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Douglas Deur

A Most Sacred Place

The Significance of Crater Lake among the Indians of Southern Oregon

There's nowhere else in the world like Crater Lake. It was one of our most sacred places. It still is.

—*Klamath elder, 1999*

LONG BEFORE EUROPEANS GLIMPSED the Pacific Northwest, Crater Lake was well known to many Native peoples of the region. To the east of the lake, Klamaths lived alongside the high-altitude desert lakes of south-central Oregon. To the west, in the rugged and densely forested western slopes of the Cascades, were the Molalas. Farther to the west, in the river valleys of the western Cascades, the Takelmas lived in the Upper Rogue River Basin and the Athapaskan-speaking Upper Umpquas lived on the river of the same name. All of these peoples knew of Crater Lake, and all had legends of its genesis. Some of them visited the lake and its environs in the summertime. Others — the Modocs of northeastern California, the Yahooskin Paiutes of Oregon's arid southern interior, and those from even greater distances — were aware of this significant landmark. Their association with the landscape that would become Crater Lake National Park stretched back into distant antiquity.

After decades of geologic and archaeological research, scientists have widely accepted that "by the time the eruption of Mount Mazama created Crater Lake and strewed its pumice in thick beds over the countryside, some 6,500 years ago, [the Klamath Indians] had long been in occupation."[1] Archaeological evidence in the form of artifacts and other evidence buried beneath Mazama ash provide abundant evidence to support this conclusion. The oral traditions of the Indians of southern Oregon also provide evidence of their long-standing

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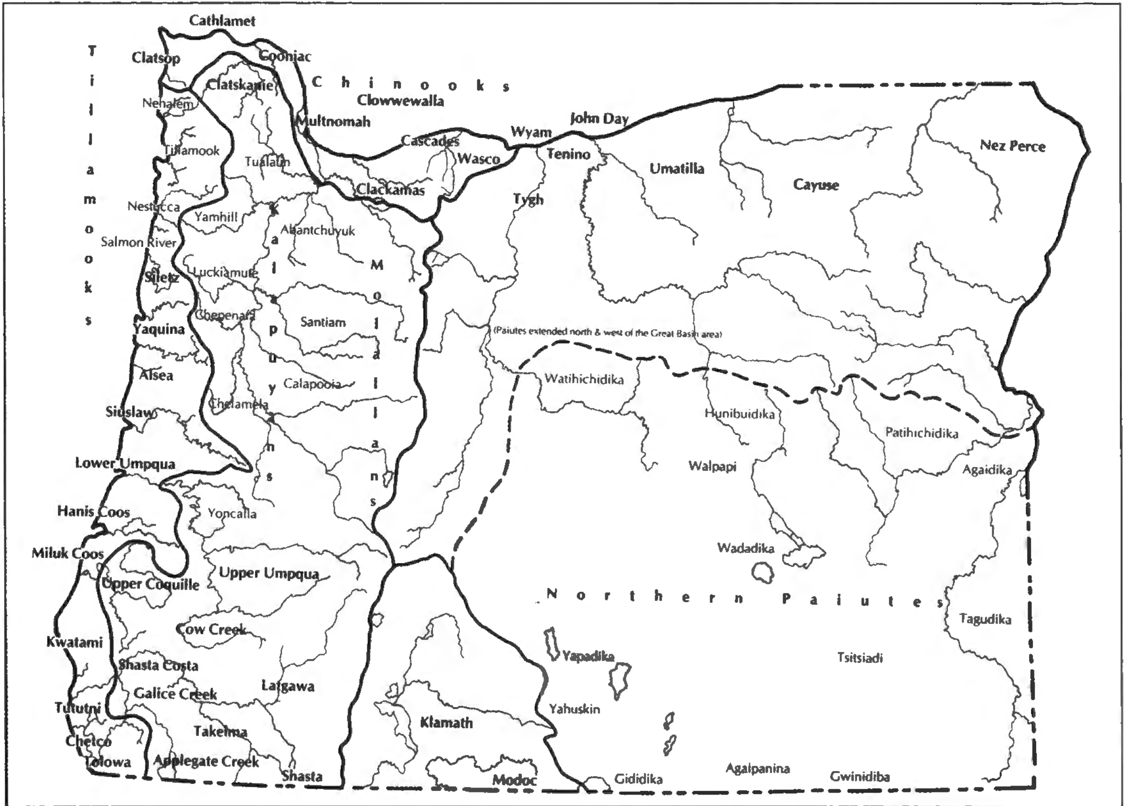
Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections, CRLA 8885-386

This 1940 photograph shows the dramatic landscape of Godfrey Glen, also known as the Garden of the Gods, which is located along Annie Creek in Crater Lake National Park.

association with the volcanic landscapes of this region. Klamath legends of the eruption of Mount Mazama, passed from generation to generation, provide a striking corroboration of scientifically verified geologic accounts.

It is appropriate, therefore, that we juxtapose the Klamaths' description of the Mazama eruption with the currently accepted geological account. The descriptions are quoted directly from two readable, if somewhat condensed, accounts: geologist Stephen Harris's text, *Fire Mountains of the West,* and Ella Clark's collection of tales, *Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest.*[2] As Harris suggests, geologists have determined that Mount Mazama was a snow-capped peak of perhaps ten thousand feet elevation for the 170 years preceding the cataclysmic eruption, and there was a series of relatively minor eruptions at "vents along Mazama's north flank." The Klamaths recall that Mount Mazama was a tall peak that had become increasingly prone to minor volcanic events: "At that time there was no lake up there. Instead, there was an opening which led to the lower world." Both stories proceed from there:

From Jeff Zucker, Kay Hummel, and Bob Høgfoss, *Oregon Indians* (Portland, Ore.: OHS Press, 1983), 9



Many tribes' territories converged in the vicinity of Crater Lake, and the area was known to hold religious importance for many peoples of the region. Klamaths, Modocs, Molalas, Takelmas, Upper Umpquas, Yahooskin Paiutes, and others ascended to the lake and regularly visited Huckleberry Mountain in the summer. The Crater Lake area — with its sacred status, abundant resources, and proximity to tribal boundaries — was widely regarded as a place where many people were welcome and where even feuding peoples could coexist peacefully.

Harris. The opening blasts that heralded Mazama's doom began as a crater somewhere north of the principal summit ejected a titanic mushroom cloud miles into the stratosphere.

Clark. When [the Chief of the Below World] came up from his lodge below [the mountain], his tall form towered above the snow-capped peaks.

Harris. Winds carried the ash plume northeast, blanketing over 500,000 square miles. . . . glowing avalanches. . . raced outward through forested valleys. . . . Pyroclastic flows that moved east sped over 25 miles of flat ground beyond the base of the volcano. Pumice blocks six feet across were carried 20 miles from their source.

Clark. Red-hot rocks as large as the hills hurtled through the skies. Burning ashes fell like rain. . . . Like an ocean of flame it devoured the forests on the mountains and in the valleys. . . until it reached the homes of the people. Fleeing in terror before it, the people found refuge in the waters of Klamath Lake.

Harris. [The] tremendous explosive eruption ejected a great volume of material from the magma reservoir beneath the volcano. That removed support from the former summit, allowing it to collapse inward.... Where a snow-capped peak once towered, there was now only a colossal depression.

Clark. Once more the mountains shook...the Chief of the Below World was driven into his home, and the top of the mountain fell upon him...the high mountain was gone.

Harris concludes the scientific description of the lake's origins by noting that "water from rain and melting snow began to fill the basin." In Clark, the Klamaths conclude by reporting that "for many years rain fell in torrents and filled the great hole that was made when the mountain fell upon the Chief of the Below World."

Clearly, these accounts are not identical. The Klamath narrative attributes the eruption to supernatural events, while the geologists attribute the eruption to tectonic forces. Yet, the sequence of events recounted by Klamath elders suggests that their oral history was informed by firsthand accounts of the same sequence of eruptions described by modern geologists. Even though there are different interpretations of causality, these accounts exhibit striking agreement on the geologic manifestations of the eruption and their overall chronology.

The animist ancestors of the Klamaths and other tribes of the region must have pondered deeply the implications of the eruption as they witnessed the destruction of their homelands. Their conclusions — as recorded through oral tradition — were stated in cosmological terms. A recurring theme in the narratives is the notion that the eruption occurred as retribution for the peoples' violation of taboos. The people, it was believed, were being punished for their arrogance and decadence: for not recognizing the prerogatives of chiefs or supernatural beings, for inappropriate relations between people of different sex or status, for the wanton killing of animals. As one Klamath suggested in a 1999 interview,

The lake came from a battle between spirits — gods...and when the people saw what happened there they had to run into the water to keep from being burned up. They were being punished for forgetting the right way to live. I heard this story from a lot of the old people when I was a little kid.

As with the Judeo-Christian tale of the biblical flood, Klamath oral tradition instructs that the presumptive moral decay of the people led to the devastation of both the land and its human occupants. Similar accounts, linking the eruption to retribution, were found both east and west of the Cascade Range, all tied to the imposing landmark of Crater Lake.[3]

Crater Lake was rich in mythic significance among Native peoples, with tales explaining events following the eruption. For example, Skell, the "god of the above world," and Llao, the "god of the below world," appear in several

versions of the story.[4] *"There were lots of stories about Skell and Llao and what happened up there...scary stories,"* one Klamath remembered in a 1999 interview. The Klamaths described continuing battles between Skell and Llao, played out on the slopes of Crater Lake. Places along the caldera rim were reportedly stripped bare by skirmishes between these supernatural beings and others. Crater Lake was a place visited and reshaped by Gmukamps, the transformer, as he traveled from peak to peak along the perimeter of the Klamath and Modoc worlds. Each of these tales provided the Indians of southern Oregon with a coherent historical narrative that at once explained the landscape's genesis and explicated the people's most important customs, mores, and cosmological beliefs. In the absence of a written language, legends were encoded in the landscape, to be recalled through the observation of evocative physical features. We may never know how the peoples of southern Oregon viewed Mount Mazama before the eruption. We can be certain, however, that as the ash clouds settled and the rumbling ceased, the caldera became a place of pronounced historical and moral significance to the peoples living in all directions.

WHILE THE TRADITIONAL TIES between Oregon's Indians and Crater Lake have been widely recognized in the popular literature of the region, there has been remarkably little systematic study of this topic. Nor has there been any sustained dialogue between park personnel and tribal representatives over the past century.[5] This created challenges for the staff of Crater Lake National Park, whose charge has been to manage former tribal lands and resources within the park and to interpret those resources for the public. Moreover, NPS staff have sometimes found themselves interacting with tribal members who visit the park to conduct traditional activities, both sacred and mundane. In the interest of documenting the full range of past and present uses of the lands and resources in and around the park, the National Park Service contracted with me to carry out ethnographic interviews with knowledgeable members of park-affiliated American Indian tribes. Between July 1999 and August 2001, I conducted formal (and usually tape-recorded) ethnographic interviews with some fifty-five tribal members and carried out less structured interviews with about fifty others. Most of the interviewees were tribal elders. The majority were enrolled members of the Klamath Tribes, a confederated tribe that includes people of Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin Paiute ancestry. The Klamath tribal rolls also include many descendents of the southern Molalas.[6] As the federally recognized tribe with members of both Klamath and southern Molala ancestry, the Klamath Tribes has particularly long and enduring associations with Crater Lake and its environs. I also interviewed enrolled members of other tribes that had strong histor-

Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections, CRLA 8885-863

The "Ball Field," a gently sloping, largely treeless area on the northwestern edge of the caldera, is shown here in about 1935, with Red Cone and Mount Thielsen in the distance. According to Klamath oral traditions, this site was devegetated during a contest — a rowdy ball game — between supernatural beings, Llao and Skell, and their assembled minions of mythic creatures.

ical affiliations with the Crater Lake area, including members of the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians and the Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma. This article is largely a product of this three-year investigation.

The accounts of elders from different families and tribes were understandably different. Still, certain assertions, beliefs, and concerns were reported with great consistency across interviews.[7] In describing the recurring elements here, I selected quotations from the interviews for their eloquent expressions of the themes and ideas mentioned repeatedly by interviewees. In the interest of protecting the privacy of the participants in this study, the quotations are not directly attributed to individuals but are identified by the use of italics (a list of quoted interviewees is provided in the notes). Taken together, the consistency and clarity of their recollections hint at the veracity and continuity of the oral tradition within the tribes. Their words provide us with a welcome glimpse into the long human history of what is now Crater Lake National Park.

LOCATED IN THE HIGH CASCADES, Crater Lake served as a deep blue symbol of the collective history of the Indians of today's southern Oregon and northern California, of their connection to the world of spirits, and of moral precepts that demanded strict adherence. It is important at this point to think about what constitutes a sacred place and to consider how people might respond to such a place. A casual interview with non-tribal residents of southern Oregon or a perusal of the popular literature on Crater Lake reveals two widely accepted but contradictory claims on this point: that Crater Lake was a frequently visited sacred place to the Indians of southwestern Oregon and that Indians were afraid of Crater Lake and religiously avoided it. Both assertions represent half-truths, symptomatic of the brief and superficial interactions between tribal members and some Whites who visited the area. In truth, both statements were partially correct, but they applied to different segments of tribal society. As will be demonstrated, both statements can be reconciled.[8]

Certainly, many mountains and lakes loomed large in the worldview of the Indians who lived in the area, their significance encoded in oral tradition. Spirits and particular powers were associated with such places. At puberty, boys traveled alone to sacred peaks or lakes on "vision quests," in which they sought guidance from spirit beings in choosing their life's path. Others went on "power quests" to seek a specific power, such as eloquence, skills in hunting, or the ability to amass wealth. Scholars have termed some visits "crisis quests," taken to prepare a people for war or to mourn the loss of relatives.[9] Each type of quest had its own objectives, timing, locations, and material manifestations. Despite the differences, however, all quests required solitude and a retreat to suitable places.

Just as different places were appropriate for different kinds of religious activities, so were different places suitable for different religious practitioners. The lower peaks east and west of the Cascade crest, for example, were frequented by people in the early stages of shamanistic training. Young people visited the tops of small peaks adjacent to their villages for both personal visions and as preparation for duties as chief or shaman. Low peaks such as Steiger Butte, a small mountain west of Chiloquin that now bristles with radio transmitters, once served such a purpose to the young Klamaths of the Agency Lake and Williamson River villages near present-day Chiloquin. A good vision at this place could prepare a person for life as a shaman. Those who had already become shamans and had undergone higher levels of spiritual training, including additional vision and power quests, might travel to less accessible peaks.

The higher the peak the better the vision; you had to work hard to get to those higher places and a long climb was important to having a good vision.

Through cathartic sweat and uphill struggle, individuals purified themselves in preparation for the task ahead. Purification was critical; a good vision or power quest was contingent upon the ability to separate oneself from petty concerns and from the distracting thoughts, sights, and sounds of the mundane world.

You had to clear your mind of anger, of any bad thoughts that would cloud your mind. You had to be clean to go there.

Purification was both psychological and physical. Individuals fasted and cleansed their bodies, bathing en route to the vision quest site in certain ponds or springs that were believed to hold special powers to cleanse and to energize. Once the mind and body had been cleansed, individuals reportedly could enter the necessary mental state, focused, reverent, receptive to information emanating from the natural and spirit worlds. The individual was then ready for the quest.

In the wake of the cataclysmic eruption of Mount Mazama, Crater Lake was imbued with a significance unequalled by most peaks in Oregon and was regularly visited for religious purposes.

People went there looking for direction or help.

There were different kinds of Indian doctors — there were spirit doctors and doctors for the body... [some of] the most powerful doctors got their powers from Crater Lake.[10]

It is a sacred place... we have used it ever since the eruption.

They used that mountaintop because of what happened to it.

In the wake of the eruption, Crater Lake was considered to be a particularly potent place to seek powers or visions; and members of many tribes — including Klamaths, Modocs, Molalas, Takelmas, and Yahooskin Paiutes — visited the rim of the lake. Some people traveled many days, perhaps weeks, to get there from distant villages.

Crater Lake was at once a place of great threats and great potential rewards to a person seeking power or a vision.

It wasn't a place that just anybody could go to. You had to be prepared.... It was powerful — too powerful for ordinary people.

We didn't fear the lake [as white people suggested] — we respected it.

Shamans and chiefs, those with considerable powers in the material and spirit worlds, were the only people considered fit to visit the lake. These people had undergone years of training and had conducted quests at lower peaks.[11] They were prepared to receive the lessons of the lake and, with preparation, could become immune to its dangers. To be sure, its dangers were many.

OHS neg., OrHi 78221; From Curtis, *North American Indian*, 13:162

When Edward S. Curtis visited the Klamath Indians in the early twentieth century, the connections between the Klamaths and Crater Lake were already being celebrated in the popular press. Curtis, eager to capture a photograph of a Klamath Indian on the rim of the lake, commissioned a member of the tribe to ascend the caldera and pose with Wizard Island in the background. Curtis found the Klamath's clothing to be unsuitably drab and compelled his subject to dress in Plains Indian garb that Curtis had brought with him. At this time, many (perhaps most) Klamaths still viewed Crater Lake as a place that should be visited only by shamans, chiefs, and others of high rank and training. According to tribal interviewees, the subject provided Curtis with a pseudonym for the photo credits, in order to conceal his true identity:

He used a different name than his own, but we all knew it was him when we saw the picture.

He was not supposed to be there, and he knew it.

It was dangerous to go there because of all the spirits...people said that they would chase down people and kill them. A lot of people disappeared up there. The spirits do not want us at Crater Lake.

Spirit beings were (and still are) reported to dwell in the dense forests around the lower slopes of Crater Lake, protecting it from human incursions. Sometimes they appeared in the form of small humans, *goganas*, or they might approach trespassers in animal form, such as a bear or a deer. Llao was manifested in physical form as a huge, octopus-like being that was reported to live in the lake with many smaller creatures of similar design. Llao could reach out of the water to nab and devour human trespassers and could call upon lesser spirits to help catch a human who tried to escape. There are many stories of people being killed by Llao. Only a person who had prepared adequately — through training, cleansing, and questing — could hope to successfully engage or escape those beings and return safely home from Crater Lake.

For those few who were prepared to ascend the slopes of Crater Lake, vision quests on the lake's rim brought powerful and proprietary forms of knowledge. Beyond the informative and empowering content of visions, there were many landmarks to be seen there, known from legends and rich with mnemonic implication. If this lake was produced due to transgression of social mores, then it provided a potent mnemonic of those mores. It is not surprising that the most important vision quest sites included places high on the rim or on peaks with a clear view into the caldera and the Klamath Basin below.

You can see... everything from up there... all of the places that were important to the Klamaths and Modocs.

With those landmarks spread out below, it was if the full corpus of oral tradition was laid open for view. Those on a quest meditated on the tales and moral lessons associated with each prominent landmark spread out below.[12] That alone could bring knowledge and power.

Being able to see these other places [in and around Crater Lake] is important... you see them and know of their importance back to creation. At those places, Gmukamps and other beings taught the people lessons about life and how to live it.

Mount Scott, the jagged remnant of Mount Mazama's crest rising on the eastern edge of the caldera, was a special place among the Klamaths.

It was called "place where the chief sleeps" because those were the only sorts of people who could go there [for visions].

Because it was the highest peak near the crater rim, a person on Mount Scott could see other sacred peaks as well as much of the Klamath and Modoc world.

With all of the threats associated with a trek to Crater Lake, an important component of the power or vision quest involved efforts to conquer fear. Simply ascending the peak was a brave act, worthy of recognition, and returning alive demonstrated one's powers. Yet, some took the test to heightened levels. As part of the quest, some individuals ran down talus slopes on the northeastern interior of the caldera, plunging into the ice-cold, monster-infested waters.[13]

Some people would jump into the water at night to make themselves stronger.

As one Klamath reported to ethnologist Leslie Spier, the person who does this "must not be frightened if he sees something moving under the water. He prays before diving. 'I want to be a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power.'"[14] Others rode down the icy thousand-foot-high, glacially carved inner slopes of Mount Scott on large flat rocks obtained near the summit. (Interviewees noted that during the twentieth century Klamath boys have attempted this feat in secular tests of bravery.) By testing their control over fear in this

hazardous landscape, those who visited the mountain learned to suppress fear under any circumstances and demonstrated their worthiness to receive the knowledge and power of the lake.

A shaman's power to heal or to provide guidance was often viewed as derivative of a powerful place; and among the tribes of southwestern Oregon, Crater Lake was one of the most powerful of those places. With such powers, a skilled shaman could heal or bring sickness, change the weather or the abundance of game, or make people do things. As individuals with unique powers of observation, shamans also served as advisers to chiefs. There are many tales of shamans ascending to the rim of Crater Lake to seek knowledge and power for use by the chief and the tribe. One recurring tale from the early nineteenth century provides a glimpse into the kind of powers one could receive.

As guns and wealth from the fur trade flooded into the Northwest for the first time, the balance of power among the tribes was upset. Small tribes suddenly became powerful, while others found themselves under unprecedented strategic and economic threats from their neighbors. The Klamaths, living on the periphery of this early trade network, grew increasing concerned about the rapid changes as intertribal raids resulted in the significant loss of people, lands, and resources among some tribes of the region. The Klamath chiefs agreed to launch a preemptive raid on neighboring tribes in order to eliminate strategic threats and to acquire some of the trade goods that were enhancing the power of their neighbors. A shaman who served as adviser to the Upper Klamath Lake chiefs ascended to the rim of Crater Lake and stayed there for five days, fasting and seeking guidance. On the fifth day, he received a vision that gave him a comprehensive view of how the raid was to proceed. He returned home and gave each member of the raiding party intricate instructions on how to act and what to do during the raid.

He knew everything, every last detail about what was going to happen.

According to Klamath accounts, the raid succeeded, the captives were sold as slaves in The Dalles, and the Klamaths attained the wealth and weaponry required to defend themselves from any possible incursions from neighboring tribes. Crater Lake power had saved the tribe, as it had many times in the past.

Ceremonial relationships with Crater Lake took many other forms and influenced other aspects of daily life among the tribes of southern Oregon. People in need or in danger could attempt to tap into Crater Lake's power from afar. One ill, bedridden Klamath woman reported to folklorist Robert Spencer, "every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here and I am sick and old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say 'Bless me, help me.'...They kind of help you when you ask for it."[15] Families made offerings to sacred places before

certain meals or feasts. Some people, probably those of high standing, were reportedly cremated near the Crater Lake caldera rim. During droughts, waters from the lake were poured into the headwaters of diminished creeks, where it was believed they would restore the normal streamflow. What we know today is only a fragment of the full range of religious and ceremonial knowledge, use, and belief that centers on Crater Lake.

People kept real quiet about their ceremonies once white people were here.

Still, it is clear that Crater Lake was a unique place — sacred, dangerous, and full of potential to harm or to heal.

WHILE THE HIGHEST promontories surrounding Crater Lake were considered sacred, hazardous, and unsuitable for mundane activities, the Indians of the area viewed the lower slopes quite differently. So long as the highest peaks were avoided, the Crater Lake area was suitable for gathering plants, hunting animals, and a variety of other everyday activities. Seasonal encampments were commonplace in the subalpine forests and along the streambanks of Crater Lake's lower slopes. For the tribes living in the shadow of the Cascade crest, Crater Lake's lower slopes provided distinctive, high-elevation plant and animal resources that were absent from their home valleys. These areas near the lake became an important part of the seasonal round of subsistence activities, which brought tribes along well-worn trails to the high country in the summer and to lower elevations as the winter snows began.

They watched the snow melt back.... Once it got to a particular place on the side of the mountains, they knew that the snow was clear from [hunting and plant gathering sites]. That is when they started up the mountain.

While hunting was taboo on the exposed upper slopes of Crater Lake — some tales recount how boys were turned to stone for hunting there in violation of their strict tribal codes — the valleys on the lower flanks of Crater Lake were important hunting areas for some families.

The people returned there to hunt, year after year. The men would go out hunting.... They had their places to hunt and they would return there every year... no one else would go to that exact same place.

For families from the villages near Klamath Marsh and Upper Klamath Lake, the creek beds on the southern and eastern slopes of Crater Lake provided important deer-hunting sites. Mule deer were drawn to natural concentrations of mineral salt in deeply eroded creek canyons and were known to bed down for

the winter in shallow caves formed by the eruption of Mount Mazama and the subsequent erosion of volcanic ash and debris. Volcanic rocks provided hunting blinds, where men could conceal themselves alongside deer trails.

For the Klamaths dwelling on the eastern side of Crater Lake, the relatively damp western slopes provided a wealth of resources that could not be found elsewhere in their territory. Black-tailed deer and elk were common in the dense forest. Springwater emerged from deep within the mountain to form small meadows where elk and deer gathered to graze and drink and to wallow in the damp soil. Tribal members, concealed just beyond the edges of these clearings, watched the large and predictable herds of game and hunted them as needed. The moist meadows also provided relatively rare plants that the Klamaths and Molalas used in foods and medicines. Several Klamath elders reported that when droughts came to the Klamath Basin, mule deer became scarce in the high desert and the people were faced with severe food shortages.

Those were bad times. Dust blowing everywhere and the deer all disappeared.

During droughts, their ancestors traveled around the base of Crater Lake to hunt black-tailed deer in territories shared with the Molalas. During the late spring and early summer, Klamaths and Molalas gathered on the upper Rogue River to fish for chinook salmon.

The men would go out and spear salmon in the riffles over there... they had scaffolding over the riffles and could see the fish below them.

Family members lined the shore, dispatching and processing their catch.

Among all of the harvesting areas on the western edge of Crater Lake, none was more significant than Huckleberry Mountain, located on the immediate western edge of today's Crater Lake National Park.

Lots of people went there every year. Indians from all over. A thousand people there at a time, the old people told me.

Almost every person I interviewed insisted that Huckleberry Mountain was a significant multi-tribal locus of food-gathering activities and a place of seemingly peaceful coexistence among tribes from east and west of the Cascade crest.[16]

It was like a whole village up there.

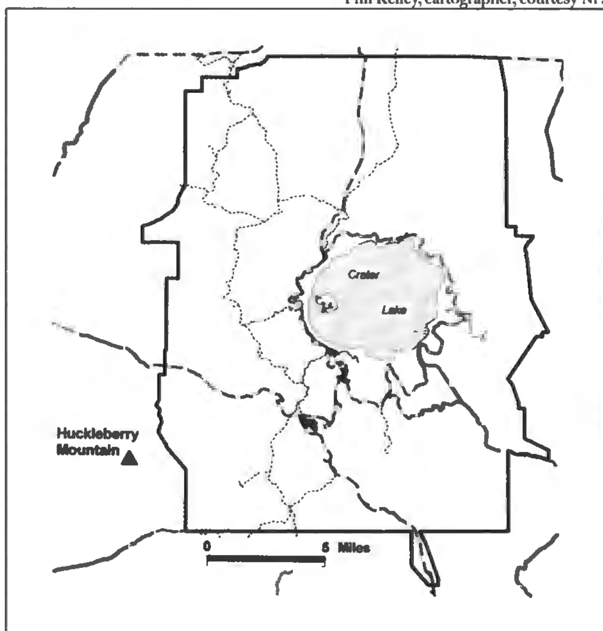
People got along up there, people from different tribes. There'd be Klamaths and Molalas, Rogues and Cow Creeks and the rest... at night every camp would call out who they were and they would do this in each camp... so everyone would know who was there.

For the Klamaths and many of the southern Molala bands, Huckleberry Mountain appears to have been their single-most important berry-gathering

Courtesy Hescock family, Klamath County, Oregon

By 1900, when this photograph of a campsite at Huckleberry Mountain was taken (above), both white and Native families gathered near the mountain's summit each summer to pick berries, to hunt, and to socialize. Buckets of huckleberries can be seen in the foreground, while bags of huckleberries and a freshly dressed deer are against the tree. Each year, families carried a wide range of lightweight household implements to the site by horseback. The map on the right shows where Huckleberry Mountain is in relation to Crater Lake.

Phil Kelley, cartographer, courtesy NPS



area. Women were primarily responsible for picking and processing berries, often accompanied by children and the elderly, and all lived in seasonal campsites. Men used the family encampments as base camps for annual forays to prized hunting sites west of Crater Lake and salmon-fishing sites in the upper Rogue River.

People dried the berries in the sun, to save them for later. It was a lot of work.

The men came back from fishing in the Rogue and hunting and they'd dry the meat and fish right there in the meadow, by peoples' camps.

Families picked enough berries to supply the elderly and others who could not make the annual trip, ensuring that all tribal members benefited from the harvest. On the periphery of the large berry patches, some pickers sought blackcaps, thimbleberries, gooseberries, serviceberries, blue elderberries, mountain ash berries, and others to eat fresh or to dry for later use.[17] At the end of harvest, fires were set in the forest understory to enhance berry production and to remove competing vegetation. Bears, drawn to the dense thickets of huckleberry, were a constant threat to pickers and were sometimes hunted for their meat and fat. At the end of each summer, the products from Huckleberry Mountain were carried to winter villages in the basin below, where they fed people in the year to come.

Huckleberry Mountain was an important center of social life. Extended families regrouped there, old and young interacted freely, and children received instruction in traditional life and lore. Dancing, gambling, and — following European contact — horse racing provided ample opportunity for intertribal social interaction; and the relationships formed between tribes created trade, ceremonial, and marital ties that persisted long after the summer was over. Encampments were concentrated at meadow edges and appear to have been subject to a well-defined pattern of tenure.

Everybody had their own camps and the families went back to the same spot year after year. You would never camp at someone else's spot.

Campsites were passed down through families, over generations; inherited through maternal lines, the campsites of families related by female kin were commonly clustered together. Many in the tribes today can trace their families' tenure on the campsites at least as far back as the beginning of the nineteenth century. Much looser patterns of tenure — ensuring first but not exclusive access to resources — appear to have governed the division of berry-picking areas and some hunting sites. People stayed in their subalpine camps for a month or more, and some stayed all summer, not leaving until "*the snow started to pile up*." For each of these families, returning year after year to the same sites, the camp

served as combined food-processing space and social space for a significant portion of their lives.

The major trail between the Klamath Basin and Huckleberry Mountain paralleled Annie Creek, approximately along the present-day route of Highway 62 through Crater Lake National Park. This trail linked a constellation of Klamath campsites, many within today's park boundaries. Springs were particularly popular stopover points, providing small oases of water, edible plants, and — after the introduction of horses — grazing areas.

We'd camp for the night... by the springs. Parents would send their kids out around the camp to pick the little huckleberries that grow there.

The banks of Union Creek, on the western park boundary, for example, provided an overnight stopover site for people traveling to or from Huckleberry Mountain. The testimony of those I interviewed, alongside turn-of-the-century maps and documents identifying "squaw camps" in the area, suggests that the stopover locations were sites of considerably antiquity and were used persistently into the period of National Park Service stewardship.[18]

WHEN NON-INDIANS ARRIVED in the Northwest, the patterns of Native life underwent tremendous change in what is today southwestern Oregon. As with many places of traditional significance, Crater Lake became a contested space, and the white world transformed the relationship between Crater Lake and local tribes in both material and symbolic ways. Disease and dislocation radically rearranged the demographic landscape. Ravaged by warfare and repeated epidemics, most peoples of the Rogue and Umpqua basins were relocated to Grand Ronde and other distant reservations. The southern Molalas gradually became integrated into the peoples of the Klamath Basin. Klamath families began to use west-slope resources with greater frequency, creating even stronger Klamath ties with and claims on territories west of Crater Lake.

During these early years of colonial resettlement in southwestern Oregon, in the mid-nineteenth century, whites began to create their own myths about Crater Lake. Early authors encountered the awesome beauty of Crater Lake for the first time and concocted romantic tales that elevated the significance of their personal discovery. In many accounts, whites were identified as the true "discoverers" of Crater Lake.

They all acted like they were the first people to ever see the lake... we knew better.

In turn, these early accounts effectively eclipsed the Indian history of Crater Lake in the popular imagination, a process that would have material manifesta-

tions in the years to come. Nevertheless, much of the whites' rediscovery of the lake was inextricably tied to Native history and cannot be fully understood outside the context of Indian-white relations.

In 1853, when a small party of gold prospectors led by John Hillman came upon Crater Lake, "every man gazed with wonder at the sight before him," the first time a white party is known to have visited the lake.[19] As threats of Indian conflict increased in the valleys below, due in no small part to conflicts over land and resource access (presaging the battles that would culminate in the Rogue war), Hillman and his party proclaimed that they had made the first discovery of Crater Lake and voted to name the lake — long called Giwas by the Klamaths — Deep Blue Lake. The prospectors reported their findings locally once they reached the Rogue Valley, but their account was never published. The Rogue Valley would not have a newspaper for another three years, and conflicts between new settlers and the Indians in the basin eclipsed any media attention regional newspapers might have given their visit to the lake. In October 1862, a second group of white explorers, led by Chauncey Nye, proclaimed that they were the first discoverers of the lake. Seeking a lookout point to plan the trek ahead, the Nye party climbed the volcanic promontory now known as Union Peak, in the process naming the peak to announce their political sympathies. At the summit, they found a circular stone parapet, which they interpreted as a defensive structure used by Indians.[20] Yet, it was hardly a place for battle.

They thought that the Indians had been up there fighting. [laughing] . . . it was a prayer seat, a place where stones had been piled by someone looking for a vision . . . you can see Crater Lake from up there. People had been going there since the eruption.

The best-known account of a "discovery" of Crater Lake — the account that led directly to the development of tourism at the lake — was based on reports from personnel stationed at Fort Klamath in 1865. Fort Klamath was constructed in 1863 in response to a perceived Indian threat to white occupation and travel within the Klamath Basin. In the 1860s, the men of Fort Klamath constructed a military road connecting the Klamath and Rogue basins along the old wagon route between Fort Klamath and Jacksonville, which ran along the Klamath tribal trail to Huckleberry Mountain through the Annie Creek drainage.[21] On August 1, 1865, John Corbell and Francis Smith, members of a team sent out to hunt deer for the road crew, came upon Crater Lake. The two men reported their finding to Captain Franklin B. Sprague, the company commander, and members of the military detachment soon made their way to the lake's edge. Orson Stearns, a sergeant with the group, reported in the *Klamath Record*:

the honor of discovering Crater Lake belongs to a small detachment of Company "I" of the first regiment of Oregon Volunteers. O.A. Stearns, a resident of Klamath Falls who was at

Cold Spring, one of many locations in Crater Lake National Park that formerly served as a campsite to tribal members, is shown here in 1937, after the National Park Service converted it to a campground. On the ridge above Annie Creek Canyon, Klamaths, Modocs, and others visited Cold Spring on their way to and from Huckleberry Mountain. People ascending Crater Lake for religious purposes may have also visited the site. The spring provided water that fed a small number of edible plants and a small grazing meadow — particularly important following the introduction of horses. Overnight stays were common in the days when Huckleberry Mountain was a two- to four-day trek from the villages on the Upper Klamath Basin. The construction of Highway 62 and the development of an official public campsite during the early years of the park did not significantly diminish the use of the site. The growing availability of reliable automobiles among tribal members, however, eventually rendered such campsites obsolete, as the travel time between the Klamath Basin and Huckleberry Mountain was reduced to under an hour.

Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections, CRLA 8885-4979

Francis G. Lange photo, courtesy National Archives Center, San Bruno, California

that time the first sergeant of the company was with the party of discovery and was the first person to descend to the water's edge.[22]

The military detachment gave Stearns the honor of naming the lake, which he dubbed Majesty.

There is little doubt that John Corbell knew about Crater Lake before he and Francis Smith saw it together. Corbell, according to several tribal members' accounts, was the son of a Modoc mother and had many social ties within the Modoc and Klamath tribes. He still has many relatives on the rolls of today's Klamath Tribes. Some of them mentioned that after the discovery "*Smith was invited up to Crater Lake by members of the tribe for [a] religious ceremony,*" as was Corbell. Their ascent had been seen by some as a violation of the traditional order; as men without shamanistic training or chiefly rank, their safe return was no doubt a source of some confusion. While little is now known about the ceremony, it is likely that it was proposed to put things back in their proper cosmological place, to protect or cleanse the men, to recognize their apparent powers, or to rectify a violation of sacred space.

Twenty-one years later, in 1886, a U.S. Geological Survey party led by Clarence Dutton descended to the shoreline of Crater Lake. In Dutton's party were two Klamaths, neither of whom had dared travel to Crater Lake before. William Gladstone Steel — a longtime promoter of national park status for the lake and the park's first superintendent — later insisted that this was the first time that any modern Indian had viewed the lake.[23] As with all written accounts that had come before, Steel's interpretation of Indians' relationship with Crater Lake was shaped by brief encounters, by presumptions about indigenous superstition, and by a priori assumptions about the lack of human occupation on the pre-contact landscape.[24] The high visibility of Steel and his writings ensured that the myth of white discovery of the lake was perpetuated in popular literature.[25] In turn, Steel's accounts may help explain the schismatic interpretation of Crater Lake as a place feared and avoided by Indians and actively sought out by Indians for religious purposes. In turn, Steel's claims partially served to erase the connections between the Indians and the lake within popular, scholarly, and official writings in the century that followed.[26]

IF THE INDIAN AFFILIATIONS with Crater Lake appeared to be contested in the popular and historic literatures of the late nineteenth century, it was also contested in more direct and material ways. In 1864, representatives of the U.S. government met with the leaders of the Klamaths, Modocs, and Yahooskin Paiutes to negotiate a treaty. As part of the process, J.W. Perit Huntington, the chief U.S. negotiator, invited the assembled Indians to designate the land they wanted to retain for their reservation. The tribes re-

quested a large but unspecified portion of the eastern Cascades, which appears to have included Crater Lake and possibly Huckleberry Mountain. Monchnkasgitk, a negotiator for the Upper Klamaths, later recalled: "Huntington replied that was 'too much land for you to take care of and hold...go back to your camp and think it over, and then point out to me land near your homes here.' "[27]

After considerable deliberation, the tribes' representatives returned with an alternative proposal, one that designated land that connected a number of peaks. One of those peaks was Tom sum ne — "flat on top" — a term commonly interpreted as a reference to Mount Scott but that may have been applied to the entire remnant peak of Mount Mazama, including Crater Lake. The treaty was negotiated between people with no common language, and the translations through Chinook Jargon often lost the precision and subtlety intended by the participants.

Many of the older people used to insist that we had gotten Crater Lake and Huckleberry Mountain in the treaty. They were really surprised to find out that we had given that place up.

When surveyors began to use the summit of Mount Scott as a corner point along the peak-to-peak boundary line in surveys of the 1860s and 1870s, thus giving the Klamath Tribes only a portion of the mountain, it became apparent to the Tribes that there had been even more miscommunication. The idea of a discrete survey line was alien to them, and many had assumed that by including Tom sum ne in their claim they had ensured the retention of the entire mountain.

They didn't think of it as a point somewhere on the top of the mountain — they thought of it as including the whole mountain.

A portion of the caldera lay along the reservation boundary, but a much larger portion and much of the mountain had become part of the Cascade Range Forest Reserve. When the reservation boundary was moved eastward, a result of the Mercer survey of 1871, even Mount Scott was beyond their boundaries.[28] Crater Lake, the cosmological heart of the Klamath world, had fallen out of tribal control.

Yet the retention of land within the reservation did not ensure that the tribes had sovereignty over their land and culture. According to anthropologist Theodore Stern, "the reservation had been created to effect the acculturation of the Indians within about a generation," after which time the land was to be divided among individual Indians.[29] With missionaries and Indian agents given the mandate and the means to stifle traditional religious and resource practices, the Klamath Tribes were essentially captives on their own land. They could not hunt beyond the boundaries of the reservation, and they needed the agent's written permission to leave the reservation.[30]

Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections, CRLA 8885-395

From the slopes of Mount Scott, or Tom-sum-ne — shown here in a 1960 photograph — much of the Klamath world was visible below. It has been a place of traditional religious activity for generations. Only shamans or chiefs were considered sufficiently prepared to ascend its slopes — hence, the peak's alternative name, "Place where the Chief Sleeps."

You couldn't go anywhere in those days, all the places we used to go. People had to get permission to leave. You had to sneak out to hunt, to fish...you couldn't tell anyone that you were going up the mountain [for religious purposes].

During this period, especially between the 1880s and the 1930s, the Klamath Tribes underwent dramatic cultural changes under the direction of those ap-

pointed to convert them to Christianity, to replace their native languages with English, and to replace seasonal resource harvests with the more settled pursuit of agriculture. In short order, these cultural transformations began to reshape the tribal relationship with Crater Lake.

William Gladstone Steel's direct observations of tribal members are worth mentioning here. He reported that the Klamath crews that had assisted in the initial reconnaissance of the park in the 1880s refused to look at the lake during their entire visit, "making all sorts of mysterious signs and staring directly at the ground." When Steel ascended the caldera in 1896, however, he reported seeing up to two hundred Klamaths camped near the rim of Crater Lake.[31] The repeated visits of both tribal and non-tribal members to the lake, coupled with the actions of missionaries and Indian agents to affect the Native culture, were reworking the cosmological equations that had guided Klamath life. The supernatural dangers of Crater Lake had diminished in the minds of some, as had its potential to empower. Groups of tribal visitors gathered, wary and curious, and carrying out religious rituals to minimize the risks. The view of Crater Lake was beginning to change.

The creation of Crater Lake National Park in 1902 introduced a new set of issues to this already complex picture. When word of the park's creation reached the Klamath Basin, most Indians of this region were perplexed.

They didn't know why people would want to make a park up there.

To many, particularly the elderly and traditional members of society, the place was as profoundly hazardous as it was sacred. Not only was the concept of a "park" — a place existing solely for the purposes of recreation — quite alien to them, but Crater Lake was considered singularly inappropriate for that function. The situation was even more complicated because Congress had included tribal treaty land within the new park's boundaries.

The boundaries of the Klamath Reservation had been in dispute since the Mercer survey of 1871. The contested claims on the eastern half of Crater Lake National Park came to an awkward resolution as the Klamath Tribes' land base eroded in the decade following the park's creation. In 1906, in part as a result of the Burke Act, the Klamath Tribes lost roughly half of their original treaty lands, including lands within the new park. The original extended boundary of the reservation — connecting points "peak-to-peak" — which had first been challenged by the Mercer survey, was now formally eliminated under the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in favor of a rectilinear boundary that encompassed a reservation of roughly half the size. Ceded lands were divided between the park, the U.S. Forest Service, and a number of private interests, most notably the California and Oregon Land Company, a subsidiary of the

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Fred Kiser took this photograph of an Indian camp near the Klamath agency during an outing organized by William Steel in 1903.

Booth-Kelly Lumber Company, which quickly consolidated their tracts and began to liquidate the timber on these parcels. The Klamath Tribes received modest financial compensation for most lands taken out of the original treaty boundary; no compensatory payments were reportedly made, however, for lands taken from their original boundaries to create Crater Lake National Park. Indeed, the formal vacation of tribal claims on the eastern portion of the park was not addressed as part of Crater Lake National Park's original enabling legislation, and certain county and tribal documents still depicted the eastern portion of the park as Klamath tribal land well into the twentieth century.[32]

In addition, the western boundary of the park was drawn by J.S. Diller, chief geologist of the U.S. Geologic Survey, to provide rectilinear symmetry to the park while still encompassing the remnant volcanic feature of Union Peak. There is no evidence that Diller was aware of tribal uses of this area, and his boundary line fell arbitrarily vis-à-vis tribal lands, dissecting the constellation

of resource-gathering sites associated with Huckleberry Mountain. One portion of this important area now lies inside the park, while the other, larger portion was retained by the Cascade Range Forest Reserve, in what eventually became Rogue River National Forest land. The loss of tribal lands after 1902 has proven an enduring source of concern among members of the Klamath Tribes.

The eastern part of the park was taken illegally from us. We were never paid for it.... We wouldn't have taken money for it anyway — you don't buy or sell that kind of place.

In turn, this perception precipitated a suspicion of National Park Service staff and their motives. Crater Lake had become a contested space and an emerging nexus of cross-cultural conflict. Increasingly, the National Park Service would be caught in the middle.[33]

Despite the restrictions on movement enforced by the Indian agents on the Klamath Reservation and the emergence of the park, tribal members expended considerable effort to visit the Crater Lake area. The continued use of resource-harvesting areas near Crater Lake, particularly Huckleberry Mountain, provided a degree of social continuity during turbulent times. While many traditional activities were forbidden, Indian agents often approved brief forays to berry-picking sites, with unintended consequences.

We could be Indians up there, even when the Indian agents were trying to turn us into white people... we could speak our own language... the older people would tell us all about what people used to do up there, what they called things.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Klamaths sold huckleberries from Huckleberry Mountain to whites for pennies a can, providing some tribal members — women in particular — with their first point of entry into the white cash economy. Through the twentieth century, families continued to gather at Huckleberry Mountain, though the length of their stays slowly diminished to days or weeks instead of months.

I've been going up there almost every year of my life.

We'd stay two or three weeks at a time. All the family would be there, my grandma and my aunts. We'd all go out to pick in the daytime. In the evening, we all talked and canned the berries over the fire. I really loved it up there.

It did not take long for white settlers to learn about Huckleberry Mountain, with its abundant berries, "myriad springs and streams gushing from the mountain sides and... plenty of grass a foot and a half high for feeding the horses."[34] By the late nineteenth century, white families had begun to visit the Huckleberry Mountain area by horse and wagon to participate in the seasonal berry harvests. By the 1920s, up to three thousand families were visiting the area each season, a significant number of them non-Indians.[35] While white camps dis-

placed some Indians from their encampments and placed increased pressure on the berry resource, the two groups coexisted with relatively little conflict.

Everybody got along at Huckleberry Mountain...people brought [musical] instruments along and there would be big dances.

As before, Huckleberry Mountain served as a retreat from the concerns of daily life, where disparate groups could peacefully coexist, if only for a brief time.[36]

THE MID- TO LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY was a challenging time for those Indians who had strong ties to the Crater Lake area. The loss of lands in the early part of the century was felt in new and unexpected ways, and growing population and regulatory pressures created new restrictions on traditional activities.[37] In the 1940s and 1950s, the National Park Service charged fees to those who passed through the park on Highway 62, which followed the route of the old tribal trail and is the only direct route between the Klamath Basin and Huckleberry Mountain. Many Klamaths believed the fee was prohibitively high and *"stopped going up there then."* The fear of arrest for transporting game or guns through the park on Highway 62, activities that were illegal in the park, disrupted traditional patterns of hunting in the Huckleberry Mountain area. As the restrictions were eased and the Park Service stopped charging fees for traveling through the park, there were new threats to the traditional uses of Huckleberry Mountain. During the 1970s and 1980s, the Rogue River National Forest accelerated logging on land abutting the western edge of Crater Lake National Park, including lands where people had established Huckleberry Mountain campsites.

We went up to our family's campsite. Everything was gone. They had taken all the trees and the huckleberries didn't come back.... Most of our family stopped going there after that.

A public campground replaced some tribal campsites, and free-range cattle grazing altered traditional picking areas. Forest Service fire-suppression policies initiated in the early twentieth century effectively extinguished the practice of burning for berry enhancement. Cumulatively, this land management regime resulted in a dramatic decline in the productivity of berry patches.

You used to be able to get all the berries that you needed for the whole year. Not anymore.

Nevertheless, members of the Klamath Tribes and other Indians of the region still visit Huckleberry Mountain. This area continues to serve as a place where children accompany elders to pick berries and to learn. Some families hold working family reunions at the site, and most Klamath families have a few cans or jars of berries on their shelves by the end of summer.

From the perspective of most tribal interviewees, the creation of Crater Lake National Park created obstacles to traditional activities, particularly during the mid- to late twentieth century. National Park Service prohibitions on all hunting and many gathering activities within the park during also were a source of contention.

There are places up there where my family has gone hunting for a very long time. They went to the same place for generations — since long before the park came.... Some people still think that we should be able to hunt in those places.

Tribal members were sometimes arrested or fined for hunting along the eastern boundary of the park. In a 1982 court case, the Klamath Tribes argued that the loss of tribal lands in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not nullify their treaty-based hunting rights on former tribal lands. The treaty reserved their right to hunt without being subject to state of Oregon regulations, they contended, and they should be able to hunt on national park lands as well. The Klamaths lost the case in local courts but won in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1984.[38] The Klamath Tribes ultimately lost this case in the U.S. Supreme Court and the tribal attorneys formally recognized the right of the park to regulate hunting within its boundaries.[39]

Efforts to retain some control over the same land — if only symbolic — arose again when the Tribes opposed archaeological excavation at Crater Lake National Park and other public lands within their traditional territories. Responding to growing tribal pressure to restrain the federal management of "cultural resources," the Klamath Tribes Executive Committee passed Resolution 92-047 in 1992, stating that the Tribes view "all cultural sites as sacred" and that "any excavation of these sites violates the Tribes' spiritual values."[40]

National Park Service use and management of the area also conflicted, often unwittingly, with traditional religious uses of Crater Lake. The number of tourists was growing, diminishing the possibility of having the privacy required to carry out traditional activities. In its first fifty years, the Park Service built lookout towers, trails, and other facilities on some of the most important vision quest sites on the caldera rim and nearby peaks, including several that were still in active use at the time. Tribal members indicated that the development damaged the site, materially and spiritually, and compromised the privacy required of vision quest sites. Many tribal members expressed the opinion that any development at the crater rim was a violation of the sanctity of the mountain and that the recreational use of the area through the last century was sacrilegious.

What are they doing to respect the power of that mountain? Nothing!... what they do up there is totally inappropriate.

Some suggested that park personnel might suffer accidents, illness, and other maladies due to their repeated violation of Crater Lake's taboos. The National Park Service's policy of charging fees for access during much of the last century was also a source of concern, and conflicts with fee-booth attendants was commonplace.

They weren't sensitive to our beliefs and traditions... they would laugh or ask lots of personal questions.

How would you feel if someone started charging you money to go to church?

Many felt that they had to enter the park clandestinely to engage in religious activities.[41] Still, despite concerns about these issues, others expressed gratitude for the park's creation:

If the tribe wasn't going to get [Crater Lake] then it's a good thing that the park did. At least they've preserved it and kept an eye on it. If they hadn't done that, people might have started building up there and made a real mess of it.

Despite the change and conflict over the decades, Crater Lake continues to hold profound religious significance for many tribal members. Following a century and a half of dramatic social change and a general decline in the religious use of Crater Lake in the mid-twentieth century, Native visits to Crater Lake have increased. Today, the religious use of Crater Lake appears to involve a broader spectrum of tribal society than was the case traditionally. Some American Indians now return to the same places used by their ancestors for vision quests. Some still conduct vision or power quests similar to those practiced by their ancestors, though of shorter duration.

People don't talk about what they do up there exactly.... I hope that they think about the lessons that they can learn from the old stories.

Others engage in Christian or secular rituals at traditional quest sites, and many families take children to these mountain places to teach them about the stories and the history of the landscape visible below.[42] From time to time, tribal leaders still ascend the caldera for focused contemplation on the challenges that confront them. The fear of spirit beings has certainly diminished among the Klamaths and other American Indian peoples of southwest Oregon, but it has not been extinguished: "*we aren't supposed to go up there... people get killed up there.*" This view has been reinforced by accounts of unexplained accidents in the park and occasional reports by both white and Indian visitors of sightings of large creatures in the lake over the last century and a half.[43]

Today, the federal agencies that manage the Crater Lake area are beginning to recognize how a lack of communication has fostered cross-cultural conflict,

and some are actively seeking a dialogue with the Tribes. Representatives of the Rogue River National Forest, for example, now meet with members of the Klamath Tribes and the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians on land issues, and they have explored the possibility of involving the Tribes more directly in resource-management planning for Huckleberry Mountain. Crater Lake National Park staff have sought increasing tribal input on the management and interpretation of resources inside the park. Both agencies supported my study of the park and its environs in an effort to better understand the rich tribal history of the area and the cross-cultural misunderstandings that led to many past confrontations. The Tribes, though skeptical, are eager to see such a dialogue develop.

When asked what they see for the future of Crater Lake, many tribal members express hope. Perhaps, they suggest, the forces that pulled them away from Crater Lake over the last century and a half will diminish with time. Perhaps, with continued effort, the ancient association between their people and the crater will persist into future generations, and the conflicts over one of their most sacred mountains will fade into distant memory.

White people think that the land is theirs, but it isn't....they buy a piece of land or take it over, but in a few decades they have passed it on to somebody else or sold it.... The mountains will be here long after they're gone, just like they were here long before they arrived. The Indians will be here long after they have moved on, too... all these issues with the park will go away...years from now we will still be here and so will Crater Lake.

For far too long, the relationship between Indians and the landscape has been a largely invisible aspect of Oregon's history. Downplayed by new immigrants who rediscovered the landscapes of Oregon in the nineteenth century, Indian attachments to the land were poorly understood, and the record of these attachments was filtered through myriad racial and cultural biases emanating from the white immigrants' world. As the Indian presence placed moral and physical obstacles to Euro-American reoccupation of the land, it is clear that many historical misrepresentations of Indian ties to the land were premeditated and strategic. If the Indians' ties to and uses of the land were fleeting, diffuse, and insignificant, and there could be little objection to their forcible removal from the land and its resources. Within this context, the Native voice remained largely silenced.

Yet, quietly, here and there, those voices persisted. For millennia, oral traditions had transmitted knowledge of the land from generation to generation. Environmental knowledge — vital information regarding the location and seasonality of salmon runs, deer migrations, patches of ripe berries — was passed within families and between tribes, ensuring their long-term survival. Historical

information — including the specific sequence of events of a volcanic eruption some seventy-seven hundred years ago — could pass between generations so that the eruption story told to anthropologists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries still had the veracity and clarity of an eyewitness account. These oral traditions documented peoples' struggles and successes; for nonliterate peoples, they at once served as a religious text and a master how-to manual. They tied people to the land and allowed them to successfully live there, connected by a common system of values and beliefs.

In this light, it is perhaps not surprising that despite the social upheavals, geographic dislocation, and economic hardships experienced by all Oregon Indian tribes, oral traditions have persisted. The testimony of Klamaths, Modocs, Cow Creeks, and others can give us a glimpse into the long human history of Crater Lake. Archaeological investigations and other forms of scientific inquiry now corroborate many of their accounts. Clearly, the history of Crater Lake did not begin with the arrival of white explorers. It is also clear that Indians did not uniformly fear the lake. They visited it often and learned of its contours, its resources, and its potentials. Some still recall what their ancestors learned over the millennia and are willing to share this information today. These peoples have lived on this land, and with this land, since "time immemorial." They may yet have much to teach us.

Notes

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Interviewees quoted here include Barbara Alatorre, Gordon Bettles, Randolph Bobby David, Belvie Dillstrom, Neva Eggsman, Marilyn Hall, Dino Herrera, Joseph Hobbs, Barbara Kirk, Orin "Buzz" Kirk, Jeff Mitchell, Millie Moore, Skip Moore, Georgene Nelson, Stephanie Ohles, Lynn Schonchin, Susan Shaffer, and Harold "Plummy" Wright.

1. Theodore Stern, *The Klamath Tribe: A People and Their Reservation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), 3-4. Most geologists now place the date of the Mazama eruption at roughly seventy-seven hundred years ago. See Charles R. Bacon, "Eruptive History of Mount Mazama and Crater Lake Caldera, Cascade Range, U.S.A.," *Journal of Volcanology and Geothermal Research* 18 (1983): 57-115. On the antiquity of Klamath occupation, see Garth Sampson, *Nightfire Island: Late Holocene Lakemarsh Adaptation on the Western Edge of the Great Basin,* University of Oregon Anthropological Papers 33 (Eugene: University of Oregon, 1985); and Luther S.

Cressman, *Klamath Prehistory,* Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 46 pt. 4 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956).

2. Ella E. Clark, *Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), 53–5; Stephen L. Harris, *Fire Mountains of the West: The Cascade and Mono Lake Volcanoes* (Missoula, Mont.: Mountain Press, 1988), 105–26. See also Ella Clark, "Indian Geology," *Pacific Discovery* 16:5 (1963): 2–9.

3. See the Cow Creek Umpqua tale, for example, told by tribal elder Ellen Crispen in Lavola J. Bakken, *Land of the North Umpquas* (Grants Pass, Ore.: Tecum-Tom Publishers, 1973), 13–17.

4. The names of figures from Klamath oral tradition, including Skell, Llao, and Gmukamps, are spelled variously in different anthropological accounts. The spellings used here represent the most common, standard spellings.

5. One effort to survey preexisting ethnographic and archaeological literatures on the area can be found in John Mairs, Kathryn Winthrop, and Robert Winthrop, *Archaeological and Ethnological Studies of Southwest Oregon and Crater Lake National Park: An Overview and Assessment* (Seattle: National Park Service Columbia-Cascades Support Office, 1994), a study commissioned by the National Park Service, which synthesized documentary sources on Crater Lake and reported the results of reconnaissance archaeological research.

6. The Molalas experienced considerable dislocation during the early history of Oregon. Many Molalas were relocated to the Grand Ronde Reservation under the Dayton and Molala treaties of 1855. The political ties between Molala bands appear to have been very loose, however, and many Molalas evaded relocation. Most of the southern Molalas — those with the most direct affiliations with Crater Lake — appear to have moved to the Klamath Reservation and married into Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin families during the nineteenth century. See Albert S. Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon*, Contributions to North American Ethnology, n.s., 2, pts. 1–2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890), xxvi. Several tribal members I consulted mentioned that they have some Molala ancestry, though all of these individuals are primarily of Klamath ancestry and clearly identify as Klamaths today. It is quite possible that the majority of living descendants of the southern Molala are now members of the Klamath Tribes.

7. The methods used in this study were understandably ethnographic rather than strictly historical. For this reason, the standards of proof are rooted primarily in the replicability of oral testimony. If multiple elders report the same past events or phenomena when speaking individually, this is taken as evidence that these claims, or "ethnographic facts," are part of a larger oral tradition within the tribes consulted. Reported ethnographic facts may be based on empirically verifiable events, mythic events, and — quite commonly — a combination of the two. To the extent that this article focuses on themes repeated within tribal members' oral testimony, it is representative of some portion of the oral tradition surrounding Crater Lake. Whenever possible, the oral traditions reported here have been verified using historic, archaeological, and biophysical methodologies. Copies of interview tapes and notes from this study will be archived with the Klamath Tribes Culture and Heritage Office. Excerpted transcripts and notes will also be archived at the Columbia-Cascades Support Office of the National Park Service, Seattle, and the Special Collections Library, University of Washington, Seattle.

8. On Crater Lake as a sacred place, see Robert H. Winthrop, "Crater Lake in Indian Tradition: Sacred Landscapes and Cultural Survival," *Nature Notes from Crater Lake* 28 (1997): 6–12. A book-length work on this topic is currently being prepared by former Klamath Tribes Culture and Heritage director Gordon Bettles.

9. Verne F. Ray, *Primitive Pragmatists: The Modoc Indians of Northern California* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963), 77–81.

10. Bobby David, Klamath tribal elder and language specialist (personal communication, 2001) notes that there was no formal ranking of doctors on the basis of their skills but some doctors were generally understood to be more or less powerful. All doctors, no matter how powerful, could be deposed, ostracized, or even killed if they were deemed to be ineffective or were found to be using their abilities for malicious ends.

11. While Crater Lake arguably was significant in some way to all Indians of the area, individuals from different families and villages had different peaks from which they derived much of their power. For some, a vision quest at Yamsay Mountain or Yainax Butte might be more appropriate for achieving spirit power or knowledge than a visit to Crater Lake.

12. This relationship between landscape features, site-specific legends, and knowledge of custom and mores has been noted by a number of authors working with American Indian communities. See, in particular, Keith Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).

13. Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography,* University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 30 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), 96–8.

14. Ibid., 96.

15. Robert F. Spencer, "Native Myth and Modern Religion among the Klamath Indians," *Journal of American Folklore* 65 (1952): 222.

16. References to the peaceful coexistence of Klamaths, Molalas, and other tribes in this subalpine area as well as the multi-tribal patterns of seasonal utilization at productive subalpine resource sites appear in numerous accounts. See Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 9.

17. A variety of other plants were gathered in the vicinity of Huckleberry Mountain. Black lichen, gathered from the trees near huckleberry patches, was cooked and eaten, as were camas bulbs from certain subalpine meadows. Plant materials were gathered for medicinal purposes. Young shoots from roses, Saskatoon berries, elderberries, and other woody perennials were taken for the fabrication of baskets and other household goods. Huckleberries, blue elderberries, Oregon grape roots, and other plant materials provided effective and colorful dies.

18. The number of such campsites along the base of Crater Lake diminished dramatically during the twentieth century due to tribal relocation and restrictions on tribal mobility, increased efficiency of transportation, increased park regulation, and a host of social and dietary changes.

19. John W. Hillman, "The Discovery of Crater Lake," *Steel Points* 1:2 (1907): 77.

20. Harlan D. Unrau, *Administrative History: Crater Lake National Park, Oregon* (Denver: USDOI National Park Service, 1988); Martin W. Gorman, "The Discovery and Early History of Crater Lake," *Mazama* 1:2 (1897): 154–5. Nye's visit resulted in the first published account of the lake.

21. Steve Mark and Kelly Kritzer, "Wagon Road Inventory Notes and Maps" (files of Crater Lake National Park historian, Crater Lake, Ore., 2000). This was the second wagon road to be constructed between these two basins. The first, constructed in 1863, looped south, skirting the northern slopes of Mount McLoughlin. This route was too steep and difficult for many wagons.

22. Orson A. Stearns, "The Discovery of Crater Lake," *Klamath Record* (Klamath Falls, Ore.), March 9, 1917. This discovery tale has been repeated in secondary sources. See, for example, "Named Lake Majestic: Stearns Claims Crater Lake Discovery," *Herald and News* (Klamath Falls, Ore.), February 26, 1965.

23. W.G. Steel, "Crater Lake," *Steel Points* 1:2 (1907): 41. Steel's claims on this point were widely disseminated through secondary sources; see Robert Sterling Yard, *The Book of the National Parks* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), 195–7.

24. On this view of the colonial landscape as tabula rasa, see William Denevan, "The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82:3 (1992): 369–85; and James Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guilford, 1993).

25. Steel was also responsible for propagating the widespread view of Crater Lake as a place of pronounced mythic significance to Oregon Indians. See W.G. Steel, ed., *Steel Points* 1:2 (1907). The myths recounted in Steel's writings are of uncertain veracity, seemingly consisting of fragments of disparate tales combined for poetic and promotional effect.

26. Tribal uses of Crater Lake were not universally given short shrift in early accounts. See, for example, Rev. R.W. Summers, Indian *Journal of Rev. R. W. Summers, First Episcopal Priest of Seattle (1871–73) and of McMinnville (1873–81)* (Lafayette, Ore.: Guadalupe Translations, 1994), 64. Arriving at Crater Lake on July 3, 1876, Rev. Summers noted that this mountain "was one of the two spots most sacred to the tribes, the other being Yainax....The Medicine men of the once powerful Rogue River nations ascended from the west, and the equally renowned Klamath from the east. All fasted and kept vigil and performed many ceremonials that the world will never be able to witness or come to know. In solitude, accompanied only by the initiated attendants, they sought to learn supernal wisdom here, from what they considered, probably, one of the abiding places of the spirit — or was it that 'Great Spirit,' in whom they so darkly yet tenaciously believed...?"

27. Klamath Boundary Commission Report (December 18, 1896), reprinted in S. Doc. No. 93, 54th Cong., 2d Sess. (1897), 17.

28. This revised boundary was subject to legal challenges almost immediately after the completion of the Mercer survey. Only in 1906 would these disputes be settled and the final form of the Klamath Reservation be determined. The final reservation boundary included no portion of today's Crater Lake National Park. See also Charles C. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896–1897, by J.W. Powell, Director, 56th cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. 736, 1899.

29. Theodore Stern, "Klamath and Modoc," in *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 12, *Plateau*, ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 460–1.

30. On these restrictions and the role of the Indian agents, see Stern, *Klamath Tribe.*

31. Steel, "Crater Lake," 40–1. See also Yard, *Book of the National Parks*, 200–1.

32. "Documents Pertaining to the Boundary of Klamath Reservation" (ms. in possession of Barbara Alatorre, 2000). A book-length manuscript on these boundary changes is currently being completed by Klamath Tribes member Barbara Alatorre, working under contract with the Klamath Tribes. On this period, see also Jerry O'Callaghan, "Klamath Indians and the Oregon Wagon Road Grant, 1864–1938," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 53:1 (March 1952): 23–8. U.S. Geological Survey topographic maps, for

example, continue to show reservation boundaries through the park corresponding to the "peak-to-peak" boundary.

33. This situation is by no means distinctive to Crater Lake. A rapidly growing literature has explored how National Parks have become embroiled in unanticipated conflicts with American Indian tribes over control of and access to resources. See, for example, Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000); Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek, *American Indians and National Parks* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998); Theodore Catton, *Inhabited Wilderness: Indians, Eskimos, and National Parks in Alaska* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

34. From an October 22, 1908, account, quoted in Devere Helfrich, "Huckleberry Mountain," *Klamath Echoes* 6 (1968): 61. Klamath agency staff documented tribal use of Huckleberry Mountain as early as 1872. See Stern, *Klamath Tribe*, 66.

35. River National Forest, *Rogue River National Forest Map and Guide* (Medford, Ore.: USDA Forest Service, Rogue River National Forest, 1938).

36. See, for example, Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 167; Jeffrey M. LaLande, *Prehistory and History of the Rogue River National Forest: A Cultural Resource Overview* (Medford, Ore.: USDA National Forest, Rogue River National Forest), 179–87; Douglas Deur, *Traditional Land Use at Huckleberry Mountain, Rogue River National Forest* (Medford, Ore.: USDA National Forest, Rogue River National Forest, forthcoming).

37. The Klamath Tribes were terminated in 1954 and lost the remainder of their reservation lands as part of a larger national movement to forcibly integrate Indian tribes into the American mainstream. They were re-recognized in 1986 and re-established a tribal government at that time. Since regaining federal recognition, a top tribal priority has been the reacquisition of reservation lands lost during termination. At present, these efforts have yielded no concrete results. See Patrick Haynal, "Termination and Tribal Survival: The Klamath Tribes of Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 101:3 (Fall 2000): 270–301. The Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians gained federal recognition in 1982.

38. *Klamath Indian Tribe v. The Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife, et al.* 729 F.2d 609 (9th Cir. 1984).

39. The state of Oregon appealed to the Supreme Court, which agreed to hear the case but did not revisit the part of the case about hunting on National Park Service lands.

40. Klamath Tribes, Resolution 92-047, "Executive Committee Resolution Opposing Excavation of the Tribes' Cultural and Sacred Sites," Klamath Tribes Executive Committee, Chiloquin, Ore., 1992. Admittedly, there are very few archaeological resources in the park, as the highly specialized uses of the Crater Lake area left few physical traces; vision questers intentionally left only subtle evidence of their stay, and there were no permanent settlements within the park boundaries.

41. As an outcome of this study and on the advice of Park Historian Steve Mark, NPS anthropologist Fred York, and me, Crater Lake National Park has established an agreement with the Klamath Tribes that will reduce the obstacles facing enrolled tribal members who seek to visit the park for religious purposes. Federal laws calling for the development of meaningful "government-to-government" relations between federal agencies and American Indian tribes on issues of mutual concern have made much of this possible, as has the American Indian Religious Freedom Act.

42. On the hybridization of new and old traditions among the Klamath, see Robert F. Spencer, "Native Myth and Modern Religion," 217–26. While oral traditions persist among the American Indians of southern Oregon, the content and significance of these tales have undergone varying degrees of transformation over time; see Theodore Stern, "Some Sources of Variability in Klamath Mythology," *Journal of American Folklore* 69 (1956): 1–12, 135–46, 377–86.

43. Reports of Llao sightings by white visitors to the lake began quite early. See, for example, "A Monster," *Ashland Tidings*, August 29, 1884.