat roof of fir boughs surrounding a centrally located campfire (Jacobs n.d., Barnett 1937:162).

The Community. The number of structures and inhabitants within a village varied from site to site. "Applegate and other villages consisted of only two to ten houses (Jacobs n.d.)." Hoxie Simmons also noted that communal sweat houses were built to accommodate community (male) populations of between five and twenty persons (Jacobs n.d.), and that there could be several sweathouses in a village (Barnett 1937:163). The Galice village of Talda'cdan, located on both sides of the Rogue River at the mouth of Galice Creek, may have been one of the larger villages, as was perhaps the Applegate village of La'kho-ve (Harrington 1981:347) or Da'ku tee (Jacobs n.d.), situated near the mouth of the Applegate River.

However, villages could be very small. An example would be the four house pits excavated at site 35JA42, which were arranged in a linear configuration, paralleling the bank of the Applegate River. Brauner (1983:85-6) concluded that only a single house was built and occupied at any one time; therefore, the population of this "village" would have been limited to the number of persons who could have lived in one structure, probably one extended family.

The spatial arrangement of the various structures within the village is, as yet, little understood. The archaeological excavation at 35JA42 provided limited information on spatial configuration due to the apparent occupation by a single small group. The only reference to intrasite structure location is a statement by Hoxie Simmons that sweathouses were often located in hillsides (Barnett 1937:162). If this was indeed the fact, then depending upon the terrain in the vicinity of a particular village, sweathouses may not have necessarily been located within close proximity of the family dwellings.

The Region. The regional settlement pattern, at least for the Applegate group, alternated between upland economic pursuits and the exploitation of riverine resources. In all, there were perhaps only three permanent winter villages in the Applegate drainage (Jacobs n.d.) and none of them were on the Rogue River (Goddard n.d.). During early autumn (i.e., September), the Applegate "stayed in a summer camp at the foot of the mountain to snare deer (Jacobs n.d.)." Earlier in the year, at the mouth of the Applegate ". . .

there were a lot of people. That's where they were dipnetting salmon . . . that time they lived in a summer camp (Jacobs n.d.)."

The fall hunting ground of the Applegate centered on a "round mountain" called Naattlntcha (Harrington 1981:48). Near or on that mountain were two lakes, either what are known today as Squaw Lake or possibly Azalea and Lonesome lakes, located at the head of the Butte Fork of the Applegate River (Lalande 1984:3-4). Additional evidence for the exploitation of game and vegetable resources in the highlands of the Applegate drainage has been provided by a series of archaeological test excavations carried out in the summer of 1982. Artifacts from these upland sites strongly resembled the lithic tools from permanent winter sites along the banks of the Applegate River. The uplands contain a wide variety of potentially edible roots, seeds and nuts (see Appendix 3) which would have been available to the areas' inhabitants (Nicholls et al. 1983:91).

Very little detail has been recorded on the regional settlement patterns of the Galice. Except for the village of Talda'cdan at the confluence of Galice Creek and the Rogue River, specific reference to Galice place names is limited to the few collected by Goddard in 1904 (see Appendix 1). No explanations were given concerning these place names; however, it is probable that the Galice followed a seasonal subsistence pattern similar to that of the Takelma and the Applegate group, and therefore would have had summer camps for various upland economic pursuits, retiring to their principal village of Talda'cdan for the winter.

Social Organization

The social organization of the Galice/Applegate groups was evidently structure along the same lines as that of other culture groups in the area. The village was the primary socio-political unit, with residents of each village designated by the village name (Barnett 1937:185). Leadership within the group was determined by wealth, with a majority of the males related in some degree to the headman of the village (Drucker 1940:283). In fact Barnett (1937:196) stated that "the village is essentially a group of male relatives and their wives, bound together by blood and common interest."

The headman or "chief" of a group (more than one "chief" was possible within a village [Barnett 1937:185]) wielded substantial power. It was his responsibility to decide on and direct warfare; to arbitrate village disputes; and in general, to defend and support members of his village (Barnett 1937:185). Leaders derived their power not only from their wealth, but also from the force of their personality. No man could hold a leadership position without at least the tacit approval of his charges (Barnett 1937:186).

According to Hoxie Simmons, members of the village specialized in the skilled tasks of daily life. Hunting, fishing, and activities such as canoe building were directed or carried out by the most skilled in these professions. The economic structure of the village combined features of individual ownership and communal property. Fishing places and tobacco patches were privately owned, while fishing dams were owned by their builders

and available to others on a share basis. Land, whether for hunting, or for house-building within the village, was open to all. A community spirit prevailed in house-building, with reciprocity of labor the only expectation (Barnett 1937:185-6).

Jacobs (n.d.) recorded a few notes concerning the enculturation of young males into adult Galice society. At the age of five, a boy would begin hunting small birds with his bow and arrow, and by age twelve, when considered a "little man", he would be preying on rabbits. Young boys seldom walked; they trotted or ran from place to place. Hoxie Simmons also stated that during a boy's training period (between eight and fourteen) he was sent out into the hills at night; he climbed hills and swam in fearsome spots; all in addition to sweats and fasts (Barnett 1937:182). Males reached maturity at seventeen or eighteen, and a man was considered young until the age of thirty (Jacobs n.d.).

Slavery. Slavery was a part of social reality for the Galice/Applegate peoples. In a war between Applegate/Shasta and Illinois groups, the victors (in this instance the Applegate/Shasta) enslaved some of the Illinois women and children (Jacobs n.d.). Hoxie Simmons also recalled an occasion when the Applegate people were victims of a raid by the Klamaths, resulting in the enslavement of two women, two children, and one young man (Jacobs n.d.). The Klamaths were said to have employed their male slaves in heavy labor, packing meat, and fetching wood and water. Female slaves were "made to do a lot of root digging (Jacobs n.d.)." According to both Hoxie Simmons and Nettie West the Galice did not hold slaves (Barnett 1937:185).

Law. There are only brief and tangential references to the legal system practiced by the Galice. Drucker (1940:283), referring to the influence wielded by "chiefs", noted that "It was he who paid and accepted wergild for his poor kinsmen." Hoxie Simmons and Nettie West stated that the headman was arbitrator in village disputes and received a share of the adjustment (Barnett 1937:185). Likewise, the practice of settling war disputes between villages was based upon the concept of compensation for injuries and/or property damage inflicted during battle. Neutral intermediaries (who were good talkers) settled claims made by the warring parties (Barnett 1937:187). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the system of justice for the Galice/Applegate centered around the demand and payments of bloodmoney as in the Takelma system.

Ceremonies

Birth. The birth of a child was occasion for a feast and gift giving to relatives, who in exchange, brought presents to the new-born child. The formulist or "priest" officiated at a riverside baptismal ritual held five or ten days after birth, probably very similar to that of the Takelma. For the time between birth and the baptismal ceremony both the father and mother observed certain restrictions. The mother was confined to her house and forbidden fresh food and cold water. The father would spend this same time in the sweat house praying and observing taboos on hunting, fishing, and the consumption of fresh meat. Infants were named for a deceased relative, but

were not given their name until either a few months or years after birth (Barnett 1937:177-79).

Puberty. A public ceremony was held to celebrate a girl's first menses, the time when she was first considered a woman. The principal ritual of this affair was a round dance in which singing men and women held hands and surrounded the robe-covered initiate (Jacobs n.d., Drucker 1940:284). Dancing was accompanied by the beat of deerhoof rattles, with the dance continuing nightly during the ten days of the celebration (Drucker 1940:284). The dance was repeated for each of the girl's first five menstruations. It should be noted that the round dance was performed on other occasions as well (Jacobs n.d.).

For the length of the young woman's coming-of-age ceremony, she followed rules and restrictions governing her diet, dress and behavior. She was forbidden to eat fresh meat or berries; cold water was also taboo. Meals were taken only before sunup and once again before sundown. Prior to eating she would apply red face paint. In general her behavior during this period could be described as reclusive or perhaps meditative. She was allowed little sleep and refrained as much as possible from conversation. She avoided the central fire hearth and was forbidden to look at either the sun or her companions. Daily bathing in a river and the use of a personal drinking cup were also part of the ritual routine. The young woman wore a buckskin dress and a blue jay visor along with her personal valuables, for all to see her wealth. A deerskin blanket was used to cover her head whenever she ventured out of the house (Barnett 1937:180-81).

Marriage. No marriage ceremony as such was recorded in the ethnographic literature. Marriage was an exchange process between families which served to encourage alliances and functioned to preserve or improve status and wealth. The bride price was a matter for negotiation by an intermediary, with subsequent gift exchange on the wedding day. Marriages between villages were preferred, although it was permissible to marry within the village if the couple were not related. Polygyny was optional, with the first wife retaining her position as head of the household. Other marriage rules practiced by the Galice included the levirate, whereby a woman married the brother of her deceased husband; and the sororate, where a widower married a sister of his deceased wife (Barnett 1937:176-77).

Death. Upon the death of a village member, friends and family would gather for a night of mourning which alternated between crying and comforting the bereaved. The corpse was taken from the house through the wall or roof and prepared for burial. The body was washed, then wrapped in a deerskin and buried in either a flexed or extended position with the head aligned to the west (Barnett 1937:182). The dead would normally be interred in a graveyard where "people always put stakes at the head of the grave (Jacobs n.d.)." Money and valuables, as well as gifts from relatives, were buried with the body for the soul of the deceased to wear in spirit world dances (Barnett 1937:183). If a person died some distance from the village the body was cremated and the bones returned home for burial (Jacobs n.d.).

Private mourning replaced public ritual in expressing sorrow for the loss of a spouse. Widows would "cut their hair and put on pitch (Jacobs n.d.)." Similarly, a widower would put pitch in his hair and on his face for a period of six to twelve months (Jacobs n.d.).

Subsistence. Ceremonies relating to subsistence and significant domestic activities included a house completion ceremony, a canoe launching ritual (accompanied by a feast), a first acorn/berry rite and a first salmon ceremony (Barnett 1937: 162,170,193). The first salmon rite was reported to consist ". . . of the recitation of a formula and the ceremonial feeding of each of the spectators by the priest (Drucker 1940:284)." It may well be that the Applegate group practiced similar ceremonies, but no such record exists.

Wealth-Display. The Galice staged a wealth display ceremony or "good time" dance usually in the winter (Barnett 1937:192). Drucker (1940:284) described it as similar to the performance given by the Athapaskan Tolowa on the Pacific Coast (for a detailed account of the Tolowa wealth display ceremony, see Drucker 1940:264-5). In general, it was an occasion to get together, dance, sing, tell stories and show off items of wealth and prestige. The celebration among the Galice was sponsored by a wealthy man of the village and generally lasted but one night; if another village were invited the festivities might continue for a second night (Barnett 1937:192). Dancing to the music of deer hoof rattles and skin drums took various forms: the men would dance with their hunting equipment (e.g. quiver, bow and arrows, small hafted blades); there was a knife dance featuring agility and precision of movement on the part of a man and woman; and dances that imitated the actions of animals and hunters (Barnett 1937:192). All of the dancing was in fact a means of displaying wealth. Participants would dress in their finest garments and adorn themselves with red and white face paint, woodpecker headbands and eagle feathers in their hair. Women wore their finest buckskin dresses and wrapped money strings (dentalia) on their upper bodies (Barnett 1937:193). The wealth display ceremony merged status competition with a thankfulness for the abundance of nature and an opportunity for all to enjoy a significant social event.

Religion

Shamanism. Shamans gained their power for good or evil through a guardian spirit. In order to acquire a guardian spirit, the prospective shaman, usually a young woman, went through a training period which was followed by a formal ten day initiation. During this ten day period the novice would fast and spend the nights dancing, directed by older shamans. It was during this period that the shaman's guardian spirit would appear to the novice and "shoot a 'pain' into her/him (Drucker 1940:283, Barnett 1937:188-89)." An old shaman would then announce the kind of power the novice had received. Those who received the grizzly bear or rattlesnake as a guardian spirit were likely to do evil, although the rattlesnake spirit was capable of curing snake bites (Barnett 1937:190).

Sickness was believed to be caused by "pains" given to the sufferer by an evil shaman. In order to cure sickness a shaman was retained by the patient's family. Through a combination of herbal medicines, chants, dances and

sleight-of-hand, the treating shaman was able to identify the evil "pain" and remove it from the patient. The "pain" was then either destroyed or, at the option of the kin, returned to its sender (Barnett 1937:191).

Formulists. Considered even more powerful in Galice society than shamans was a class of "priest" whose power was derived through a knowledge of formulas (Drucker 1940:284). Hoxie Simmons stated that "the formulist is expected and does know the identity of something mysterious and supernatural (Jacobs n.d.)." According to Barnett's (1937:197) information, formulists (or ritualists) differed from shamans both in function and in the manner in which they acquired their power. The primary duty of the formulist was the recitation of appropriate ritual words in all situations which involved a formal religious procedure (e.g., first salmon rites, life crises, purifications). The recitations often recounted the origin and history of the particular ceremony. Acquisition of the formulist's knowledge was through learning, unlike shamans, whose power was revealed through the supernatural.

The Galice formulists appear to differ from the S-omloholxa's of the Takelma. They possessed a greater power than shamans but did not have a "dream power (Drucker 1940:284)." Formulists also had the ability or disposition to inflict suffering upon mere mortals in contrast to the S-omloholxa's, whose guardian spirit directed punishment towards evil shamans. An example of the punishment power the Galice formulists were believed to possess is the following story related to Jacobs (n.d.) by Hoxie Simmons:

Circa 1800-1810, a man (Takelma) whose family has been captured as slaves by the Shasta, goes to a formulist (a relative). After the men smoke a while, the formulist goes to an oak tree and hits it five times and prays. Two grizzly bears crawl out of a small place in the oak. He tells the grizzlies (addressing them as my pets) to chew up the Shastas in their own village. A few days later came news of how grizzlies slaughtered all but a few of the Shastas. That's the way a few of the formulists performed.

Beliefs. Some beliefs of the Galice culture were only tangentially connected with the subject of religion.

It is unclear whether the following description of obtaining power related only to the practice of shamanism or if it was a technique that could have been utilized by the average person.

One way to get power is to dig a place in the gravel of a stream and lay there in the water naked with only his head above water for an hour or so in the evening. In the daytime he gathers the grass for rope. With this rope he makes snares with which he successfully pursues game, 'something' has taken pity upon him. Thus he becomes rich. (Jacobs n.d.)

Among the Galice, wolves were regarded as friends and allies. They possessed the human emotion of revenge and would retaliate for the death of one of their species by killing the guilty human or by stealing a child from the village (Drucker 1940:284).

People would extract the teeth from a steelhead fish and ask questions of the teeth (Goddard n.d.).

It was customary for the elders to only tell stories in the winter for it was believed that if stories were told in the summertime the result would be snake bites (Jacobs n.d.).

CONCLUSIONS

For many years, research into the prehistory of southwestern Oregon lay dormant. After brief activity during the 1930s (Cressman's excavation at Gold Hill) it was not until the late 1970s that research into the region's prehistory again intensified. Ironically the almost frenetic pace of this local archaeological work in recent years has given rise to the need for us to pause and address the following questions: 1) what is known? 2) what is still unknown? and 3) what are the possibilities for future research? Future research goals need to be based upon an understanding of the aboriginal way of life as recorded during the ethnographic period. Research needs to examine the role of inter-group relationships, as well as cultural change through time.

The disciplines of ethnography and archaeology are complementary, and when integrated they expand our knowledge of past lifeways while focusing attention on areas where future study is needed. The ethnographic accounts and proto-historic archaeological data summarized in this study have contributed significant information. They also raise new questions concerning the role of aboriginal culture and its change through time and propose directions for future research as well.

Territoriality

The issue of territoriality among the culture groups of the region has received considerable discussion in this study because the data not only attract our attention to the geographic extent and linguistic differentiation of the Takelma but also suggest hypotheses which will require further testing. The previously unpublished informant testimony recorded in the field notes of Harrington and Jacobs has, I believe, laid to rest the dispute over the territorial boundary between the Shasta and Upland Takelma. Shasta presence in the southern portion of the Bear Creek Valley has been postulated before (see Sapir 1907a, Lalande n.d.), and the addition of specific place name detail and accounts of ethnohistoric activities buttress this position. What remains to be investigated is the nature and duration of Shasta settlement patterns in Oregon, and the relationships and cultural influences which existed among the Shasta, Takelma and neighboring Athapascans. The few references that exist on the subject of inter-group relations suggest an enmity between the Shasta and Takelma but a degree of cooperation and alliance between the Shasta and Applegate peoples. Investigations of the development and extent of these relationships may provide insight into questions of cultural differentiation and development in the region.

Another substantive territorial boundary issue resulting from the analysis and synthesis of material from the ethnographic accounts is my hypothesis that Lowland Takelma territory did not extend south of the Rogue River to the crest of the Siskiyou between the mouths of the Applegate and Illinois Rivers. Thus the Applegate and Galice Athapascans should no longer be viewed as isolated linguistic groups surrounded by the Takelma, but can, in fact, be seen as the easternmost extension of Athapaskan speaking people whose combined territories extended from the Pacific Ocean to the upper Applegate River drainage. Although admittedly, the evidence for this claim is circumstantial, it does suggest a hypothesis which could be tested through archaeological and ethnographical cross-cultural comparisons. If, in the future, an appropriate proto-historic site were documented in this "disputed area" south of the Rogue River, the recovered assemblage of artifacts could form the basis for comparison with the data from site 35JA42, an identified proto-historic Athapaskan settlement in the upper Applegate Valley. Additional comparisons could be based on ethnographic information which documents differences between the cultural practices of the Athapascans and the Takelma.

Cultural practices evident in Athapaskan but absent in Lowland Takelma settlements include: a more pronounced reliance upon upland game; the use of a "dry" sweathouse; the existence of a wealth display ceremony; and the use of a ceremonial drum. Although the example of dietary preferences between the groups may reflect environmental conditions, not cultural patterning, the other examples of cultural differences may be evident in the archaeological record. What is critically absent is a comparative Takelma assemblage from the proto-historic time period. In the absence of such comparative data from a controlled excavation, perhaps photographic compilation and scientific evaluation of private artifact collections in the area would prove useful. Such a project would determine if there were significant or diagnostic attributes evident in either the style or manufacturing techniques of lithic tools. Although such an approach is obviously no substitute for controlled excavation (and its resulting contextual information), local private collections do require more scrutiny.

Discovering the existence of a third dialect group of Takelma, the Han-ne-sakh, or "Northern Takelma," was a surprising dividend of this synthesis, and it helps to clarify aboriginal settlement in the upper Rogue River area. Unfortunately, only the existence of this dialect group was noted, and none, if any, of its distinctive cultural features were documented. As it happens, archaeological research may provide the missing answers. The presumed territory of the Northern Takelma lies partially within the Rogue River National Forest, and ongoing archaeological survey work in the Forest will continue to add to the available data base of that region, as will the results from archaeological excavations in the Elk Creek Dam project area. Comparison of the ethnographic material brought together in this study with similar data on the cultures bordering on the Ha-ne-sakh territory may be of value in interpreting recovered cultural material, determining cultural affiliation, and assessing factors which influenced cultural development.

Settlement Patterns

Due in part to archaeological research in the Applegate Valley, the amount of useable data now available concerning the residential structures occupied by the Takelma and Galice/Applegate has been greatly expanded. This holds true as well for the specifics of regional settlement patterns, thanks to the place name and site location information compiled by Harrington and others (see Appendix 1).

One topic on which there is still comparatively scant information concerns settlement patterns on the community level. At one extreme, site 35JA42 indicates a "village" of one structure, housing perhaps an extended family. At the other extreme is the report of the unusually large village of Dilomi, near the falls on the Rogue River above Gold Hill. The large size of the houses at this latter site, reported by Peter Ogden (as well as its large population noted in other accounts), indicates a wide variability in community size for the groups in the regions.

The ethnographic record makes a contribution toward understanding this variability in settlement patterns. It is reported that in the Athapascan-controlled territory, population density was fairly low. There were few villages, perhaps only three in the entire Applegate Valley, and the community size ranged between two and ten structures. Not incongruently, sweathouses were reportedly built to accommodate from five to twenty males (age eight and up). These two sets of data are fairly consistent, and would indicate an average Athapascan village size of perhaps four or five families.

The Upland Takelma village of Dilomi, on the other hand was spoken of by informants as an unusually large community. It may have been of such large size due only to its location near a prime economic resource (i.e., the excellent salmon fishing falls of Ti'lo mikh). However, the existence of this large village raises several questions: 1) What was the level of socio-political organization necessary for a community of that size? 2) Was this the only village site with a large population and relatively sophisticated architecture in the region? 3) Was the social and technological level of the Takelma sufficient to support a population density greater than that of their Athapascan neighbors (or were the ethnohistoric Athapascans perhaps the victims of Euro-American epidemic disease that reduced their numbers during the period of record? Additional archaeological evidence may yet provide some of the answers; however, twentieth century land-use patterns have either destroyed or placed under private ownership most of the potential Takelma village sites. Evidence from recent archaeological testing at a relatively undisturbed site near Jacksonville (Winthrop and Winthrop 1983), within the ethnographic territory of the Upland Takelma, has revealed the existence of a late prehistoric component; it may some day add to our understanding of Takelma community settlement patterns.

Subsistence Activities

The ethnographic and historical literature provides a basis from which to evaluate cultural patterning and ecological adaptations in the archaeological record. The ethnographically known seasonal subsistence patterns have been shown to be more complex than a mere yearly round of "winters in the river valley and summers in the uplands." Evidence provided by Ogden of the winter village of Dilomi, together with Molly Orton's statements regarding salmon fishing during the summer at the same location, indicate that the Upland Takelma, at least, placed a heavy reliance on riverine resources. Yet Drucker (1940:294) noted that the Upland Takelma derived ". . . most of their sustenance by hunting and gathering" and that fishing was of less importance. This evidence is not necessarily contradictory; however, it does serve to suggest the intensive utilization of the region's available food resources, as well as the complexity of seasonal subsistence patterns.

The dietary proclivities of the Applegate peoples have been expanded and clarified by this ethnographic synthesis. Faunal remains from the excavation of site 35JA42 reflect a dependence upon upland game, primarily deer, and a notable absence of fish bone or tools associated with fishing activities (Brauner n.d., p.c.). The information recorded by Harrington and Jacobs matches very well with the conclusions drawn from site 35JA42 and documents the Applegate Indians large-scale efforts to secure deer and elk in sufficient quantity to be smoke-dried and stored for winter use. Fishing was of secondary importance at 35JA42, and most likely was pursued seasonally and downriver from the excavated site (i.e., at the mouth of the Applegate River).

Dip-netting of salmon was the technique ethnographically employed at this downriver location which could explain the lack of harpoon points, net weights and fish hooks in the archaeological deposits at 35JA42. Additionally, the Galice Athapascans, at least, observed the cultural practice of throwing salmon waste products (i.e., skin and blood) back into the river, thus returning some of the evidence of salmon consumption to the waters from which the fish came.

Ethnographic practices in hunting techniques, butchering of game, the disposition of butchered bones and the preparation of food have been described in this synthesis. Each set of observations has an application, not only in the interpretation of archaeological sites but also for site-location purposes. Elk were generally driven into ravines and dispatched with bow and arrow; primary butchering occurred at or near kill sites; the long bones of butchered deer were thrown out of the pathway of women in order to avoid making the deer wild; meat, camas bulbs and sugar pine nuts were cooked in earth pit ovens. These are some of the subsistence practices which should have left some evidence in the archaeological record.

Society and Religion

In the area of beliefs and social practices, perhaps the most productive avenue for future research will be in the comparative study of religious beliefs and ceremonies, language structure and mythology. For example, this study has given evidence of two differences that existed between the Takelma and Galice/Applegate cultures in regard to the practice of religion and the importance of wealth.

There appears to have been a fundamental difference in the power and influence wielded by the Galice formulists and the Takelma S-omloholxa's. Although both figures were considered distinct from shamans, the Galice formulists were more powerful than shamans, did not necessarily have a dream power, and were used as instruments of revenge against personal enemies. The Takelma S-omloholxa's were much more benign, and protected the Takelma from the evil doings of their own shamans. The wealth display ceremony of the Galice apparently was not duplicated in Takelma society (Sapir 1907b:33), even though both societies were stratified according to wealth. In the absence of fuller ethnohistorical data relating to the antecedents of both the wealth display ceremony and the formulist/ S-omloholxa's complex, future understanding of such phenomena must necessarily be expanded by cross-cultural comparisons.

The foregoing discussion presents a few possible research questions. The orientation of other researchers will determine the value of this work for their questions and goals. We need not confine future archaeological efforts only to questions of chronology and site function. Although these are primary concerns, we now possess sufficient information on regional ethnography to enter a new era of anthropological research in southwestern Oregon. Thus, while continuing to ask questions about affiliation, we can also begin to pose and answer questions dealing with cultural pattern and change.

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APPENDIX 1

ABORIGINAL PLACE NAMES, NATURAL FEATURES AND VILLAGE
SITES OF THE UPPER ROGUE RIVER DRAINAGE

The following aboriginal place names and site location data have been compiled from the various accounts and field notes cited in this study. Where two or more spellings of the same name occur, the authority for each follows the specific notation. Phonetic pronunciation symbols used by the ethnographers have been omitted; however, the original syllabic spacing has been retained. Following the ethnographic information pertaining to each specific place name, in brackets, is my interpretation of that particular location. The numbers which precede each place name refer to the place name location maps for each culture group (see Figures 6, 7, and 8).

Upper Takelma

1. T'akaw: "Jackson Hot Springs Lake. Used to be a poison lake, it drained slowly into the river [Bear Creek], but Americans dug a ditch and drained it." ". . . But never drank the water of Jackson Hot Springs, only bathed in it (Harrington 1981:754,719).

[Obviously a reference to Jackson Hot Springs near the northern city limits of Ashland. The latter quote may refer to the Euro-American usage of the springs, not the aboriginal.]

2. Lat-gau or Lat-gauk: "Eastern most village of the Takelma beyond Table Rock 'upper country' . . . another name for the village of Lat-gauk was La-waya 'knife in belly', referring doubtless to the warlike character of the inhabitants (Sapir 1907a:255)."

[Probable location in the vicinity of Talent/Ashland]

3. Lath'kawkh: "Grizzly Peak." "The little red hill in Ashland." "From the stockyards at Ashland we looked across Bear Creek to the east and saw a range of high barish hills stretched out in front of us. The reddish peak straight across from us is Lath'kawkh." "Means front of person (Harrington 1981:728,808,751,871)."

4. Tan-ts'atseniphtha: "Means stone stand up . . . Archie's wife told Molly [Orton] that there is a stone standing up Ashland-ward of Yreka . . . Molly has never seen it." "In Frances Johnson's dialect [i.e., Lowland Takelma], Tan-xtirukhan-tha." "Still further to the left of Ashland Peak we see Pilot Rock and she [Molly Orton] at once recognizes it and gives some name for it that she gave before ending Kantstak, which convinces me [Harrington] that this is a real old name (Harrington 1981:697,730)."

[Pilot Rock on the Siskiyou divide, east of Mt. Ashland]

5. Pa'kaythkam: "The result of an hour's questioning on whether Table Mountain or Henry Mountain is pa'kaythkam, is that she was taught the name from the Ashland side, therefore knows it to be the grassy slopes of the western side of Mt. Henry." ". . . Is a high mountain it is hooked towards Yreka, sort of flat on top . . . is the furthestest south of a long chain of mountains beginning with Table Rock." "A mountain towards California from Ashland, east of the depot at Ashland (Harrington 1981:716,711,698)."

[Mostly likely the present day Greensprings Mountain and surrounding area.]

6. Ti-nth: "The mountain where the Klamath Lake highway goes, the mountain just south of Lath'kawkh." Ti-nth is on the east slope of the mountains, behind Lath'kawkh." Ti-nth is on the east side of Paulsen ridge (Harrington 1981:696,714,716)."

[Lalonde puts Ti-nth in the vicinity of Howard-Prairie Reservoir (Lalonde 1984:14). The general area referred to is the area south and east of Grizzly Peak at the summit of Dead Indian Road.]

7. Ts'iyaw: "Was a small flat, a camas field and springs coming from rocks, no cottonwoods there, not a big plain such as Buck Prairie." "Ts'iyaw is behind Pa'kaythkam." "Ts'iyaw is on east side of Paulsen Ridge." "Ts'iyaw is a timbered place at the east foot of Pa'kaythkam." "Ts'iyaw and Pa'kaythkam were close together (Harrington 1981:712, 714, 716, 703, 711)."

[A camas gathering area, likely located in the vicinity of Table Mountain, at the summit of Dead Indian Road, east of Ti-nth.]

8. Tatonth: "Name of a poison lake or a very cold spring that comes out on a mountain top somewhere near this lake . . . on the west side of Paulsen divide, midway between Lath'kawkh and Pa'kaythkam, and halfway between Bear Creek and the summit (Harrington 1981:715, 722)."

[Unable to locate with precision, however in the general area of the southern aspect of Grizzly Peak, midway between the floor of Bear Creek Valley and Dead Indian ridge [i.e., Paulsen divide?]; which side of Dead Indian Road is unclear. There are a number of small lakes and ponds on the slope southeast of Grizzly Peak.]

9. So-ytanakh, also So-ytanak: "A mountain east of Table Rock." "A little black mountain to the left of Mt. Pitt when viewed from west of Jacksonville . . . So-ytanakh cave is at foot of a little mountain behind which a higher mountain rises." "Says that So-ytanakh is Butte Creek--is a mountain at head of Butte Creek--was her [Molly Orton] father's place. Molly says it means rock house. Frances Johnson says it means corner." "Says this So-ytanakh was a stone house with the door to the east, mentioned in myths . . . many stones standing up on end (Harrington 1981:646,628,809,807)."

[Lalande places this location as either Esmond Mountain or Bieberstedt Butte, and/or Little Butte Creek (Lalande 1984:28). It may also refer to the general area of the headwaters of Little Butte Creek, and/or to a specific cave or rock shelter in that region.]

10. Ma-lsi (Harrington): "Mt. Pitt . . . agrees it is east of Ashland (Harrington 1981:812)."

[Mount McLoughlin]

11. 'Alke-takh: "She says positively that Wagner Mountain is 'Alke-takh, could see it from Table Rock." "She now denies that Wagner Mountain is 'Alke-takh, it therefore must be the Siskiyou range south of Ashland you go on highway across these mountains to Yreaka. From ke-th, meaning white grass eighteen inches long that grows on the range." "Says 'Alke-takh is off to the southwest of where Dead Indian road leaves Pacific highway, and hidden by the ridge that runs south from Ashland--it had snowy peaks (Harrington 1981:730,728,753,810,792)."

[The confusion is evident, 'Alke-takh is either specifically Wagner Butte or that area of the Siskiyou Mountains, possibly including Mt. Ashland, near Wagner Butte.]

12. Tik'alawikh, also Tik'alswyaks: "Jacksonville, from the word k'alaw, a kind of sweet white root with a white flower." "Molly says that Indians when at Jacksonville lived at Kanaka flats, somewhere on west edge of Jacksonville (Harrington 1981:811,753,767)."
13. 'usiyuw'ota, also 'usiyuwu-tha: "Mountain west of Jacksonville, up Forest Creek. From the word meaning deerhide bucket . . . from a bare place on its summit shaped like a bucket (Harrington 1981:765,819)."

[Timber Mountain west of Jacksonville. (Lalande 1984:5)]

14. 'Alwiya: "Roxy Ann Peak, almost like a knife, sits there as a big mountain--a rock sticks up there--not on Rogue River." "Says 'Alwiya is a mountain sort of in the middle between Lath'kawkh and the mountains east of Table Rock, and is a rocky mountain. All of which agrees with the round mountain northeast of Phoenix (Harrington 1981:757,646,754)."
15. Alkilipswan: "Little Roxy Ann Peak (Harrington 1981:757)."
16. Tits'an: "Coker Buttes, a little mountain that looks as if it were lying down (Harrington 1981:757,646)."
17. Lat'halik: "Area behind 'Alwiya (Harrington 1981:757)."

[The Antelope Creek Valley. (Lalande 1984:5)]

18. Hatpalikh, also spelled Hathpalikh and 'Althpalikh: "A little black mountain east of Alwiya, across prairie from Alwiya. From thpalp meaning snail." "This was the location of a ranch of an American and his redheaded wife." "Molly Orton thinks possibly that it was Helms Mountain which runs into Grizzly Peak. Frances Johnson says clearly that Hathpalikh was the ranch, but 'Althpalikh is the mountain (Harrington 1981:646,747)."

[Lalande (1984:5) says "an unnamed ridge and small valley between Baldy Peak and Roxy Ann."]

19. Titanakh: "Table Rock, meaning little Indian plums, good place in bottom across Rogue River from Table Rock . . . equates Titanakh with Table Rock." "Called top of Table Rock Titanakh." "Titanakh, this is the name for the whole of Table Rock (Harrington 1981:809,706,513)."

[Given as the name for Table Rock in both dialects of Takelma, although Frances Johnson also supplied the name Kwenphunkh for Table Rock; however Molly Orton was not familiar with that name. (Harrington 1981:474,809).]

Di'tani: "Table Rock (Sapir 1907a:255)."

[Sapir (1907a:255) also listed Gwenpunk as "Below Table Rock."]

20. Tetalaw: "A big lake east of Table Rock, big poison lake adjacent to the flat called from grasshopper." "She was told that the Indians never drank this water. It was pretty lake not far from river, there were small willows around this lake, it was a flat place." "A poison lake near the east end of Rogue River (Harrington 1981:520,658,766)."

[Unnamed oxbow lake on the Rogue River, near Kelly Slough (Lalande 1984:5)]

21. Tats'ipe-kwankh: "A plain, one-half mile from Table Rock on the south side of the Rogue River, no hill or water there. Derived from ts'ipiks, meaning grasshopper (Harrington 1981:515)."

[Part or all or the Agate Desert.]

22. Hayawakh: "The great flat on the south side of Rogue River, upriver from the Gold Ray Dam. There is a big backwater there. 'Ribs' were fished from river there. From yaww meaning ribs." "There were lots of wild plums. Between Tats'ipe-kwankh and Rogue River (Harrington 1981:704,516,517)."

[Kelly Slough.]

23. Lats'upkh: "A place south of Rogue River, across from Table Rock: an open place, no timber, no mountain, many kinds of camas grew

where a spring wets the ground . . . it beats every other place for Indian grub. Located east of Tats'ipe-kwankh (Harrington 1981:517)."

[Place name in the Agate Desert, north of Bear Creek and east of the Rogue.]

24. Sa'thkawkh: "The big open place across the river from Table Rock on the south side of the Rogue River . . . lots of Indian carrots there." "The whole plain from Table Rock to Ashland, the open country about Medford." "Frances Johnson pronounces it Xathkawkh. Means open place no hills or nothing (Harrington 1981:808, 518)."

[The Agate Desert and the lower, flatter parts of Bear Creek Valley.]

25. Tik'alawikl: "A place name maybe somewhere near Table Rock." "Molly Orton says she doesn't know where, but it adjoins Lats'upkh and Sa'thkawkh east of Table Rock. Derived from kalaw, a kind of camas that looks like a button in the ground (Harrington 1981:479,518)."

[Place name in the Agate Desert, location uncertain.]

26. Ha-yalawyuas: "A place near Table Rock (Harrington 1981:475)."

Hayalbalsda: "Below Table Rock, meaning in its long (i.e. tall) pines. Yal meaning pine and bals meaning long (Sapir 1907a:255)."

27. Ha'o-phakh, also Ha'opak: "East end of Rogue River, is where river at least formerly ended . . . on south edge of Rogue River, upriver of Lower Table Rock, and slightly downriver of Upper Table Rock." "Grasshopper place name . . . where Ha-ne-sakh and Butte Creeks come together (Harrington 1981:658,766,519)."

[Probably the confluence of Little Butte Creek and the Rogue River.]

28. Titankh: "Rock Point. Whites used to call the place Rock Point. There used to be a bridge and a toll gate there. The Jacksonville road crossed the Rogue River there. Indians and Whites used to catch salmon there just a little above the toll bridge . . . When asked how far from Gold Hill, says maybe two or three miles (Harrington 1981:786)."

[Rock Point, rocky place on the banks of the Rogue River, short distance west of the town of Gold Hill.]

29. Titsenkowatak: "Gold Hill . . . it is on the California side of Rogue River (Harrington 1981:780)."

[Either Gold Hill or Blackwell Hill (Lalande 1981:5).]

30. Hathkaw Kiramthakh: "Across river from [the prominence called] Gold Hill." "Place where the ground makes a noise like an auto going 'chu chu chu'. This place is on north side of Rogue River across

the Gold Hill, an open place. There was an Indian cemetery there, but the whites dug graves out." " . . . Is a great flat on north side of Rogue River just downriver of Gold Ray power house (Harrington 1981:766,781,704)."

[Probably located along the Rogue, north of Nugget Butte between Gold Hill and Sam's Creek.]

31. Sa-wuhuykh: "A place on the north side of the Rogue River just upriver of Hathkaw Kiramthakh towards Table Rock, half-way towards Table Rock." " . . . Is the opening in the hills where Sams Creek comes into Rogue River. North side of River, and a mile or so from river is where the Indian town was. This town was not on edge of Rogue River, but a little up Sam's Valley Creek (Harrington 1981:782,766,704,705)."

[In vicinity of the confluence of Sam's Creek and the Rogue River.]

32. Ti'lo-mi-kh: " . . . Is a waterfall, also called Rock Point. From lo-m meaning cedar . . . upriver of Gold Hill town." "The falls are upriver of Rocky Point which is the Gold Hill bridge site." "There are house pits along the river bank south of Ti'lo-mi-kh falls." "Twenty-one house pits along south bank of Rogue River at Ti'lo-mi-kh (Harrington 1981:785,809,676,680,708)."

[The rapids of the Rogue River upriver from the town of Gold Hill.]

33. Dilomi: "Was situated near the falls of the Rogue River and was said to be an unusually large village. Meaning west (of which) are cedars (Sapir 1907a:255, 1909:43)."

[The large Upland Takelma village just downriver of Ti'lo-mi-kh falls, upriver from the town of Gold Hill.]

34. Si-ku-ptat: "Bear Creek, meaning dirty water (Harrington 1981:863)."

35. Tip'ulh-ukh: "She (Molly Orton) called my attention to how Beacon Mountain ran down to the north end of the bridge and recognized that another spine of it ran down to the flour mill which she recognized as upriver of us. That mountain is Tip'ulh-ukh." " . . . Ti'lo-mi-kh was a little upriver. There was a flour mill at Tip'ulh-ukh (Harrington 1981:784,678)."

[Nugget Butte, just north of the town of Gold Hill.]

36. Lathil (Harrington), Hatil (Sapir): "A place way up Rogue River, maybe by Jacksonville . . . forgets who was named this, says something like little trees." (Harrington 1981:478). "On the Rogue River and east of Table Rock (Sapir 1907a:255)."

[Unable to locate.]

Northern Takelma

1. Ha-ne-sakh: "The distant blue mountains seen through the gap between Table Rock and Upper Table Rock are Ha-ne-sakh." "Says that Ha-ne-sakh is way up by blue mountains back of Sams Valley--far away--there is a big waterfall and no salmon up there." ". . . is a little creek that comes from the north, while Butte Creek comes from the east. There are only these two creeks the end of the Rogue River. Table Rock is the upper end of Rogue River, there is no more river, just a little creek called Ha-ne-sakh. They say that Mary Eagan's country was Ha-ne-sakh, up that creek that comes in from the north and that there is a waterfall up that creek (Harrington 1981:658,706,519)."

[Boundaries are unclear, but reference is to the upper section of the Rogue River drainage, including possibly Sam's Valley and the Elk and Trail Creek drainages.]

Lowland Takelma

1. Ta'waxki: "Is a little northern tributary of the Rogue River. It is somewhere close to where Coyote Evans ranch was. Both Ta'waxki and Coyote Evans place were on north side of Rogue River and downriver of Ti'lo-mi-kh, doesn't know how far . . . Frances (Johnson) never went upriver as far as Ti'lo-mi-kh." "When I asked if it could be Evans Creek, says maybe . . . but it may be another place near there. Knows it is a little creek going up this side of Ti'lo-mi-kh. By this she means a northern tributary of the Rogue, downriver of Savage Rapids (Harrington 1981:385,471)."

[If in fact it was downriver of Savage Rapids, it could have been either Jones or Bloody Run Creek. If upriver of Savage Rapids possibilities include Evans Creek or Sardine Creek; Evans Creek is the most likely location.]

2. Ti-talam: "Grants Pass (Harrington 1981:533,606)." Didalam: "The present site of Grants Pass town, meaning 'over the rocks' (Sapir 1907a:255)."
3. Tip'olts'ilta: "Jump-off Joe Creek, what Frances called in English 'Grants Pass Water' (Harrington 1981:6611)." Diploltslilda: "Jump-Off Joe Creek (Sapir 1907a:255)."
4. Tanaxule-tha: "Medicine Rock, it is like a round table." "Tanaxule-tha is the locality where the Medicine Rock was, 'where the rock sits down' . . . where the Medicine Rock is of 'altawaykwa' mountain, a trail ran past Tanaxule-tha (Harrington 1981:601-2)."

[In the vicinity of Sexton Pass near present day Interstate 5. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of "Medicine Rock."]

5. 'altawayakhwa' Mountain: "Where the Medicine Rock is." "On my way back to California from Siletz, I stop in the evening on top of Sexton Mountain at the place where the rock is with the maple growing out of it (Harrington 1981:602,876)."

[Sexton Mountain, north of Grants Pass.]

Aldauyak'wadis: "A mountain spirit . . . the mountain itself and its presiding spirit being, as usual in such cases, more or less co-mingled in one conception." "Still other such mountain spirits were another Aldauyak'wadis, near Illinois River (Sapir 1907b:45)."

[One of these spirit mountains was likely Sexton Mountain the other near the Illinois is unknown.]

6. 'altakanxi-ta: "Hammerly Mountain, this is next to Tannaxule-tha. It was on 'altakanxi-ta Mountain that the boat rested after the world flood." "A mountain near the deer lick, also said it was at head of Grants Pass (Harrington 1981:602,876)."

[Probably Roberts Mountain, just east of Sexton Mountain.]

Alsawent'adis: "Next to the first of the two mountain brothers (Sapir 1907b:45)."

[Walker or Roberts Mountain, north of Grants Pass.]

7. Yukyakwa: "Was on Leaf Creek, known as a salt lick or marsh area, favored spot for hunting (Sapir 1907a:256)." Yukhyakhwan: "Salt deposit up Grave Creek (Harrington 1981:449)."

[Based on these two statements, I conclude that Leaf Creek, mentioned in the account of both Sapir and Dorsey is in fact Grave Creek, and that Yukyakwa was located on Grave Creek, north of Roberts Mountain.]

8. Lakwanmalayyuwo-ta: "On the Rogue River above the confluence of Applegate River. From lakwan, meaning chokecherries (Harrington 1981:502)."

9. Kelya-lkh: "Place near Lakwanmalayyuwo-ta on the north bank of Rogue River near Grants Pass. From ya-l, white pine or fir (Harrington 1981:503)."

Gelyalk: "Below Table Rock, meaning 'abreast of pines' from yal meaning pines (Sapir 1907a:255)."

10. Xan'wats'i sta: "A place where there is a high bank on the north edge of the Rogue River in front of Temehuwan somewhere, and near to Kelya-lkh (Harrington 1981:504)."

[Precise location uncertain. Near Grants Pass on the Rogue.]

11. Teme'hawan: "Big place just south of Grants Pass where Indians used to dig camas every spring." "A big flat across low hill from Wagner house." "The flat towards Grants Pass from Wagner's House." "Between Wagner's house and Evans Creek along old Willamette-California highway (Harrington 1981:537,409,410,431)."

[In the general vicinity of Grants Pass. It is not clear whether it was north or south of Grants Pass, but most likely north of the Rogue River and west of Beacon Hill.]

12. Ti-talam: "Says that it was the Wagner house place, but it is not a small place name, but one that took in much territory, including Teme'hawan and Grants Pass town (Harrington 1981:419,411)."

[The general area described is that from Grants Pass north to Walker Mountain.]

13. Ha'laemsi: "Place name between the Wagner house and Jump-Off Joe Creek." Ha'laemsi is a flat, a long strip between the crossing of Jump-Off Joe Creek and Wagner's house, just a little south of Jump-Off Joe Creek crossing . . . maybe." "On the side of Jump-Off Joe Creek, between Jump-Off Joe Creek and Grants Pass, used to dig camas there." "Old Willamette road and trail that goes up Rogue River passes Ha'laemsi (Harrington 1981:410,419,431,424,528,530)."

[North of the Rogue River and Grants Pass, in the vicinity of the confluence of Soldier and Louse Creeks.]

14. Talhu-wi: "A flat towards Grants Pass, towards Rogue River from Ha'laemsi . . . not very far." "Thinks they killed a white woman and child there (Harrington 1981:419,431)."

[Precise location uncertain, but south of Ha'laemsi towards Grants Pass.]

15. Salwaxk'an (Harrington), also possibly Sal-wal-xa (Sapir) and Sal-wa-qu (Dorsey): "Place name between Medicine Rock and Jump-Off Joe Creek." "We reached the Applegate River. She forgets the big hill southwest of the confluence of the Applegate and Rogue, but knows that Salwaxk'an is away from bank of Rogue River. Salwaxk'an is the little flat. Heard her mother talking about in connection with the Illinois Road (Harrington 1981:410,462)."

"Sal-wa-qu (i.e., @U[Salwa'xa] which probably means 'at the foot of the creek' and which must have applied to a village at the mouth of Illinois River or one of its tributaries [Sapir 1907a:254])."

[The confusion between Sapir's and Dorsey's placement of Salwaxk'an in the Illinois Valley, and Frances Johnson's later statement that it was connected with the Illinois Road, yet near the Applegate/Rogue confluence is understandable, if, in fact, both spellings apply to the same place name. Therefore, I would be inclined to

disregard Dorsey's original placement of Sal-wa-qu in the Illinois Valley and Sapir's later repetition of this placement, in favor of Harrington's information that it was near the confluence of the Applegate and Rogue Rivers.]

16. Salo-m: (Harrington 1981:419,431)

[Place name between Salwaxk'an and Jump-Off Joe Creek on the old Willamette highway, north of Jump-Off Joe Creek.]

17. Hat'onk: (Sapir 1907a:256)

Hat'onkh: (Harrington) "Forgets where it is, maybe on Rogue River where Jump-Off Joe Creek comes to Rogue River . . . that is Hat'onkh." "Thinks they killed a white woman at Hat'onkh vicinity (Harrington 1981:615,426)."

[Appears to be in the vicinity of the confluence of Jump-Off Joe Creek and the Rogue River.]

18. Xat'o-nkh: "A place on Jump-Off Joe Creek, pretty near to its confluence with the Rogue River." "Xat'o-nkh is a field (Harrington 1981:614,616)."

19. Takalaksi: "A little hill immediately adjacent to Xat'o-nkh. The Table Rock Indians, tired of fighting at Table Rock vicinity, came and lived at Takalaksi."

20. Lathpaltha': "A place this side of Medicine Rock. Between Grave Creek and Medicine Rock. From thpal, a yard high plant, eat roots like carrots (Harrington 1981:600)."

[Somewhere in the area north of Sexton Mountain, and south of Grave Creek.]

21. S-omo-luk: (Sapir)

Sumulkh: (Harrington) "She located Sumulkh just downstream of the mouth of Jump-Off Joe Creek, on the north bank of Rogue River across river from Yawa-kha." "Sumulkh means oak." "Thinks it is a little downstream of Tatmelmal (Harrington 1981:499,500,437)."

"Evidently containing the word s-om 'mountain' (Sapir 1907a:256)."

[In the vicinity of the confluence of Jump-Off Joe Creek and the Rogue River. See Explanation of Yawa-kha, #22 below.]

22. Yawa-kha: "A place across Rogue River from Sumulkh, a good sized town, located both places just downstream of the mouth of Jump-Off Joe Creek (Harrington 1981:437,500)."

[The following information was provided by Mr. Crow, a resident of the area, and informant of Harrington. "The only likely place for Yawa-kha is the Sander's place." "Mr. Crow said they knew where two Indian towns were and told of a site one-half mile up Jump-Off Joe Creek." "The Indian camp was on a point, was on the old Crow ranch, just one mile downriver of the mouth of Jump-Off Joe Creek in a straight line." "The Indian camp is on a low knoll point that sticks out into the Rogue River (Harrington 1981:437,500,450,446)]."

23. Tatmelmal: "A town whites (Frenchmen) came to." "On a low bench near river . . . on north side of Rogue River." "Upriver of Sumulkh." "Is a piece of bottom land downriver from the end of Masterlows Slough (Harrington 1981:497,499,460)."

[North side of Rogue River, west of the confluence of the Applegate and Rogue rivers.]

24. Talkwa-lkh: "On the south bank of Rogue River in front of Salwaxk'an (Harrington 1981:489)."

[On the southern bank of the Rogue, west of the Applegate, and slightly west of Salwaxk'an.]

25. Dakts'asin: "A Takelma village in the neighborhood of Jump-Off Joe Creek, on north side of Rogue River (Sapir 1907a:256)."

[Harrington recorded Takhtsas as the name of Grave Creek. (Harrington 1981:538)]

26. Tapuxtan, also Tapoxtan: "Derived from poxtan, meaning salt. Name of a nice field on north edge of Rogue River, downriver from the mouth of Galice Creek. The canyonville chief put his camp at Tapoxtan in war times." "Tapuxtan is a little flat on the north side of the Rogue River. Dug camas on Tapuxtan flat." "Tapuxtan is way downriver from Galice Creek (Harrington 1981:441,439,508)."

[Location uncertain.]

27. Tanthi-tha: "A flat on the north bank of Rogue River, further downriver than Tapuxtan." "Dug camas at Tanthi-tah." "During war, moved from Galice Creek to Tapuxtan to Tanthi-tha. They made treaty there at the end of the Rogue River War. From there they walked to Port Orford. Also known as Big Meadows (Harrington 1981:439,440,510)."

["Big Meadows is ten miles upriver of Agnes. It is way up on the mountain, almost on the divide between the Coquille and the Rogue rivers, not on the Rogue . . . says Mr. Crow (Harrington 1981:511)]."

28. 'alti-wi: "From ti-w, meaning waterfall. That was where they caught lots of fish in the wintertime (i.e., October) on Grave

Creek. Remember hearing that Chinook Salmon could never get up Grave Creek as far as 'alti-wi (Harrington 1981:559)."

29. Taktkamaykh: "A portage of canoes and big waterfall way down Rogue River. Informant [Frances Johnson] was never there." "Mr. Crow . . . Evidently lower falls of the Rogue River, three miles below mouth of Grave Creek (Harrington 1981:509)."
[Sapir lists the place name Daktgamek, which may be the same, as meaning 'above which are elk' and locates it 'below Table Rock' (Sapir 1907a:255). The falls referred to by Mr. Crow are known as Rainie Falls and are approximately three miles below the mouth of Grave Creek on the Rogue.]
30. Tak'welsaman: "Hungry Hill, means 'on top of roots' from k'wels, the roots of ya-l tree, used for basketry (Harrington 1981:557)."
31. Aldank'olo'ida: "Spirit mountain in the vicinity of the present town of Jacksonville (Sapir 1907b:45)."
32. Hakwalkh: "Cow Creek." (Harrington 1981:550)
Hagwal: "Cow Creek (Sapir 1907a:256)."
33. Daldanik: "A village north of the Rogue River between Grants Pass and Leaf Creek; in the vicinity of dan mologol (Sapir 1907b:45)."
[Between Grants Pass and Grave Creek, in the vicinity of Sexton Mountain.]
34. Da-gelam: "'along the river', i.e., Rogue River (Sapir 1907a:256)."
35. Take lam: "Rogue River. Take lam is all the upper Rogue River Valley including Table Rock and Grants Pass (Harrington 1981:385)."

Place Names of the Applegate River Valley

1. Naattlntcha: "Big mountain . . . what the Galice Creek Indians call the round mountain hunting ground of the Applegate Indians." "The round mountain at the head of the Applegate River is the Applegate Indian hunting ground. There were two lakes in that big round mountain at the head of Applegate River (Harrington 1981:42,45,48)."
["Red Buttes . . . this and other nearby peaks along the crest of the Siskiyoues formed the seasonal hunting territory of the Dakubetede Indians, and were known to them as the 'Big Mountains' (Lalande 1984:37)."] Also may have been the area around Squaw Lake (see below). Naattlntcha is the Galice Athapascan term for this mountain.]

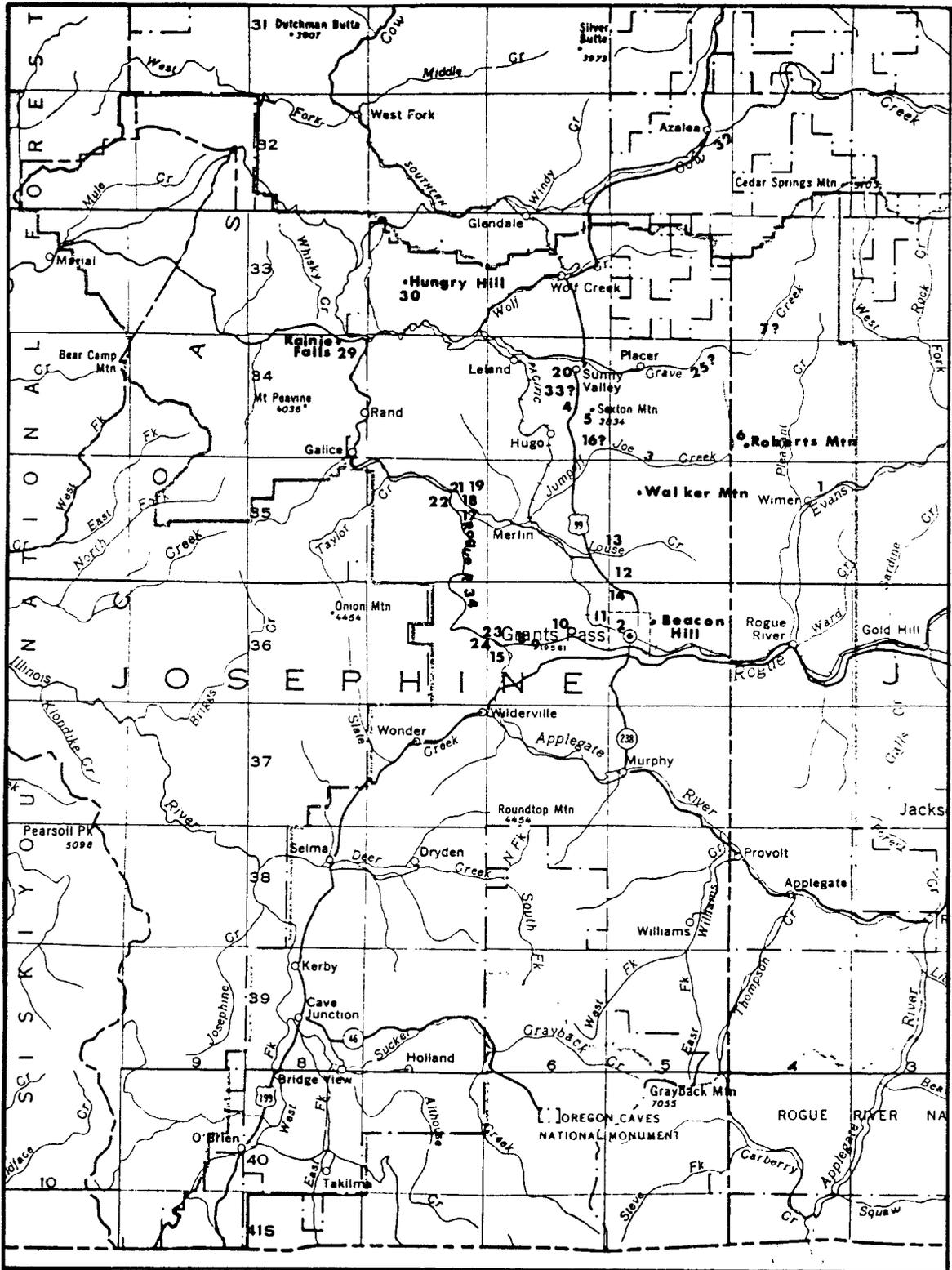


Figure 7. Lowland Takelma Place Name Locations

2. Thunder Lake: "There were two lakes in that big round mountain at the head of the Applegate River, one was called Thunder lake, a small lake like a hole with a rim around it. The other lake was a big lake but cannot remember what his stepfather [Simmons] called it (Harrington 1981:45,47)."

[May refer to Azalea and Lonesome Lakes at the head of Butte Fork of the Applegate River, or to Squaw Lakes (Lalande 1984:3-4). Place name given by Hoxie Simmons, Galice Athapascan.]

3. La'kho-ve: "Is the name of her (Aneti Scott) father's place by the mouth of the Applegate River. She did not know place names of any place further upriver. People from there were called La'kho-ve-tanae (Harrington 1981:347)."

[Given as Da'ku-tee: "Mouth of Applegate." (Jacobs n.d.) Applegate Athapascans termed Da-ku-be-te-de (Dorsey 1890:235). Place name given by Aneti Scott, Applegate Athapascan, I assume it is in that dialect.]

4. Sbink: "'Beaver place', the present Applegate Creek (Sapir 1907a:256.)"

Spi-nkh: "Applegate river, has lots of steelhead in it. (Harrington 1981:496)."

[Both spellings for the Applegate River given by Frances Johnson, Takelma. Therefore, I assume that was the Takelma, not the Athapascan name for the Applegate River.]

Galice Creek Area Place Names

1. Taltuc: Galice Creek. (Dorsey 1890:235).
2. Xika-man: "Galice Creek (Harrington 1981:439)."
3. Thaaltlctlh: "This was the region name of where Hoxie Simon's mother was from. Means where one runs and jumps in the water (Harrington 1981:25)."
4. Talustun: "Town at the mouth of Galice Creek (Drucker 1940:283)."

Talda'cdan: "Galice Village, Hoxie's mother's uncle was from there (Jacobs n.d.)."

From the field notes of P.E. Goddard.* "On Galice Creek itself:"

5. Taldacdan

6. Satcoye
7. Tokalletoandan
8. Natditce
9. Actada
10. Watcodan
11. Setaye
12. Setakwat

[*No further locational information or explanation was recorded by Goddard.]

Takelma Names for Locations Outside of Takelma Territory

1. Tul-sul-sun: "In the Illinois Valley, a village that cannot be located (Dorsey 1890:235)."
2. Dalsalsan: "Illinois River (Sapir 1907a:256)."
3. Talsalsan: "Place on Illinois River where Ti-wi-kh falls are, upriver. Takelmas used to go there to gamble and play shinny and to buy salmon (Harrington 1981:525)."
4. Ti-wi-kh: "The waterfall in Illinois River at the place called Talsalsan. George Baker says this is surely the Anderson place waterfall (Harrington 1981:523)."
5. Hathka-pusu-ta: "Illinois River (Harrington 1981:524)."
6. Lamhik: "Klamath River (Sapir 1907a:256)."
7. Hatgwaxi: "A place name in the country of the Umpquas (Sapir 1907a:256)."
8. Thkaw Mahaytakh: "Yreka, meaning 'open land' (Harrington 1981:797)."
9. Keltat: "Place way down somewhere the other side of Jacksonville. Is a place by Crescent City [Ca.] in another country, not in Rogue River region (Harrington 1981:542)."
10. Lamhikh: "Klamath place, above Crescent City (Harrington 1981:544)."

11. Wulxtka-th: "Shasta country (Harrington 1981:822)."
12. Gwendat: "'eastwards' (?), not inhabited by Takelma Indians (Sapir 1907a:256)."

Place Names Collected by J. Owen Dorsey (1890)

1. "The villages extended along the south side of the Rogue River from 'Deep Rock' to the Illinois Valley (Dorsey 1890:235)."
2. Tco-wa-tee: "Furthest up Rogue River near 'Deep Rock', the village of Evans Bill and his father."
3. Ta-lo-tunne: "Hugh's Village."
4. Ska-no-wecl-tunne: "Evans Creek emptied into the Rogue on the north side between Ta-lo-tunne and Ska-no-weel-tunne."
5. K'co-tai-me: "The village of Hugh's mother."
6. Yuc-la-li: "Coyote people, one of the exceptional cases in which the gens had an animal name."
7. K'ac-ta-ta: "Below K'ac-ta-ta was Galice Creek."
8. Taltuc: "Galice Creek. The dwellers along this stream were of the Athapascan stock, and the survivors call themselves Tal-tuc-tun-tu-de."
9. Ckac-tun: "A Takelma village below Leaf Creek."
10. Ha-ckuc-tun: [No location information noted by Dorsey.]
11. Se-wa-acl-tcu-tun: [No location information noted by Dorsey.]
12. Na-ki-la: [No location information noted by Dorsey.]
13. Ya-a-si-tun: "Ten miles below Na-ki-la."
14. Ses-ti-ku-stun: "Distinct from Chasta Costa or Ci-sta-kqwu-stu, but it may be the same as Chastan Scoton of Indian Reports."
15. Tal-ma-mi-tee: [No location information noted by Dorsey.]
16. Se-ccl-tun: "Village said to be the closest to the Chasta Costa."
17. Hu-de-dut: "The village of Evans Bill's mother, was at the forks of the Rogue River and the Applegate Creek."

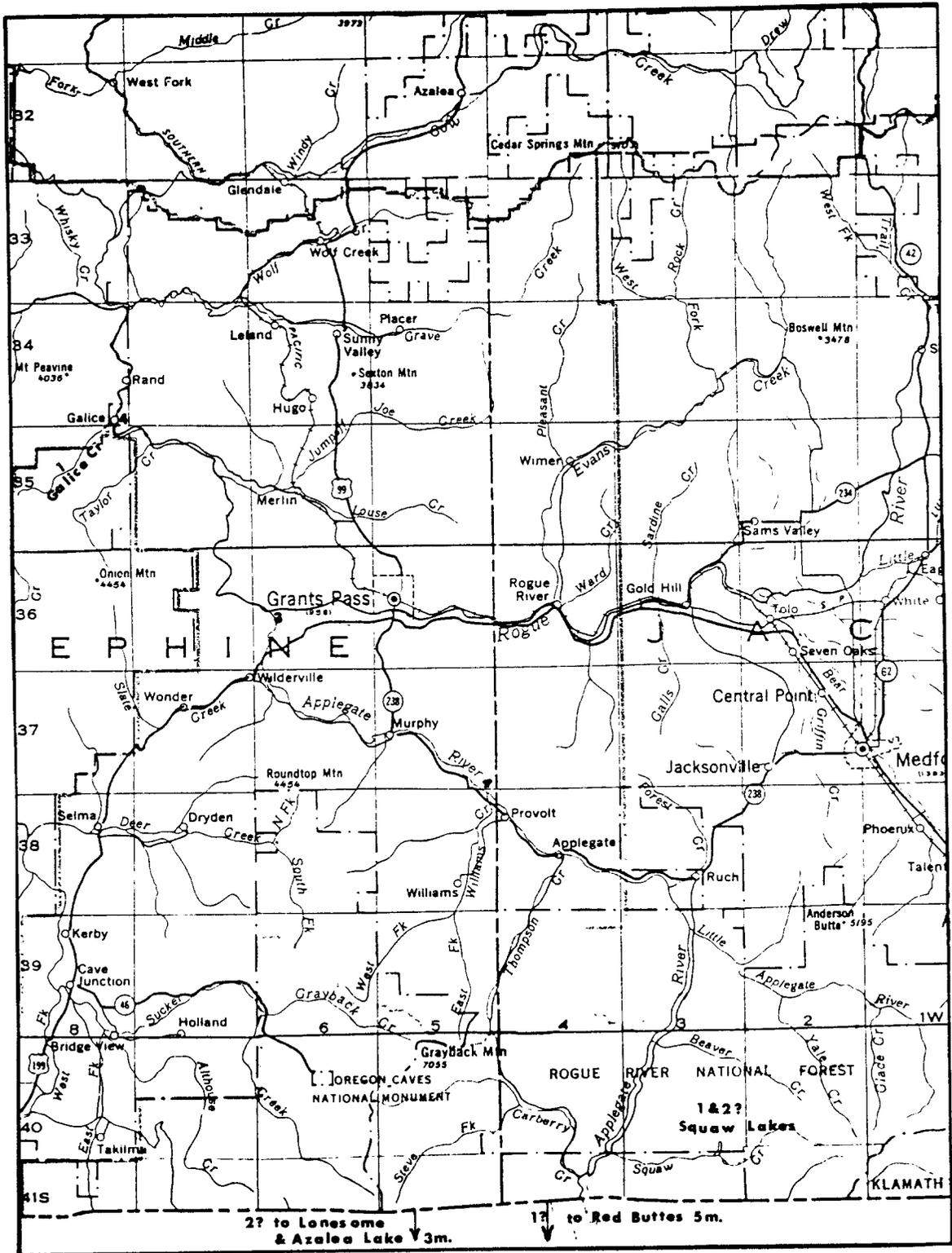


Figure 8. Galice/Applegate Place Name Locations

18. Da-ku-be-te-de: "Applegate Indians. Applegate Creek claimed by them."

"In the Illinois Valley and probably along eastern side of Illinois Creek were:"

19. Sal-wa-qa: "Home of John Punzie and his father."
20. Tul-sul-sun: "A village that cannot be located."

Village Names of the Rogue River: Given by Batise of
Galice Creek to P.E. Goddard, 1903

1. Tcebedade: Mouth of Rogue, both sides.
2. Tutudade: Five miles from mouth of Rogue.
3. Setcandade: "Rock near people. Seven miles from mouth.
4. M!kkarodandade: Ten miles from mouth.
5. Kwesedandade: Twenty miles from mouth. (A mouth of creek.)
6. Talodandade: Sloping prairie, twenty-eight miles from mouth, a little below Jacksonville near Table Rock.
7. Leatnidan: Forks of Rogue and Illinois.
8. Etciwatdade: (Chasta Costa) Thirty-seven miles from mouth, two miles above Illinois.
9. Asonmadandade: "Brushes by" a mile above last.
10. Scaldannade: Five miles above last.
11. Desatdandade: Two or three miles above last.
12. Dasladandade: [No description or location information noted by Goddard.]
13. Dastaddetadade: "Sharp ridge trail over."
14. Lsiwatdade: "Big tree which wind blew."
15. Sededetcandandade: "Big sharp rock there."
16. Isadtcedade: Little Creek mouth.
17. Lesdikosdandade: Little creek mouth.

18. Lesetcedade: Built like a sweat house.
19. Xaskacdandade: Creek.
20. Satcedandade: A creek mouth.
21. Skacdandade: Rogue River falls called taii bar.
22. Yaslgetcabedade: "Salmon claim river."
23. Yaddatadade: "Lots of acorn grow there."
24. Setobedade: "Sugar pine pitch runs."
25. Lolasiwatcedade: "Bunches of grass on river." Mouth of creek.
26. Seastcandandade: "Rocky hill point under." (Galice Creek.)
27. Taalwatdandade: "Wade across."
28. Nalditcedade: Creek mouth, big mountain near Applegate Creek.

Shasta Place Names in Oregon (Dixon 1907:499)

1. Makoyax: Mt. McLoughlin
2. Itsa Wehetiraga: Table Rock
3. Usoho: Bear Creek
4. Itskatawayeki: Applegate River
5. Kwahawa: Jackson Creek [?]
6. Ikiruk: Rogue River Valley. Holt (1946:301)

APPENDIX 2

TAKELMA MATERIAL CULTURE

Clothing*

From Sapir (1907a:263-4):

halu-xap or halu-kwok: "Men's shirts."

laps: "Deerskin blankets."

t-go: "Buckskin leggings or trousers."

bels: "Moccasins."

xa-le-sap: "Belt, worn over the leggings and tied in front, sometimes made of elk-skin."

duk: "Women's buckskin shirts, reaching to the knees, fringed with tassels made of a white grass."

sge-xap: "Men's hats, made of bear or deer hide, the ears being often left on."

yup: "Women's hats, round basket hats twined of a white grass."

ts-!uns: "Red-headed woodpecker scalps were sewn on with sinew to strips of buckskin about four inches long . . . were worn about the head across the forehead and tied in back of the head, with strips hanging down behind."

From Harrington (1981):

ts'un's: "Buckskin cap with feathers on top. Worn by men only . . . daily. Different from war cap." (230)

k'apas: "Elk-skin armour." (201)

tkamtruhapa: "Elkskin war cap worn by men only." (229)

*(For additional Takelma vocabulary see Harrington [1981], Sapir [1909].)

Baskets

From Sapir (1907a:258,261)

bo-n: "Funnel-shaped basket, or hopper, wider at the top and entirely open at the bottom. Set atop a flat rock, and used in preparation of acorns."

degas: A shallow circular basket-pan, used for sifting acorn meal.

k!el meheli: Basket-bucket for boiling food.

yelex: A large open-work burden-basket constructed of hazel or willow.

p!e-l: A small basket-plate.

k!el: A round open bucket-like basket.

k!oloi: A large storage basket.

k!anak!as: A basket-cup.

sak: A big basket made of rushes.

Vegetal Foods

From Sapir (1907a:257-259)

yana: Acorn.

yana yahals: Black acorn.

dip: Camas.

loxom: Manzanita berry.

t-gal: Sugar pine nuts.

lamax: Seed of a species of sunflower. The stalk was also eaten when young and tender.

k-o-x: Seeds of the yellow-flowered 'tar weed.'

t'bele-s: Pine nuts.

o p: Tobacco.

From Harrington (1981)

k'alaw: "Camas that looks like a button in the ground." (479)
"Sweet white root, white flower . . . by Jacksonville." (811)

neykh: "A kind of camas resembling carrots, no color." (517)

p'uulm: "A kind of camas that are real red." (517) "Indian
carrots." (808)

ti-p: "Camas." (528)

pi-ukh, also piyukh: "Wild plums, some are white and some red."
"Plums, two kinds, red and white, they were large and sweet, called
apples by the same word." (808,516)

ts'a-sap: "Berries from dogwood tree." (231)

ya-l: "White or sugar pine tree, ate the inner bark." (503)

thpal: "A yard high plant, eat roots like carrots." (660)

hat'on: "A weed, the seeds of which were cooked." (615)

thkanay: "Wild parsnips." (759)

Fish

From Sapir (1907a:259)

yu-xgan: "Trout."

t!e-kwi: "Salmon-trout."

yols: "Steelhead salmon."

alk: "Silver-side salmon."

domxau: "Chinook salmon."

libis: "Crawfish."

t!ak: "Fresh water mussels."

From Harrington (1981):

paе-wi: "Salmon that comes when @U(paem) wood leaves come out.
Kind of short and chunky . . . these used to come in Rogue River."
(141)

Yu-ls: "Steelhead salmon, used to be lots in Applegate River."
(141)

sinkhwakwa: "Mudfish, live under rock all the time." (141)

xta-n: "Eel, no eels live in Rogue River." (142)

Animals

From Harrington (1981): * indicates specific mention as a food source:

*sa-l: "A kind of black and white striped worm that lives only on ash trees. These were eaten by the Indians, were considered a 'nice food.'" (134)

*oappa': "Meat of woodpecker, good for consumption, didn't know if boiled to eat it." (354)

thaann: "Ground squirrel." (310)

tumsaw: "Like a beaver but smaller, different tail. He looked more like a mink. Used to be lots at Table Rock." (294)

*kuhmokh: "Brush rabbits, lots at Table Rock." (286)

thkuwns: "At Ashland, a man trapped an animal like a beaver, but big claws and white-ish fur, short tail and white breast." (276)

*thpalp: "Snail." (747)

p'eltakw: "Slug." (747)

*tsipi-x: "Grasshopper." (646,515)

tspi-nkh: "Beaver." (520)

ts'an: "Porcupine." (735)

tskwihni: "Raccoon?" (320)

thkuwos: "Badger." (319)

ts'iximahaykh: "Horse in Takelma proper, Molly didn't know it in her dialect." (315)

pi-watskh: "Bat." (314)

*del: "White larvae of the yellowjacket." (Sapir 1907a:260)

Directions

(I believe the informant to be Frances Johnson, Lowland Takelma.)

East: "Kwentha Peekhtanta, meaning 'this world's neck.' They say sickness comes from that direction, whites came from this direction (Harrington 1981:387)."

West: "Tithka-yukama-ta, meaning 'way down end of it, long like world's tail (Harrington 1981:387)."

North: "Tathka-yawa-ta, Willamette side (Harrington 1981:387)."

South: "Ha-ntatath: Illinois side. Denies Jacksonville is on this side, Jacksonville is way east (Harrington 1981:387)."

Directions*

From Sapir (1907b:36) [Informant, Frances Johnson, Lowland Takelma.]

East: "Gwent'gabok'danda, at the nape of the earth's neck."

West: "Dit-ga-yuk!uma-da, on back of the earth's tail."

North and South: "Da-t-gayawa-da, alongside the earth's ribs, the word in the text can evidently mean either north or south, so that a gesture was probably necessary to remove the ambiguity."

*"The earth is conceived of a vast animal lying on its belly and stretched out toward the east, or perhaps the reference of points of the compass to parts of the earth's body is to be regarded as only metaphorical (Sapir 1907b:36)."

APPENDIX 3

ETHNOBOTANICAL LIST AND ASSOCIATED PLANT SPECIES
FOR THE UPPER APPLGATE VALLEYPlant Species

Identified in upper Applegate sampling area
by Shelly Smith (Nicholls, et al. 1983:114-120)

TREES	SCIENTIFIC NAME
Big-leaf maple	<i>Acer macrophyllum</i>
Black cottonwood *	<i>Populus trichocarpa</i>
California black oak *	<i>Quercus kelloggii</i>
Canyon live oak *	<i>Quercus chrysolepis</i>
Digger pine *	<i>Pinus sabiniana</i>
Douglas fir *	<i>Pseudotsuga menziesii</i>
Golden chinquapin *	<i>Castanopsis chrysophylla</i>
Incense cedar	<i>Calocedrus decurrens</i>
Knobcone pine *	<i>Pinus attenuata</i>
Mountain alder *	<i>Alnus incana</i>
Mountain hemlock *	<i>Tsuga mertensiana</i>
Oregon ash	<i>Fraxinus latifolia</i>
Oregon white oak *	<i>Quercus garryana</i>
Pacific madrone *	<i>Arbutus menziesii</i>
Pacific yew	<i>Taxus brevifolia</i>
Ponderosa pine *	<i>Pinus ponderosa</i>
Red alder *	<i>Alnus rubra</i>
Shasta red fir *	<i>Abies magnifica shastensis</i>
Sugar pine *	<i>Pinus lambertiana</i>

(* Food plants or plants with edible parts)

SHRUBS	SCIENTIFIC NAME
White fir *	<i>Abies concolor</i>
Birchleaf mountain mahogany	<i>Cercocarpus betuloides</i>
Bittercherry *	<i>Prunus emarginata</i>
Blackcap raspberry *	<i>Rubus leucodermis</i>
Blue elderberry *	<i>Sambucus cerulea</i>
Bunchberry *	<i>Cornus canadensis</i>
California hazelnut	<i>Corylus cornuta</i> var. <i>californica</i>
Common buckbrush	<i>Ceanothus cuneatus</i>
Creeping snowberry	<i>Symphoricarpos mollis</i> var. <i>hesperius</i>
Deerbrush *	<i>Ceanothus intergerrimus</i>
Dull Oregon grape *	<i>Berberis nervosa</i>
Gray rabbit-brush *	<i>Chrysothamnus nauseosa</i>
Green manzanita *	<i>Arctostaphylos patula</i>
Little wild rose *	<i>Rosa gymnocarpa</i>
Mountain alder *	<i>Alnus incana</i>
Nutka rose *	<i>Rosa nutkana</i>
Ocean spray *	<i>Holodiscus discolor</i>
Poison oak	<i>Rhus diversiloba</i>
Red elderberry	<i>Sambucus racemosa</i>
Shinyleaf gooseberry	<i>Ribes cruentum</i>
Snowberry *	<i>Symphoricarpos albus</i>
Tall Oregon grape *	<i>Berberis aquifolium</i>
Vine maple	<i>Acer circinatum</i>
Western red haneberry	<i>Actaea rubra</i>
Western serviceberry *	<i>Amelanchier alnifolia</i>

White-leaved manzanita
 Wild plum *
 Wild trailing blackberry
 Willow

Arctostaphylos vicidus
 Prunus subcordata
 Rubus ursinus
 Salix sp.

HERBS AND GRASSES

Annual fescus *
 Arnica
 Arrowleaf groundsel
 Balsamroot *
 Beadily
 Beardtongue
 Black head
 Blue vervain *
 Bull thistle *
 California ground-cone
 California harebell
 Candyflower *
 Chickweed
 Chile tarweed *
 Cleavers *
 Common mullein *
 Common plantain *
 Coral-root
 Cow parsnip *
 Coyote mint *

SCIENTIFIC NAME

Festuca sp.
 Arnica sp.
 Senecio triangularis
 Balsamorhiza sp.
 Clintonia uniflora
 Penstemon sp.
 Rudbeckia occidentalis
 Verbena hastata
 Cirsium vulgare
 Boschniakia strobilaca
 Campanula prenanthoides
 Montia sibirica
 Cerastium sp.
 Madia sativa
 Calium aparine
 Verbascum thapsus
 Plantago major
 Corallorhiza sp.
 Heracleum lanatum
 Monardella villosa

Dwarf dogbane *	<i>Apocynum androsaemifolium</i> var. <i>pumilum</i>
Elegant brodiaea *	<i>Brodiaea elegans</i>
English plantain *	<i>Plantago lanceolata</i>
False hellebore	<i>Veratrum californicum</i>
Fendler's waterleaf *	<i>Hydrophyllum fendleri</i>
Filaree *	<i>Erodium cicutarium</i>
Fleabane	<i>Erigeron</i> sp.
Forget-me-not	<i>Myosotis</i> sp.
Gray desert parsley *	<i>Lomatium macrocarpum</i>
Indian paintbrush *	<i>Castilleja</i> sp.
Kittentails	<i>synthyris</i> sp.
Large-flowered collomia	<i>Collomia gradiflora</i>
Large yellow goatsbeard *	<i>Tragopogon major</i>
Lettuce *	<i>Lactuca</i> sp.
Lovage *	<i>Ligusticum</i> sp.
Lupine	<i>Lupinus</i> sp.
Meadow salsify *	<i>Tragopogon pratensis</i>
Medusa-head wildrye	<i>Elymus caput-medusae</i>
Monkshood	<i>Aconitum columbianum</i>
Moth mullein	<i>Verbascum blattaria</i>
Mountain sweet-cicely *	<i>Osmorhiza chilensis</i>
Narrow-leaved brume *	<i>Bromus breviaristatus</i>
Navarretia	<i>Navarretia</i> sp.
Nettle-leaf horsemint	<i>Agastache urticifolia</i>
Oat *	<i>Avena</i> sp.
Pacific peavine	<i>Lathyrus vestitus</i>

Parry's hawkweed *	Hieracium parryi
Pathfinder	Adenocaulon bicolor
Penstemon	Penstemon sp.
Red columbine *	Aquilegia formosa
Redsorrel *	Rumex acetosella
Rhombic-petaled clarkia *	Clarkia rhomboidea
Rigid betony *	Stachys rigida
St. John's-wort	Hypericum perforatum
Sedge *	Carex sp.
Stonecrop *	Sedum sp.
Silver hairgrass	Aira caryophyllea
Silverleaf phacelia	Phacelia hastata
Silvery everlasting	Antennaria argentea
Slender-tubed iris	Iris chrysophylla
Small-flowered nemophila	Nemophila parviflora
Small-flowered willowweed	Epilobium minutum
Spanish clover *	Lotus purshiana
Speedwell	Veronica sp.
Spreading groundsmoke	Gayophytum diffusum
Star-flowered Solomon's seal	Smilacina stellata
Stinging nettle *	Urtica dioica
Sweet-pea *	Lathyrus sp.
Turkey-mullein	Eremocarpus setigerus
Vinegar weed	Trichostema lanceolatum
Western rattlesnake plantain	Goodyera oblongifolia
Whipplevine	Whipplea modesta

White flowered hawkweed *	Hieracium albiflorum
White marshmarigold	Caltha biflora
White onion *	Allium sp.
Woodland violet *	Viola glabella
Woods strawberry *	Fragaria vesca
Yarrow *	Achillea millefolium
Yellow monkeyflower *	Mimulus guttatus

APPENDIX 4

TAKELMA MYTHS

From the field notes of J.P. Harrington

Lowland Takelma

(Informant Frances Johnson)

The Otter**

"Whose arrow is this, grandma? Mine. Whose boat is this, grandma? Mine. But she told story. It was her son-in-law's.

Way wey, girl. She belongs to the ocean now; according to the story she was Otter's wife. Otter and hulu n way wey had two sons. They killed otter. The two girls got pitch, they hung up otter's heart and burnt pitch under his heart and that is why otter's fur is black (Harrington 1981:227)."

Boy Turned to Cedar

"A boy cried for more grub all the time, and they put him in a sack and put him outdoors. Thkwala, a big horned owl, he stole a baby and put it in Kwenphunkh (Table Rock), on top of Table Rock. He cried: oh, come after me, papa. They hired beaver to get that baby . . . would kill the boy. At last boy turned to cedar (lo-m) (Harrington 1981:180,232)."

[*For an extensive sample of Takelma mythology, see Sapir 1909.]

[**Titles of the myths are mine.]

Upland Takelma

(Informant Molly Orton)

Man and the Devil Woman

"A So-ytankh man came carrying his blanket, came to Hathkaw Kiramthakh and lay down, for he was tired and made a little fire against a log and got to thinking in his heart that an old woman had told him it was a bad place and suddenly someone coughed and a devil woman (silam way we the) said to him: you talk me bad, you say bad place here, you say bad peoples here, what for you call me bad? Oh! When you go to sleep I will take sharp stick and stick it into your heart. The devil woman was sitting on a rock as she said this. The man at once got up and took his quiver, and lit the end of a stick and kept brandishing it as he ran scared towards Sa-wuhuykh. He had been heading downriver, but now went around Table Rock side, so as never to pass Hathkaw Kiramthakh again (Harrington 1981:331)."

Coyote and the Hunters

"Somewhere east of Table Rock, a lot of So-ytanakh Indians were walking along, they were short statured men, and coyote met them and said pae . . ., and all turned to rock. One of the men was packing a deer on his back and petrified thus. (This place is somewhere on the old trail that ran east to Klamath Lakes from Table Rock.) (Harrington 1981:650)."

The Rainmaker

"A stout man named Khu-khu-w came from So-ytanakh to Table Rock and the Rogue River was low and the Table Rock Indians could not catch salmon. The Table Rock Indians hired that man to make rain, and it flooded all this lowland, and Gold Hill only stuck out a little. Khu-khu-w went up on top of Table Rock and turned to a cedar. That is on top of Table Rock, he said: 'my name is cedar (lo-m).' Cedar is used for Indian matches. They were going to kill him and he turned to cedar.

"When Khu-khu-w first arrived at Table Rock he wanted . . . [?] . . . The Table Rock Indians wanted to swap blankets with Khu-khu-w, offering him a soft blanket, but he said he wanted his own blanket which was rough, sharp blanket, so rough it made a noise when one handled it. He said no, soft blanket no good, rough (sharp) blanket warm blanket. The next day was when they told him the water was low and he said that he could make a little water, but he couldn't stop it and he drowned lots of Indians.

"Khu-khu-w's son, son's wife and their little son turned to rock and are seen as pinnacles at the west tip of Table Rock, while he himself is a good sized cedar (Harrington 1981:652)."

Rainmaker and Beaver

"The rocks that are kind of hollowed-under at upriver end of front of Table Rock is the work of beaver. They hired beaver to gnaw down Table Rock and you can see his tooth marks on the rocks. Beaver was afraid the rock would fall on him, gave up and went away. Khu-khu-w was letting the rain continue and was up on top of Table Rock and the Table Rock Indians wanted to get up on top to get him, to kill him in revenge for drowning the people and they hired beaver to gnaw the upriver end of rock cliff. You can see the beaver tooth marks on the cliff there. (The old Indian trail to the top of the rock goes along the base of the cliff there where the beaver gnawed you can see it close at hand. This trail leads up to the rich root and food grounds up on top and back of Table Rock.) (Harrington 1981:653)."

Blind Man and His Daughter

"Mountain man came from Mt. Pitt and started to fight the mean blind man and his daughter who lives at Tits'an hill. The fight broke a gap in the hill which was the blind man's house. The mountain man threw hot squirrel guts of the squirrel he had commanded the blind man's daughter to roast for him, into the face of the blind man's daughter, blinding her also. Then he killed them both with a stick, and took their house, which is Tits'an hill, for his own residence (Harrington 1981:755)."