

Table 16. Ethnographic Upriver Villages and Camps:
Source Descriptions and Translations.

ANGLICIZED NAME & TRINOMIAL	PRACTICAL ALPHABET [1]	UNIFON [2]	DRUCKER (1937)	ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION [3]
<i>Upriver Villages and Camps</i>				
Red Elderberry Place (CA-DNO-26)	<i>Chvn-su'lh-dvn</i> “red elderberry place”	ᠵᠤᠨ-ᠵᠣᠲ' ᠬ-DUN	<i>tcuncuLtn</i> “Pigeonberries there”	Village with “2 houses and a sweathouse. <i>Tatatun</i> suburb.” Main dissertation research site (Tushingam 2009).
Hiouchi (CA-DNO-332?)	<i>Xaa-yuu-chit</i> “important or beautiful water”	᠐-ᠶᠣ-ᠵᠢᠲ	-	Village on or near Catching homestead. Near modern-day Hiouchi.
Levshame	<i>Lhe'sr-me'</i> “plank or board in”	ᠬᠯᠡᠷ' ᠰ-ME'	-	Village north of Hiouchi bridge.
Sitragitum (CA-DNO-28)	<i>See-tr'ee-ghin-dvm</i> “stone/boulder descending trail or path”	ᠴᠡᠡ-ᠲ' ᠷᠡ-GHIN-DUM	<i>sitragitum</i> “to the beach descends there”	Village with one house and a sweathouse. “Old site re-inhabited by <i>Echulet</i> man.” 1 house and sweathouse. Peacock Flat area.
Wagon Wheel	<i>Tee-nee-chvn-dvn</i> “road at the foot of”	ᠲᠡ-ᠨᠡ-ᠵᠤᠨ-DUN	-	Walter Cook’s place at Wagon Wheel.
Nelechundun	<i>Nii--lii--chvn-dvn</i> “riffle at the foot of”	ᠨᠢᠢ-ᠯᠢᠢ' ᠵᠤᠨ-DUN	-	Present-day family home of Loren Bommelyn’s family.
Milichundun	<i>Mii--lii--chvn-dvn</i> “flow into at the foot of”	-	<i>militchuntun</i>	“Former weir site. 2 houses...1 sweathouse,” “located on the eastside of the river at <i>Nelechundun</i> .”
Gasquet	<i>Mvs-ye</i> “beneficial underneath”	ᠮᠦᠰ-ᠶᠡ	<i>muslye</i>	Village at Gasquet Flat, <i>Yontocket</i> suburb.
Big Flat	<i>'En-chwa</i> “land large”	ᠡ-N' ᠵ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋	-	-
Lower Big Flat	<i>Naa-k'vt-'at</i> “upriver at”	ᠨᠠ-ᠬ' ᠤᠲ-ᠣᠲ	<i>na'kutat</i>	“ <i>tatatun</i> suburb.”

Notes: [1] Loren Bommelyn, personal communication. [2] From Tolowa Language Class (1972) and Bommelyn (1989), cited in Reed (1999). Tolowa Unifon Font, © 2009 Elk Valley Rancheria, California. For the Tolowa Unifon orthography, see Tolowa Language Class (1972). [3] Quoted text from Drucker (1937) unless otherwise noted.

Table 17. Ethnographic Coastal and Estuarine Villages and Camps:
Source Descriptions and Translations.

ANGLICIZED NAME & TRINOMIAL	PRACTICAL ALPHABET [1]	UNIFON [2]	DRUCKER (1937)	ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION [3]
<i>Coastal and Estuarine Villages and Camps</i>				
Yontocket	<i>Yan'-daa-k'vt</i> "south there upon"	YON'DÓ-K'UT	<i>yotokut</i>	Tolowa place of genesis, at mouth of Smith River. Site of 1853 massacre. "Formerly largest town. 7 Indian houses, 2 sweathouses and sacred sweathouse after the Holocaust."
Troolet	<i>Tr'uu-le'</i> "fishing point"	T'RŪ-LET	<i>trolet</i>	"Small suburb of <i>Yontocket</i> ."
Howonquet	<i>Xaa-wan'-k'wvt</i> "the place along there upon by the river"	XÓ-WON'GWUT	<i>xawunhwut</i>	Moved to island near mouth Smith River " <i>(stu'ndaso-hwut)</i> 13 "Indian houses," 3 "white man's houses," 3 "sweat houses."
Tatatum	<i>Taa-'at-dvn</i> "outward-at-place"	TO-ÓT-DUN	<i>tatatum</i>	Village at Crescent City. "11 houses, 2 sweathouses."
Etchulet	<i>'Ee-chuu-le'</i> "land large peninsula"	ÉE-Ū-LET'	<i>etculet</i>	"Large town, noted for wealth, 11 houses, 4 sweathouses" at Lake Earl.
Turockuctun	<i>Srʷsr-natlh-k'vsh</i> "wood/(canoe) being drug"	-	<i>tucRocKuctun</i>	"9 Indian houses, 3 white-man houses, 2 sweathouses." <i>Etchulet</i> "offshoot" at Lake Earl.
Point St. George (CA-DNO-11)	<i>Taa-ghii--'a~</i> "outward placed there"	TÓ-GHÍŪ-ON'	<i>ta'giatun</i> "standing up there"	Shellfish gathering and "camping place for sea lion expeditions," village site formerly. <i>t'aiyañ</i> in Gould (1966a).
Sweetwater	<i>Taa-gha'sr-naa-lhxvn</i> "water sweet"	TO-GHÓR'S-NO-ŪXUN	<i>ta'gəcnuLxuntun</i> "sweetwater place"	Smelt fishing "camp site with several houses and sweathouse" associated with <i>Etchulet</i> . <i>tawašnašrən</i> in Gould (1966a). See also Tushingam et al. (2013b).
Wilson Creek	<i>Daa-gheshl-ts'a'</i> "cove or inlet"	DO-GHÉCT'Ū-T'CO'	<i>ta'gesLsaitun</i> "opens backward (inland) there"	Village site at Wilson Creek, the southern border.

Notes: [1] Loren Bommelyn, personal communication. [2] From Tolowa Language Class (1972) and Bommelyn (1989), cited in Reed (1999). Tolowa Unifon Font, © 2009 Elk Valley Rancheria, California. For the Tolowa Unifon orthography, see Tolowa Language Class (1972). [3] Quoted text from Drucker (1937) unless otherwise noted.

The Tolowa and other Oregon Athabaskan peoples shared many cultural traits with the Yurok, Karuk, Hupa, Wiyot and other northwestern California groups which were unique to this part of California (see Chapter 2, *Ethnographic Context* on page 27). Minor differences include Tolowa dwellings (Figure 30), which were single pitched rather than double pitched like those of the Yurok, Hupa, and Karuk. The Tolowa had their own World Renewal (Ne-Dosh) ceremonies, usually held in December, separate from (but with the same purpose of) the World Renewal ceremonies of the Yurok, Hupa, and Karuk held in September. Wealth displays apparently were comparatively less elaborate in Tolowa ceremonials (Drucker 1937:225). Powers (1877:66) distinguished the Tolowa as being remarkably concerned with the pursuit of wealth: “Probably there are no other Indians in California so avaricious as those of Del Norte County. Money makes the chief among them.”



From Del Norte County Historical Society. Drawn by W.H. Moore.

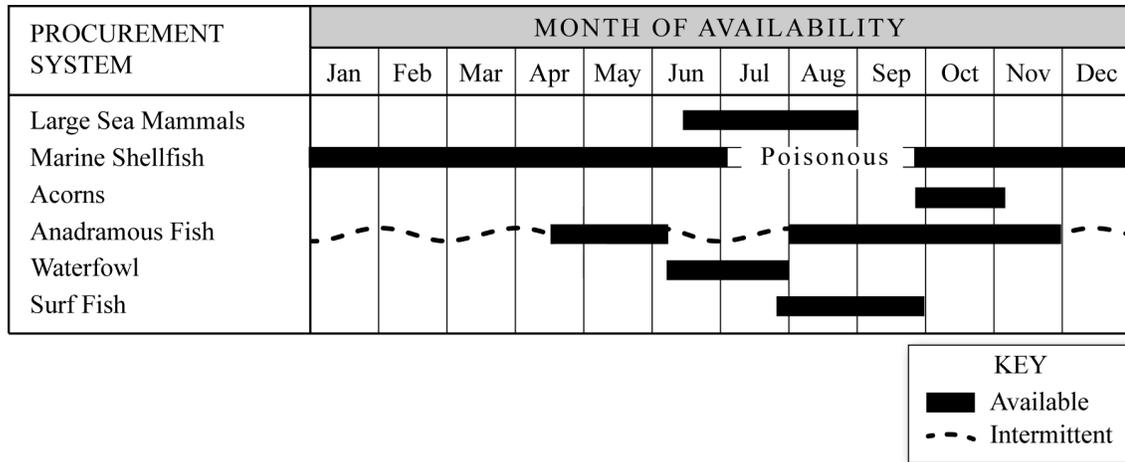
Figure 30. Family Houses and Sweathouse (right foreground) at Coastal Tolowa Village at Cushing Creek, 1854.

Coastal Tolowa

Gould’s (1966a) detailed reconstruction of the annual economic cycle of Tolowa villagers who lived at Point St. George is arguably the best site-specific description of aboriginal settlement and subsistence from the California coast (Tushingham and Bencze 2013). Gould based this reconstruction on a combination of oral histories given by Tolowa elders, early ethnographic writings (c.f. Curtis 1924; Drucker 1937; Waterman 1925), and archaeological fieldwork at CA-DNO-11, a theoretical approach that is outlined in the first chapter of the Point St. George monograph, *Oral Tradition and Archaeology* (Gould 1966a:1-8). Tolowa consultants directly participated in his work; they supplied him with Tolowa words for various food items and artifacts, assisted with the interpretation of artifact function, explained the traditional layout of sites, and documented the history of the villages at Point. St. George. Detailed descriptions of the historic occupation of CA-DNO-13 were

supplied by several consultants, including Sam Lopez, whose father was born around 1853 and had grown up at southern Point St. George (CA-DNO-13; Gould n.d.).

An extensive range of seasonally available resources was exploited throughout Tolowa aboriginal territory. Major dietary staples include anadromous fish (such as salmon, steelhead and eel), acorns, sea mammals, shellfish, elk, deer, waterfowl, and surf fish (Figure 31). The diet was supplemented by many other foods such as seaweed, edible bulbs, berries, and the occasional whale. In fact “the Tolowa seem to have collected just about every kind of edible food that was available to them” (Gould 1975:66).



Tushingham and Bencze (2013); Redrawn from Gould (1978:68).

Figure 31. Major Dietary Staples and their Month of Availability.

Overall, salmon and acorns are ranked as primary staples (cf. Baumhoff 1963; Drucker 1937; Kroeber 1925). For the Tolowa:

One soon is forcibly impressed by the basic importance of salmon and acorns. Next were marine products, smelt, mollusks, and so forth. The essential coastal distribution of the population was probably at once a cause and a result of the importance of these latter foods. The highly esteemed deer, elk and sea lions (the “ocean deer”) were prized in proportion to the difficulty with which they were obtained. A miscellany of vegetable products, small game, and minor sea foods gave variety to the dietary. [Drucker 1937:231]

For the coastal Tolowa, Gould (1978) lists large sea mammals, marine shellfish, acorns, anadromous fish, waterfowl, and surf fish as major procurement systems or staples. Supplemental foods include land mammals, edible berries and plants and ocean fish. The majority of foods were obtained by individuals or small groups. Some salmon fishing (via weirs) and offshore marine mammal hunting was done collectively, though participation was always voluntary.

Coastal villages were inhabited by the entire community throughout the rainy winter months and were never entirely abandoned throughout the year. The seasonal round for Point St. George villagers began in the late summer when families fished for smelt at

temporary camps along the coast (Figure 32; also see Tushingam and Bencze 2013:Figure 1). Seasonal campsites were specific, owned places that belonged to certain families. Late summer is also the season when men from some villages formed specialized groups to hunt sea mammals at the distant offshore islands of Northwest and Southwest Seal Rock. Between September and mid-to-late November, families ventured to inland locations to fish for salmon and gather acorns (note that the salmon camp is in the vicinity of CA-DNO-339 and across the river from CA-DNO-26). While fish were dried at the seasonal camps, processing of acorns took place at the village, and during this fall fishing and acorn gathering period, women transported basket-loads of the gathered food for storage in the village (Gould 1966a, 1975, 1978).

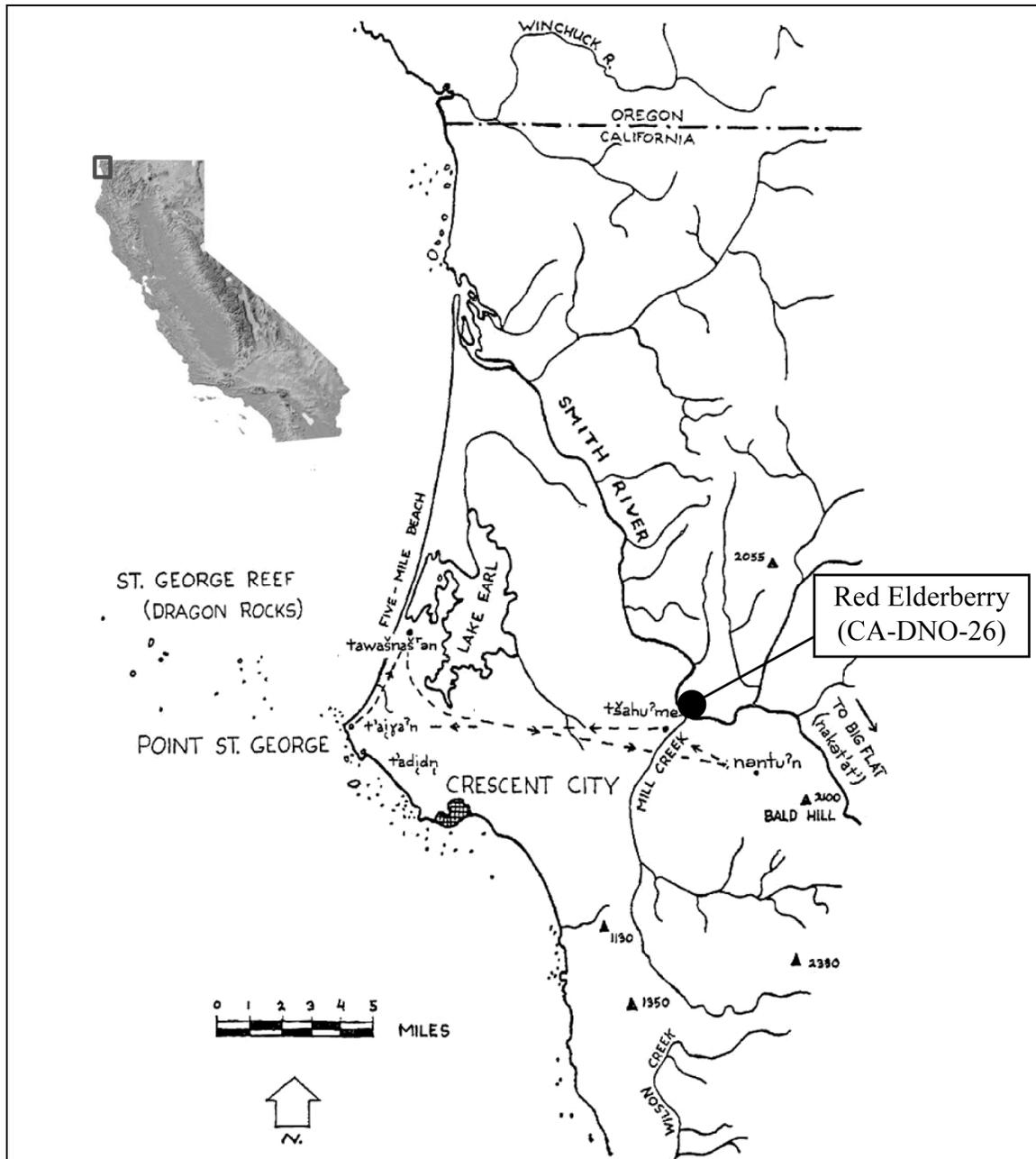
Gee-Dee-Ni' (Upriver Tolowa) Ethnography

While the Contact Period Tolowa are well-documented at coastal and estuarine villages, less is known about life in river villages. Drucker (1937) includes brief mention of the village of *Chvn-su'lh-dvn* (Red Elderberry Place or CA-DNO-26) and several fish trap sites on Mill Creek, but few details are given about these places. The goal of this section is to improve baseline data about upriver people and places, particularly in the project area. Fortunately, a great deal of information about Red Elderberry Place and its environs has been preserved in unpublished documents and oral histories, and this information was recorded in interviews with several members of the Tolowa community.

Methods and Consultants

Key sources referenced for the Gee-Dee-Ni' Tolowa ethnographic study include historical information in archaeological site records, the National Register of Historic Places Nomination for CA-DNO-26 (Bickel 1979), and the published and unpublished writings of Bommelyn (1989), Drucker (1937), Gould (1966a, 1966b, 1975, 1978, n.d.), Reed (1999), Kroeber (1925), Kroeber and Barrett (1960), and Waterman (1925). References to geographical places in Bommelyn (1989) and Reed (1999) were derived from the first edition of "The Tolowa Language" (Tolowa Language Class 1972), a manuscript which includes lists of Tolowa names, prayers, stories, and, most pertinent for this study, lists of place names with a corresponding map. This information was collected during a collaborative community project which began in the early 1970s. Participating elders included Amelia Brown, Sam Lopez, Ella Norris, and Ed "Goble" Richards.

Data was also drawn from interviews conducted with knowledgeable members of the Tolowa community, including Loren Bommelyn, Margaret Brooks, Richard Brooks, Nellie Chisman, and John Green, all of whom had relatives who lived in river villages. Dale Lesina, a non-Indian man in his 70s who grew up in the immediate area, also provided information. Interviews with Loren Bommelyn, Richard Brooks, and Nellie Chisman were taped, and transcripts are included in Appendix G of Tushingam et al. (2008). The remaining interviews were recorded using notes for practical reasons or at the request of the interviewee. William (Bill) Richards also provided valuable information early on in this project and his thoughts and insights are a guiding force of this chapter. To ensure accuracy, participants were provided drafts of the ethnography and their comments and revisions were incorporated into the text.



From Gould (1966a).

Figure 32. Map of Tolowa Territory, Showing Route of Annual Economic Cycle for Residents of *Taa-ghii~- 'a~ (t'aiya'm)* at Point St. George.

Interviews were open-ended and informal, however, interviewees were asked for information which focused on the following themes:

- Places: Knowledge of specific places where people lived; hunting, gathering, and fishing places; or other pertinent locations which were used in the past or present.
- Events: Knowledge of historic events which occurred in the local area.

- Land-Use Change: Knowledge of how the area has changed through time or has been altered in the historic period.
- Traditional Use and Community Identity: Information about the area as a Traditional Cultural Property, its importance to the identity of the local community, and identification of areas which are still used for cultural purposes (or would still be used if it were possible).

Information was gathered on three villages and camp locations, four fish trap locations and associated camps, acorn gathering and hunting locations, a cemetery and a burial location, three places of religious and historical significance, and a fire-managed meadow.

Included here is a summary of major findings for areas within the immediate area of Jedediah Smith State Park. Information on other inland locations is available in Tushingam (2009), including descriptions of ethnographic villages at *Lhe'sr-me'* (CA-DNO-28; ʔLÉR'S-ME') and *See-tr'ee-ghin-dvm* (Sitragitum; CEE-T'RE-GHIN-DUM), "Chief Phillips" Burial Rock (CA-DNO-25), and the Mill Creek fish trap locations of *Maa-ne Tes-dvm-dvn* (*mānī'tcestumtun*) and *Shu'lh-ts'ayme'* (*cu'ctaixōtme*), and Twin Rocks at Society Hole (*See-k'wee-shvt-yaa-ghii~li~*; CEE-GWÉ-SUT-YO-GHII-LII). Summaries of this information are provided in Table 16 through Table 19. Information on native persistence in the aftermath of the Gold Rush and the formation of Indian-White Households is expanded upon in the concluding chapter.

Upriver Settlement and Subsistence

Traditionally, people who lived on the Smith River are known as Gee Dee-ni', or upriver Tolowa. Gee Dee-ni' lived on the South Fork of the Smith from Early Flat and Hiouchi east to the villages of Big Flat and Gasquet Flat and beyond. The Gee-Dee-ni' ocean frontage included *Etchulet*, *Tatatun*, and *Daa-gheshl-ts'a'* at Wilson Creek. In contrast, people who lived downriver from the fish weir site of *Nelechundun*, to the major villages of *Yontocket* and *Howonquet* at the mouth of the Smith River and on the coast were known as Da'-chvn-dvn Dee-ni'. The inland portion of the Da'-chvn-dvn included the middle and north fork of the Smith River drainages. Though all Tolowa (Dee-ni') shared a similar way of life and common language (Oregon Athabascan), Gee Dee-ni' emphasized riverine (non-coastal) resources and had a distinctive dialect which set them apart from their neighbors (Loren Bommelyn, personal communication 1997).

Villages and Historic Homesteads

Ethnographic villages and camps in the immediate area include Red Elderberry Place and Hiouchi. Additionally, CA-DNO-334 may be a camp or small village associated with the ethnographic fishing site of *Tvm-chaa-me'* on the Smith River (described in the section "Fish Trap Sites and Associated Camps").

Red Elderberry Place (CA-DNO-26; *TcuncuLtn*; *Chvn-su'lh-dvn*; ʔUN-ʔŪT'Ū-DUN): Drucker (1937) describes the village of *Chvn-su'lh-dvn* as a "suburb" or offshoot of *Tatatun*, a major village site in present-day Crescent City located at Battery Point, both part of the same southern Tolowa village district. This is the same site as ʔUN-ʔŪT'Ū-DUN in Bommelyn (1989), Tolowa Language Class (1972), and Reed (1999). According to Drucker's Tolowa consultants, the post-contact village had two houses and a sweathouse. In northwestern California, houses were typically clustered in this way, with approximately

three houses for every sweathouse (Kroeber 1925). Ethnographic houses on average had seven people associated with them, with men and post-pubescent boys living in sweathouses and women and children living in houses. Thus the two houses and a sweathouse at Red Elderberry Place may represent an extended family house cluster with approximately 21 people living at the site in the Contact Period.

According to Drucker, “*TcuncuLtn*” is Athabascan for “pigeonberries there.” However, Loren Bommelyn translates *Chvn-su’lh-dun* to “Red Elderberry Place” (*chvn-su’l* are “Red Elderberry,” *dun* is “place”). The National Register Nomination for CA-DNO-26 notes that Tolowa consultants interviewed in 1978 readily supplied the name *TcuncuLtn* (said to mean “elderberry place;” cf. Drucker’s “pigeonberry place”) for the location. “Some said that it was once a village; others said, just a place used by people [presumably for fishing or gathering berries or other vegetal foods]” (Bickel 1979:2).

Table 18. Ethnographic Fishing, Acorn Gathering, and Hunting Places:
Source Descriptions and Translations.

ANGLICIZED NAME & TRINOMIAL	PRACTICAL ALPHABET [1]	UNIFON [2]	DRUCKER (1937)	ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION [3]
<i>Fishing Locations and Camps</i>				
Tumchame CA-DNO-334?	<i>Tvm-chaa-me’</i> “deep water in”	TÚM-ᵐᵐ	-	Salmon fishing hole and possible camp.
Mouth of Mill Creek Salmon Camp	<i>Shaa-xu’-me’</i> “for me there in”	SÓ-Xᵐᵐ-DÓH’-ME’	<i>ca’:xōtme</i> “up to a riffle”	Fall salmon camp at the Mouth of Mill Creek owned by <i>Etchulet</i> villagers. “Fished, set nets, etc.” <i>tšahuᵐme</i> in Gould (1966a).
Upper Mill Creek Trap Site 1	<i>Shu’-lhts’ay-me’</i> “good drying place in”	-	<i>cu’ctaixōtme</i>	Mill Creek fish trap site owned by <i>Tatatum</i> rich man.
Upper Mill Creek Trap Site 2	<i>Maa-ne Tes-dvm-dvn</i> “across (the creek) ford there”	-	<i>mānī’tcestumtun</i> “across (the creek) ford there”	Mill Creek fish trap site associated with the Lake Earl village of <i>Etchulet</i> . “Fished, set nets, etc.”
Smith River Eeling Place	<i>Ch’vslh-ghii--chvn-dvn</i> “always packed at the foot of (the gorge)”	ᵐᵐᵐᵐ-Gᵐᵐᵐ-ᵐᵐᵐ-DUN	-	Eeling grounds on south and middle forks of Smith River.
<i>Acorn Gathering and Hunting Claims</i>				
Bald Hills	<i>Nan-t’uu-’vn’</i> “mt. meadow to”	NÓN-Tᵐᵐ’-UN’	<i>nuntūtun</i>	Acorn gathering and hunting claims owned by <i>Tatatum</i> villagers “Principal camp, several houses and a sweathouse” <i>nəntuᵐn</i> in Gould (1966a).

Notes: [1] Loren Bommelyn, personal communication. [2] From Tolowa Language Class (1972) and Bommelyn (1989), cited in Reed (1999). Tolowa Unifon Font, © 2009 Elk Valley Rancheria, California. For the Tolowa Unifon orthography, see Tolowa Language Class (1972). [3] Quoted text from Drucker (1937) unless otherwise noted.

Table 19. Places of Religious and Historical Significance, Cemeteries, Burial Locations, and Fire-Managed Meadows: Source Descriptions and Translations.

ANGLICIZED NAME & TRINOMIAL	PRACTICAL ALPHABET [1]	UNIFON [2]	DRUCKER (1937)	ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION [3]
<i>Places of Religious and Historical Significance</i>				
Widow Rock	<i>Ts'a~s-k'wvlh or Ts'a~s-kw'vlh-yu'</i> “widow”	T'CONT'Ḫ'GWÚT'Ḫ-YU	<i>sə:skwu'L</i> “Widow”	Prominent “female” rock outcrop in Hiouchi associated with the health of a baby. “Mother of angler...who became a boulder.”
Doctor Place	<i>Nan-ts'vn-chuu-le'</i> “mt. large peak”	-	<i>nə'n'suntcūlet</i> “big hill on top”	A doctor place” associated with Widow Rock, lucky place for wealth.
Flower Rock and Spring	<i>Ch'anlh-da T'uu- 'i'</i> “puberty water or the water of menses”	-	-	Rock and natural spring at Hiouchi Bridge associated with the Flower Dance, a girl’s puberty rite. Spring water known for healing properties.
Twin Rocks	<i>See-k'wee-shvt-yaa-ghii~li~</i> “stone/boulder flows between”	CEE-GWÉ-SUT- YO-GHĪŪ-LIŪ	-	Pair of rocks at Society Rock where two sisters were placed to keep them safe from Oregon men trying to steal them.
<i>Cemeteries and Burial Locations</i>				
Tcuncultun Cemetery	<i>Chvn-su'lh-dvn Ch'i~s-lu</i> “elderberry place cemetery”	-	-	Reported cemetery associated with <i>Chvn-su'lh-dvn</i> village.
Chief Phillips Burial Rock	-	-	-	Outcrop of rock where “Chief Phillips” was reported to have been buried ca. 1902.
<i>Fire-Managed Meadows</i>				
Hiouchi Flat Fire Yard	<i>Xa'lh-nvt</i> “controlled burn”	-	-	Fire-managed meadows east of <i>Chvn-su'lh-dvn</i> .

Notes: [1] Loren Bommelyn, personal communication. [2] From Tolowa Language Class (1972) and Bommelyn (1989), cited in Reed (1999). Tolowa Unifon Font, © 2009 Elk Valley Rancheria, California. For the Tolowa Unifon orthography, see Tolowa Language Class (1972). [3] Quoted text from Drucker (1937) unless otherwise noted.

According to Loren Bommelyn and Richard Brooks, it is unusual for places to be named after a resource. Most Tolowa places refer to the geography of the local area. For example, *Xaa-wan'-k'wvt* (*Howonquet*) roughly translates to “the place along there upon by the river” (Loren Bommelyn and Richard Brooks, personal communication). Loren

Bommelyn believes that Red Elderberry Place might have been named after a berry because they were collected in this area or were unusually common at this location:

And, so Uncle Ernie Scott would be telling me about...*Xaa-yuu-chit* or *Chvn-su'lh-dvn* ...he's the one that pointed out to me, "I, I don't [know] why they call that place *Chvn-su'lh-dvn*? You ever seen an elderberry growing around up here?" You know, and...[laughter] I've tromped around all over there and there's no elderberry around there that I've seen....So, evidently, at some point in time, there was some, whole bunch of *chvn-sulh* growing there, you know, elderberry, the red elderberries. [Loren Bommelyn]

All Tolowa consultants who were interviewed for this project had ancestors who lived in upriver villages, though none knew people who could be identified as direct descendants of Red Elderberry. In late 1978 interviews conducted by Bickel (1979), Tolowa consultants also indicated "no knowledge about which families once lived on the site. However, a fenced cemetery associated with the village was maintained by the Tolowa as late as the 1930s according to multiple sources, including William Richards and Eunice Bommelyn (Smith River Tolowa).

According to the 1969 site record, the archaeologist Eric Ritter interviewed a local resident, Mr. Sawyer, who indicated "that a Mr. Zofti [Zopfi] lived near the site. Zofti [Zopfi] told him the last Indian (a renegade) lived on the site around 1902. He was chased into the forest and shot by local white residents." While unclear, the man killed in 1902 at Red Elderberry may have been buried at "Chief Phillips Burial Rock" (CA-DNO-25), a site that is located approximately one-half mile downstream from the Hiouchi Bridge in Jedediah Smith State Park (Tushingam 2009). The physical description and the location of the rock is analogous to *Ch'a~lh-da T'uu-i'*, the Flower Dance Rock (see page 99). According to the CA-DNO-25 site record, a local resident (C. O. Young) indicated the rock "may have had ethnographic significance" and Phillips "may be Indian killed in area in 1902." If so, CA-DNO-25 could be the burial place of the last inhabitant of the village of Red Elderberry Place (*Chvn-su'lh-dvn* or CA-DNO-26).

Xaa-yuu-chit (Hiouchi; O-YU-ŪIT; Catching Ranch): Modern-day Hiouchi is a small settlement associated with the historic Tolowa place *Xaa-yuu-chit*, which, according to Loren Bommelyn, translates to "important/beautiful water," with *xaa-yuu* deriving from the words for a headman or person of high status and *chit* translating to stream, "so they really thought that was a nice river."

Xaa-yuu-chit is connected historically to the Catchings, an Indian-white family who owned a farming and ranching operation covering a large part of Hiouchi Flat by the 1870s into the 1900s (historical information on the Catchings is included in sections below). Based on information from Tolowa elders, Bommelyn (1989) and Reed (1999) refer to O-YU-ŪIT as a village "at Ketchen Ranch at Hiouchi" ("Ketchen" is almost certainly a misspelling of "Catching") and map the location at modern-day Hiouchi. *Xaa-yuu-chit* Dee-ni' refers to the people associated with Catching's place (Ketchen people; Loren Bommelyn, personal communication).

Richard Brooks had always heard that a historic village location was "behind the firehouse" in Hiouchi. According to Hughes (1974), the Catchings had their "family home and several cabins" in this exact location. A sacred place is also documented in the immediate area, *Ts'a~s-k'wvllh*, "The Widow" rock (see page 98).

Salmon Camps and Fishing Locations

This section of the Smith River and the Mill Creek drainage was, and continues to be, well-known as an excellent salmon fishing location. Ethnographically, the Tolowa fished the river using a variety of means including nets, basket traps, and harpoons. The fall Chinook run was a major event. After the First Salmon Ceremony, families from outlying villages travelled to the area to camp for several weeks to catch and process salmon for their winter food stores.

Tvm-chaa-me' (TÚM-ᑕᑕ; CA-DNO-334?): *Tvm-chaa-me'* is an ethnographic fishing location along a bend of the Smith river that borders the northern part of Jedediah Smith Campground. *Tvm-chaa-me'* translates to “deep water in” and is equivalent to TÚM-ᑕᑕ, described as a “fishing hole below Hiouchi” in Bommelyn (1989) and Reed (1999). *Tvm-chaa-me'* includes pools of deep water and a zone of shallow riffles, making it an ideal place for catching salmon.

Richard Brooks was told that there was a village in this area, though possibly closer to US 199. Loren Bommelyn’s Auntie told him the area was named *Tvm-chaa-me'* and his Uncle told him that this was “a real good fishing place.” Loren said that the site was used as a seasonal fishing and gathering camp into the historic period. Many people came from the coast during the fall salmon run and camped for as long as two months at temporary camps at Mill Creek and *Tvm-chaa-me'*. *Tvm-chaa-me'* is adjacent to site CA-DNO-334, so it is possible that the archaeological site could be an associated camp or small village.

Shaa-xu'-me (ca':xōtme; SÓ-XŪT-DŌH' -ME'; t̄shuʔme; CA-DNO-339?): Coastal villagers owned several valuable salmon fish trap sites on Mill Creek, including *Shaa-xu'-me'* (ca':xōtme), *Maa-ne Tes-dvm-dvn* (mənī'tcestumtun), and *Shu'lhst'ayme'* (cu'ctaixōtme) and came to these areas seasonally to catch and dry salmon. All were within the same southern Tolowa village district and were owned by specific village headmen.

According to Drucker (1937:228), ca':xōtme “up to a riffle,” located at the mouth of Mill Creek, was a location associated with 'Ee-chuu-le' (*Etchulet*) villagers (#23 on Figure 29). The Tolowa Language Class (1972) identified the site as SÓ-XŪT-DŌH' -ME'. Loren Bommelyn (personal communication) names the site *Shaa-xu'-me* “for me there in” and mentions how every year coastal villagers would camp across from Red Elderberry Place to fish for fall salmon. Loren Bommelyn reported the name of this camp to be *shaa-xu'-me'*, “an important Chinook fishing location until at least the 1920s when fish and game [California Department of Fish and Game] began to destroy the Tolowa way of life,” analogous to Drucker’s (1937) ca':xōtme. Gould (1966a) recorded the site as *t̄shuʔme*, an important fall salmon camp at Mill Creek used by *Etchulet* and *Tatatum* villagers on the coast. Gould believed Late Prehistoric inhabitants at Point St. George also visited the site annually to harvest salmon. *Shaa-xu'-me* is located in the same general vicinity as site CA-DNO-339 (see Chapter 3). However, at this point very little is known about the archaeological site, so any association is unclear.

Acorn Gathering and Hunting Locations

The closest acorn gathering and hunting locations listed by Drucker (1937) near CA-DNO-26 are located approximately 3.5 miles to the southeast in the Bald Hills. Claims in the area were owned by *Tatatum* villagers at *nuntūtun* “in water (?) there” (#40 on Figure 29).

Known as a “principal camp,” the site had “several houses and a sweathouse.” The area noted as *nəntuḥ* by Gould (1966) is shown as approximately 2.5 miles from CA-DNO-26, an area probably also used by Point St. George villagers on the Coast (see Figure 29). Etchuleet villagers owned rights to elk hunting and acorn gathering tracts between Elk Valley (*tūtne’sme*) to the Smith River (southwest of CA-DNO-26). Resident Red Elderberry Place villagers probably gathered acorns and hunted game in similar upland locations to the south of the Smith River, and may have maintained closer oak groves in the Hiouchi Flat area similar to one that still exists at Musye village near Gasquet Flat, approximately ten miles upriver. Acorns could apparently be obtained more locally; according to Loren Bommelyn there are patches of oak groves in the Jed Smith Campground area where people still harvest acorns.

Hiouchi Flat “Fire Yard”: Referred to as *Xatlh-nvt* or “Control Burn” by the Tolowa, the maintenance of open areas by indigenous people is a common practice worldwide. Patches maintained by hunter-gatherers are often referred to as “fire yards,” defined as “openings or clearings (meadows, swales, and lakeshores) within a forested area that are maintained by burning” (Lewis and Ferguson 1988:60-61). Fire yards create a mosaic environment in forest ecosystems. In contrast with naturally created mosaics, “man-made fire mosaics, at least those fire-maintained by hunter-gatherers, entail smaller, more frequently, and lightly burned patches of growth” (Lewis and Ferguson 1988:58).

The Indian inhabitants of northwest California followed a pattern of burning open areas within the forest and along grass-covered ridges. These “anthropogenic prairies,” as one writer describes them for western Washington (Norton 1979), were regularly burned in order to attract game from surrounding, densely forested areas, mature forest stands that were purposefully left unburned or at least subjected only to infrequent lightning or accidental manmade fires (Lewis and Ferguson 1988:61).

Anthropogenic fire yards were common in various ecological zones throughout northwestern California. These man-made open spaces created an environment conducive to edible plant species. They had the added benefit of attracting large game such as deer and elk, which in effect improved hunting by increasing encounter rates.

Tolowa consultants identified one such “fire yard” at Hiouchi Flat. The fire-maintained meadow which was located between the entry kiosk of Jedediah Smith State Park east to Hiouchi and south to the north bank of the Smith River. According to several sources, the Smith River could be seen from US 199 not so long ago. For example:

That was all grassland, clear from the parking area, when you’d pull into Jedediah Smith State Park, and there’s a kiosk and there’s a parking lot, the grass used to come right there....it ran straight across that field, past that maintenance station, [it] was all grass, clear to the river. [Loren Bommelyn]

In the past, Hiouchi Flat was much more open, the direct result of fire management which took place well into the twentieth century. Evidently the tradition continued after Tolowa people lost control of the area. Dale Lesina, who grew up in the area, said that in the past the “Old Timers” kept the area clear by burning on a yearly cycle. In the early- to mid-twentieth century, the area was kept clear from grazing and agricultural uses. Once the National Park Service took over this land, such activities ceased, and vegetation began to take over the area. Today much of Hiouchi Flat is covered with grasses, young trees, and scrub.

In discussions with Elk Valley Rancheria and Smith River Rancheria Culture Committee members, it was learned that burns took place on a regular cycle, every two to five years depending on the vegetation, and were timed according to the rains so the fire could be controlled. This pattern is consistent with the burning regime conducted by the Yurok, who reported that patches in the redwood forest were burnt every three to five years, while pine nut trees and tan oaks were burned on a three-year cycle. When burns were conducted near villages, they were timed to take place after the first heavy rains of the early winter (Kroeber 1939).

Ethnographically, the Hiouchi Flat Fire Yard was maintained by Red Elderberry Place and/or Hiouchi inhabitants to create an open area near the villages where plants could be collected and animals could be hunted. It was purposely created to decrease travel costs to patches while increasing within patch encounter rates and was an integral part of making sedentary village life possible. Burning likely took place on a regular basis, possibly after the winter rains every three to five years.

Places of Religious and Historical Significance

Several places were cited in the general area as having ongoing religious or ritual significance to the Tolowa people. Two of these places are prominent rock outcrops which hold special meaning: *Ts'a-s-k'wvlh* (Widow Rock) in Hiouchi and *Cha-lh-da T'uui-'i'*, (puberty rock or Flower Dance rock and spring) at Hiouchi Bridge. As Loren Bommelyn points out, it is interesting that both places are associated with female rituals or women in general.

Ts'a-s-k'wvlh “The Widow” Rock (T'CONT'Ǿ'GWÚT'Ǿ-YU): *Ts'a-s-k'wvlh* is a large, prominent rock outcrop just south of US 199 west of the volunteer firehouse in the modern-day town of Hiouchi. It is part of a Mill Creek system of doctoring Rocks in the area, including high points at Little Bald Hill and Childs Hill. Both *Ts'a-s-k'wvlh* and the village of *Xaa-yuu-chit* are located within the old Catching homestead.

The rock is barely visible from the highway as it is covered with dense vegetation. However, when the area was kept clear in the past with regular burning, the approximately 50-foot outcrop would have been a very prominent feature on the landscape. *Ts'a-s-k'wvlh* may be the same place as T'CONT'Ǿ'GWÚT'Ǿ-YU, “rock at Hiouchi” which is mapped in the general vicinity (Bommelyn 1989; Reed 1999).

Ts'a-s-k'wvlh is Athabascan for “the widow.” The rock is a female entity which is associated with the health of a baby:

Well, that, that rock's name is *Ts'a-s-k'wvlh* or *Ts'a-s-k'wvlh-yu*, and *Ts'a-s-k'wvlh* is “the widow,” and it represents the spirit of the earth or of the female...you give offerings there [so that] you'll have good, strong children. So that's a place to give her a blessing...an offering, you know, there. And, so...she oversees the women, you know, of the people. [Loren Bommelyn]

Women or men could pray there “cause everybody has children, but it's a woman, it's not a, it's not a male entity, that rock. It's a female” (Loren Bommelyn). How and what people prayed for at *Ts'a-s-k'wvlh* varied: “Depends on what they're praying for and what they need... it's up to the woman that's going there to pray” (Lena Bommelyn). People may have

physically climbed to the top, “or you just pray there. You know, leave an offering, or clap your hands [which] is a real common practice” (Loren Bommelyn).

In Drucker’s (1937) Map 2, the Widow rock appears slightly to the north, though the map is not to scale. According to Drucker (1937:230), Widow Rock has connections to *nə’'n’suntcūlet*, “big hill on top, a doctor place” located in mountains northeast of Widow Rock. Loren Bommelyn spells this place *Nan-ts’vn-chuu-le’* and notes that it is the large mountain on the north side of the Winchuck River at the mouth. At this place “a young man once dug a pit in bedrock on this hill with elk horn wedges. Sitting there, he cast a line across the ocean to Dentailia’s home, catching a large number of dentailia, which he kept alive in a cooking basket full of water. He later poured this water into the pit, making it a lucky place to train for wealth.” The mother of this man is “*sə:skwu’L*, ‘widow,’ mother of angler above, who became a boulder. On passing, one had to ‘feed’ her tobacco, food, or blades of grass if one had nothing else—There were many dangerous places in the mountains; campers dared not talk loudly, nor laugh, or ‘woods devils’ came and put out their fire” (Drucker 1937).

In a personal communication to Thomas King, Richard Gould—an ethno-archaeologist who began working with the Tolowa in the early 1960s—indicated that widow rock “was a topic of controversy” when US 199 was constructed in 1924 (King 1972). At the time, the Tolowa had little recourse in protecting sacred sites from development.

Cha~lh-da T’uu-i’ Flower Dance Rock and Spring: At Hiouchi Bridge, there is a rock and natural water spring that are associated with the Flower Dance, a girl’s coming of age ceremony. (The Flower Dance Rock is near the “Chief Phillips Burial Rock” [CA-DNO-25], and may be the same location.) Similar public female puberty ceremonies are common in northern California, but are rare in the north Pacific Northwest Coast, where a girl’s first menses was typically marked with fasting, bathing, and other private purification rites. The Tolowa Flower Dance was a public ceremony which:

Was held only for the daughters of rich-men, and in times of stress, as “when they heard sickness was coming.” The performance of the ritual on this latter occasion was based on the belief that at this time a girl possessed a tremendous magical potency, which might thus be used in behalf of the people. A poor man’s daughter might be “borrowed” on such an occasion. The ceremony was a most solemn one. Informants are emphatic in their assertions that this was not a “good-time dance.” Its importance is reflected by the fact that the dance would not be interrupted even if a death should occur during its performance.

Like other Tolowa ceremonies, the Flower Dance had strict protocols for all participants. The ten-night- and ten-day-dance was held in a dance house, the walls of which were covered with shell dance-dresses, etc. Girl placed on mat alongside-wall; hidden by mats covered with beads, dance-dresses, etc., hung from wall; lay there ten days and nights; warmed by coals of herbs on sand filled tray; ate only twice, on 4th and 7th days. All males, even small infants, had to leave house. Old woman recited formula over girl’s food before she ate, and after ceremony. Girl drank only warm water; bathed daily before daybreak. [Drucker 1937:262-263]

After her first menses but before her Flower Dance, a young girl would go to *Ch'a~lh-da T'u-u-i'* for prayer and ritual cleansing. Girls would go to the rock and wash themselves in the spring water, which was regarded as having special restorative or healing properties:

And, so, that they would go there and pray there and wash off and pray and ask for a long life, and healthy life and that kind of thing there. So that's why it's called *Ch'a~lh-da T'u-u-i'*. *Ch'a~lh-da* means menses, and *T'u-u-i'*, the water... The water of menses. [Loren Bommelyn]

After this ritual was completed the girls would return to their village for their Flower Dance. Occasionally several girls would participate in a large Flower Dance at '*Ee-chuu-le*' "land large peninsula" (*Etchulet*), a major village near Lake Earl. Multi-community ceremonies were often associated with particular villages. For example, the annual World Renewal Ceremony was always held at *Yontocket*, the First Salmon Ceremony was held at *Tr'u-u-le*' "fishing point" (Troolet), and '*Ee-chuu-le*' was known for the Flower Dance:

Now, you could have your own Flower Dance in your house at your own village. There was no protocol restriction, but I think that was kind of the place known for the debutante's ball, to occur. [Loren Bommelyn]

As Loren Bommelyn implies, it is likely that girls who had their Flower Dance at '*Ee-chuu-le*' were from wealthy families. Though the Flower Dance was traditionally supposed to start very shortly after a girl's first period (within one day according to Driver 1939:352), it is likely that the larger '*Ee-chuu-le*' ceremonies were more flexible:

And, then, if, any girl that started [her period], in that period of time, [they] could all go and have one common ceremony....and it wouldn't have to be just one person. So they kind of took care of 'em all in that process of bringing them into womanhood. [Loren Bommelyn]

The Flower Dance Rock was associated with a spring which was turned into a CCC fountain in historic times. The fountain was likely constructed after the first Hiouchi Bridge was built across the Smith River in 1929. A new highway from Crescent City to the bridge was also constructed at this time. The road from the Hiouchi Bridge to Gasquet was built in 1924 using prison labor. Thus the Hiouchi Bridge was an essential constituent of the Crescent City-Gasquet Road.

The spring and CCC fountain were used well into the latter half of the twentieth century by local Tolowa people, who regarded the spring as having healing power. Loren Bommelyn and Richard Brooks remember going to the fountain regularly:

[The] water just shot up out of there, and we'd just pull in there and everybody'd drink, you know, and fill up their jug...it was a big deal. When they rebuilt the bridge, they destroyed it, did away with it. [Loren Bommelyn]

Richard Brooks' Great-Uncle Joe LaFountain would gather the water regularly, specifically for his ailing wife. He remembers visiting the spring as a child, as early as 1974 or 1975 and that his Uncle would talk about a nearby Indian village (likely *Lhe'sr-me'* or *Tvm-chaa-me'*) on their visits:

I guess my first memory of a place being there at Jed Smith was, my great-great-uncle, Joe LaFountain, used to go up and gather a couple of things for his wife, my aunt. And she was sick the last few years of her life and they

would go up and he'd get the water there from a stone water place they had, you know...it came down from the hill right there above the intersection of [highways] 197 and 199. And when we'd go 'round up there, he would say...that there was a place there—Indian, old Indian village there—and that we couldn't go over there and play. [Richard Brooks]

The fountain was destroyed during the construction of the new Hiouchi Bridge, which was rebuilt in 1989 after a truck ran into it and knocked it from its foundation (Del Norte County Historical Society, 2005 Newsletter, page 68).

The Flower Dance Rock and Spring was an integral part of the Flower Dance ceremony. Ritual cleansing or purification was a large component of the ceremony, and the sense that the water had healing or restorative qualities is likely connected to the specific ritual nature of this location. The exceptional nature of the spring water was well known by Tolowa people, and it was collected until 1989 when the fountain was destroyed. Though many ceremonies and religious rites went underground or were temporarily halted in the early to mid-1900s, over the past 30 years there has been a cultural renaissance for the Tolowa. For example, though not held for two generations, a Flower Dance was held for a young woman in 1994, and ceremonials take place about every two years as necessary, most recently in 2006 (Loren Bommelyn and Lena Bommelyn, personal communication).

Tolowa Districts and Connections with Coastal Groups

The ethnographic evidence consistently points to Red Elderberry Place and its environs as having connections with coastal villages south of the mouth of the Smith River, specifically the villages of *Tatatun* and *Etchulet*. According to Drucker (1937) Red Elderberry Place was a suburb of *Tatatun*; headmen from *Etchulet* owned many hunting, fishing, and gathering locations throughout this entire area, including rights to several fish trap sites on Mill Creek and inland acorn groves and hunting rights south of the Smith River close to Red Elderberry Place. Drawing on the ethnography and oral histories with Tolowa elders in the early 1960s, Gould (1966) reconstructed a similar pattern of land use for villagers at Point St. George (*t'aiya'm*; CA-DNO-11), another village south of the mouth of the Smith River between *Tatatun* and *Etchulet*. For example, people from the village travelled overland to the fall salmon camp at Mill Creek (*t'sahu'me* on Figure 29) and acorn gathering camps at the Little Bald Hills (*nəntu'm*) near Red Elderberry. These foods were transported in baskets by women to be stored at their coastal villages. The overland route was apparently less hazardous and faster than transporting stored items via canoe along the Smith River.

Loren Bommelyn explains that Red Elderberry Place was part of a southern “village district” or *yvlh-'i~* (“that which is looked over”). Although villages were politically quite autonomous, there were connections between certain villages:

[W]ithin that *yvlh-'i~* everybody had exploitation rights that were from there. So if berries were ripe, your people picked berries first. If acorns were ready, or if smelts were running, or mussels were right, or whatever, that belongs to your people in that *yvlh-'i~*. Like, Lake Earl, *Ee-chuu-le'*, they owned Elk Valley. They controlled all the water flowing out of Elk Valley into Lake Earl, for example. So they owned the ducks, and the geese, and all this stuff out there on the lake. [Loren Bommelyn]

Bommelyn describes two of the southern Tolowa *yvh-'i~*. The first includes Red Elderberry Place, *Tatatun*, and *Etchulet*. It stretched from the southernmost Tolowa village at Wilson Creek north to Lake Earl and east to Hiouchi and Big Flat. The second *yvh-'i~* extended between *Yan'-daa-k'vt* (*Yontocket*) at the mouth of the Smith River to *Duu-srxuu-shi* (Winchuck River) to points east along the Smith River to *Nii~-lii~-chvn-dvn* and *Mvs-ye* (Gasquet) on the North Fork of the Smith. Additionally, others were included along the Chetco, Pistol, and Lower Rogue rivers, into the upper Rogue to Applegate River in Oregon and beyond.

Tatatun and *Etchulet* villagers were known to fish at Mill Creek, while *Yontocket* and *Howonquet* people fished at downriver weirs:

See, 'cause 'Ee-chuu-le' people from Lake Earl, *Taa-'at-dvn* [*Tatatun*] people, all went to Mill Creek. And, then, then, the *Yan'-daa-k'vt* [*Yontocket*], the *Xaa-wan'-k'wvt* [*Howonquet*] *dee-ni'* [people] and all the *Nii~-lii~-chvn-dvn* [*Nelechundun*] folks and they all came to the dam [the weir at *Nii~-lii~-chvn-dvn*]. That's where they did most of their fishing. [Loren Bommelyn]

Ethnographic Gee Dee-ni' Land Use

The land-use pattern and annual subsistence round employed by the Gee Dee-ni' was likely similar to that of the coastal Tolowa. They probably ate many of the same foods on the same annual round, but with an emphasis on local resources, and pursued them in a logistical, task-oriented manner. As salmon and acorns were more accessible to Red Elderberry Place villagers, they were more important than coastal foods in their overall diet. As at other Tolowa villages, it seems likely that wealthy individuals at Red Elderberry Place may have owned rights to certain hunting, gathering, and fishing places.

Archaeological evidence at CA-DNO-26 demonstrates that people also obtained more distant coastal foods (e.g., sea mammals and shellfish). Because of the documented connections between *Etchulet*, *Tatatun*, and Red Elderberry, and the district organization described by Bommelyn, it seems likely that coastal resources would have been obtained in the area south of Lake Earl close to the coastal villages of *Etchulet* and *Tatatun*.

Salmon Fishing

In northwestern California salmon runs were spread out, making fish available throughout much of the year, though the spring and fall runs were most important:

There was a creek salmon, *daa-sralh*. There's the big *daa~-xvt luu-k'e'*, the fall Chinooks. The *shin naa-le* are the summer salmon and *tii~-sli~* which is steelhead and *lha'-xwas-chu* which is a trout and all these different fish. There was fish, fish, fish. [Loren Bommelyn]

The spring run, which is in modern times much depleted, came at a critical time, after the winter when food stores were low. Spring run salmon were called *dan'-dee-ni'* or "people of the spring" (Loren Bommelyn, personal communication). The fall run produces masses of large Chinook:

[T]he big fish, the main fish is *daa~-xvt luu-k'e'*, and that's the Chinook fish that come in the fall. In English, they call them the hogs and that's the one they, you know the 50 pounders, the big ones. [Loren Bommelyn]

The section of the Smith River adjacent to Red Elderberry Place, Hiouchi, and *Tvum-chaa-me'* provided sought-after fishing patches including deep holes, riffles, and shallows where a variety of techniques were used to extract the resource. Catching devices included gill nets, basketry traps, weirs, and harpoons. Productive fishing patches were owned by local villagers and by headmen of coastal villages including *Tatatun* and *Etchulet*. Named fish trap sites on Mill Creek include the previously described *Shaa-xu'-me'*, *Maa-netes-dvm-dvn*, and *cu'ctaixōtme*. The lowest eeling stations on the Smith River were at *Ch'vslh-ghii~chvn-dvn* "always packed at the foot of (the gorge)" or ЧУЧН-ГІИ-ЧУН-DUN, approximately three miles upriver from Red Elderberry Place on the South and Middle forks of the Smith River.

Coastal Tolowa people came to key fishing spots along the Smith River and its tributaries to fish and dry large amounts of salmon. Northern villagers, from *Yontocket* and *Howonquet* for example, concentrated at the weir sites of *Mvn'-saa~-dvn* and *Nii~-lii~chvn-dvn*, both downriver from Red Elderberry Place. Southern villagers from *Tatatun* at Crescent City and *Etchulet* at Lake Earl fished in the Red Elderberry Place area.

Before any Chinook salmon could be taken in the fall, a First Salmon Ceremony was held at *Troolet*, near *Yontocket* at the mouth of the Smith River:

In those days [everything] had to be prayed for, but [Chinook salmon] had a very specific ceremony that was held at *Tr'uu-le'* down at *Yan'-daa-k'vt* and that was a big deal. No one could fish at the Smith River until that ceremony was done. Just period. Nobody. [Loren Bommelyn]

There were several first salmon ceremonies held in various places. Drucker describes the major annual ceremony held before the spring run⁶ at *Wee-naa-xvsh-dvn* (*wenaxuctun/Tr'uu-le'*), near *Yan'-daa-k'vt*:

For rite, priest entered sacred sweat house, "praying" (reciting formulas), fasting five days. Then went to spear one or more salmon, while wife prepared other foods. (While pounding acorn meal, she might not pause even to change grip on pestle.) Priest's wife or daughter, in dance dress, carried fish from canoe to site of rite. According to some accounts, rite performed at spot near riverbank; others say in priest's house. Priest built fire, cut up and broiled salmon. When cooked, it was placed on basketry tray, with all other kinds of food (acorns, edible roots, berries, etc., those not ripe represented by leaves); long formula, describing origin of world and of foods, of Salmon's journey from home in s [south] northward to Smith r. [River], up Smith r. [River], mentioning all place names passed; several hours required for recital. "He brought all the salmon up the river. Sometimes he 'pray' so hard the sweat poured off him. It sounded fine." At conclusion, priest chewed up some angelica root, mixed it with piece of cooked salmon and rolled into ball. 'Marked' spectators with pinch of mixture down each arm, each leg, up back over the head, reciting short formula for their health; what remained

⁶ Loren Bommelyn believes that Drucker may have been incorrect about the major First Salmon Ceremony occurring in the spring. According to oral histories which were confirmed by many elders, the major ceremony was always held at the beginning of the fall Chinook run.

was popped into person's mouth. Each, as he was 'marked,' ran to river, dived in, spat out mixture under water. When came up, clapped hands, shouted 'for long life.' Sexes bathed in different places. When all had bathed, priest divided up rest of food, to be eaten there, or taken home for kin unable to attend. Only adults allowed to attend. After this, everyone could catch and eat salmon; "he opened the season." Priest not paid for services. Priest, and formula, together with marking with angelica root, called *tcamai''iLcRī*. Priest hired to perform same rite (perhaps abbreviated) as mourners' purification dried salmon if no fresh. [Drucker 1937:261]

After the Ceremony was complete, people waited upriver at fishing sites for the runner to announce that the season was "open."

They waited for the young person, the runner was sent. Like say if everyone who went to the ceremony—not everybody went to the ceremony but a lot of people did. The young men, they had runners in those days, and that was their job, to send information, and they would run up the river and say "it was done" and they could start fishing. They even had smaller version of it at the mouth of Elk Creek where the harbor runs in for that site over there. Because anything you'd eat had to be prayed for. The first berry, the first bulb you pull up out of the ground, you say *Ch'a' xvm-nii-le'* "you shall grow again," and you acknowledge that every time. Everything was that way—smelts, sea lions, whales, salmon, everything that you would take its life—deer, quail—you would acknowledge it. So that was just standard practice...and Amelia and all the old folks said after the prayers were given at *Tr'uu-le'*, down at *Yan'-daa-k'vt*, then that runner would come. And they said, all that... See the Crescent City Indians are called *Taa-'at dee-ni'*. They would move over the hill. They'd move off, you know, come over, you know, right over Howland Hill. [Loren Bommelyn]

The sanction against fishing before the First Salmon Ceremony was upheld into the 1920s. Loren Bommelyn's uncle Johnny Frank told him that an old man named Mike guarded the fish dam at *Nii--lii--chvn-dvn* to ensure no one broke the rules:

His name was Mike. That's all [Uncle] knew him by. And he'd stand there with a rifle, and he'd say, "Now, no one's gonna fish 'till that young man gets here," to let 'em know, you know, that they could fish. [Loren Bommelyn]

After the First Salmon Ceremony, large numbers of people came for several weeks to camp along the Smith and along Mill Creek. Entire families traveled to the area on foot over Howland Hill to fish and dry fall salmon:

They said they was just packed in there. There would be tents and all kinds of stuff; people would just pack in the mouth of there, there, and, then, when those big Chinooks would come up, see, then they could get 'em. [Loren Bommelyn]

The mouth of Mill Creek, *shaa-xu'-me'* (*ca':xōtme*; *tšahu?me*), was a particularly well known spot, and people fished there traditionally until at least the 1920s (Loren Bommelyn). Both Drucker (1937) and Gould (1966) cite the area as an important salmon fishing location used by coastal villagers from *Etcuhlet*, *Tatatun*, and *t'aiyaḥ* in Point St. George.

Harpoons, nets, and small weirs were common techniques used among post-contact Tolowa at these places. Weirs ranged from the large fixed weirs at *Mvn'-saa~-dvn* and *Nii~-lii~-chvn-dvn* which were constructed and used by members of several villages to small weirs built and used by a single family.

Double-fence weirs were constructed using a high and low fence and long basketry trap (Figure 33). Spawning salmon jumped over the lower (downstream) fence and became trapped in the weir as they could not jump over the higher (upstream) fence. Fishermen then drove the fish into the basketry trap which could be as long as 14 feet (Kroeber and Barrett 1960:24). Corraling fish into the traps, particularly large salmon, which on the Smith could be as large as 60 pounds, could be quite perilous.

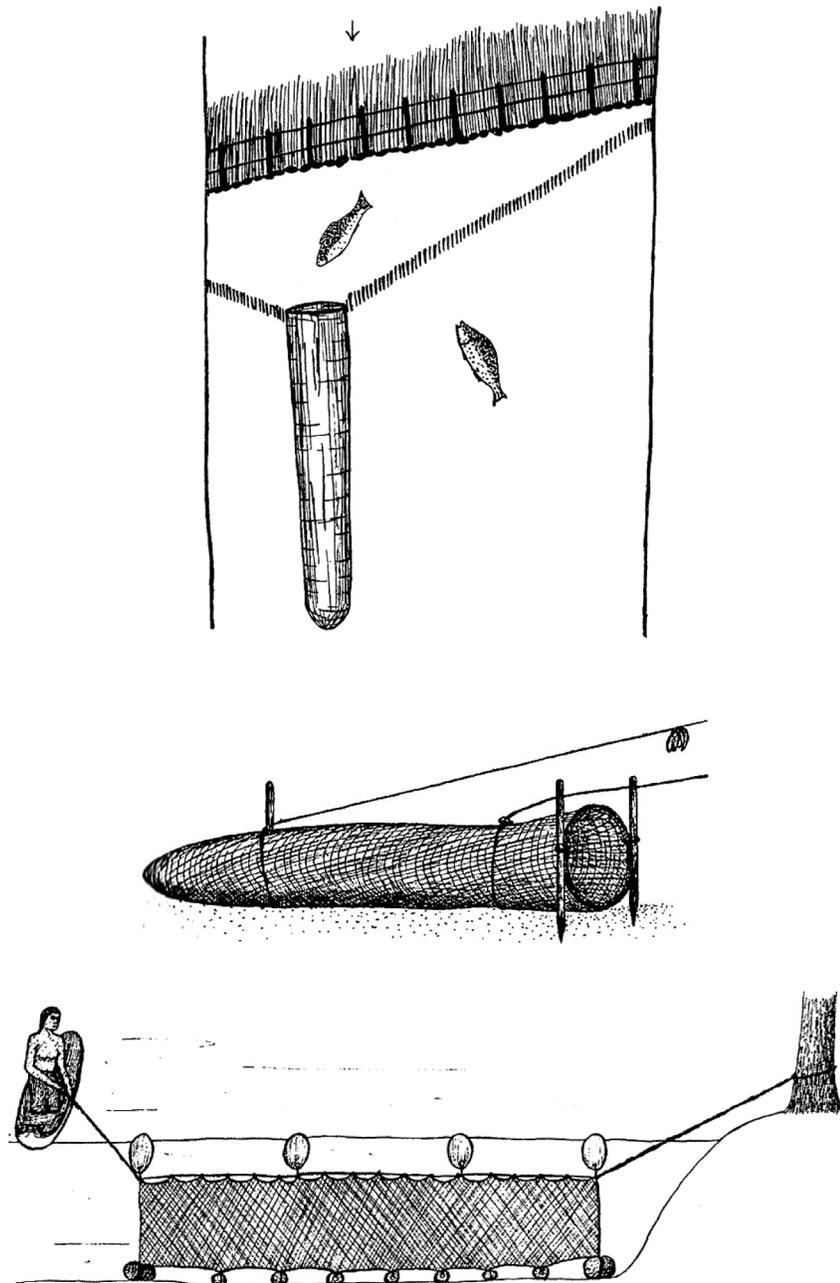
[T]hey'd corral 'em in that [weir] and then they'd start to take 'em like that....try to get 'em all into a shallow area and....I mean, it was younger guys [who would] go out there and bare hand a sixty pound salmon or something. [laughter]....I gotta tell you, that's scary, when you see a sixty pound salmon coming at you....They bite at you....my mom....when we used to fish together down in Klamath, we'd pull that fish up and he was fifty-five pounds cleaned and after laying in the bottom of the boat for a while.....she bit at my mom. I mean, my mom was, pretty good shape then and she kicked that fish and it bit at her, and...we ended up having to flop 'em around....to...get it out of the way, but....I can't imagine going into the water and catching a sixty pound fish! [Richard Brooks]

Basketry traps were used at the *Nii~-lii~-chvn-dvn* (*Nelechundun*) weir. Loren Bommelyn described what happens after the fish were caught:

[T]hey're called *lhuk naa-ghee-de'*, the big long baskets, they're, like an eel basket, but they're made for salmon. And they'd make them out of willows. But they were long. They were probably, like, probably eight to ten feet long and, you know, probably, this big around. And, then, they would lay those in the dam, too, and, then, those fish would run in there. Then, the men would go out and just pick the whole basket and then dump it out on the shore...and they could club 'em, too, and catch 'em, and, you know, harpoon 'em. [Loren Bommelyn]

Basketry traps were also used on small streams. One type of weir reported to Hewes (1947) was built called *naa-dii~- 'a~* (*naa'tīna*), which was built straight across a small stream typically by a single man. The weir involved two rows of stakes with brush placed between and a seven-foot-long basketry trap set the downstream end of the weir (Figure 33).

The fisherman wound a cord around the trap with a crab claw rattle and ran the cord to a stake on shore. The rattle functioned as an “alarm” which alerted the fisherman that salmon had been trapped. Unlike the double weir, there was no upstream fence to stop fish from going upstream, so the *naa-dii~- 'a~* could only trap “spent salmon or descending steelhead” (Kroeber and Barrett 1960:24-25).



Top: Tolowa Double Fence Weir ('vs taa-ghii--'a~) and Salmon Basketry Trap (Lhuk-naa-ghee-de').
 Center: Tolowa Basketry Trap used with the Weir (naa-dii--'a~).
 Bottom: Tolowa Gill Net.
 From Kroeber and Barrett (1960:24,25,51), after Hewes (1947).
 Figure 33. Tolowa Weirs, Traps, and Nets.

Richard Brooks believes it is possible that people captured salmon on Mill Creek after they had spawned. He said that the meat breaks down a little bit, and while it is not fresh, is fine for smoking. This simple type of weir is likely the sort that would have been used on Mill Creek and is similar to the description of small stream weirs by Loren Bommelyn:

[T]hey would make a small weir, we called it *naa-dii--'a~*. And that's, it's just 'cause the stream is small...and they would build 'em on any small stream, like...Little Mill Creek, they built 'em on there, Mill Creek, on Rowdy Creek, you know, they would build these *naa-dii--'a~*, it just means "standing up. And then they would take crab claws and hang 'em on there, and when the fish were hitting it, then, they'd hear it, clattering, you know.
[Loren Bommelyn]

These simple, expediently built weirs were dismantled or left to fall apart once people were done fishing.

According to Hewes' field notes (reported in Kroeber and Barrett 1960:52-53), the Tolowa used gill nets in a variety of ways, and net length depended on stream location and the size of the species being fished. The largest Chinook gill nets, *daa--xvt luu-k'e' me'sr-xat (tã kaitloke-mexá')*, were reported to be 90 feet long by 13 feet wide. Kroeber and Barrett (1960:52) thought this width might have been overstated as even the Klamath has few places deep enough to accommodate a net this wide, and a net even approaching this size could probably only have been used in the lower tidal flats of the Smith River. In contrast, the smaller 60-foot-long by five-foot-wide *tii--slii--mvn me'sr-xat (tisi'mun-mecxá')* gill net was used in the fall for taking steelhead, which "was always set in shallower water near the bank, for this is the water favored by this species" (Kroeber and Barrett 1960:52). Even smaller gill nets included nets of about 36 feet in length used in tandem with a brush fence to catch steelhead in the winter, a device called the '*vs taa-ghii--'a~ (ustagi'á)*' (see Figure 33, top image), and those employed for fishing at creeks running into Lake Earl which were a mere 12 feet long (Kroeber and Barrett 1960:53). Gill nets were often set and left unattended with a rattle, or they could be attended by a man in a canoe.

Nets were made of iris fiber or the inside of cedar bark and were weighted with notched or grooved net weights known as *me'sr-xat see-'e'*:

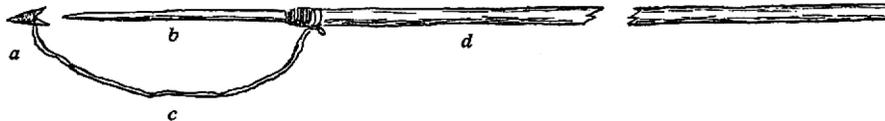
Nets (for fishing) made of grass (i.e., wild iris fibre), only get two strands out of flax, twist it, chew it to get green stuff out of it, make it (flexible). Some nets pretty good sized, maybe 20 feet long. [Amelia Brown in Gould n.d.]

[Fishermen] would move along rivers, had real gill nets for different sizes of fish—mainly salmon and steelhead. Had gill nets before white men. 6 ¼ to 5 ½ inch mesh, took 2 to 3 years to make...Used the inside of cedar bark to make string, could make it as heavy or light as you wanted. [Sam Lopez in Gould n.d.]

Nets were highly prized and took a long time to make and maintain. Men who owned nets were regarded as wealthy:

If a man had a gill net he was a real up and up Indian... He could catch fish and sell them to different Indians who didn't have a net. If it was too cold to go out he could buy some fish from others. [Sam Lopez in Gould n.d.]

In addition to weirs and nets, harpoons were a common fishing method used in the area. Salmon harpoons were similar to sea mammal hunting harpoons in that they are line-attached devices. However, salmon harpoons were toggling devices, designed to turn sideways under the skin. (Sea mammal harpoons used in the region were barbed and thus did not toggle.) The harpoons were tipped with a stone or antler point (a in Figure 34) which was secured between two beveled pieces of horn in the foreshaft (b in Figure 34). A cord of twisted or braided elk hide was fastened around the point and secured to the hardwood shaft (Drucker 1937:237).



From Drucker (1937:237).

Figure 34. Tolowa Salmon Harpoon or *Ch'ee-t'a'-'a*.

There is a large hollow redwood tree across the river from *Chvn-su'lh-dvn* around the mouth of Mill Creek where people stored harpoon shafts, apparently to save on transport costs:

[T]hey always talked about this, this *chvn-baa-'a~*, it's a hollow redwood that's still alive. And they just left this, the spear shafts, you know, when they'd go back home, and they'd just take the toggles off. You know. Or, they'd even leave 'em on there. And, then, when they came back up, they'd repair 'em and they'd, you know, they'd harpoon the fish. So that was huge, that *chvn-baa-'a~* for fish. [Loren Bommelyn]

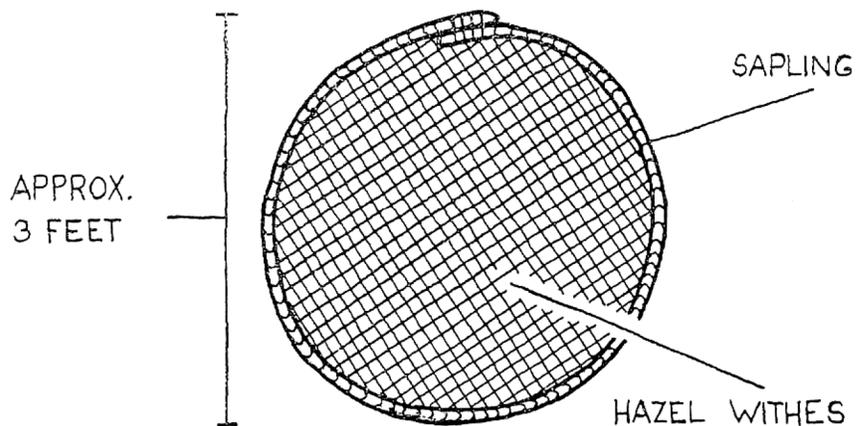
Fish were stripped and filleted in preparation for drying and storage. Tolowa mixed ground fish bone with fish scraps to make hash (Driver 1939:381). Though salmon were plentiful, the Tolowa used all parts of the fish. The following description is of Tolowa salmon preparation. Salmon were:

Split down back with flint knife into long wide slices, skewered with hazel sticks to hold flat, dried on frames in sun, sometimes partly smoked. Backbone, with attached meat, dried separately. Stored in baskets, pack frames, or suspended from overhead frame in house. Heads split, partly broiled, dried. Eggs dried on basketry trays, stored in seal-paunch lining. [Drucker 1937:234]

After stripping, the backbone and attached meat was often eaten on the spot. Head cartilage was boiled to make glue, and strips, heads, and backbones were dried on-site:

[T]hey would...dry 'em on these racks. Uncle said they made these racks out of...young alders or young willows and they'd peel 'em, you know, de-limb 'em, and they just built a rack right over....They'd build a, kind of a long low fire. And they would just, they'd dry it out. And, then, they would haul it home. [Loren Bommelyn]

Dried salmon were put between two approximately three- to four-foot-long racks or packframes called *mvlh-min'* (*meimi*) made of hazel switches and ferns (Figure 35).



From Gould (1966:90).

Figure 35. Tolowa Packframe or *mvlh-min'* (*meimi*).

In the early 1960s, Amelia Brown explained salmon fishing at Mill Creek to Richard Gould: “He (head guy from Crescent City) had a camp at Mill Creek, used to spear ‘em right there on riffle. He would tell people there were fish there if there were many fish” (Amelia Brown in Gould n.d.). She also described the salmon drying techniques and packframes used to transport the processed fish:

Made two of these, lay salmon on, then layer of ferns, more salmon, ferns, salmon—then take other one and lace it up around edge. Take it home, take salmon out and store it in baskets. Just a pack. They just lay whole salmon in that way after they smoke them—smoke ‘em out there by Mill Creek. Get those big Chinook salmon. Cut backbone out, open it out like a book, smoke it that way. Then pack it in. Cut heads and tails off. They fix head and cook it right there. Take meat out of heads, smoke it, too, save it for winter. [Amelia Brown in Gould n.d.]

After the fish were dried, people would dance and celebrate before moving to their home villages:

[A]untie and uncle said, they just dried fish, it was dried fish, dried fish, and dried fish. And when it was done, then, they’d have a big dance. That was a big reason to have a big ole ceremony...A lot of work...and they’d just, they’d just dance. You know, have a big ole time. And have a heck of a good time, gambling and all kinds of stuff. Then, they’d all move home. [Loren Bommelyn]

Acorn Gathering

Acorn gathering tracts were owned by *Tatatum* and *Etchulet* villagers south of the Smith River near Red Elderberry Place (Drucker 1937). Resident Red Elderberry Place villagers probably gathered acorns in similar upland locations and may have maintained closer oak groves in the Hiouchi Flat area similar to one that still exists at Musye village near Gasquet Flat, approximately ten miles upriver.

Acorn processing methods were identical to the rest of California. Most acorns were processed using intensive leaching methods, while simpler techniques such as boiling, burying, and water leaching were also employed. The ethnography is consistent concerning the basic importance of acorns, though other foods, notably salmon, were eaten with acorn mush: “Acorn was main living, was like flour now” (Amelia Brown in Gould n.d.). All informants reported that there were:

Generally two meals a day, with acorn mush being regarded as the main course (without acorn mush it was not a meal) and bits of fish, seaweed, sea lion meat, berries, etc. being regarded as side dishes or seasoning. These were important, too, but were not as basic as acorns. [Gould n.d.]

Main food is acorns, everything else goes with acorns. Have salmon, smelt, halibut, sea lion meat to go with it. Acorns were the main dish, eat smoked fish with it. [Amelia Brown in Gould n.d.]

Acorns and fish all they had, acorns was the main thing but you got to have fish with it—just like cookies or pie. Acorns, just like coffee, you gotta have it or it ain't no meal. [Ed Richards in Gould n.d.]

Elk Hunting

Elk and deer were hunted with the bow and arrow and were also captured with snares, deadfalls and elk pits; dogs were used to drive game (Barnett 1937; Drucker 1937). Brush was regularly burned as a means to enhance forage areas to attract game.

Deadfalls are traps that were used to crush both small and large game (Barnett 1937; Gould n.d.; Figure 36). According to a Tolowa man from an interior site at Big Flat,

We used deadfalls to catch deer, could break their back with 'em. Could catch almost anything this way, make 'em for bear and cougar, too. We sometimes dug pits for elk and deer, too. [Creed Wilson in Gould n.d.]

Elk pits are deep holes that were dug to trap migrating elk:

Pitfalls dug in deer runways, covered with twigs, leaves; two pairs poles crossed sawbuck fashion, set across long axis of pit, to suspend quarry to prevent jumping out. [Drucker 1937:234]

They had them elk pits up in the woods, we had some not far back of here. They had a couple of poles set across so the elk couldn't reach bottom—he'd just get stuck there. Why, if that elk could get on the bottom he'd jump right out—they could just climb right up that wall. They were about this wide (holding his, hands about five feet apart) and about from here to that wall (about eight feet). They were pretty deep, too. [Sam Lopez in Gould n.d.]

Gould recorded the location of an old elk pit in the early 1960s:

In June 1964. I was shown the remains of an old Indian elk pit by Mr. Tom Peacock of North Bank Road. The pit is situated about ½ to ¼ mile S. of the S. bank of the Smith River opposite the Peacock Ranch. Although largely covered by ferns and partly caved in, the outlines of this pit are still clearly visible. The dimensions are 3 feet, 6 inches wide (give or take a foot owing to collapse) and 9 feet long (again allowing a foot either way for collapse). The pit remains to a depth of nearly 18 inches, but most of it has obviously

filled in. The pit was located in the heart of the redwood belt on what many of the older whites and Indians in the area say was a good elk and deer trail. [Gould n.d.]

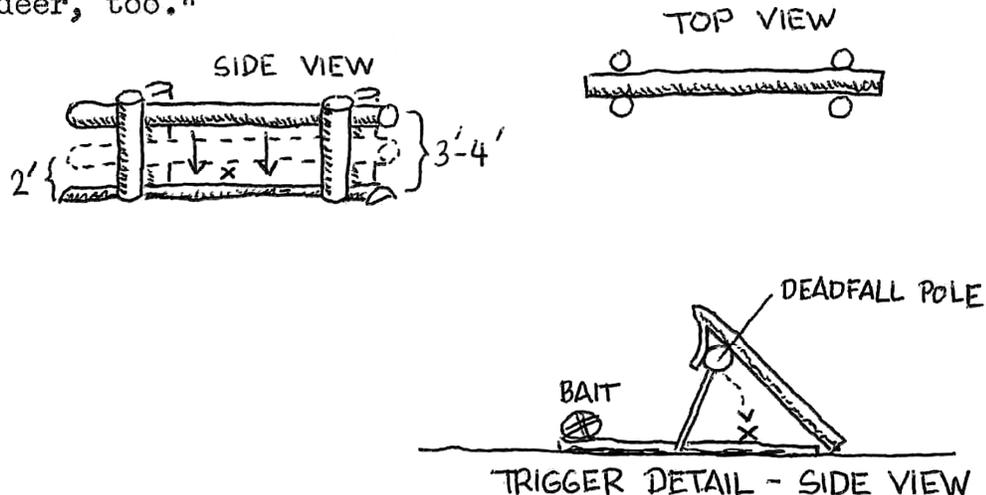
The locations of similar pits are well known to the community today. For example, at one location in Elk Valley (in the forest southwest of the project area), John Green and Brock Richards said the elk pit was located at a peak, which provided a natural funnel for hunting.

For the coastal Tolowa, Gould (1975) evaluates elk and deer as a “minor procurement system” along with other terrestrial mammals, berries and plants, and ocean fish, compared to major staples such as salmon, acorns, marine mammals, and smelt (see Figure 31) because they “are solitary game and cannot be hunted en masse. Stalking and pit-snares were used by individual hunters to good effect, but total amounts of meat taken in this way cannot have been great compared to even the least productive of the staple food procurement systems” (Gould 1975:65). He contrasts elk with sea lions, the latter of which are gregarious creatures that congregate in known areas and seasons.

Yet elk and deer may have provided a more important part of the diet at Point St. George than recognized (Tushingham and Bencze 2013), and the means used to capture them may have been more effective than previously portrayed. For instance, modern Tolowa hunters describe elk pits as being a means to efficiently capture game (John Green, Brock Richards, personal communication). In other words, elk were not stalked indiscriminately across the landscape as is often assumed.

C.W.

"We used deadfalls to catch deer, could break their back with 'em. Could catch almost anything this way, make 'em for bear and cougar, too. We sometimes dug pits for elk and deer, too."



Notes and drawings from interview with Creed Wilson in Gould (n.d.).

Figure 36. Tolowa Deadfall Trap.

THE CONTACT PERIOD IN TOLOWA COUNTRY

The history of early Indian-white interactions in northwestern California is summarized in Chapter 2. This section provides a synopsis of major events in Tolowa Country, with a focus on the local area.

Jedediah Smith (1828)

The first recorded direct white contact with the Tolowa did not occur until 1828 when Jedediah Smith traveled through the area (Gould 1972:134-135; Hughes 1974). Jedediah Smith was an explorer, trapper, and trader, and was the first American to travel overland into California by way of the Sierra Nevada and Great Basin. He also was the first pioneer to travel up the California coast into Oregon and Washington. Jedediah Smith entered northwestern California by following the Trinity River, and then moved north along the coast into Del Norte County.

An account of Jedediah Smith's foray into the Smith River basin was provided by Johnny Cook (Hughes 1974). Presumably Johnny Cook is related to the Cooks (described below), a family of Indian descent who lived on Hiouchi Flat well into the 1900s. Apparently after Jedediah Smith and his party forded the Smith River, they set up camp on its north side, possibly at Peacock Flat (approximately two miles downriver from the Hiouchi Bridge and the location of an ethnographic Tolowa village, *See-tr'ee-ghin-dvm*). Jedediah Smith and two other men left the camp on a short upriver exploratory foray; they traveled through Hiouchi Flat, making it as far east as the Middle and South Forks of the Smith River. Prior to returning to the main camp the small party reached the junction of Myrtle Creek and the Middle Fork (Hughes 1974), which is just to the east of the project area.

After this event, the party headed north along the coast into Oregon. In Oregon 15 of the 19 men remaining in Smith's party were killed in a conflict with the Umpqua Indians over a stolen axe. Smith and the other survivors made their escape by travelling north to Fort Vancouver, a fur trading post owned by the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Gold Rush and its Aftermath (1850-early 1900s)

As described in Chapter 2, the effects of Euro-American contact, particularly during the Gold Rush Period, were devastating to local Indian groups. The Tolowa, essentially surrounded by major gold strikes in California and Oregon, suffered terribly. Crescent City, the location of the major Tolowa village *Tatatum*, was formed in 1853 as a port to transport supplies and people to mining centers in the remote north (Van Dyke 1891). Conflict with local Indians began almost immediately: "With the Tolowa of Smith River, there was trouble almost from the very beginning," with violence recorded as early as 1851 (Curtis 1924:91).

At least four major southern Tolowa villages suffered horrific massacres in the 1850s, when hundreds of men, women, and children were killed and their villages were burned. The massacres and upheaval of the 1850s are appropriately referred to as the Holocaust, or as "the time the world was turned upside down" (Reed 1999) by the Tolowa. One of the most well-known massacres occurred at the largest Tolowa settlement at the time, *Yontocket*, which had about 30 houses. *Yontocket* is the Tolowa place of genesis, where Creator made the First Redwood Tree and the First People. The First Salmon Ceremony was held near *Yontocket*, and it is the traditional site of the Tolowa World

Renewal Ceremony. In the winter of 1853, a large number of people were gathered for a World Renewal Dance. At dawn on the third day of the ten day celebration, an armed group of men from Crescent City who suspected the Indians for the murder of several prospectors, set fire to the houses. Men, women, and children were gunned down as they fled the burning houses. Hundreds died, and only a few Tolowa survived the massacre (Gould 1966b; Reed 1999). One man survived by escaping to a nearby slough. He took cover for hours, and later reported: "...I could hear them people talking and laughing. I looked in the water, and the water was just red with blood, with people floating around all over" (Gould 1966b:33). The village burned for days and it became known as "Burnt Ranch."

Other major massacres occurred at the villages of *Howonquet*, *Tatatum*, Battery Point, and *Etchulet*. Madley (2011) has recently assembled documentary evidence, much of it previously unpublished, of 19 violent encounters between Tolowa and white settlers beginning in the mid-1800s. While there were no recorded white deaths in these incidents, in all of these cases at least several Tolowa were killed. Through this work, Madley (2011) has shown that the Tolowa case clearly fits the United Nations definition of genocide, and other native peoples in California suffered similar atrocities (e.g., Madley 2008).

While the Gold Rush only lasted a few years in Del Norte County, miners were replaced by farmers, loggers, and ranchers. In the mid-1850s to 1860s, Tolowa survivors were relocated to a series of reservations in northern California and Oregon, including the Klamath and Siletz Reservations. Though major massacres were over by 1856, violence and prejudice continued. Scalps were taken as late as 1897 in Del Norte County, and murders took place after the turn of the twentieth century. Tolowa people were on the outskirts of society and had little recourse when such travesties were committed. Indians were subject to regular reservation roundups and forced slavery under the 1850 Act for the Government and Protection of Indians.

The combined effect of these tragic events and loss of traditional lands led to a dramatic population crash. Pre-contact population is estimated to have been 2,400 to 4,000 individuals for Tolowa (Baumhoff 1963:231; Cook 1956:101; Thornton 1980:703) and 10,000 for the entire Oregon Athabaskan region (Loren Bommelyn, personal communication). After contact, Tolowa numbers declined drastically, to an estimated 316 in 1856 and 200 in 1870. By 1910, a government census enumerated the Tolowa at 121 individuals (Kroeber 1925:883).

Indians who survived this time had to navigate a new landscape after having lost control of many of their traditional hunting, gathering, and fishing places. As Collins (1998:47) states:

In the fifty years after Contact, the Tolowa were massively expropriated. They went from a village-based social ownership of use rights to the coast, coastal plain, riverine, and interior areas of a six hundred square mile region, most of present-day Del Norte County, to being in an internal diaspora, exiles in their own homelands.

Many villages were resettled after the massacres, including *Yontocket*, *Howonquet*, *Stundossun*, *Sxme*, *Etchulet*, *Nilichundun*, Pebble Beach, Big Flat, and Wagon Wheel near Hiouchi, and were occupied into the twentieth century (e.g., Tolowa Language Class 1972:3).

A diary detailing the goings-on of life at the Reservation Ranch, where many Tolowa were forcibly detained in the late 1800s, notes that the Indians "maintained a month-

long salmon gathering, suggesting that effective organization of large-scale net fishing was something the Tolowa continued in captivity” (Collins 1998:44). Local newspapers also reported smelt fishing camps and crab harvests in the 1800s. As Collins (1998:44) puts it, the historical and archaeological evidence points to a “persistent effort on the part of the Tolowa people to carry on living as they had lived, in extended kinship organized villages, with subsistence based on skilled fishing, gathering, and hunting.”

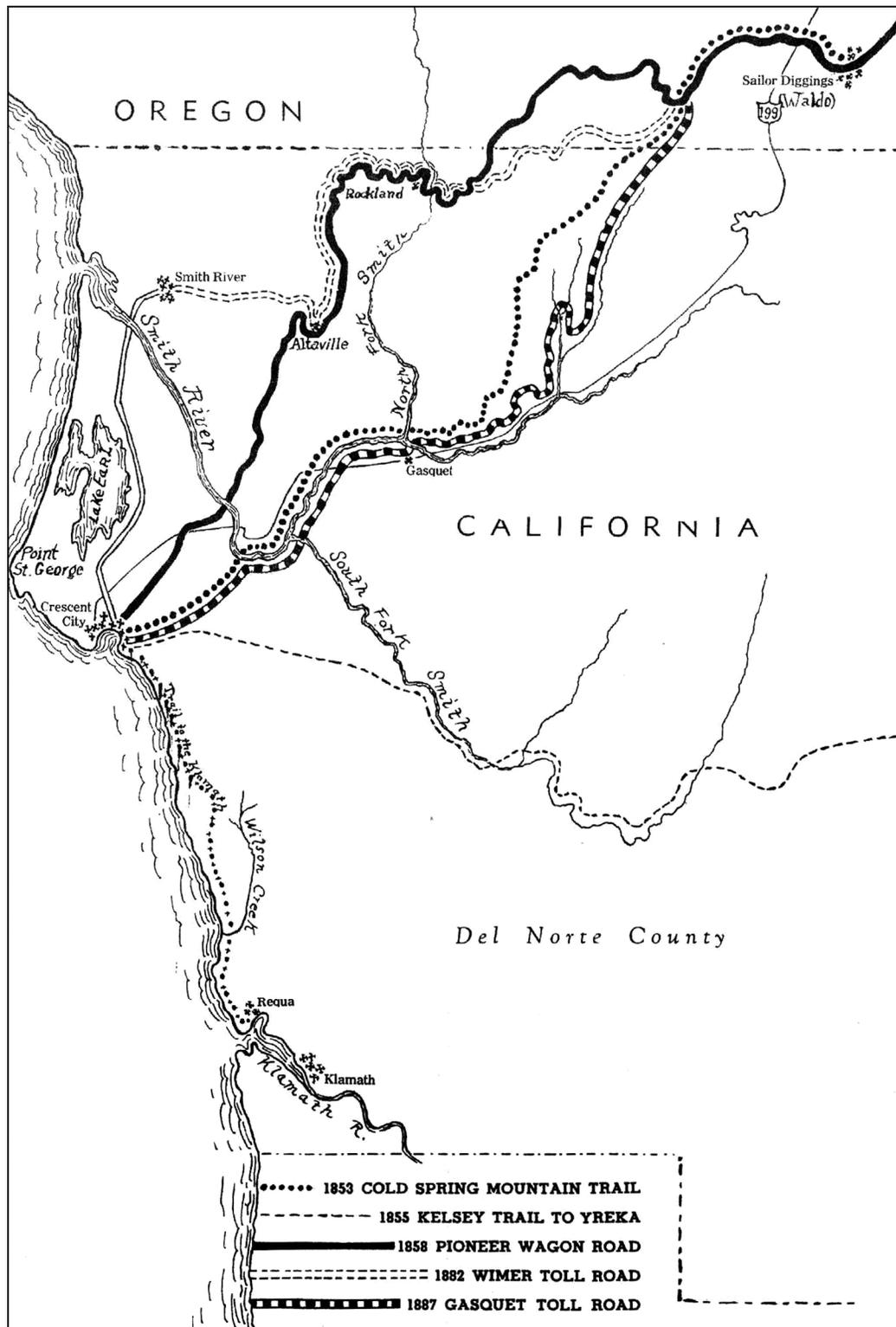
By the beginning of the twentieth century, many Tolowa engaged in the white-controlled, wage labor economy to supplement their traditional hunting and gathering livelihood and reliance on the wage economy increased from that time forward. The local cannery at Smith River employed mostly Tolowa Indians, who were skilled fisherman, as day laborers. The cannery operated between 1878 to the 1930s; when the cannery first opened, the Tolowa were paid with one salmon per day, which was likely seen as an injustice by a people who had fishing rights to all of the salmon streams of Del Norte County. Later, cannery workers were paid in salmon plus cash for their efforts. Tolowa also worked in the ranching and lumber industries (Collins 1998:44-56). Native American persistence during this period is a major research topic addressed in Chapter 7.

Early Trails and Mines

Mining centers were located in rough and forested terrain of interior California and Oregon. The sole means of reaching these centers was first by ship to the port of Crescent City, then by mule or pack train along newly constructed roads. Most miners passed through to large centers such as Waldo (Sailors Diggings) and Yreka, but there were several gold and copper operations in the local area. Most were small placer mines that were worked by locals as an extra means to get cash, but the largest of these was a gold mine at Myrtle Creek about two miles upstream from the Hiouchi area (Bledsoe 1881:21; Maniery and Millett 2008:7). Apparently this was the location where a Mr. Slinkard found the largest gold nugget recovered in the region (at Myrtle Creek), a 40-ounce piece worth \$1,000 (Hughes 1974).

According to Hughes (1974), Chinese miners moved into the Hiouchi area once the beds were “worked out” by white miners. This is supported by the 1880 census record: one household (probably located between Hiouchi and Gasquet) consisted of 14 male Chinese miners, another household (probably downstream before Peacock Flat) consisted of six Chinese miners, and a male Chinese laborer was recorded at part of the Catching household. No Chinese people, however, were living in the area according to the 1890 census record. This was not a voluntary exodus; in 1886, the entire Chinese population of Del Norte County was forcibly removed and sent by boat to San Francisco, an event that followed the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Law in 1882 and similar removals enacted in other northern California counties (Carranco 1973).

Early trails to the large mining centers went directly through the Hiouchi area. In fact, the earliest of these, the Cold Spring Mountain Trail of 1853, crossed the Smith River west of Mill Creek directly at Red Elderberry (Figure 37). Way stations were built along the trail for travelers to eat meals, feed animals, and sleep. As Maniery and Millett (2008:11) point out, “it was more common to find a way station owned and operated by a local resident who lived on the premise and rented rooms or floor space by the night to accommodate the travelers, cooking them meals in the family kitchen.” One of these way



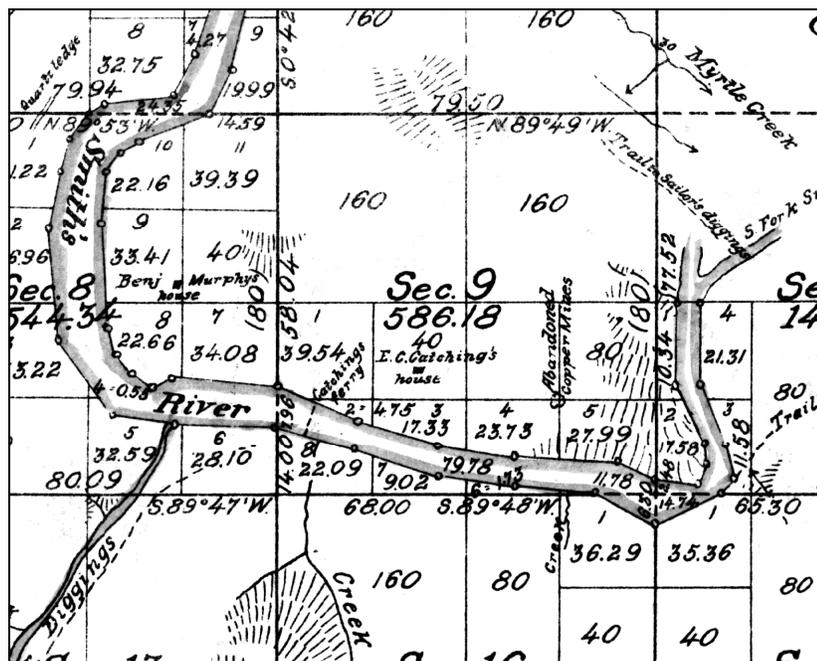
From Chase (1959).

Figure 37. Early Trails in Northwestern California and Southwestern Oregon.

Stations, Murphys Place, was probably located at or very near Red Elderberry, perhaps referring to Benjamin Murphy who was a squatter in this area around this time (Maniery and Millett 2008:11; Chase 1959:32).

Until the Pioneer Wagon Route was built in 1858, the Cold Springs Mountain Trail remained the main corridor for miners to reach Waldo and interior Oregon. However, even in the years following, this section of the Smith River remained an important transportation route. In 1887, Horace Gasquet constructed the Gasquet toll road, which followed the south bank of the Smith River avoiding Hiouchi Flat. The Catching family (see page 117) operated Catching's Ferry as a connector to the road beginning in the 1870s (Figure 38). Apparently this involved stretching "a heavy cable across the river, anchoring a couple of pulleys, mail, freight or passengers could be transported across the river at any hour of the day regardless of the weather" (Hughes 1974).

There is no question that resident Indians would have been affected by these new trails and the flood of people traveling through the area, but how and to what degree remains unclear.



Department of the Interior 1878. Note location of Catching homestead and Catching's Ferry.

Figure 38. General Land Office (GLO) Plat Map for T16N R1E.

Early Indian-White Households on Hiouchi Flat

In addition to Red Elderberry Place villagers, there were other residents in the area beginning in the mid to late 1800s. Archival research suggests that while squatters and miners set up transient residences on Hiouchi Flat, long-term settlement of the area seems to have been largely by two Indian-white households: the Catching and the Cook families, which were firmly entrenched on Hiouchi Flat area by the 1860s-1870s.

Information in this section was gathered from Federal Census Records, General Land Office (GLO) maps, allotment records and land patents, and newspaper articles. Information about early Indian-white homesteads and genealogies was also gathered from interviews with Tolowa people, including Nellie Chisman, Loren Bommelyn, and Richard Brooks.

The Catching Family

The Catching Family consisted of Ephraim Cannon Catching, his Native American wife, Mary Moore, and their 13 children, who lived on a ranch at present-day Hiouchi (Figure 39 through Figure 41). Their home (Figure 42) and several cabins were near the modern-day firehouse next to Widow Rock (Hughes 1974); their homestead location at Hiouchi was referred to by Tolowa elders as a village “at Ketchen Ranch at Hiouchi,” (Bommelyn 1989; Reed 1999; Tolowa Language Class 1972; see earlier section on *Xaa-yuu-chit*/Catching Ranch). Barns and outbuildings were located to the north (Figure 43).



Photograph courtesy of the Coos Historical and Maritime Museum Image 007-10.5.

Figure 39. Ephraim Cannon Catching and Mary Moore Catching.

Ephraim Catching was originally from Tennessee. He traveled via wagon train and was apparently the first white settler of Coos County, southwest Oregon. In 1855 he married a local Native American woman, Frances Quinton, who, according to early newspaper accounts was the daughter of a Coquille headman or chief. (As a Coquille, Frances would have spoken an Oregon Athabascan language similar to Tolowa). Ephraim and Frances had four children, all listed in the early census records as Indian, but after Frances died of consumption in 1868 Ephraim started a new life, with a new wife, in Del Norte County.



Photograph courtesy of the Coos Historical and Maritime Museum Image 007-10.6.

Figure 40. Ephraim Cannon Catching.

Ephraim married Mary Moore in Waldo Oregon around 1875-1876, and they had their first child in Del Norte County within the year. Several years earlier at age 14, Mary was living in Waldo with A. B. McIlwain, a dry goods merchant, and his family (1870 census, Josephine, Oregon). As the only Indian in the household she may have been a servant who worked in the shop or took care of the young children in the family. Another Indian child, Thomas Moore, age 5, possibly her younger brother, lived nearby with a 54 year old white man. In any case, it seems quite possible that both children were forced to work in these households after being orphaned or being taken from their families, which was a common practice during this time (see Chapter 2). It is unknown which tribal group Mary Moore was associated with.



Photograph courtesy of the Coos Historical and Maritime Museum Image 007-10.1.

Figure 41. Some of the Catching Family Children: Bertha Catching, George Catching, John Catching, Hattie Bollenbaugh Catching, and Effie Catching.



Photograph courtesy of the Del Norte County Historical Society.

Figure 42. Catching Home at Hiouchi.



Photograph Courtesy of the Del Norte County Historical Society.

Figure 43. Cooke Girls at the Catching Homestead.

The Catching farming and ranching operation grew to as large as 270 acres and covered most of Hiouchi Flat. The Catchings were the closest permanent settlers to Red Elderberry Place and would have been living on the flat at the same time as the last inhabitants of the village. Although it is impossible to know the nature of these interactions, it seems likely that the Catchings were friendly to, or at least tolerant of, local Indians, especially given the Native American ancestry of Mary Moore and the Catching children, all of whom are identified as Indians in the census records while they lived in California.

According to the 1880 census records, the Catchings housed or perhaps boarded various individuals, including a family of Indian descent. Thus, in addition to Ephraim (age 46 at the time), Mary (age 24), and their three children (William [age 5], Mary Ida [age 2], and Ruben [age 1]), the census includes five Indians in the household with the men listing traditional occupations of fishing and hunting: Mr. Scano (occupation="fishing"), Julia Scano (age 25, occupation="keeping house"), Frank Scano (age 30, occupation=hunting), Mary Scano (age 20), and Rose Scano (daughter, age 15). Clearly Rose could not have been Mary's biological daughter as their difference in age is only five years. It is possible that the census taker simply recorded their age or relationship incorrectly. If correct, Mary have been Rose's stepmother, or the "Scanos" reported themselves as immediate family members for some unknown reason, perhaps attaching themselves to one another and the Catching household to avoid the reservation roundups. Others in the household included a 38-year-old white miner from Ireland, a 43-year-old white rancher from Louisiana, and a 35-year-old Chinese laborer.

In 1974, Ralph Hughes, a resident of Hiouchi, published an historical account of Hiouchi in the January and February editions of the Del Norte County Historical Society Newsletter that gives an excellent glimpse into what life was like on the Catching homestead (Hughes 1974). As described, the Catchings led a self-sufficient rural lifestyle:

A pioneer who had come to the Oregon country in the 1840s and had explored and lived in Coos Bay, Coquille, Myrtle Point and Roseburg, came to Del Norte and purchased land that, when cleared and developed, became known as the Catching Ranch.

Mr. Catching began clearing ground and in the course of time had built a house, cabins, barns, poultry houses, and fenced in the various fields. The sidehill on the north was cleared of trees and planted to grass. This was used for a large flock of sheep.

Pasture and barns for livestock were located on the north side of the present highway. Just west of the present Hiouchi Café was the location of the family home and several cabins. A shop and a store room made up the balance of the buildings.

Fences were built all over the place to enclose the pastures, gardens and orchards. These fences were made of split rails and were built by laying the rails horizontally in a worm or zigzag fashion. Some of the higher and stronger fences were made by driving split pickets into the ground.

The walls of some of the buildings were made of split Redwood planks that were placed in a vertical position. The planks used in the family homes were hand-planed to give the walls a smooth appearance. Split Redwood shakes covered the roofs of all the buildings and they were also used on the outside

walls of some of the structures.

A private school room was built for the children of the Catching family.

The gardens and several orchards were placed on the south side of the present highway. Near the house were planted apple, pear, and plum trees, and further east was the two-acre peach orchard that was located on the south side of the highway opposite the settlement now known as Fertile Valley.

Herb Pomeroy, a former timber cruiser, told me that when he was a boy he had seen this peach orchard and it had produced some of the biggest and finest peaches he had ever seen.

In addition to fruit, every kind of vegetable was produced on the place. There were crops of potatoes, tomatoes, corn, beans, peas, squash, pumpkins, watermelons, cantaloupe and many kinds of berries. Water was ditched in to the orchards and gardens, and fertilizer was gathered from the barns and corrals. Oak leaf mold was also used for a mulch in both the garden and berry patch.

This farm was self-sustaining. Nearly everything the family needed for food was raised here. Besides the fruit and vegetables, there were eggs, milk, cream, butter, poultry, beef, pork and mutton for meat. Catching hauled most of his produce to Crescent City, selling some of it to Hobbs-Wall and the rest around town. Wool, too, was a good source of revenue and was as good as money in the bank.

At that time there was no county road to the Catching ranch. The only way to Crescent City was by the old Grants Pass-Crescent City Stage Road that was on the other side of the river. To reach that road Catching stretched a heavy cable across the river, anchoring a couple of pulleys, mail, freight or passengers could be transported across the river at any hour of the day regardless of the weather. The cable is still suspended across the river and is only used now to keep tab on the rise and fall of the water in Smith River.

The first school was a private one and was operated for the Catching children. By 1891 several families resided north of the present bridge, with enough children to organize a public school. The necessary trustees were chosen and Edwin Moore was hired as the first teacher. Eph Musick as a boy attended this school and nine years later he served as a teacher for a year in the district. The Catching children received their schooling here and a number of the younger members of the family attended the Del Norte High School on J St. in Crescent City.

Mr. Catching was one of the first pioneers in this part of the west, coming into the Oregon country in the early 1840s. He pioneered and helped develop several settlements before coming to Del Norte. Since coming from his home in Tennessee as a young man, he had seen much of the development of the west and in his own way, helped make some of those developments come true.

Time has a way of changing things. After a long adventurous and useful life, Ephem [sic] Catching passed on to meet his maker and was buried on the flat just north of the present highway near the drive that starts up the hill to

Sawyers. Several members of his family were also buried there. With the passing of the elder Catching the other members of the family moved away. [Hughes 1974]

Ephraim Catching died in 1902 of heart disease—the same year the last man to live at Red Elderberry was shot by local white residents. Mary sold her allotments and she and the children moved out of the area shortly after Ephraim's death.

The Cooke Family

The Cookes were Gee Dee-ni', upriver Tolowa, who had connections to villages upriver at Big Flat and on the Lake Earl peninsula. By the 1870s, the Cooke family lived in the Hiouchi area east of the Catchings. Both families shared a similar Indian ancestry and evidently were friendly with each other (see Figure 43: Cook girls at the Catching homestead).

Much of the information obtained about the Cookes and the life of an Indian family living at Hiouchi was obtained from Nellie Chisman, a woman in her seventies who now resides in Crescent City. Loren Bommelyn, Margaret Brooks, and Richard Brooks provided additional information. The data is corroborated by census and allotment records.

Nellie's great-grandmother was Kate Billy, the sister of the famous Tolowa man, Rock Billy, whose Indian name was "*Wayn-t'i*" or "*Wyentae*." Rock Billy moved to Big Flat after living at "Rock Billy Place" on the eastern shore of Lake Earl. Kate Billy was once married to Little Bob, but remarried Pete Sontash (Figure 44), presumably after Little Bob died. Kate Billy had at least three daughters, including Minnie Bob (Nellie's grandmother), whose father was Little Bob.

Minnie Bob married John Cooke, whose parents were Julia and George. John and his brother both had allotments in the Hiouchi area. John Cooke's allotment was in the eastern section of Hiouchi Flat near a present-day tackle shop, while Walter Cooke's allotment was upriver at Wagon Wheel (*Tee-nee-chvn-dvn* "road at the foot of" or TE-NE-JUN-DUN), between Hiouchi and Gasquet. Minnie and John Cooke had two daughters, including Letty Cooke, who married Harold Maurer. Together, Letty and Harold had seven daughters, including Nellie. Nellie was born at her home in Hiouchi in 1934 and lived with her seven sisters and parents in a small cabin with two rooms and two beds. She later moved in with her grandparents who lived on the same allotment.

Nellie's grandmother, Minnie Cooke, was an Indian who was born around 1870 at Big Flat. The Bobs were and continue to be a well-known Big Flat family. She lived to be 104 and died in the early 1970s. Minnie was brought up traditionally and could easily understand and speak Tolowa and Yurok. She and her husband, John, a white man, lived on an allotment at Hiouchi (Figure 45). After Minnie died, the allotment was divided and parts of it were sold. The final parcel from the original Cooke allotment at Hiouchi was recently sold. Letty's first cousin, Elsie Brown, also lived at Hiouchi and lived to be 102.

Minnie was a small, hardworking woman of few words. Margaret Brooks and Loren Bommelyn were told that she always wore a hat and makeup, including rouge in traditional circles on her cheeks:

Gosh, [Nellie's] grandma [Minnie Bob] was something else. She was the last person that—Aunt Laura's always pointed that out—she used to always put that black on her eyebrows every morning and, then, she'd put red on her face right here...Well, she said, in the morning she'd get up and she'd pray

and, then, she'd wash, you know, get herself ready, comb her hair and everything and, then, she'd always put that on her face. My grandma did that, too. And, then, put the red on there. And, then, whatever people wish for you, you know, they, it just bounces away... You know, if they don't like you, if they wanna hurt you... It's her protection. And I remember mom used to go visit her, and she didn't speak good English at all, and, so, mom had to talk to her pretty much in Indian, you know. And, she was kind of funny. She was kind of, not too open...but she'd talk to mom, and stuff. And, sure, she knew mom, because her brother-in-law was married to mom's grandmother at the end of their lives. [Loren Bommelyn]

Nellie also remembers this morning ritual, and her grandmother's traditional hair and makeup:

Well, my grandma...her hair was way down to here. And every morning, I remember, she had a chair, she sat in, and she'd braid it. And, then, she'd wrap it around her head.



*Courtesy of Nellie Chisman. One daughter is Minnie Bob, Nellie Chisman's Grandmother.
Note Kate Sontash's traditional facial tattoos.*

Figure 44. Kate and Pete Sontash with Daughters.

And, I remember, she must've been in her early eighties or something like that, or late seventies, or something, not cutting her hair. And, [she was told] "No, you're not gonna cut your hair." So she never did get it cut. But she always sat there and put her rouge on and her lipstick and her mascara, or eyebrows [laughter]. [Nellie Chisman]

Nellie remembers that her Grandfather John Cooke was a "handsome man, real good looking. But...[pause] I think he only swatted me one time, all the time that we were out there" (Nellie Chisman). He served as a mailman and had a route between Hiouchi and Grant's Pass:



Courtesy of Nellie Chisman.

Figure 45. Minnie (née Bob) and John Cooke at their Hiouchi Allotment.

And it took him—I can't remember, was it a week to get to Grants' Pass 'cause he had to do it by horse. 'Cause I don't even think they had a road then. And I got a picture, but you could barely see him and his horse...carrying the mail. And I think he picked it up across from the Hiouchi store. 'Cause they used to have horses, you know, there...I think the stagecoach was there, too, that one time, right there. You know, where the Hiouchi store is. [Nellie Chisman]

John Cooke had a still and occasionally panned for gold at French Hill:

My grandma and I'd walk way up the hill there from her house, you know. We'd have to go up on the highway, then, cross the bridge, then, go up the hill between the bridges. There's a trail there...my grandfather'd go ahead of us. [Grandma would] pack a lunch, you know. And it was, oh, my gosh, [it] seemed like miles gettin' clear up there to the top...and, then, we camped in this old part of a house, or whatever. Yeah, and he panned for gold. And somebody stole his gold, Billy Doolittle. [phonetic] He stole almost everything from them, or tried to. [Nellie Chisman]

Hiouchi was quite remote, particularly before the Hiouchi Bridge was built in 1929. Like many rural families at the time, her family was self-sufficient and did what they had to do survive. Her grandfather hunted and the family kept a garden and grew strawberries. Her grandmother sold the strawberries and huckleberries and made her own bread. She canned applesauce and whatever else grew in the garden. Clothes were washed by hand using a scrub board. Her grandmother made quilts without a machine. There was no electricity or indoor plumbing.

Nellie remembers the cabin she lived in with her parents as being small and sparsely furnished. It had two rooms, one with a stove and a table. There was a small room on the side of the house that her father used as his bedroom. After a time she moved into her grandparent's cabin. The cabin was built by her grandfather. It was small and L-shaped, with a kitchen, front room, three bedrooms and a kitchen. Nellie recalls a woodstove, a small cabinet or milk safe, and a big table.

When Nellie or one of her siblings was born, her grandfather had to get the midwife in Crescent City by boat because they didn't drive:

But, he had to take a boat across the river—the Smith River. And, go get [the midwife]...and grandma delivered [the baby]...he walked in the house, he's, ["oh darn!"] 'cause he had to turn around and take her back across the river and the weather was bad, so the river was rough...he had to row across and row back. [Nellie Chisman]

Nellie and her family went to Crescent City about once a month. They drove in with Mr. Short to Crescent City to buy supplies such as laundry soap, beans, canned milk, and flour. Nellie didn't recall eating salmon or acorns, but she did remember that her grandmother used to fry up eels. The food they ate was plain and unseasoned. Her family ate a lot of plain beans and sliced potatoes which were simply boiled in water and unseasoned. Nellie ate oatmeal mush every morning for years, and "for a while there, I couldn't eat mush

for years [laughter].” Every once in a while they would buy a “pound of hamburger or something, which we had to eat up right away. And that was a treat” (Nellie Chisman).

The Zopfis were a family that lived at Hiouchi Flat on a parcel presently owned by the National Park Service. The Zopfi house was a large two-story Victorian. They had indoor plumbing and were regarded as rich by their poorer neighbors. Nellie remembers never being allowed to go to the house. However, Nellie did attend school at a one room schoolhouse on the Zopfi property, which was just down the road from her house. Children in the first through eighth grades went to the school, and they were all taught by the same teacher, Mrs. Robinson.

Both Indian and white students attended the school. Nellie, her siblings, and her cousins from Douglas Park were the only Indian children at the school. Despite pervasive discrimination against Indians in many places in Del Norte County at the time, Nellie felt that she was not treated any differently than other children at the school. Nellie remembers that although her teacher was extremely strict, the children liked her:

When you walked in that door, you said, “Good morning, Mrs. Robinson.”
When you walked out, you said, “Good night, Mrs. Robinson.” And when she said something, you did it.

Yeah, you learned. I mean, we had to memorize a lot of stuff... she’d always have everyone doing something. [A]s she was going, among the classes, teaching ‘em. And the ones that were there, were doing homework or studying. [Nellie Chisman]

Boys and girls sat on different sides of the classroom. The schoolhouse was simple, with a woodstove in the corner and a small closet for coats and lunches. During recess and lunch, the children were allowed to go to the store in Hiouchi to buy candy if they had money. They usually just played games and were allowed to wander the area:

[W]e might’ve had a swing. And we played, kickball. The whole class would get out there...after we had lunch, you know, then, we’d have to play kickball. But, see, well, there was wasn’t hardly any sports out there, because...she’d just turn us loose and we’d play Hide ‘n’ Go Seek, you know, ‘cause there’s all those woods there. And, she never said anything about us going into the woods, you know. As long as we were back, you know, ‘cause the bell would ring, and, man, that mean, “You get back here, right now.” [Nellie Chisman]

After eighth grade, Nellie traveled by bus to Crescent City to go to high school. Nellie learned a lot about Indian ways through the influence of her traditional grandmother. She expressed regret that she did not learn more of the Tolowa language from her fluent grandmother, but still knows many words and phrases. Overall, her childhood in Hiouchi was similar to other children who were raised in a rural setting with little money in the Depression era. She recalled that: “We never had any money, but we never went hungry... so, what more could you ask for—a roof over your head and food in your mouth?” (Nellie Chisman).