THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF A 19TH CENTURY POST-TREATY HOMESTEAD ON THE FORMER KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION, OREGON

by

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The preservation of architecture associated with underrepresented communities has been hindered by traditional biases in preservation. The post-contact history of Native Americans of the Klamath Basin has not been exempt from this trend. Archaeologists have begun to uncover evidence of post-contact lifeways of Native Americans on the former Klamath Indian Reservation in southern Oregon. This thesis examines the influence of 19th and 20th century federal policies on reservation households, using data from archaeological investigations at a 19th century Native American homestead (the Beatty Curve Site, 35KL95). This information, coupled with historical research, is used to reconstruct the homestead and cultural setting on paper and will be useful in identifying similar properties. More importantly, this thesis adds to a regional and national narrative on Native survival, adaptation, and cultural persistence in the face of new social realities in the post-contact period.

This thesis includes previously published and unpublished co-authored material.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Preservationists are increasingly concerned with protecting historic resources that reflect the multi-cultural fabric of our nation's history. Traditionally, the field of historic preservation focused on preserving elite or high-style buildings, sites, and objects: monuments, the houses of prominent politicians, military leaders, wealthy businessmen and their built resources, and downtown commercial areas. Since the 1960s, however, preservationists have begun to acknowledge that privileging these resources fails to reflect the diversity of our nation's history. As preservationists move to embrace more inclusive preservation practices, it has become clear that buildings, sites, and historic districts associated with underrepresented groups (such as minorities, women, and the working class) have been ravaged by decades of neglect. Further complicating matters, buildings typically associated with these communities tend to be modest in scale, constructed of less durable material, and less likely to survive the ravages of time. This type of building is commonly referred to by scholars as vernacular architecture.[1] Preservationists interested in vernacular architecture are increasingly using multidisciplinary approaches in reconstructing these cultural settings. Scholars studying these resources, especially those associated with ethnic minorities or women, often find

[1] Thomas Carter and Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture: A Guide to the Study of Ordinary Buildings and Landscapes* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 2. Amos Rapoport, *House Forms and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1969), 2.

that the documentary record is inconsistent or extremely biased.[2] Historical archaeology is one promising approach to addressing this issue. Historical archaeology is broadly defined as the use of both standard archaeology practices (i.e., systematic survey and controlled excavation), with the addition of information derived from the documentary record. [3]

The purpose of this study is to use an historical archaeological case-study to produce a reconstruction on paper of a post-Treaty Native American homestead (including the primary residence, possible outbuildings, and other features or activity areas) on the former Klamath Indian Reservation in south-central Oregon. This reconstruction is based on archaeological excavations and related studies conducted by the UO-Museum of Natural and Cultural History from 2007-2010 at the Beatty Curve Site (35KL95). The results from the excavation will provide data which can be used to evaluate the changing lifeways among Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute on the former Klamath Reservation (Figure 1). With the creation of the Reservation following the 1864 treaty, the federal government instituted a program of acculturation. Although a number of anthropologists, historians, and archaeologists have conducted studies[4] in the area on

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[2] Stephen A. Mrozowski, Grace H. Ziesing, and Mary C. Beaudry, *Living on the Boott: Historical Archaeology the Boott Mills Boardinghouses, Lowell, Massachusetts* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 3.

[3] Barbara Little, *Historical Archaeology: Why the Past Matters* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007), 24-37.

[4] Stern, Theodore. *The Klamath Tribe: a People and their Reservation*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1966; Zakoji, Hiroto. "Klamath Culture Change." master's thesis, University of. Oregon, 1953.; Cheatham, Richard and Mark Robinson, Thomas Connolly, Guy L. Tasa, Vivien J. Singer, Dorothy E. Freidel, Melissa Cole Darby, Nancy A. Stenholm, and Cheryl Allen, *Archaeological Investigations at*

the affects of these changes, there has been little scholarship that has directly evaluated cultural processes as recorded by the material culture record of buildings and artifacts. This case study provides a model for how historic preservation and archaeology can intersect in productive ways. This study should be a basis for filling historical gaps left by assessments based solely on surviving documentary resources, and further our understanding of the Klamath Reservation during this period of social, economic, political, and cultural change.

Archaeology as a Partner in Preservation

Our understanding of the past is often colored by biases derived from current concerns and values.[5] As Lowenthal notes, the act of preservation itself alters the past.[6] Preservationists play a critical role in formalizing these constructions. Ames, reflecting on the role of museums, but applicable here, remarks, "When we 'museumify' other cultures and our own past, we exercise a conceptual control over them…"[7] Biases that have traditionally affected historic resources have included prioritizing the preservation of buildings with strong aesthetic qualities or those designed by noted architects or

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the Bezuksewas Village Site (35KL778) Klamath County, Oregon. Eugene, Oregon: State Museum of Anthropology, 1995.

[5] David Lowenthal, "Age and Artifact: Dilemmas of Appreciation" in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, ed. D.W. Meinig (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 103-194.

[6] Ibid., 125.

[7] Michael Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia, 1992), 23.

builders, advancing particular ideological views or historical narratives, or memorializing certain individuals and/or groups of people (often centered on the powerful and wealthy). Although women's voluntary associations coordinated some of the earliest efforts in historic buildings preservation, Reid notes that these groups often, "…practiced consensus history, exaggerating the power of the domestic sphere to ensure civic virtue and de-emphasizing divisive issues such as slavery, suffrage, and segregation."[8] These efforts have been characterized as sanitizing history, which often results in deemphasizing the contributions of minorities, women, and the working class to historical development of a particular time and place. Following the social upheaval of the 1960s, scholars began to reexamine their emphasis on elites in history and to turn their attention to historically marginalized groups. The inclusion of these groups within historical studies was among the chief goals of the "new social history."[9] The emergence of the new social history reverberated across disciplines and was a primary influence on the emergence of the field of vernacular architecture studies.[10]

Other factors that bias the preservation of historic resources include natural weathering, with some material such as brick or stone inherently more durable than buildings of wood or adobe construction. Consequently nature, human agency, and

[8] Debra A. Reid, "Making Gender Matter: Interpreting Male and Female Roles in the Historic House Museums," in *Interpreting Historic House Museums*, ed. Jessica Foy Donnelly (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2002), 81.

[9] Thomas Carter and Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *Invitations to Vernacular Architecture: A Guide to the Study of Ordinary Buildings and Landscapes* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 1-2.

[10] Ibid., 1-2

happenstance play a role in what historical resources survive to the present. Responding to this quandary, historical archaeologist James Deetz remarked, "For a variety of reasons, surviving artifacts cannot be taken as necessarily representative of objects of their period."[11]

Historic preservation and archaeology have been historically treated as distinct fields that share little in common other than a concern for the past. The fields intersect within preservation law such as the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA),[12] but often operate under different portions of the legislation. For example, under the National Register Criteria, archaeological sites often use criterion "d" which deals with the information potential of a site.[13] Another distinction is that archaeology is typically a destructive operation and is undertaken in advance of construction projects that are expected to destroy the archaeological resource.[14]

Preservationists have found archaeology useful in the reconstruction of important historic properties. Remains of buildings such as foundations often survive long after a building is demolished. In this situation, archaeology can provide important data on the building material, location and floor plan. King and Lyneis note that historical

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[11] James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: the Archaeology of Early American Life* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 6.

[12] Public Law 89-665, 80 Stat. 915 (1966).

[13]John H. Jr. Sprinkle, "Do Archaeologist Destroy, and Discriminate? The Historical Significance and Value of Archaeological Sites," in *Preservation of What, For Whom?: A Critical Look a Historical Significance*, ed. Michael Tomlan (Ithaca, NY: National Council for Preservation Education, 1999), 170.

[14] William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America.* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2006), 132.

archaeology was viewed by many pioneering scholars "…as the handmaiden to historic reconstruction."[15] Hume argues that historical archaeologists can help address questions about historic households that documentary evidence leaves ambiguous. For example, although noting that historic house inventories may provide specific numbers and general descriptions of items, Hume comments that additional information may be gained through archaeology:

> While it is nice to know that these items were in the house, a number of tiresome questions remain unanswered. Were the white basins and chamber pots made of white delftware or were these of white salt-glazed-stoneware which might reflect on the household's social status and economic circumstances. A historian may not be able to locate information of the specificity, however an archaeologist operating in this location may be able to locate a contemporary refuse disposal area and answer this question.[16]

Increasingly, historical archaeology is employed to investigate social and cultural phenomena. King and Lyneis noted that such investigation:

> ...leads to the recognition of a broad range of phenomena as potentially archaeological. In a similar fashion, the camp of an acculturated Paiute pine-nut harvester, garbage pits on the grounds of a 1920 Jersey shore hotel, and graffiti on the wall of a CCC camp represent data of potential value, as do documentary and oral sources of information about them. In such a milieu, the boundaries of archaeology, history, ethnohistory, and ethnography begin to blur in an intellectually fruitful fashion. [17]

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[15] Thomas F. King and Margaret M. Lyneis "Preservation: A Developing Focus of American Archaeology," *American Anthropologist, New Series*, 80, No. 4 (December 1978): 873.

[16] Ivor Noel Hume, *Here Lies Virginia: An Archaeologist's View of Colonial Life and History* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 8.

[17] King and Lyneis, "Preservation," 879.

An exemplary case study of this type of work is the investigation of a 19th century red-light district in downtown Los Angeles, California.[18] During the excavations, thousands of artifacts were retrieved from abandoned privies associated with prostitution parlor houses. The artifact assemblages included decorative glassware, and a surprisingly large number of cream jars and medicine bottles. Costello, the investigating archaeologist, concluded that the material remains associated with parlor houses underscored that the inhabitants maintained upper class tastes, but illness was a constant threat. Costello notes, "With the buildings long destroyed and documents meager, preservation of this aspect of women's history relies on telling the tale encrypted in discarded artifacts left behind."[19] As the Los Angeles example illustrates, archaeology has the potential to illuminate the lives of people who generally are invisible in the written record (women, minorities, and children).

Preservationists have traditionally concerned themselves with above-ground resources. However, as noted previously, survival of buildings is biased by a number of factors, leading Deetz to observe "there is no guarantee that they are surely representative of their time."[20] As preservationists look to develop a more inclusive field that attempts to preserve alternate historical narratives, they are likely to rely more heavily on the evidence hidden just below the surface of our cities and countryside. It is clear that with

[18] Julia G. Costello, "A Night with Venus, A Moon with Mercury: The Archaeology of Prostitution in Historic Los Angeles" in *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation,* ed. Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press: 2003), 177-196.

[19] Ibid., 177.

[20] Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, 93.

the emergence of this new programmatic focus among preservationists that archaeology should have an important role in the future. Conversely, historical archaeologists should examine how their research intersects with scholarship in preservation and vernacular architecture studies.

Research Methods

The primary source of information for this study is derived from archaeological excavations at the Beatty Curve Site (35KL95) near Beatty, Oregon(Figure 1). This study uses archaeological data (site plans, field notes, artifact data, etc.) generated during the excavations to produce a reconstruction on paper of the 19th century post-Treaty homestead. The reconstruction will be used in conjunction with information from historical documents (journals, correspondence, maps, photographs, etc.) to examine how the lifeways of members of the Klamath Reservation were directly or indirectly affected by the encroachment into the region by the United States government and private interests. federal policies were introduced with the goal of encouraging changes in economic, family, and residential patterns among the indigenous people of the Klamath Basin to standards that were in accordance with the dominant Euro-American culture. Although other scholars have documented broad culture change among members of the Klamath Reservation, there has been little work focusing on the affects of change brought about by the intersection of cultures on the household level, especially with regard to the chronology of this social change and development of domestic space. This study should

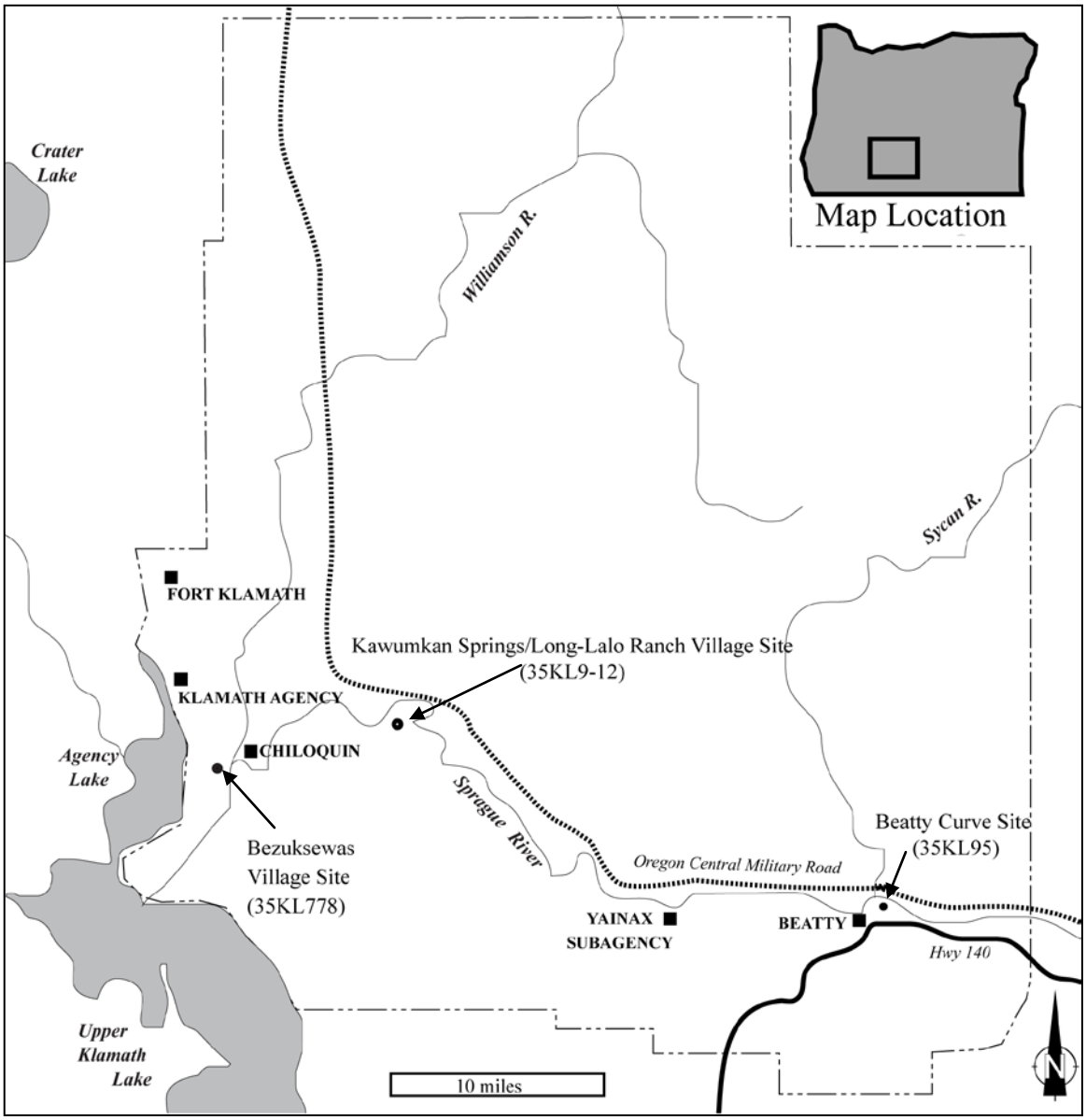

Figure 1. Map of the Klamath Reservation, with the location of important communities, roads, rivers and lakes, and sites discussed in the text.

help refine our understanding of the post-Treaty period and help fill this gap in Klamath Reservation current scholarship.

Methodological Paradigm

Professional standards in archaeological field work and laboratory practices emphasize rigorous procedures for examining and documenting subsurface cultural resources. This requires the use of excavation units (square blocks), usually arranged on a grid, in order to preserve the spatial relationships of recorded materials. The horizontal and vertical location of buried material including artifacts (culturally-manufactured items) such as projectile points, bottle glass, ceramics, and features (defined as site components that cannot be moved) such as sill logs and storage cache pits are located *in situ* and documented. Smaller artifacts are typically retrieved by sifting sediments through metal mesh screens. The procedures briefly outlined allow archaeologists to accurately identify the spatial location and to quantify the site contents (cultural assemblage). These standards underscore that archaeology involves some level of quantitative research which emphasizes the measurement of variables.[21] However, archaeological research is not limited to quantitative research, especially when it moves from descriptive site reporting to analysis and interpretation. This is also true in historical archaeology in which the researcher consults the documentary record (including census

[21] John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Los Angeles, CA: Sage, 2009), 4.

records, historical maps, and property records) in an effort to understand how historical forces have shaped the character of the site. Bridging these two lines of evidence fits within what Creswell characterizes as "mixed methods research" which utilizes both qualitative and quantitative data.[22] Although some research has been conducted in the proposed study area with regard to the influence of federal policies on Reservation-era Klamath[23], little attention has been directed towards understanding changes in building culture and household activities. This study adds valuable information to this aspect of Klamath history and in doing so provides information that is useful for scholars studying comparable situations in other parts of the country.

Research Design

Two lines of evidence are used in this study: archaeological data and document records. Archaeological investigations are generally conducted in three stages: survey, testing, and data recovery excavation. Archaeological survey is a method commonly employed to initially identify previously unknown archaeological resources, assess potential damage to resources by ground-disturbing activities such as development and road construction, and assess aspects of past human land-use of a region. [24]

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[22] Creswell, *Research Design*, 4.

[23] Stern, Theodore. *The Klamath Tribe: a People and their Reservation.* Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1966; Zakoji, Hiroto. "Klamath Culture Change." master's theis, University of. Oregon, 1953; Cheatham, Richard and Mark Robinson, Thomas Connolly, Guy L. Tasa, Vivien J. Singer, Dorothy E. Freidel, Melissa Cole Darby, Nancy A. Stenholm, and Cheryl Allen, *Archaeological Investigations at the Bezuksewas Village Site (35KL778) Klamath County, Oregon.* (Eugene, Oregon: State Museum of Anthropology, 1995) .

Archaeological testing and data recovery usually involve subsurface excavation. Studies such as these are reserved for previously identified archaeological resources. Testing is used to evaluate the significance and research potential of an archaeological site.[25] Data recovery excavation is used to investigate specific research questions regarding significant sites, or to mitigate the loss of information in the event a site will be destroyed due to development.[26] Data recovery excavation is by far the most rigorous and provides the necessary level of data to address questions relating to change over time in native lifeways during the 19th and early 20th century.

The Field Site: The Beatty Curve Site (35KL95)

The majority of the archaeological data for this study is drawn from recent work by the UO-Museum of Natural and Cultural History at the Beatty Curve Site (35KL95). This located along Oregon Highway 140 in south-central Oregon between the communities of Klamath Falls and Lakeview (Figure 1). The site has a cultural record that began in the prehistoric period and continued into the historic era.

In 1863, Fort Klamath was established north of Agency Lake, and in 1864 the Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin band of Snake Indians (Northern Paiute) signed a treaty with the U.S. government establishing the Klamath Reservation. By 1870, a subagency was established near the eastern boundary of the reservation, north of Yainax Butte.

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[24] E.B. Banning, *Archaeological Survey* (New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Press, 2002), 1.

[25] William S. Dancey, *Archaeological Field Methods: An Introduction* (Minneapolis, MN: Burgess Publishing Company, 1981), 128.

[26] Ibid.,135.

Following the Modoc War of 1872-1873, many Modoc and Paiute were relocated to live among the Sprague River Klamath, in what became known as the reservation's Upper End. Federal government policy following the treaty explicitly aimed at introducing self-sustaining single-family farming practices based on either an agricultural (difficult on the Klamath Plateau) or stock-raising economy. Along with changing the Native economy, the replacement of traditional house pits with Euro-American framed houses was an important aspect of federal policy. These ideals would eventually be formalized in 1887 by the General Allotment (Dawes) Act which provided tribal members and their descendant's private ownership of allotments of agricultural and grazing land.

Excavations from 2007 to 2009 at the Beatty Curve Site revealed the foundation of a small single-room cabin along with thousands of artifacts such as food remains, personal and domestic items, and building hardware. Excavations on contemporary sites within the Klamath Basin have been rare, but since the 1950s at least two sites have been investigated which are contemporaneous with the Beatty Curve Site: the village site Long-Lalo Site (1947-1951)[27] at Kamkaun Spring between Chiloquin and Beatty, and the village site of Bezuksewas near present-day Chiloquin(1989-1990).[28] These sites provide valuable comparative data to assist in evaluating results from Beatty Curve Site excavations. Artifacts and field notes are currently stored at the curation facility at the

[27] Luther S. Cressman, "Klamath Prehistory," (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 46 (4) 1956) , 99.

[28] Cheatham, Richard and Mark Robinson, Thomas Connolly, Guy L. Tasa, Vivien J. Singer, Dorothy E. Freidel, Melissa Cole Darby, Nancy A. Stenholm, and Cheryl Allen, *Archaeological Investigations at the Bezuksewas Village Site (35KL778) Klamath County, Oregon.* (Eugene, Oregon: State Museum of Anthropology, 1995).

UO-Museum of Natural and Cultural History. Information from the artifact assemblages and field notes is used in this study to conduct comparative analysis with the Beatty Curve Site.

Field records and the cultural assemblages served as the primary sources of information for this study. A number of analytical methods were used to make inferences regarding the size, shape, and age of the buildings at the sites, including a study of the distribution pattern of building nails, window glass, and door hardware. In addition, the spatial distribution of diagnostic artifacts aids in reconstructing changing patterns of domestic use over time.

The documentary record was examined for this study. There are a number of archival repositories that hold records relevant to the current study: UO-Oregon Special Collections, National Archive-Pacific Regional Branch, Klamath County Museum, and Klamath County Archives. These facilities were visited and documents such as land records, probate records, census schedules, historical photographs, personal journals, maps, and correspondence dating from the Reservation-period were researched. This material provided information used to establish site-specific context such as potential occupants, lineage, and legal status of land ownership, occupation, household size and makeup. Some archives contained period photographs of the Klamath Reservation which provide visual documentation of post-Treaty tribal daily life.

Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

Data were largely derived from field notes and the artifact assemblage from the 2007-2009 Beatty Curve Site excavation. Field notes include unit forms, photographs, and measured drawings. These materials aid in developing a site plan that includes the location of no longer extant buildings, site topography, and property boundaries. Field notes also help in reconstructing the site's proximity to transportation arteries, agriculture fields, wetlands, river courses, and site resources. This information is important for reconstructing the economic and social setting of the homestead.

Analysis of the artifact assemblage was an important element of the study. Part of the analysis process was to do a complete inventory of the recovered artifacts. A computer database was employed to develop the inventory. Individual or batches of artifacts receive a unique catalog number. Provenience (location unit and depth of the artifact find), quantity, material (i.e. glass, metal, bone), and other observations are included as part of the individual artifact record.

Analysis of the artifacts aids archaeologists in addressing a number of questions; for example, certain elements of an artifact may indicate a period of manufacture and probable period of use. Therefore, identifying age-diagnostic artifacts is a part of artifact analysis that establishes the time period of site activity. These items are cataloged following the functional classification system outlined by the Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database (SHARD) system.[29] By identifying the artifact and establishing the

[29] Anthropological Studies Center, "SHARD, Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database: The How-to Manual," (Rohnert Park, CA: Anthropological Studies Center, 2008).

probable use, the archaeologist can use the distribution of certain classes of artifacts to identify how domestic space was organized, such as the layout of cooking, eating, washing, and sleeping areas. This information, can in turn, be used to make inferences with regard to cultural practices.

Historical document research is a critical component is the study. Documents include photographs, maps, property records, census records, and historical accounts. This information is available at local, state and federal repositories.[31] These archives were visited and relevant material copied and scanned. Coding of these documents was broken into two primary categories: general Klamath Reservation history, and Beatty area-specific documents. Ethnohistoric accounts provide additional information for this study.[32]

Research Questions

This historical archaeological study produces a reconstruction, on paper, of the Beatty Curve Site homestead. This study attempts to understand how 19th century United States government policy and private actors affected the indigenous family unit's use of domestic space and family economy. Additionally, this study examines the chronology of culture change on the Klamath Reservation. The study uses information derived from

[31] The following archives were visited, including the National Archive-Pacific Regional Branch, Klamath County Museum, UO/Oregon Special Collections, and Klamath County Archives

[32] Douglas Deur conducted an ethnohistoric study of the Beatty Area as part of the Beatty Curve Site archaeological investigation: Deur, Douglas **"**The Cultural Context of Beatty Gap: An Ethnographic Overview," (unpublished manuscript on file at the University of Oregon Museum of Natural and Cultural History, n.d.)

archaeological excavations along with archival research as primary sources. In addition, this study addresses four specific questions:

1. What evidence is there of the persistence of traditional cultural patterns?

2. What implications do the findings provide with regard to understanding culture change on the former-Klamath reservation?

3. What types of buildings or settings should preservationists be aware of when conducting cultural resource inventories or Section 106 evaluations within the boundaries of the Klamath Reservation?

4. What themes, methods, and content should be emphasized when interpreting this site, or other sites of this nature?

Thesis Structure

In order to address these questions, Chapter II reviews the literature related to theoretical approaches to vernacular houses and archaeological inquiries into households.

Chapter III outlines the history of the Klamath Basin from prehistory to the historic era, with an emphasis on the period from the1850s to 1900s.

Chapter IV includes a description of the archaeological evidence, including site plans, feature descriptions, and discussion of the artifact assemblage including time-diagnostic artifacts. This chapter includes previously published and unpublished co-authored material.

Chapter V discusses the spatial patterning of artifacts and features, as well as the possible implication of these patterns with regard to house form, building construction technology, and household activity at the Beatty Curve Site.

Chapter VI discusses the implications of the data to Klamath lifeways during the Reservation-era and offers recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

THEORIZING HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLDS

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to produce a reconstruction on paper of the Beatty Curve Site homestead, and evaluate how 19th century United States government policy influenced the household(s) at the site. As such, the study draws upon both archaeological and architectural theory for evaluating the social and cultural phenomena that helped shape the historic homestead at the Beatty Curve Site. This study approaches the Beatty Curve Site homestead as a no longer extant vernacular setting. It is, therefore, important to understand how the study of vernacular settings has been approached by various scholars.

The study of vernacular architecture is commonly associated with interest in "the ordinary buildings of ordinary people."[33] Although early architectural studies were focused on elite architecture, there is a vibrant field of study which focuses on dwellings a majority of people inhabited in a particular region and period. Vernacular architecture has also been defined as "the study of those human actions and behaviors that are

[33] Bonnie J. Clark and Kathleen Corbett, "Finding Common Ground in Common Places: Interdisciplinary methods for analyzing historic architecture on archaeological sites." In *Between Dirt and Disscusion: Methods, Methodology, and Interpretation in Historical Archaeology,* Edited by Steven N. Archer and Kevin M. Bartoy (Springer 2006) 2. *see also*: Carter and Cromley. *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture,* xiii-xxii.

manifest in commonplace architecture."[34] Dell Upton echoes this definition and sees vernacular architecture not as a category of buildings, but rather an "approach" to architectural studies.[35] In this regard, he has designated four avenues of inquiry which have been pursued in the field: object-oriented studies, socially oriented studies, culturally oriented studies, and symbolically oriented studies. Object-oriented studies are concerned with the buildings themselves. This type of inquiry uses measured drawings, analyses of the physical building fabric, chronology of development of a building, as well as analysis of form, style, type and function of buildings.[36] Architectural studies by Norman M. Isham and Albert F. Brown of Rhode Island's 17th and 18th century houses exemplify this object-oriented approach.[37] However, Upton notes the weakness of this approach is that it "tends still to rely too often on intuitive, rather than explicit, concepts of change."[38]

Socially oriented studies examine architecture as material culture that can be used to study social change and understand daily lives of the past. Upton remarks that socially oriented studies emphasize that buildings "…are examined as a part of everyday existence and, more recently, as evidence for aspects of the past that can be known

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[34] Carter and Cromley. *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture,* xiv.

[35] Dell Upton, "The Power of Things: Recent Studies in American Vernacular Architecture" in *American Quarterly*, 35 (3) 1983: 263. *see also:* Wells, Camille "Introduction," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, the Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum.* Volume I. (1982): 5-6.

[36] Carter and Cromley. *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture,* 19-43.

[37] Dell Upton, "The Power of Things," 265.

[38] Ibid., 267.

imperfectly or not at all from other kinds of evidence."[39] The social approach presumes that architectural forms varied along social and economic lines. Another emerging dimension of vernacular study is one embedded in cultural identity and practices. Works such as Henry Glassie's *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (1969) look at the distribution patterns of built forms to examine the migration of groups from cultural hearths. This type of study is what Upton has described as "culturally oriented studies."[40]

Upton's last category of inquiry is symbolically oriented studies. These inquiries are concerned with the symbolic character of buildings. For example, building designers can incorporate symbolic elements that can have meaning within social units. Perhaps more relevant to this study is the symbolism of the framed house vs. the traditional house pit.

The avenues of inquiry outlined by Upton are also evidenced in a number of independent fields including history, archaeology, anthropology, and cultural geography. Shifting ideas outside of architectural history have been influential in the field. Some scholars point to developments in social theory proposed by Pierre Bourdieu and Henri Lefebvre as two of the chief contributors to shifts in theoretical orientations. Archaeologist Bonnie Clark, and architect Kathleen Corbett[41] find useful ideas in the works of Lefebvre, who stressed that spaces are a product of social process, not a simple

[39] Dell Upton, "The Power of Things," 268.

[40] Ibid., 270-217.

[41] Clark and Corbett, "Finding Common Ground in Common Places," 151-167.

container of social process. Likewise, these authors find Bourdieu's theories of *habitus* and *doxa* important concepts to explain that daily acts both form and are formed in social spaces.[42]

Some scholars have examined the process of creating regionally distinct architectural forms. Heath distinguishes three primary classes of buildings: folk, popular, and high style, each of which has a set of conventions.[43] As individuals or ethnic communities introduce buildings to a region, the decision-making on the nature of the structure is influenced by multiple factors: climate, material availability, ethnicity, social class, and ideology. In some instances, the building is not affected by regional factors except in minor ways, and retains an unaltered set of folk, popular, or high style conventions. Conversely, alterations to the conventions may be of a highly personalized (idiosyncratic) nature that is not diffused on the regional scale. However, if the building's conventions are altered in response to regional factors and disseminated a regionally distinct building culture may emerge that is "of a place, of a people, and, inevitably, of a time"[44]

One example, cited by Heath, is the 18th century adobe Spanish missions of New Mexico. These buildings are, on the one hand, similar to European churches, but they

[42] Clark and Corbett, "Finding Common Ground in Common Places," 153.

[43] Kingston Wm. Heath, "Assessing Regional Identity Amidst Change: The Role of Vernacular Studies" in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, The Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum*. Volume 13, No. 2 (2006/2007): 81.

[44] Ibid., 88.

also draw upon indigenous building traditions of the arid Southwest.[45] Heath notes that the "Vernacular architecture, then, represents a localized response to broad cultural systems, historical events, and environmentally determined regional forces."[46] The vernacular threshold is crossed in Heath's words "…when aspects of a unique building response are embraced in a collective and consistent manner by representative numbers within a region, they produce something that is no longer idiosyncratic—it is culturally syncretic. It is vernacular."[47] Although the single case study presented in this study may not provide sufficient evidence to designate a distinct regional building type, it should provide a baseline of information for preservationists to evaluate this question.

Archaeological research should play a more prominent role in architectural studies. Clark and Corbett argue that architectural historians often view architecture as the "whole enchilada." They note that architectural historians can enhance their studies of building by consulting the artifactual evidence associated with that resource.[48] These data can help reconstruct vernacular settings, especially those associated with underrepresented communities whose history may not be accessible through documenting extant examples or review of the historical record.

Research into housing on the 19th century Klamath Reservation is a strong candidate for this synthetic approach, employing both architectural and archaeological

[45] Kingston Wm. Heath, "Assessing Regional Identity Amidst Change", 81.
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[46] Ibid., 81.

[47] Ibid., 82.

[48] Clark and Corbett, "Finding Common Ground in Common Places," 157.

methods. Many archaeologists have resisted using archaeology simply "…as the handmaiden to historic reconstruction."[49] However, there is a renewed interest in the archaeology of households in which domestic dwellings play a prominent role.

Household Archaeology

Household archaeology is a subfield of archaeological research, and focuses on the basic social unit of households. Allison defines the household as "the people living in a house; the maintenance of that establishment; and all the goods and furniture found in it. Thus, the components which form the dataset for an archaeological investigation of households are not just the structures, or houses, but also all their extant context, both as primary and as secondary refuse." [50] Blanton notes that households are the primary venue for enacting social reproductive strategies. In this case the household heads employ various strategies to maintain desired social statuses for themselves, in their respective social settings.[51] However, Allison notes that archaeologists do not dig up households but the remains of dwellings and domestic artifacts generated by the social units.[52]

Household archaeology attempts to reconstruct household activities through evaluating the material culture. Archaeologists have considerable experience drawing

[49] King and Lyneis "Preservation: A Developing Focus of American Archaeology," 873.

[50] Penelope M. Allison "the Household in Historical Archaeology," *Australasian Historical Archaeology,* vol. 16, 1998, 16-29.

[51] Richard E. Blanton , *Houses and Households: A Comparative Study* (New York and London: Plenum Publishing Incorporated, 1994), 20.

[52] Allison, "Household in Historical Archaeology," 16.

interpretations from artifactual evidence (i.e., pot sherds, bottle glass, and projectile points).

Archaeological methods for reconstructing sites vary considerably, relying both on quantitative and qualitative methodologies. One quantitative method which has been influential is the study of the patterns of refuse disposal.[53] South emphasized that the importance of these studies is "for use in interpretation of the relationship between site structure, content, context, and function."[54] The distributional patterning of artifacts offers a way of looking at spatial relationships between various items, and the clustering of artifacts may indicate the location of distinct activities. As such, a concentration of domestic tableware and stove parts may mark the location of a kitchen or food preparation area. Shifts in activity areas over time may also indicate changing cultural patterns in the use of domestic space. The distribution pattern of artifacts can be an important tool in examining the life history of households. This study employs the artifact distributions of various classes and types of artifacts to help reconstruct the site setting and household level response to changing social, political, and economic conditions of the Klamath Reservation.

[53] Stanley South, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, (New York, NY: Academic Press, 1977), 47.

[54] Ibid., 47.

CHAPTER III

CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Prehistoric Period

The Klamath Basin is located near the eastern slope of the Cascades, straddling the present-day California and Oregon border (Figure 1). The largest population center in the region is Klamath Falls, which is situated at the southern tip of Upper Klamath Lake at approximately 4,100 feet. Prominent features of the drainage basin include Upper and Lower Klamath lakes, as well as the Sprague, Williamson, and Lost Rivers. The Klamath River forms at the foot of Upper Lake and flows about 263 miles (423 km) southwest through the Cascade Range before emptying in to the Pacific Ocean. Although the hydrology of the region sets it apart from a majority of the Great Basin, it shares similar climatic and environmental conditions. The average annual rainfall is 12 to 15 inches per year. Vegetation includes extensive stands of Ponderosa pine; along riverbanks and meadows are native grasses, and away from river courses vegetation includes sage brush, bunchgrass, and forbs. *Wocas (Nuphar polyysepalum),* or water lily, is common in lake shallows and marshes (including the extensive Klamath Marsh in the northern part of the basin) and formed an important part of the aboriginal diet.

Human settlement of the Klamath Basin has a long history spanning over 10,000 years. Archaeological studies at sites such as Fort Rock Cave and Paisley Cave (70 miles northeast and 70 miles east of Chiloquin, respectively) have recovered cultural remains

that have been radiocarbon dated to more than 14,000 BP. The evidence of lifeways that appear similar to ethnographic Klamath extends back 6000 years or more.[55] The eruption of Mount Mazama (ca. 7,700 BP) at present-day Crater Lake, spread large volcanic ash deposits throughout the region, and may be the reason very little archaeological evidence has been found from the pre-Mazama period in the Klamath Basin prior to 7700 years ago. However, the antiquity of the Klamath people of the Klamath Basin is suggested by the occurrence of distinctive Catlow Twine basketry spanning some 9000 years. Due to characteristics of Catlow Twine basketry, Luther Cressman concluded that more recent examples of basketry were essentially unchanged from the ancient examples.[56] Other evidence of the ancient presence of the Klamath people in the basin is found in oral traditions which recount the events of the eruption of Mt. Mazama.[57]

During the early-to-middle Holocene, the area experienced a decrease in regional annual rainfall. The decreased precipitation corresponds to the shift of population to areas where access to water was more reliable, such as marshes, lakes, springs, and river courses. Archaeologists conclude that this population movement resulted in increasingly

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[55] For more information on Klamath Basin prehistory *see*: Cressman, Luther S. "Klamath Prehistory," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 46 (1956), 375-509; Sampson, Garth C. *Nightfire Island: Late Holocene Lakemarsh Adaptation on the Western Edge of the Great Basin,* Eugene, OR: University of Oregon Anthropological Papers 33, 1985; Jenkins, Dennis L "Distribution and Dating of Cultural and Paleontological Remains at the Paisley Five Mile Point Caves in the Northern Great Basin: An Early Assessment," in *Paleoindian of Paleoarchaic? Great Basin Human Ecology at the Pleistocene/Holocene Transistion,* ed. Kelly E. Graf and Dave N. Schmitt, Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 2007: 57-81.

[56] Connolly, Thomas J., Catherine S. Fowler, and William J. Cannon. "Radiocarbon Dating Relating to Northern Great Basin Basketry Chronology." *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*, 20(1) (1998):88-100.

[57] M. A. R. Barker, *Klamath Texts.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in Linguistics, 1963), 71-75.

constrained home territories. Among the responses to the increase in dryness was the appearance of the first house pits and storage features.

The first comprehensive study of the archaeology of the prehistoric occupation of the Klamath Basin was conducted by Luther Cressman in the late 1940s to early 1950s.[58] Cressman's archaeological effort in the Klamath Basin (1947-1951), with the exception of Medicine Rock Cave, focused on village sites with visible house pit depressions. These sites were known to have been occupied at the time of contact, based on information provided by Native informants. Cressman excavated portions of middens and concluded that the recovered tool assemblages indicated a stable subsistence pattern for 5000 years.[59] Seventeen house pits at several sites along the lower Williamson River were investigated. During these investigations two types of house pits were identified: one ranging from six to seven meters in diameter and another three to four meters. At the time, Cressman was unsure whether the smaller buildings were associated with the larger buildings or rather represented independent household units.[60] He also noted two houses of exceptional size measuring up to 19 m in diameter. These could have been the dwellings of a village shaman or perhaps a headman. Cressman found that a majority of house pits had benches which ran along the perimeter of the house pit depression. Food remains recovered from these sites included an abundance of mussel shell, fish, bird, as well as small and large mammal bone. The artifact assemblages from these sites included

[58] Luther S. Cressman, "Klamath Prehistory," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 46 (4) (1956). 375-509.

[59] Ibid., 375-509.

[60] Ibid., 435.

stone, bone and antler tools, used for butchering, fishing, hide-working, hunting, plant processing, and woodworking.

Another major study occurred in the 1980s at Nightfire Island site in California. The site is located on a marsh bordering Lower Klamath Lake (in Modoc territory south of the California-Oregon border), and provides the most complete record of post-Mazama occupation of the region.[61] Archaeological evidence suggests that the location was initially occupied following the eruption of Mt. Mazama in 7,700 BP, and originally functioned as a waterfowl hunting location. Beginning 7000 years ago, the residents of Nightfire Island began to alter the marshy landscape through the introduction of basaltic rubble fill which may have been an attempt to stabilize the surface; over 5000 tons of rubble were introduced to the site and deposited along the shoreline and used to construct a platform.[62] Houses were subsequently excavated into this rubble platform, which continued to sink due to the instability of the underlying saturated mud.

Approximately six house pit floors were encountered during the excavation at Nightfire Island. The best preserved example had a calibrated radiocarbon date from the central hearth of ca. 4700 years ago. The house pit is described as a shallow depression approximately 3.5 meters (11 feet) in diameter. A pole-frame roof was set back approximately 1 m from the edge of the excavated floor, providing a bench-like perimeter area, with the interior of the house accessed from a ramp. Among the interesting

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[61] Sampson, Garth C. *Nightfire Island: Late Holocene Lakemarsh Adaptation on the Western Edge of the Great Basin.* Eugene, OR: University of Oregon Anthropological Papers 33, 1985.

[62] Ibid., 4.

observations at Nightfire Island was that many dwellings featured packed clay floors, ranging in color from gray, white, and brown.[63] It is unclear from Sampson's discussion as to whether these floors were intentionally created through the introduction of imported clay, which was then packed firm to form a durable floor, or if they were the result of natural compaction of the soil through foot traffic. A second type of structure was encountered which previously had not been identified in the Klamath Basin. Sampson speculated that the structure originally consisted of four thin poles placed in postholes which held up ledgers (horizontal timber held by a framework) covered with wooden roof planks.[64] One explanation of the structure is that it may have functioned in a similar manner as an open air living area such as a *ramada,* which is a framed, open-aired structure usually canopied in brush.

The residential use of Nightfire Island began to wane around 700 years ago. Additional studies within the area include those at the Collier State Park,[66] the Bezuksewas Village Site,[67] and the Williamson River Bridge Site.[68]

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[63] Sampson, *Nightfire Island,* 437.

[64] Ibid., 437-438.

[66] Cole, David L. *Report of Archaeological Investigations in Collier State Park*, Eugene, Oregon: Museum of Natural History, University of Oregon, 1965.

[67] Cheatham, Richard and Mark Robinson, Thomas Connolly, Guy L. Tasa, Vivien J. Singer, Dorothy E. Freidel, Melissa Cole Darby, Nancy A. Stenholm, and Cheryl Allen, *Archaeological Investigations at the Bezuksewas Village Site (35KL778) Klamath County, Orego*n. Eugene, Oregon: State Museum of Anthropology, 1995.

[68] Cheatham, Richard D. *Archaeological Investigations at the Williamson River Bridge Site (35KL677): A Riverside Fishing Camp in Klamath County, Oregon.* Eugene, Oregon: State Museum of Anthropology, 1991.

Ethnographic Period

At the time of historic contact in the early 19th century, the Klamath Basin was populated by the Klamath and Modoc, as well as the Yahooskin band of Northern Paiute (Figure 2).[69] The Klamath and Modoc were divided into social subdivisions called "triblets," a term that describes localized territorial groups.[70] During the historic period, the population of the Klamath and Modoc taken together has been variously estimated between 1200 and 2000,[71] with the Klamath having double the population to that of the Modoc.[72] Linguistic evidence suggests long occupation of the region, with the Klamath-Modoc linguistically related to Plateau groups such as the Cayuse, Molala and northern Sahaptin Tenino, Klickitat, Yakima, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Nez Perce.[73] Stern recognized six triblet subdivisions among the Klamath.[74] The Klamath people typically congregated along marshes and streams which had abundant supplies of fish, mussel, and waterfowl. Winter settlements were located on Klamath Marsh, or ringed the shore of Agency and Upper

[69] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 4.

[70] Ibid., 5.

[71] Spier estimates that the Klamath numbered 3,000 and the Modoc 415, *see* Spier, Leslie. *Klamath Ethnography*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1930, 21.

[72] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 5.

[73] Ibid., 4.

[74] Ibid., 19.

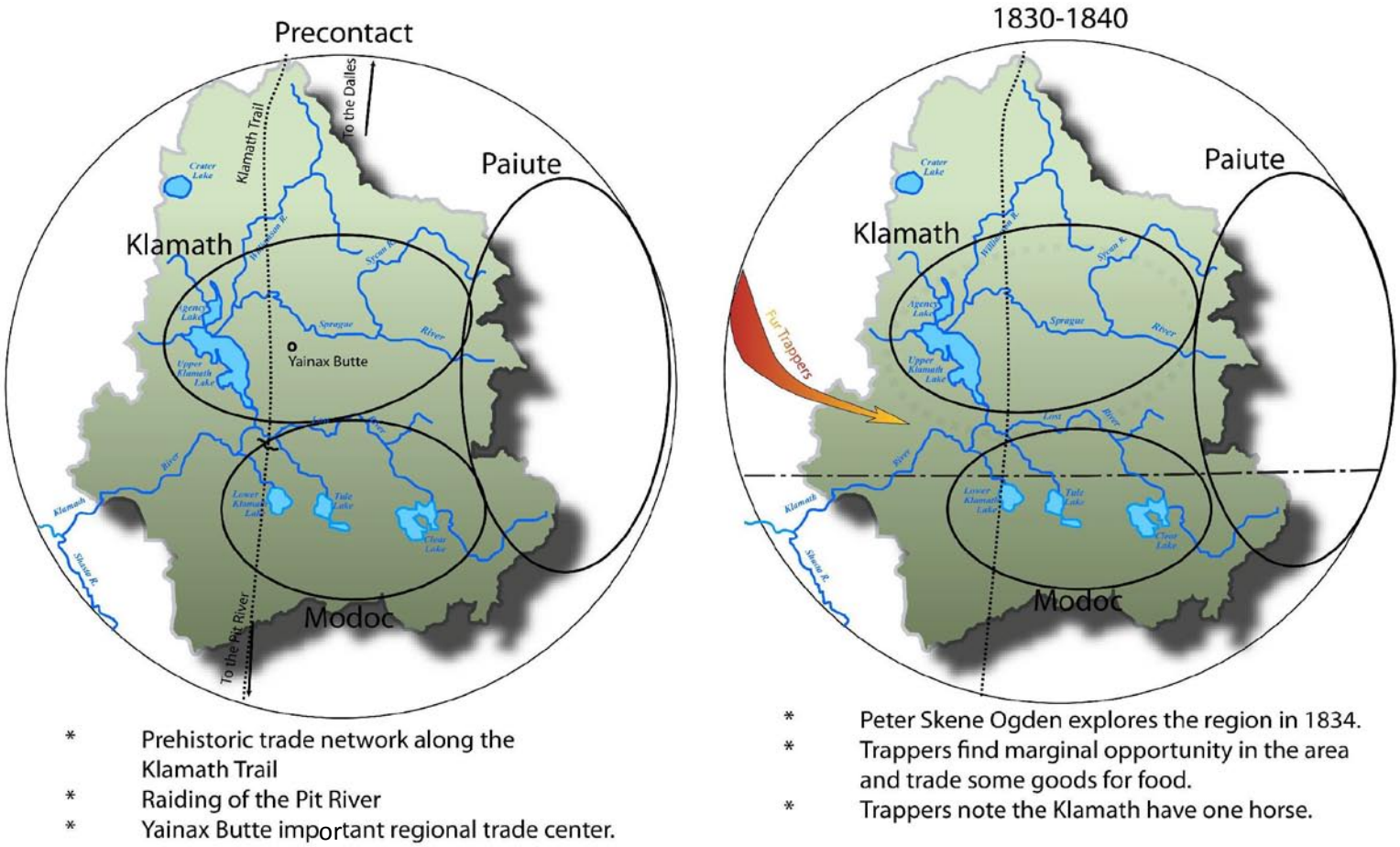

Figure 2. Map of the Klamath Basin showing major historical events of the period between contact and the 1840s.

Klamath lakes, or extended along the banks of the Williamson and Sprague Rivers (Figure 2). The Modoc, by contrast, lived in the open range lands to the south, and relied more heavily on hunting. Modoc villages were congregated along the Lost River, and around Lower Klamath, Tule and Clear lakes (Figure 2).

Prior to contact, the Klamath Basin was a travel corridor between the Great Basin, Columbia Plateau, and California cultural areas. Substantial traffic passed through the area as people from the north traveled southeast to capture slaves from tribes to the south. Modoc passed through to the Klamath River to fish for salmon (Figure 2). Yainax Butte in the south was an important location of prehistoric trade.

> The tribes met under the shadows of Yainax to barter and trade and chase the hours away in the recital of their deeds and to exhibit the scalps and spoils taken on the war path. The Warm Springs Indians came down to the lake country to buy slaves, to purchase skins and furs and trade horses. The Pitt Rivers were the armorers of those days and such bows and arrows as they made of yew and sinew no English bow ever rivaled . . . . Modocs came and Snakes and Klamaths were there and Indians came from the Columbia River with all the airs of experience of foreign traders.[75]

During long winters, life was centered on permanent settlements consisting of two to over two dozen house pits. The dominant dwelling was the house pit (Figure 3).[76] Surplus food was located typically in communal storage pits, although the Modoc preferred to store food in household caches within the house pits.[77]

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[75] Samuel A. Clarke," Early Modoc History," *The New York Times*, July 5, 1873. (Pg #)

[76] Referred to by Stern as an earth lodge: Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 7.

[77] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 6.

Figures 3. Engraving of a Klamath house pit. (From Williamson and Abbot 1855)

A village had a variety of specialized buildings, including semi-subterranean house pits, sweathouses, and storage pits. The village dwellings were not arranged in a particular fashion and individual units were commonly located several hundred feet apart.[78] Traditionally, individual houses were oriented with the steps of the doorway to the east. This orientation was in part attributed to the fact that oral traditions held that the regions to the west were the land of the dead. The entry arrangement was, therefore, an attempt to protect the dwelling from unwanted supernatural influences. All adult

[78] Verne F. Ray, *Primitive Pragmatists: Modoc Indians of Northern California* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1963), 146.

occupants who could claim ownership of the dwelling also contributed to the construction effort, which often took up to a month.

The semi-subterranean house pit featured a floor excavated below the ground surface, up to four feet for the Modoc or three feet for the Klamath.[79] The diameter of the house pit ranged from twelve feet (3.65 meters) in diameter for a single-family unit to thirty-five feet (10.6 meters) for a shaman. Horizontal plates (timber laid flat across the heads framing members) were lashed to four central support timber poles, and split log beams diagonally slanted down from each corner to the ground beyond the edge of the pit excavation. Horizontal stringers between the beams carried a layer of log rafters with cracks between adjoining stringers chinked with sticks and bark. This surface was covered with rough matting and topped with earth. Entry was commonly through the top, where rough planks were laid to serve as an entryway and to vent smoke from the hearth that was offset from the entry ladder.[80] The house pit was frequently dismantled during spring when the snowmelt produced rising water lines.

Inside the house was a partition constructed to screen supplies.[81] Rafters were used for hanging dried fish and roots. The floor was typically covered with woven mats that sometimes extended up to the walls. The building was well-suited for habitation

[79] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 7.

[80] Ibid., 7.

[81] Ibid., 7.

during the long winter months. The fire in the hearth was kept lit throughout the time the house was in use: this practice helped to maintain dry conditions and circulate air.[82]

Agent L.S. Dyar characterized the dwellings as "their warm ill-ventilated, native houses." [83] Such sentiments were culturally defined. Following the introduction of Euro-American framed houses in the 1870s, many of the older generation found the new buildings to be drafty and cold, preferring to live in traditional house pits. As late as 1891, Indian Agents noted that many elderly still lived in the traditional house pits.[84]

During the summer months, the Klamath and Modoc used a dwelling that was distinctive from the house pits. The summer house is described as a generally dome-shaped building covered in tule mats (Figure 4). The frame of the building was constructed of willow poles set in the ground around the perimeter. The willow saplings were then bent inward toward a light ridge pole. Mats were placed along the base of the building and sewn together. The summer house was tall enough for an adult to stand. The use of this type of building was not limited to the summer house, as structures using similar material and construction techniques were employed for storage, cook houses, menstrual huts, and housing for the poor or aged. Such structures on occasion were also used for winter use.[85]

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[82] Ray, *Primitive Pragmatists,* 147.

[83] L.S. Dryar to E.P. Smith, Commr., Monthly report for January -Feb. 1, 1875, Quoted in Stern, *The Klamath Tribe,* 55

[84] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe,* 55

[85] Ray, *Primitive Pragmatists,*156-158, [*See also* Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography,* 202]

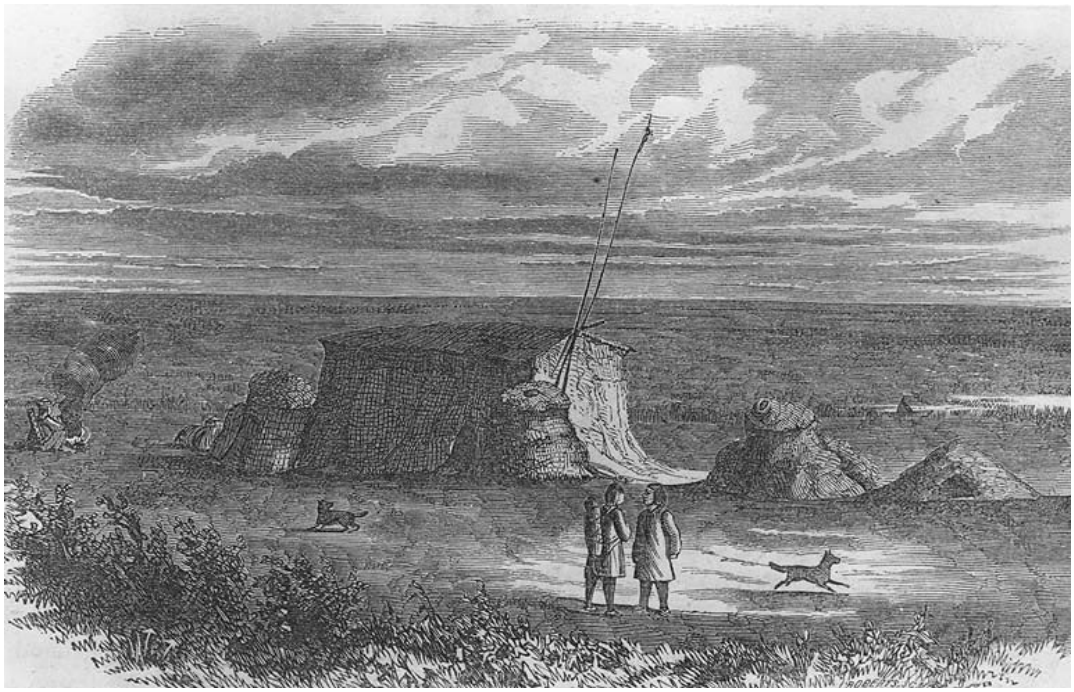

Figure 4. Engraving of a Klamath summer house encountered by Williamson and Abbot during a 1855 railroad survey. (From Williamson and Abbot 1855)

The sweat house played an important role in the spiritual life of the Klamath and Modoc. Most villages included this type of structure. Two variations of the sweat house found in the Klamath Basin correspond to the season of use. The summer sweat house was a round, domed-shaped building. In contrast, the winter sweat was a gable-shaped building constructed over an elliptical pit measuring five feet in length. The ridge pole supported a pair of struts, and pushed into the edges of the excavation. Sticks and bark were then leaned against the ridgepole and covered with grass and dirt. The small entry was covered with a mat. To produce steam for the sweat lodge, stones were heated

outside and rolled into the building; after a short cooling period, these stones were doused with water to produce steam.[86]

Historical Context

Fur Trade-era (ca. 1820s-1840s)

Although the Klamath Basin was relatively isolated in the mid-19th century, it was a mid-point along a pre-contact trade route that ran between The Dalles and locations in California (Figure 3). With the introduction of horses, raiding neighboring tribes for the slave trade became an element of the aboriginal economy. Slaves were in turn exchanged for prestige items such as parfleches (a type of hide bag), and beads. [87]

The earliest account of contact between Euro-Americans and the people of the Klamath Basin was that of trapper Peter Skene Ogden, who came upon a party of Klamath in 1826 (Figure 2). Ogden's visit was noted as friendly, and he observed that the Klamath had acquired one horse and had knowledge of modern firearms. Ogden found beaver to be scarce in the Klamath Basin, and so trappers had little incentive to further explore the region. A decade later, a contingent of French-Canadian trappers passed through the basin and traded buttons and metal items with the Klamath for dogs, which the trappers subsequently used for food. [88]

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[86] Cressman, "Klamath Prehistory," 392.

[87] Zakoji, "Klamath Culture Change," 10.

[88] Leslie Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 7.

In 1843, John C. Fremont led an expedition through the Klamath Basin during which time his company fired their cannon. This action was purportedly designed to impress the Klamath with the expedition's superior firepower. Three years later Fremont revisited the region as part of a survey mission for the United States government.[89] During this second visit, Fremont's party was attacked and three guides on the expedition were killed. In retaliation, Fremont attacked a large Klamath village not involved in the raid and killed all the inhabitants.[90] It was later determined that the inhabitants of this village had not participated in the attack on Fremont.[91] These 1843 events mark the beginning of escalating hostility between the indigenous population and Euro-American settlers.

Explorers and Rising Tensions (ca. 1840s-1860s)

In 1846, Jesse and Lindsay Applegate charted a route through southern Oregon that became widely known as the Applegate Trail (South Emigrant Trail). The establishment of the trail marked a major turning point, ending the relative isolation of the Klamath Basin. Although the trail was not as well traveled as other roads in the territory, it did serve a number of miners and settlers moving between California and the Willamette Valley (Figure 5). As settlers passed through the area they often noted the

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[89] Carrol B. Howe, *Ancient Tribes of the Klamath Country* (Portland, OR: Binfords and Mort, 1968), 21.

[90] Zakoji , "Klamath Culture Change," 38.

[91] Ibid., 39.

rich wetlands and meadows of the Klamath Basin. However, it would be over a decade before Euro-Americans began to establish settlements.

In the 1850s, a small number of settlers began to move into the Klamath Basin.[92] It was the gold discoveries in the areas surrounding John Day, Oregon in 1861, which spurred the large increase in the use of the Applegate Trail. As travel through the region increased so did the incidents of violence between the Klamath and Modoc and Euro-American travelers. Welborn Beeson of Talent near Jacksonville, Oregon recorded news of settlers being attacked in the Klamath Basin in May 1859, he wrote:

> …six or eight men went out to Klamath Lake valley, last week to take claims. A few days ago the Indian Agent and some others, went out and they found the first ones had taken claims and commenced to build a cabin on it, but the Indians had killed every one of them, and killed their horses. What else could they expect to go out there before any treaty was made. The Indians do not want to be robbed of thire[sic] land…They have taken them prisoners to keep until Lalake (Klamath Chieftain) gives up the murderers. We will have another Bloody Indian War.[93]

Beeson's diary entry clearly shows that the number of settlers moving into the region was giving rise to hostilities, as the Klamath understandably regarded the newcomers as trespassers. Settlers backed by the U.S. military or local militias often responded with excessive force, which served to exacerbate an already tense situation. However, a

[92] Zakoji , "Klamath Culture Change,", 45.

[93] Welborn Beeson of Talent, OR Diaries (Talent Historical Society), May 1859.

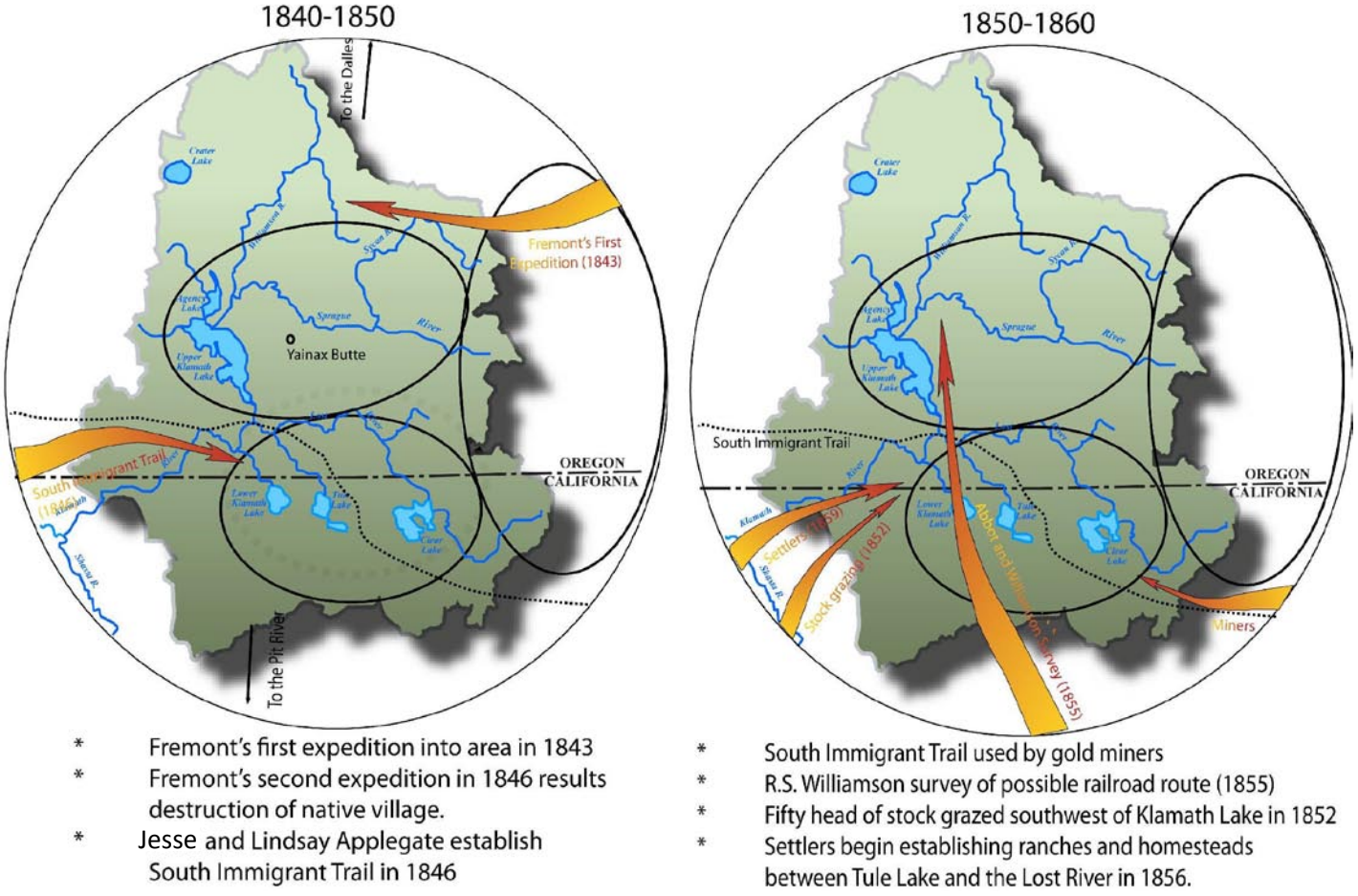

Figure 5. Map of the Klamath Basin showing major historical events during the period between the 1840s to 1860s.

number of settlers as early as 1852 were deemed trustworthy by the native inhabitants and allowed to range stock in the area without incident.[94] Beeson noted some of these events, writing on April 1st 1863:

> Sam Colver started with a company to prospect and explore Klamath Lake Valley. It is expected to form a Settlement Act of a county and a large population east of us this coming season, either kill or drive off the Indians. It will make quite busy times. Mr. Patterson went with them to look for a land claim.[95]

The federal government had also begun to take note of the mounting violence, and sought to rectify the situation with the establishment of a reservation.[96] This effort was hampered for a few years due to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. Concurrently, many Klamath, Modoc, and Pauite had moved into the settlements of the Rogue River Valley to the west. This population influx caused anxiety among the white population of the area. As a consequence, a petition was submitted on behalf of the people of Jackson County to form a reservation at Klamath Lake.[97] In 1863, Colonel Charles S. Drew of Jacksonville, the head of a local militia, tried to establish a military post in the Klamath Basin. This action was regarded by the Native people and some white observers as preemption to all out war. The Klamath, Modoc, and Paiute for their part were increasingly concerned with the deteriorating situation and sought out Lindsay Applegate to voice their concerns. Applegate wrote in March of 1864 that the chiefs:

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[94] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 55.

[95] Welborn Beeson of Talent, OR Diaries (Talent Historical Society), April 1863.

[96] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 252.

[97] Ibid., 35.

> …had been instructed by their people, to learn of me, whether their country was to be taken from them or not without compensation, and if to make them slaves. They say Col. Drew has taken possession without their having any assurance that they would ever get anything for their country, and that it would soon be overrun by settlers…If their Bill now before Congress proposing to make treaties with these Indians, passes, we will be saved in all probability from Indian war, for the course Drew is pursuing toward them will I think, if not counteracted in some way, certainly lead to war…."[98]

By June, J.W. Perit Huntington, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, arrived at the newly established Fort Klamath to meet with the Klamath and Modoc chiefs for preparation of a treaty council in October.[99] By October, Huntington and Agent William Logan began to enter into treaty talks. The parties of the treaty included 21 Klamath chiefs and headmen led by Chiefs Lileks and Chiloquin representing 710 Klamath, Chief Schonchin representing 339 Modoc, and two Pauite leaders representing 22 members of the Yahooskin band of Snakes.[100]

Early Reservation Period (1864-ca.1890)

The Klamath, Modoc, and Yahooskin band of Snake Indians (Northern Paiute), agreed to the terms of the treaty with Congress establishing the Klamath Reservation (Figure 6). In exchange, the tribes of Klamath, Modoc, and the Yahooskin band of

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[98] Lindsay Applegate to J.W. Perit Huntington, March 1, 1864, O.C. Applegate Papers, Quoted in Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 37.

[99] Ronald Spores provides a list of superintendents and the dates of appointment: Anson Dart, June 21, 1850; Joel Palmer, March 17, 1853; Absalom F. Hedges, June 21, 1856; James W. Nesmith, March 12, 1857; Edward R. Geary, March 22, 1859; William H. Rector, June 13, 1861; J. W. Penit Huntington, January 19, 1863; Alfred B. Meacham, March 29, 1869; T. B. Odneal, January 8, 1872. *see:* Spores, Ronald "Too Small a Place: The Removal of the Willamette Valley Indians, 1850-1856" *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Spring, 1993), pp. 171-191

[100] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 41.

Figure 6. Photograph of the signers of the 1864 treaty taken in ca.1900. Back row, left to right: Tom Chocktoot, Jack Palmer, Capt. Oliver C. Applegate, Rev. Jesse Kirk, Joe Pierce nephew of U.S. Sen. Rice Alexander Pierce. Front row, left to right: Mosenkasket (Moses Brown), chief of upland Klamath; Long John, Lalo, Klamath subchief; Chief Agency George, Henry Blow, head chief of the Klamath. (Courtesy of the National Archives)

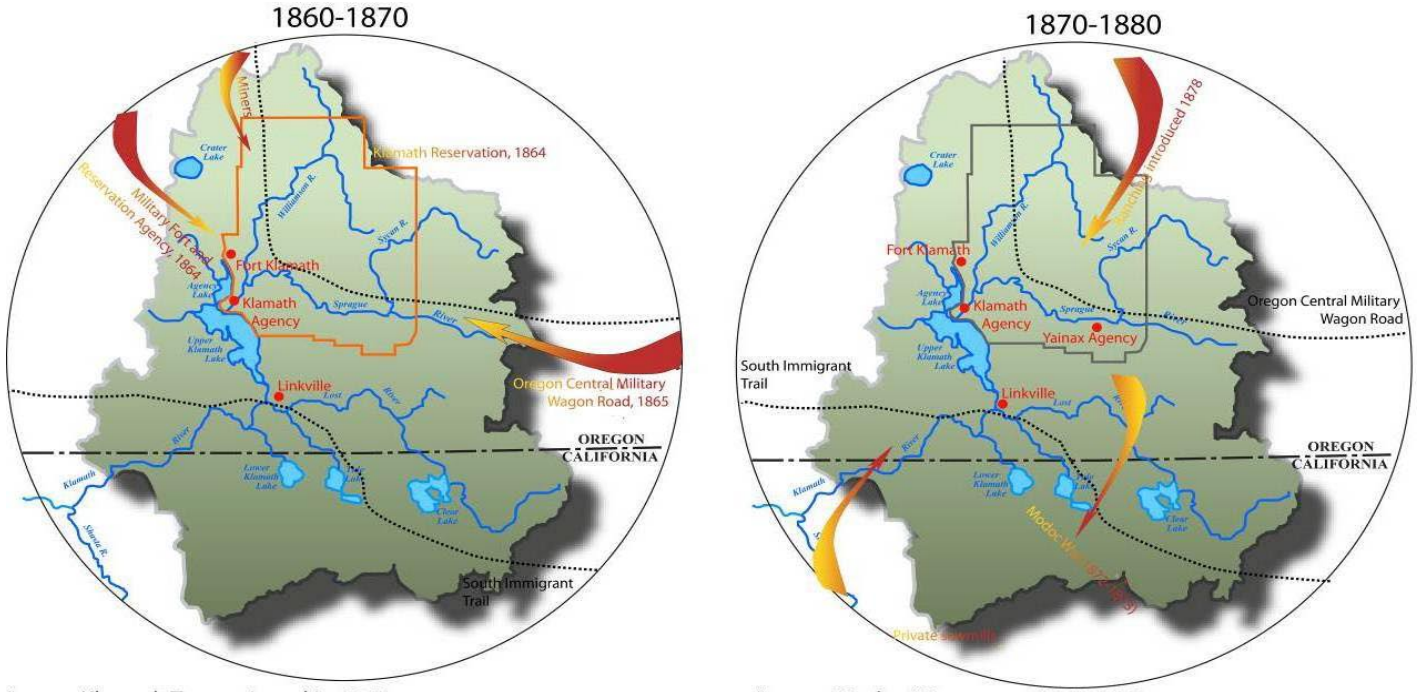
Snakes agreed to give up all claim to their traditional territory and live on the reservation, and to abide by all the rules and regulations the agency as representatives of the United States deemed necessary. The early administration of the reservation had centralized authority that relied on the chiefs who had signed the Treaty as representatives of their tribes. The agency granted the traditional chiefs broad powers, several of them eventually becoming policemen and judges. Eventually, oversight of the chiefs proved difficult and they were replaced by a new group of leaders appointed by the agency.[101]

The administrative center of the reservation was established at the Klamath Agency, located several miles south of Fort Klamath near Agency Lake (Figure 7). By the end of the decade a subagency was created at Yainax, headquartered at the ancient meeting ground, to manage the Indians living in the upper Sprague Valley; this area became known as the Upper End.[102]

The boundaries of the newly formed reservation were within the traditional territory of the Klamath, while the Modocs and Paiutes were removed from their ancestral homelands. Many Klamath held proprietary claims to the most productive land, as well as the resources within the larger Klamath lands. As a consequence, many Modoc and Pauite became disgruntled with the terms of the treaty.

[101] Zakoji , "Klamath Culture Change," 52.

[102] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 47.



* Klamath Treaty signed in 1863
* Klamath Agency, Fort Klamath and reservation established
* Oregon Central Military Road is established
* First Farm at Klamath Agency in 1866

* Modoc War occurs 1872-1873
* Yainax subagency established 1870
* Oregon Central Military Road Company claims of treaty land
* First sawmill at Klamath Agency (1870), first private-owned mills 1875.

Figure 7. Map of the Klamath Basin showing major historical events during the period between 1860s to 1880s.

Among the stipulations of the treaty was the construction of "one saw-mill, one flouring-mill, and suitable buildings for the use of the blacksmith, carpenter, and wagon and plough maker..."[103] The introduction of these new facilities, and the increased trade which resulted from the construction of Fort Klamath, had a profound long-term affect on Native lifeways, including introducing non-traditional items such as flour, metal implements, western clothing, firearms, and milled lumber.

The signing of the Treaty of 1864 marked the beginning of official federal policy that had the stated goal of "civilizing" the tribes. The government promoted the ideal of American individualism in opposition to traditional tribal identity.[104] Education was one means that the government employed to meet this goal; as such, the treaty called for the establishment of grade schools. The various facilities created for the reservation, such as the saw mill, flour mill, blacksmith and carpentry shops, a wagon and plow maker, and a hospital maintained by the Agency staff, were used as training schools for tribal members. The government also provided support staff including a doctor, miller, two teachers, and other personnel to help instruct the reservation population. As part of the treaty, annuities in the form of tools, flour, seeds, clothes, and animals were to be supplied by the government for a period of 15 to 20 years and food allotments for five years.

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[103] Treaty of Klamath Lake, Oregon with the Klamath, Modoc and Yahooskin Band of Snake, October 14, 1864.

[104] Zakoji, "Klamath Culture Change," 47.

On August 22nd 1870, A.B. Meacham, Superintendant of Indian Affairs in Oregon, wrote to the Klamath Indian Agent, Ivan Applegate, saying:

> From after this date you will take over control of all the Indians now on hereafter to be located at "Yai-nax" Klamath Reservation consisting of the various bands known as "Snake" Wall-pow-fre, and Moadoci Indians….you will have jurisdiction of all that part of Klamath Reservation lying and baring east of Mahogany Mountain. You will not allow settlement of any of the above described country by other persons than those belonging to your charge. You will proceed at once and such build at "Yain-nax" as may be necessary for the use and accommodation of the employees and the Indian Dept. also stables and corrals for the Dept. animals and from time to time assist the various bands of Indians under your charge in the erection of suitable dwellings, taking care always to insist in the Indians a ambition and desire for civilized modes and manners. *You will ever bear in mind that the object of the Department is to bring these people to a self supporting condition as civilized people as fast as possible*…[author's emphasis] [106]

While many of the Klamath who were able to stay in their home territory accepted change, many Modoc and Paiute displaced by the terms of the Treaty were unhappy with life on the new reservation. In 1869, several hundred Modoc returned to their homeland along the Lost River area in an off-reservation area where there were a significant number of Euro-American homesteads. Within three years, tensions had escalated. By 1872, the Modoc War resulted.[107] Following the Modoc War, the federal government took on an increasingly prominent role in the administration of the reservation.

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[106] A.B. Meacham to Ivan Applegate, Departmental correspondence at Yainax: 1869, National Archives Regional Facility, Seattle WA, KL 001 Departmental, Official, and Miscellaneous Letters Received, 1862-1910.

[107] Riddle, Jeff C. *The Indian History of the Modoc War* (1914, reprinted Orion Press, 1991).

Military Roads. The advent of military roads through eastern Oregon accelerated Euro-American settlement of the basin. The development of the Oregon Central Military Road was the result of a number of factors, including the increased commitment of the federal government to the new territories and states in the far west. Additionally, it was a product of the need for improved travel routes between the Willamette Valley to the newly discovered gold mines in the center of the state and along the Idaho border. The road was conceived as a necessary improvement in military transportation infrastructure that could provide links between strategic locations and used to move military forces during times of emergency.[108] The federal government's desire for the improved road through the region, therefore, had the duel benefit of improving economic distribution systems and the military transportation infrastructure.

Beginning in 1852, Congress began appropriating money for improving roads in portions of the Oregon Territory. Among the first roads to receive government assistance was the route between Scottsburg and Myrtle Creek. Over the next decade, the federal government continued to play a role in developing road systems in the territory.[109] In 1861, gold was discovered in the John Day watershed. By fall and early winter, miners began to flock to the east side of the Cascades. Following Oregon statehood in 1859, Congress no longer made direct appropriations for the construction of roads. Instead,

[108] Stephen Dow Beckham, "The Oregon Central Military Wagon Road: A History and Reconnaissance," (Eugene, OR: Heritage Research Associates Report No. 6 Vol.1, 1981), 12.

[109] Ibid.,14.

Congress began a program of granting land allotments from the public domain to private interests which were charged with constructing roads. In 1864, Congress passed legislation granting the state alternate sections of land, designated by odd numbers, three sections wide on each side of a military road that would extend from Eugene to Boise.[110]

Trails had already being blazed through the McKenzie Pass and via the Middle Fork of the Willamette River over the Cascades. The Middle Fork was favored by miners and packers because of the lower elevation. In 1864, the pace quickened on cutting a road though the Middle Fork by the newly established Oregon Central Military Wagon Road Company. The initial list of investors included a number of prominent residents of the Willamette Valley such as Eugene City founder Eugene Skinner. [111] On the strength of these prominent investors, the federal government awarded a contract for road construction to the road company. Construction of the road began just as word arrived of gold strikes on the Idaho border near present day Boise, which hastened the pace of construction. Representatives of the Oregon Central Military Road Company set out in 1865 to chart a route between Eugene and Boise. However, instead of following essentially a straight line across the state, the road veered far to the south; after crossing the Cascades, the road turned towards the Klamath Reservation (Figure 7). According to the *Oregon Blue Book*:

> Land-grant wagon roads were founded on speculation and fraud. None of the companies had the experience, capital, or leadership to build satisfactory routes

[110] 13 Stat. 355

[111] Beckham, "The Oregon Central Military Wagon Road," 22.

> through such challenging terrain. They cleared and carved out traces, leaving many streams unbridged and routes subject to slides and frequent closures. The Oregon Central Military Wagon Road Company was unblushing in its scam. When its surveyors reached the Cascade summit, rather than heading east toward Boise, they swept south through the upper Deschutes and into the Klamath Reservation, cutting a swath of checkerboard lands out of the lush meadows along the Williamson and Sprague rivers. They moved on toward Goose Lake into Guano Valley, then over the southern slopes of Steens Mountain into the Pueblo Valley before turning northeasterly toward Boise. Their meandering route captured tens of thousands of acres of prime grazing land, dismembered the Klamath Reservation, and ensured a much larger grant than if they had surveyed a route directly toward Idaho.[112]

The land seized by the road company was among the most productive within the boundary of the reservation. Leroy S. Dyar, an Indian Agent stationed on the reservation, observed, "Some land claimed by the Company is now occupied by the Indians…and at least a part of the Government farm and improvements at Yainax Station." He further warned, "the settlement of whites within the Reservation limits would bring endless trouble if not open war".[113] In total, 111,385 acres of land patents were awarded to the road company within the boundaries of the reservation--land the Indians had been assured was reserved for their use and benefit. The General Land Office map from 1873 of the Beatty area shows the portions of land claimed by the company included rich grazing land along the Sprague River.

The practices of the road company did not go unnoticed on a national level. On March 21, 1888, the *New York Times* ran a story under the headline "Unblushing Land

[112] Oregon Blue Book, "Oregon History: Uncle Sam's Handiwork" (http://bluebook.state.or.us/default.htm) (Accessed November 24, 2009)

[113] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 89.

Frauds," announcing that President Grover Cleveland had been approached by Congress about the road company land fraud practices.[114] The Oregon Military Road resulted in splintering portions of the reservation and took many decades to resolve. Eventually, the dispute led to hearings in federal courts and resulted in compensation. On June 21, 1906, Congress authorized to exchange of unallotted lands in the reservation for the allotted lands earlier conveyed to the road company, and further made an agreement with the land company on August 22, 1906, to return 111,385 acres back to the United States.

Results of Federal Policies on Native Peoples of the Klamath Reservation. The lifeways of the Native population on the reservation changed gradually over the decades following its creation. The federal government tasked government agents to promote the single-family farm model for reservation families. Initial reports on agricultural activity were somewhat encouraging; for instance, on June 3, 1869, Lewellyn Colven the agency farmer stated:

> I have been engaged variously on the farms since my appointment, principally however in planting, plowing and driving hauling grain. I have observed that the Indians take a lively interest in the cultivation of the soil and considering the limited means you have been able to furnish them have accomplished much reward delivering themselves for their low estate. They show a growing disposition to emulate the whites in various ways and I have no doubt that a proper encouragement of that disposition would before many years place them in comfortable circumstances[115]

[114] "Unblushing Land Frauds: The President Sends Information to Congress. How Big Chunks of Public Domain Have Been Stolen By Wagon Road Companies in Oregon," *New York Times*, March 20, 1888.

However, Colven's optimistic assessment appears to have been premature, and it soon became evident that farming efforts within the region would prove difficult. With poor unreliable yields due to the elevation (around 4,000 feet), the extreme ranges of temperature, and the aridity of the region the land held little promise for farming. Although environmental factors were not ideal for raising food crops, hay production for livestock feed was less problematic.[116] As a result, stock raising was more successful and was enthusiastically adopted by the reservation population.[117]

Other developments during the last quarter of the 19th century included changes in reservation law enforcement. Originally, laws were enforced on the reservation under the purview of the military, but eventually enforcement transitioned to a native police force. By 1883, a tribal police force was formed on the Klamath Reservation to help maintain order.[118]

The government policy had the stated goal of "cultivating industry, encouraging morality, and stimulating the acquisition of property" among tribal members.[119] The cultural hegemony apparent in governmental policy was clearly articulated by J.W. Perrit

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[115] To I.D. Applegate Esq, Commissary in Charge Yainax Klamath Reservation Report to S. Applegate US Klamath Agency Oregon, June 3, 1869. National Archives Regional Facility, Seattle WA, KL 001 Departmental, Official, and Miscellaneous Letters Received, 1862-1910.

[116] Zakoji , "Klamath Culture Change," 47-60.

[117] Ibid., 47-60.

[118] Otis H. Johnson, "The History of the Klamath Indian Reservation: 1864-1900" (master's thesis, University of Oregon, 1947), 119.

[119] Letter of J.W. Perit Huntington to Lindsay Applegate. Quoted in Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 45.

Huntington, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, who wrote that the government's intention was to promote "the intelligence, enterprise and stability of the Anglo Saxon Race…"[120] This policy clearly called for the suppression of traditional cultural practices and tribal collective identity.

Although there was a significant push by the Agency to promote self-reliance among the reservation population, crop failures raised concerns that people would not be able to remain supplied through the lean winter months. As a means of combating this problem, annuities in the form of food rations were supplied by the Agency. Flour was a particularly popular food item, although many families were found to be well supplied by native food sources.[121]

The Shift in Housing Patterns. The agent's highest priority was to transition the population to Euro-American customs as they related to food, clothing, and dwellings. Agents encouraged the Klamath to abandon their traditional homes and move into frame houses. Among the first steps in this project of coerced social change was the completion of the saw mill. A.B. Meacham, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, reported to Congress at the time about the affect of these efforts, writing: "The completion of a sawmill has worked a great reformation, inspiring them to extraordinary

[120] Ibid.

[121] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 70.

exertion to amass property of various kinds…They have donned white man's costume, taken the ax, cross-cut saw, and hauled to the mill a half-million feet of timber."[122]

By 1872, Agent L.S. Dyar reported that four frame houses were completed and two were under construction.[123] That same year, the commissary urged the subagency at Yainax to complete houses for Chiefs Barclay, Ben and Chocktoosh. These were to be small, one-room frame buildings, furnished with a bed, table, and four chairs.[124] The response to the new buildings was not entirely positive, especially among the elderly tribal members; many Klamath (especially the elderly) complained the new buildings were cold in winter, and continued to prefer the traditional house pit dwelling. In an effort to promote the introduction of new residential dwellings, the agency carpenter agreed to build small three-room "box houses" for each chief of the Klamath. Kay Kendall, a wagon and plowmaker who took over carpentry duties on the reservation stated in 1874:

> …It took us about a week to finish the house we had been building for Blow, head chief. After which we went to work making doors frames for George Chiloquin's House. We completed his house in about three weeks from the time of its commencement. The house is 26 by 18 feet, 10 feet story, divided into three rooms. Ceiled throughout, good tight floors making a good comfortable house…[125]

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[122] Report to U.S. 42nd Cong., 2d sess., H.R. Exec. Doc., Vol. 3 Pt.5, 1871-1872:715, Quoted in Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 89.

[123] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 55.

[124] Ibid., 55.

[125] Kay Kendall, Wagon and Plowmaker , Monthly Report, Klamath Agency, January 31 1876, National Archives Regional Facility, Seattle WA, KL 001 Departmental, Official, and Miscellaneous Letters Received, 1862-1910.

Based on these accounts it appears that the agency representatives encouraged tribal leaders to accept the new house forms in hopes it would encourage other tribal members to follow suit. Through the persistence of the agent, there was a gradual decline in use of the traditional Klamath dwelling. An elderly Klamath informant identified as H.N. recounted to Zakoji:

> An agent used to go around from place to place and told the Indians that they must make homes for themselves of rough lumber, and get away from the wikiup…An old carpenter helped my father make the rough house…Our rough house was wood all around and the roof was a regular roof…We had just one room. On one end of the house we had a stove. My mother used to cook on a frying pan over an open fire…We had tule mats in there because we could'nt get beds or other furniture. The neighbors visited one another and gave each other advice. She had a friend come over and help her cook on the stove…Other men were sent by the agent to tell Indians to make houses and do away with wikiups. They had to build up houses with box lumber…They were building wikiup every year though. I was living in one for quite a while.[126]

A few interesting details can be gleaned from these reminisces of the Klamath informant. First, agents heavily promoted the Euro-American house form among the reservation population. Second, although a stove was available for both cooking and preparing food, most cooking initially was done over an open fire outside of the house. Finally, the buildings may have used recycled material possibly from shipping boxes (Figure 8).[127] A

[126] Zakoji, "Klamath Culture Change," 195.

[127] Period photographs corroborates the use of box lumber (see Figure 8) The house in the photograph is clad with vertical boards, one marked "…/Klamath Falls," Some of the siding material appears to be derived from shipping boxes.

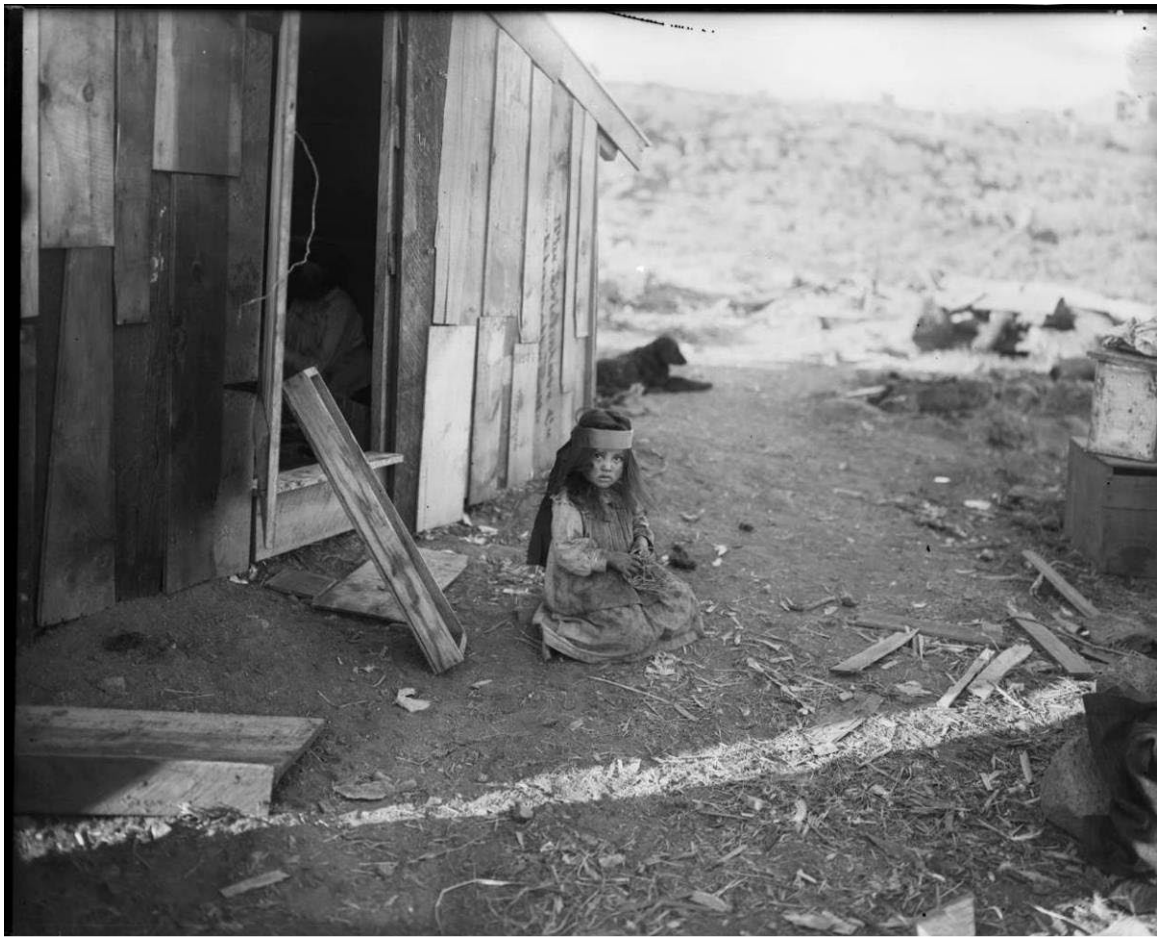

Figure 8. Child weaving a basket in front a cabin. Photograph taken on the Klamath Reservation sometime after 1905. Boards on the front of the dwelling are marked "Klamath Falls." (Photograph by Maud Baldwin, Courtesy of the Klamath County Museum)

second possibility is that box lumber refers to box frame construction. Some references identify early wood buildings on the reservation as "box houses."[128] This could be a reference to the use of box lumber or it could be a particular building technology called box construction, or both. Box construction consists of vertical planks attached to a sill log on the bottom and a ledger on top with the corners nailed together. It is thought that this form of construction was used because it was expedient, cheap to build, and a low skill set was required. The construction method was common among military installations from the 1850s -1870s.[129]

Other sources provide additional information about daily life during the early Reservation period. Charlie Ogle, who grew up on the reservation, recounted:

> All in all adoption of white customs, foods, and living conditions by the Indians was more on the basis of "in addition to" rather than "in place of." Indian tee-pees were common place beside more sophisticated houses and the smoke from an outdoor cooking fire often mingled with the smoke of an indoor stove. Doors and windows were optional and it was not uncommon to see doors taken off and blankets substituted. This allowed a freer flow of family members and domestic animals...Barnyard animals would be all over the place without any barn or barnyard…In many cases Indians wore several layers of Boston, white man's clothing, over traditional Indian wear. Much of the everyday surplus clothing issue was of military uniforms and it was not unusual to see an Indian with long braided hair …Young Indians attending school were under threat of losing cash allotments, land and clothing unless they accepted the white man's rule.[130]

[128] Zakoji , "Klamath Culture Change," 58.

[129] Kingston Wm. Heath, personal communication, March 10, 2010.

[130] Charlie Ogle speaking of the 19th century Klamath Reservation, quoted in Carrol Howe, *Unconquered Uncontrolled: The Klamath Reservation* , (Bend, OR: Maverick Publications, 1992), 74-75.

Ogle's recollection illustrate an amalgamation of customs that help underscore 1870s-1900s was a transitional period for the Klamath people. The analysis of the Beatty Curve Site homestead takes into account these historical narratives and photographs.

The Advent of Allotments (ca. 1890s)

Among the most significant steps in formalizing cultural change since the 1864 treaty was the passage of the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887. The act provided every enrolled member of the reservation with an 80 acre-tract of arable land or 160 acres of pastureland. Allotment officers often allowed Indians to choose their own allotment lands and, typically, selected parcels were likely those on which individuals or families had some long-term connection or had already been living. On the Klamath Reservation, allotments began to be assigned in 1895, and assignments continued well into the early 20th century. On portions of the reservation that had been awarded to the Oregon Central Military Road Company, the assignment of allotments was stalled until 1906, following a court ruling which returned the land to the reservation. However, it is clear from historical accounts of the time that many families had established homes and were making improvements to the land as early as ca. 1872, well in advance of the allotment assignments.[131]

By at least the 1890s, reservation families began to construct larger buildings on their assigned allotments, in contrast to the single or three-room buildings first reported to

[131] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 133.

have been built in the 1870s by the government. Claudia Lorenz (her family arrived in Klamath County in 1895) observed:

> Samuel and Eliza built their home in 1897 on their family allotment at Kaumkan. It was two stories high with seven rooms. It was of the "salt box" type, painted white with a red roof. Most of the reservation homes were painted this way. Samuel also built an ample barn, several sheds and out buildings, well fenced corrals and pens for hogs.[132]

However, during the 1890s some reservation residences still retained traditional summer and winter residents. Lorenz visited Oliver Jefferson's camp around the turn of the 20th century and described the dwellings:

> Their winter house was built over a dug out of earth. Long willow branches were arched to make a frame work for the sides and the rounded roof of the crude hut. This was covered with woven evergreen boughs, bark and tule or rush mats. Old quilts, red government blankets and tattered tarpaulins stretched over the exterior for added warmth and to repel moisture...Nearby was a log or two, a pile of wood, a crosscut saw, a saw-horse and an ax. The drying and smoking rack for fish was a little farther away, with fish slowly curing, hanging from it.[133]

Although it is clear that a large number of reservation residents had transitioned to Euro-American type dwellings, traditional building practices persisted until the late 19th and early 20th century utilizing government goods in Native ways.

Although agriculture was a largely unsuccessful economic pursuit for residents of the reservation, stock raising, and later freighting cargo, became major sources of employment. In 1875, over 100,000 pounds of flour from Ashland, Oregon was

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[132] Claudia Lorenz, *The Time of my Life* (Klamath Falls, OR: Klamath County Museum Research Paper no. 4: 1969), 102.

[133] Ibid., 76.

transported by Native freighters. Soon the Agency began to receive requests for mules and harnesses in exchange for annuities. Encouraged by this success, the Bureau instituted a policy of employing tribal members to haul Agency supplies. With the acquisition of wagons and harnesses, freighting teams began working for the military at Fort Klamath and private parties in Linkville (now Klamath Falls). By 1889, twenty teams were freighting during August.[134]

As the 19th century came to a close, market roads through the region continued to grow. These routes connected communities on the reservation such as Chiloquin (near the northern edge of Upper Klamath Lake), Yainax Agency (along the Sprague River), Fort Klamath and Klamath Agency (near Agency Lake), and to the county seat in Klamath Falls (formerly Linkville). Other communities and locales outside the reservation such as Bonanza, Poe Valley, and Lakeview (to the east) were also served by access roads.

The Klamath Reservation had some of the finest stands of pine timber in the West was and these were easily logged.[135] The introduction of railroads to the region opened this market. In 1909, the Southern Pacific Railroad reached Klamath Falls. Five years later a track was built by the Oregon California and Eastern Railroad which ran as far as the Sprague River community not far from the town of Beatty. [136] The arrival of the railroad played a significant role in the development of that community. The rail lines received small shipments of lumber from reservation mills. In 1911, the Southern Pacific

[134] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 64.

[135] W. E. Lamm, *Lumbering in Klamath.* (Modoc Point, OR: Lamm Lumber Company, 1944).

[136] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 125.

rail line was completed to what would become Chiloquin; this rail stop consisted of a few small houses and tents dotting an open field. A train depot and post office quickly followed, and by 1916 several sawmills were built along the Williamson River outside of town.

Also in the early 1900s, the Klamath began to open tracts of forest to commercial logging interests, marked by the first tribal timber sale in 1913.[137] Among the economic incentives for tribal members was the semi-annual *per capita* payment received from the commercial sale of timber. By 1930, members of the tribe earned $700 per person annually with a family of four provided *per capita* payments totaling nearly $3,000 per year.

In 1924, the White Lumber Company was established in the town of Sprague River to the west of Beatty and the subagency at Yainax was soon closed permanently. By 1930, private timber companies expanded into the upper Sprague River Valley. The rail line was extended through the Beatty Gap to Bly where Weyerhaeuser Timber Company operated a steam-powered mill. Residents of Beatty recounted to Douglas Duer the central role the railroad played in the community's daily life.[138] Some spoke of a number of railroad workers who came to live in temporary housing along Beatty Gap. Some of these families stayed in the area and became part of the community.

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[137] Patrick Haynal "From Termination Through Restoration and Beyond: Modern Klamath Cultural Identity," (Ph.d dissertation, University of Oregon, 1994), 70.

[138] Douglas Deur, **"**The Cultural Context of Beatty Gap: An Ethnographic Overview," (unpublished manuscript on file at the University of Oregon Museum of Natural and Cultural History, n.d.)

Regional development continued unabated through the early part of the 20th century. Eventually the motorized transportation became the primary mode of transportation. Photographs dating to the 1910s show that cars and trucks were becoming more common along county roads. By 1927, the Oregon Highway Department built a roadway (modern-day Highway 140) connecting Klamath Falls with Lakeview. The road passed through the Beatty Gap. Although the infrastructural improvement boded well for the long-term economic prospects of the eastern side of Klamath County, the market for lumber soon faltered with the advent of the Great Depression, just as the area began to see rail lines and sawmills arrive.

In the late 1940s, national politics began to affect the Klamath Tribe, and led to the eventual termination of the Reservation. Congressional committees began to hold hearings to explore the feasibility of withdrawing federal funding from certain tribes. A.V. Watkins, a Republican Senator from Utah, played a major role. Senator Watkins wished to end the government's paternalistic relationship with Native Americans living on reservations, advocating termination of reservations. Termination meant the loss of tribal federal recognition, lands lost reservation status, and became subject to local taxes.[139] The ultimate goal of the terminations was to complete the government program of Native assimilation.[140] Eventually, twelve different termination acts, affecting 61 tribes, were passed from 1954 to 1962. By 1958, the Klamath Reservation was formally terminated.

[139] Haynal "From Termination Through Restoration and Beyond," 98.

[140] Ibid., 99.

Historical Development of the Beatty Area

Among the most prominent settlements in the eastern part of the reservation is the town of Beatty (Figure 9) which takes its name from Reverend J. L. Beatty, a missionary who moved to the area in 1913.[141] Chief Mosenkasket (later known as Moses Brown), head chief of the Sprague River Valley Klamath and a signatory to the 1864 Klamath treaty, lived at this location (Figure 6). The area around Beatty received occasional mention in early historical writings. Welborn Beeson of Talent passed through the Beatty area in 1885, writing in his diary at the time,

> Pulled over the Hill to Sprague River and Camped on the Yanaix Reservation... We are at Masem Casket. Dicks, a son of Masem Casket one of the former Chiefs of the Klamaths. He has a good barn, and hay, and farm. In fact many of the Indians have nice farms and barns and dwellings. . .[142]

Stern noted that, "Beatty . . . drew some of its population from Yainax when that subagency was closed, as well as from the Paiute camp to the east of Yainax, north of Beatty. Beatty's nucleus had been the Methodist mission and store, to which other establishments presently were added, and houses began to be built about them."[143]

The Brown family, descendants of Chief Mosenkasket, was among the most prominent in the Beatty area. Beginning in the 1910s, members of the Brown family began to be assigned allotments near Beatty Gap. Hammond Brown was issued allotment

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[141]The Beatty post office was established in 1913. Lewis A McArthur and Lewis L McArthur, *Oregon Geographic Names* (Portland, Oregon: Oregon Historical Society, 1974.), 64.

[142] Welborn Beeson of Talent passed through the Yainax and Beatty area in May 1885 during a trading trip to Lakeview. He had two loads of produce to sell during this trip. Welborn Beeson of Talent, OR Diaries (Talent Historical Society), 1885.

[143] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 188.

Figure 9. View of the Upper Sprague Valley looking east towards the community of Beatty. The Beatty Gap is visible in the distance. (Courtesy of the UO-Museum of Natural and Cultural History)

#286 in 1910 (Figure 10). Directly to the east of Hammond's allotment was that of his sister Eveline, who was issued allotment #287 in 1910. According to the 1900 census, Hammond Brown was the son of Dick Brown (born ca. 1850), a son of the Klamath Chief Mosenkasket. In 1900, the Dick Brown household consisted of his wife Nellie Brown (a Modoc, born ca. 1860), son Hammond (born ca. 1886) and daughters Eveline (born ca. 1891), Gertie (born ca. 1895), Media (born 1897), and Baby Brown (born 1899).

To the north and east of the Brown family were the claims of Lucinda and James Barkley (also variously spelled Barclay and Barcley). The location of the Lucinda Barkley allotment corresponds to the location of the Beatty Curve cabin, the subject of the present study (Figure 10).[144] Although it is possible that a yet unidentified family occupied this location prior to the formal assignment of the allotments, it is clear from historical accounts that individual families often inhabited their respective properties prior to formal allotment.

[144] The site straddles the Brown and Barkley allotments, and since allotments were not formalized until 1910, post-dating most of the archaeological evidence, a direct family connection cannot be established with certainty.

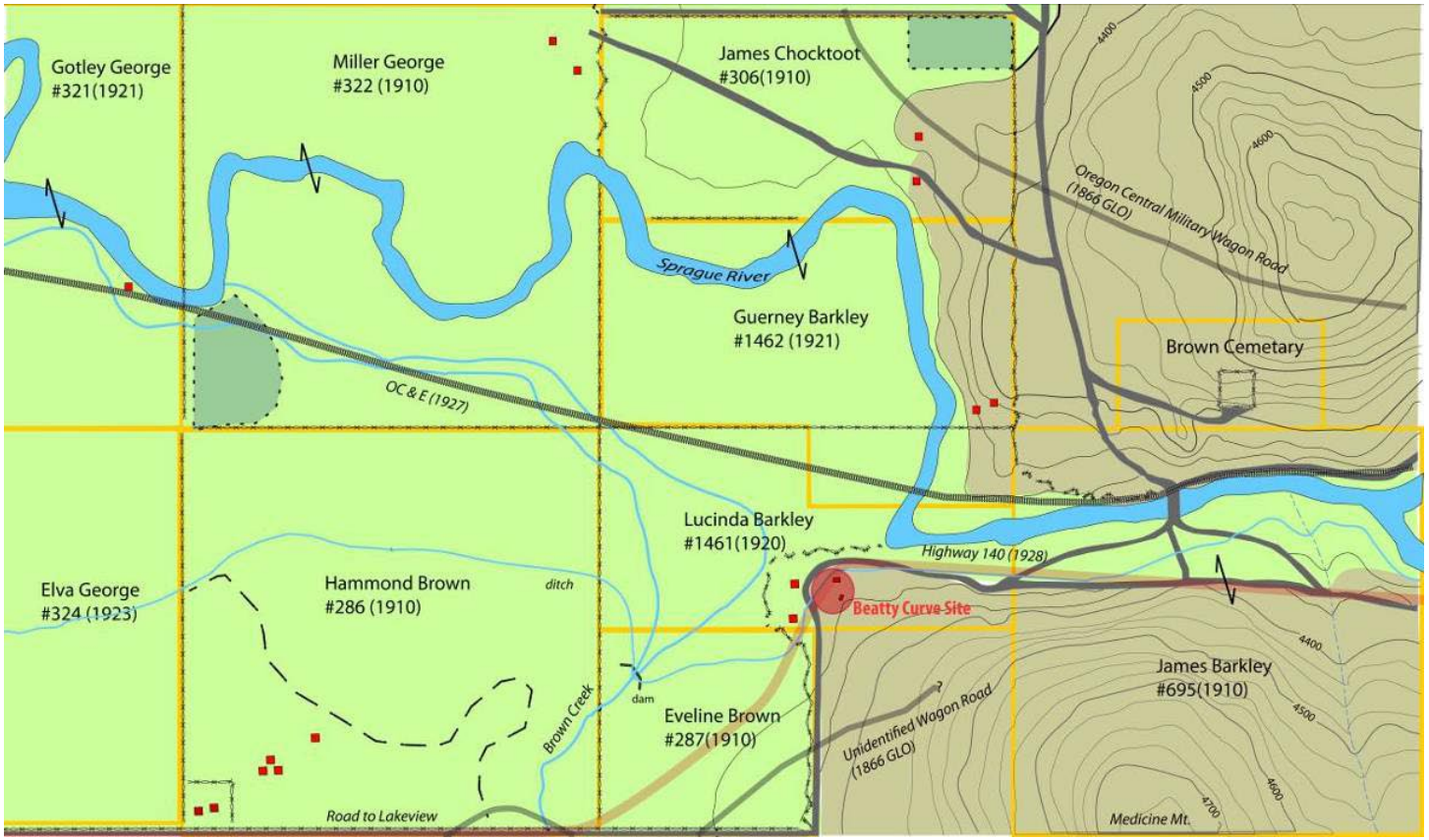

Figure 10. Map showing the location of assigned allotments around the Beatty Gap ca. 1920. The map is marked with the locations of dwellings(red), cultivated fields (dark green), roads(dark gray), rivers (blue) and fence lines(black), future highway alignment (light red), railroad, and the Beatty Curve site location. Note that two buildings are shown at the Beatty Curve Site. These buildings are not present on maps from a few years later.

Tracing the history of the Barkley family prior to the assignment of allotments is difficult, often confounded by changes in spelling from year to year. A man known as Barclay purportedly won an election which deposed Chief Mosenkasket from his leadership position among the Upper Sprague Klamath in the late 1860s.[145] According to Tribal census rolls from 1894, James Barclay was the brother of Old Man Lalo a Klamath chief (Figure 11). It is likely that historical accounts have confused James Barkley with his brother Chief Lalo. Sometime after 1872, Chief Barkley was one of the first residents of the Upper End (Yainax) to have a home built.[146] Although the details are somewhat convoluted by variations in spelling and the conflation of historical figures, it is likely

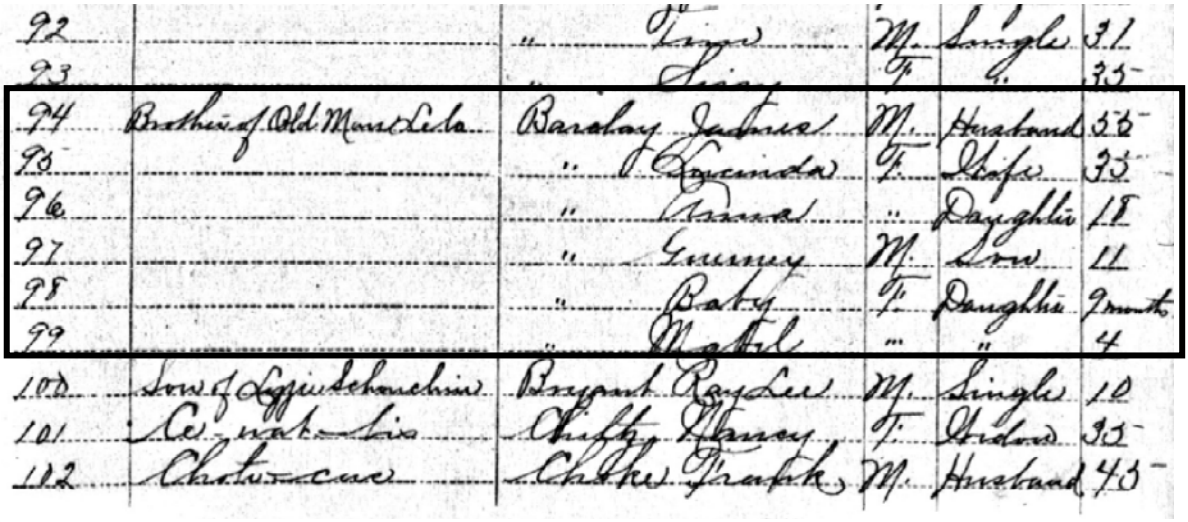

Figure 11. Detail of the 1894 tribal census roll showing the household of James and Lucinda Barclay. Note that James is listed as "Brother of Old Man Lalo." (From the National Archives)

[145] Some sources claim that Barclay was in fact Chief Lalo. However, most Klamath informants contest that Chief Lalo was ever called Barclay or indentified with the Upper End. *see* Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 297.

[146] Ibid., 55.

that the Beatty Curve Site is associated with the family of James Barkley(Figure 11). The cabin found at the site is likely the same one mentioned in historical accounts.

What little is known about the Barkley household can be found in federal and U.S. Indian Census Schedules. The 1894 U.S. Indian Census Schedule (Figure 11) of the Klamath Reservation lists the Barkley household as consisting of husband James (born ca. 1840), wife Lucinda, a Modoc woman (born ca. 1859), daughter Anna (born ca.1877), son Guerney (born ca. 1884), daughter Bertha (born ca. 1889), and daughter Mabel (age ca. 1891). Later census records indicate that Guerney was a stepson of Lucinda, suggesting that James Barkley had been previously married. By 1897, James is no longer listed as a resident of the reservation; he likely passed away by that year at approximately 60 years of age. By 1899, Lucinda Barkley is identified as the head of the household. In 1920, Lucinda Barkley was assigned Allotment 1461, which includes the portion of the Beatty Curve Site on which the cabin is located. The 1920 U.S. Federal Census schedule lists Lucinda Barkley as a widow. At the time she had one boarder, a 46 year-old ranch hand named Parker Hubbard. Seven years later she passed away at the age of 76.

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Summary of Contextual Influences

Following the eruption of Mt. Mazama 7,700 years ago, the prehistoric population of the Klamath Basin began a transition toward decreasing mobility and increasing sedentism. This trend coincides with the emergence of the house pit building form. For thousands of years this basic pattern in building persisted with few notable variations.

Early house pits seem to have been entered via a ramp, while ethnographic examples tended to be accessed via an opening in the roof.

Contact with Euro-Americans in the 1830s marked the beginning of considerable change among the population of the Klamath Basin. Following the 1864 treaty the population was placed on a government-administered reservation. Federal government policy of the time heavily promoted policies that were aimed at "civilizing" the population by breaking down communal tribal settlements into autonomous single-family farmsteads. Following the construction of the first sawmill in the early 1870s, the first Euro-American houses were constructed. These buildings were small, simply furnished, box or framed constructed cabins consisting of one to three rooms (reserved for the reservation's most prominent residents). By the 1890s, houses began to be constructed which had amenities that would not be out of place in many Euro-American communities in the late-19th century.

It is clear from statements cited in this study that the government discouraged traditional housing patterns among tribal members and that this was the central element in their program of suppressing cultural practices and tribal identity. However, it remains unclear to what extent the Klamath-Modoc transferred some traditional elements of residential use of space from the precontact-era to the reservation-era. The post-Treaty history of the Klamath area reflects the competing interests among the government and private sectors with those of the traditional tribal social units. Reservation lands had value for military, farming, logging, and transportation purposes. A series of transportation arteries passed through the basin beginning in the mid-19th century, corresponding to

intensification of Euro-American settlement and economic interest in the area. The increased ease of travel throughout the region resulted in increased access to manufactured Euro-American goods. These developments in transportation also provided a source of employment in the form of freighting for residents of the reservation.

By the turn-of-the 20th century logging began to become important in the regional economy. One result of the logging was selling off tracts of land to corporate interests such as Weyerhauser. In this way, the reservation became increasingly entangled in the Western capitalist system. The direct influences of these historical forces are reflected in the built-environment and archaeological resources of the region. The next part of this study examines how these trends directly influenced daily life on a household level.

CHAPTER IV

FIELD DATA: ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE POST-TREATY KLAMATH RESERVATION

Introduction

The information concerning the Beatty Curve Site described in this chapter was developed by a number UO-Museum of Natural and Cultural History archaeologists who participated in field and laboratory work including, Dr. Thomas J. Connolly, Dr. Dennis Jenkins, Dr. Patrick O'Grady, and Elizabeth Kallenbach. I was a primary contributor to inventorying the artifact assemblage.

Data derived from archaeological investigations at three Klamath Basin sites provide insight into life on the Klamath Reservation following the signing of the 1864 treaty (Figure 1). To date, the Beatty Curve Site (35KL95) and Bezuksewas Village Site (35KL778) remain the most thoroughly investigated archaeological sites with cultural assemblages associated with Klamath Reservation households of the 19th and early 20th century. Additionally, the Long-Lalo Ranch Village Site/ Kawumkan (35KL9 -35KL12) originally excavated by Luther Cressman has small but interesting historical artifact assemblage.

Although the sites are in different areas within the Klamath Reservation, they share some common characteristics. Excavations at the Beatty Curve Site and Bezuksewas Village Site were conducted by the UO-Museum of Natural and Cultural

History as parts of contracts related to Oregon Department of Transportation road projects. Both sites have cultural components that extend back to the mid to late-Holocene (9000 BP- 4500 BP) through to the 20th century, underscoring the long time period in which these localities remained bases for human activity.

Of particular interest to the work presented in this study are cultural components at each of these sites related to the post-treaty use of the area, particularly with regard to pre- and post-allotment of land parcels to tribal members. The following discussion summarizes the history of archaeological field work and findings at the three sites.

Previous Archaeological Investigations in the Klamath Basin

Long-Lalo Ranch Village Site/Kawumkan Springs (35KL9 -35KL12)

In 1948, Luther Cressman initiated a multi-year study (1948-1951) of the archaeology of the Klamath Basin. During this study, Cressman examined a number of villages known to have been occupied at the time of contact.[147] Work was centered on the Long-Lalo Ranch Village Site (Figure 1). The site consists of a village complex of twenty-one house pits situated on a large midden. According to Klamath tribal informants, the site was occupied during the post-treaty period by a headman, Chief Lalo and his family. At the time of the excavation, the midden was fenced in and used to corral cattle.

Excavation of the house pits focused on determining what changes, if any, had occurred over time. Field techniques employed in examining the house pits involved the

[147] Cressman, "Klamath Prehistory," 382.

excavation of fill to reveal the buried house floor and central hearth, and excavation of N-S and E-W trenches radiating out beyond the lip of the house pit depression to establish the size and geometry of the dwelling. The remaining fill was then excavated in sections from the depression. The recovered prehistoric material from the house pits and midden included groundstone artifacts, projectile points, beads, bone, and antler artifacts, as well as a small number of historical artifacts. The historical artifact assemblage appears to have been associated with two house pits, Lalo-I and Lalo-II. Cressman assumed that the historical materials were intrusive and were associated with the use of the land as a corral.

The two house pits were located approximately five meters apart near the center of the village complex. Lalo I measured approximately four meters in diameter and featured a bench that runs along the perimeter, with bark flooring in the center and no discernable hearth. Lalo II featured a central hearth and was approximately five meters in diameter with a bench along the north side of the house pit. The historical artifact assemblage material was reviewed by the author at the UO-Museum of Natural and Cultural History at the University Oregon for the purpose of comparing this assemblage to collections from other Klamath Reservation-period archaeological sites.

Artifacts found in Lalo I included a hand-forged metal hook, cut nails, reed plate from a mouth organ, and a black powder can (Figure 12). One knife was recovered which was marked “MARSH BROTHERS & CO./SHEFFIELD (Figure 12d).” This mark indicates that the knife was manufactured in England by the firm Marsh Bothers and Company, which

Figure 12. Examples of historical artifacts from the Long-Lalo Ranch Village Site: a. metal hook, b. black powder can, c. kitchen knife, d. Marsh Brothers knife, e. metal spike, f. 50-70 Government Musket shell casing, g. Eley Bros. percussion cap can, h. shoe buttons, i.4-hole Prosser button j. harmonica reed plate.

produced cutlery at their Navigation Works in Sheffield from 1852 until 1920.[149] Among the most interesting items was an iron hook presumably for hanging meat or a cooking pot (Figure 12a). The item is made from hand-wrought iron and consists of a chain attached to a large iron ring. The main body terminates in a large hook, with a shorter hook located just up the body. This artifact is similar in appearance to a trammel (an object used to hang pots over a fire) and likely functioned to hang food and was possibly used for cooking over the house pit hearth.

Items recovered from Lalo II include one percussion cap can marked ELEY BRO, several cut nails, a cartridge case, beads, a Prosser 4-hole button, and a blue Prosser shoe buttons (Figure 12). Percussion caps were introduced in the 1830s for muzzle-loading rifles. By the 1860s, the introduction of breech loading cartridges made them obsolete. Prosser buttons were first introduced in 1840 and were popular throughout the remaining 19th century and well into the 20th century.[150] One rimmed, straight-cased, center-fire cartridge has measurements (case length=1.87; rim diameter=.66; rim thickness=.025) that match those of the 50-70 Government Musket (Figure 12f). The 50-70 was used by the United States military from 1866 to 1873. It was said to be effective against buffalo and heavy game. Most 50-70 rifles were intended for black powder.[151]

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[149] Eileen Woodhead, *Trademarks of Base-Metal Tableware* (Parks Canada:1991)

[150] Roderick Sprague, "China or Prosser Identification and Dating," *Historical Archaeology* 36(2) [2002]: 111- 127.

[151] Frank C. Barnes, *Cartridges of the World*, (Iola WI: Krause Publications, 2003), 161.

The presence of these items suggests that the historical material from the site likely dates primarily from 1860 to the 1870s, from about the time of the treaty signing or shortly thereafter. As a consequence, this material most likely is not intrusive as suggested by Cressman, but reflects historic-period use of the house pits. Among the more striking patterns is that the artifacts appear limited to several clothing fasteners, firearm ammunition, and cooking implements, with a distinct absence of glass containers, ceramic tableware, and tin food cans.

Bezuksewas Village Site (35KL778)

The Bezuksewas Village Site is located near the present-day community of Chiloquin, Oregon (founded ca. 1915) on the west bank of the Williamson River and about one-half mile from its confluence with the Sprague River (Figure 1). The Williamson River flows out from the Klamath marsh to the north and drains southerly into Klamath Lake. The Sprague River flows from the east to join the Williamson at Chiloquin, just east of the site (Figure 1). To the northwest were the Klamath Agency and Fort Klamath. The site was likely a part of the Klamath winter village of Bezuksewas. Spier visited the area in the 1910s and described the village as "there are many people in this town on the right bank which extends for a mile below the Sprague river mouth."[153] Chiloquin was named after the famous Chief Chiloquin, and eventually became a thriving

[153] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 1930.

town for the timber industry. To this day, Chiloquin remains the political center of the Klamath Tribe.

The excavated area of the site is located on land that became part of an allotment owned by Pete Johnson. In 1910, Johnson was allotted 116 acres,[154] but passed away in 1911, and the land passed through a number of owners. In 1925, Klamath County was granted right-of-way across the property for the Williamson River-Chiloquin Road, and in 1946, the Oregon Department of Transportation was granted right-of-way access for the development of U.S. Highway 97.

The following discussion summarizes the archaeological investigation undertaken in the late 1980s and early 1990s by the UO-Museum of Natural and Cultural History for the Oregon Department of Transportation.[155] Although the Bezuksewas Village site is lacking in visible architectural features, it has a rich cultural assemblage, and as such it provides an important body of comparative data.

Archaeological investigations of the site were initiated in 1989 when pedestrian survey of the road corridor was conducted. Artifacts such as stone tools, debitage, fire-

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[154] M. M. Zollar, Land Status Report by the Superintendent of the Klamath Indian Agency Concerning the Trust Patent 115294 issued to Pete Johnson in 1910. Copy on file with the Bezuksewas Village Site Archaeological Papers (Accession 738) at the Oregon State Museum of Anthropology, University of Oregon. 1959

[155] This discussion is largely drawn from information provided by the site report for the Bezuksewas Village site, Cheatham, Richard and Mark Robinson, Thomas Connolly, Guy L. Tasa, Vivien J. Singer, Dorothy E. Freidel, Melissa Cole Darby, Nancy A. Stenholm, and Cheryl Allen, *Archaeological Investigations at the Bezuksewas Village Site (35KL778) Klamath County, Oregon.* Eugene, Oregon: State Museum of Anthropology, 1995.

cracked rock, and mussel shell were encountered on the surface of the site.[156] Later in the year, Phase II testing was conducted, including the excavation of 102 20 cm diameter auger probes, a single 50x50 cm test probe, and seven 1x1 m test pits. As a result of the testing, the site was found to be a significant archaeological resource, and mitigation excavations were recommended for the highway project to proceed.[157] Data recovery excavations were undertaken in 1990 with the completed excavation removing 126.7 cubic meters of sediment.

The Phase III (Data Recovery) investigation involved the excavation of 33 2x2 m units and two 1x2 m units located on the east and west sides of the highway corridor. A majority of the investigation was centered on addressing the prehistoric occupation of the site. The investigation found that the site was a major habitation with radiocarbon dates confirming human occupation of the location from possibly as far back as 4500 year ago.[158] Three main cultural components were designated: Cultural Component 3 dates from the Middle Holocene to 1750 years ago, Cultural Component 2 dates from 1750 to 700 years ago, Cultural Component 1 was subdivided into 1A and 1B. Cultural Component 1B dates from 1300 to 1860 AD, and Cultural Component 1A from 1860 to 1920 AD. [159] The present discussion is focused on the 19th and early 20th century of Cultural Component 1.

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[156] Cheatham et. al., *Archaeological Investigations at the Bezuksewas Village Site (35KL778)*, 27.

[157] Ibid., 27.

[158] Ibid., 1.

[159] Ibid., 227.

Two dense concentrations of historical artifacts were identified in Block 5E and Block 4W, designated Historic Concentration 1 and Historic Concentration 2.[160] Although a number of features were identified during the excavations, only Features 1 and 4 appear to be related to the historic occupation of the site. Feature 1 consisted of a dense concentration of historical artifact refuse including a canteen, metal knife, leather shoe, ceramic fragments, piece of slate, a button, and machine-cut and wire nails. Burnt wood, burnt earth, calcined (burnt) bone, and charcoal were also found. Feature 4 is a large fire hearth with a concentration of charcoal, historical artifacts, and calcined animal bone. The abundance of nails suggests that this location was near a historic structure, although no architectural elements were identified. Based on historical accounts discussed in Chapter III, it is possible that this area represented a cooking area outside of a cabin.

Artifacts from the historical concentrations were reviewed by the author at the UO-Museum of Natural and Cultural History for the purposes of comparison to other Reservation-era sites. Although a quantitative analysis of the material was not possible, and would have required a full re-inventory of the collection, a number of diagnostic items were identified by hand-sorting the artifacts stored in curation boxes. These items included a selection of ceramic tableware (Figure 13a,b), U.S. military uniform buttons (Figure 14e), jewelry and decorative dress buttons (including pressed metal examples:

[160] Cheatham et. al., *Archaeological Investigations at the Bezuksewas Village Site (35KL77),* 27.

Figure 13. Examples of artifacts found at the Bezuksewas Village Site: a. "Gothic"-style ceramic mug, b. brown transfer-print plate, c. "Monde de Paris" button, d. overall button, e. U.S. uniform buttons, f. clay pipe stem, g. decorative dress buttons and jewelry, h. decorative glass vessel fragment, i. knife.

Figure 13g), beads, ball clay tobacco pipe fragments (Figure 13f), bottle glass (Figure 13h), and a knife with handle (Figure 13i).

A number of the buttons in the assemblage are distinctive. Two stamped metal buttons featured the mark "MONDE DE PARIS." This stamp indicates the button was manufactured in Paris, France (Figure 13c). A uniform button was collected which was marked "GOD HELPS THOSE THAT HELP THEMSELVES" bordering the front face, inset is a conventionalized rendering of a farmer plowing a field and a sun rising on the horizon.[161] This button was used by tribal police officers. Congress passed legislation in 1878 to establish tribal police forces.[162] The button likely dates from 1878-1900. Ceramics included undecorated white wares as well as a few examples of transfer-print wares (Figure 13a, b). A majority of the U.S. Military buttons (Figure 13e) recovered had back marks which read "Waterbury Button Co." The company was located in Waterbury, Connecticut and was a major manufacturer of buttons. The company used this mark from 1849 to 1865.[163]

Based on time-sensitive artifacts, the historical component largely dates from the 1860s to the early 20th century. The number of uniform buttons suggests the residents wore surplus military clothing as daily attire before eventually transitioning to work clothes and other Euro-American style dress. The presence of jewelry and decorative

[161] see Figure 33 for a similar example.

[162] Richard H. Davis describes a tribal police officer with uniforms featuring similar buttons. Richard Harding Davis, *The West From a Car-Window. (*New York: Harper Brothers, 1896)162-165.

[163] "Common Button Back Marks and probable dates of Manufacture," http://pweb.netcom.com/~jimyce/bm.html [accessed July 12, 2010]

dress buttons indicates that at least by the late 19th century women on the reservation had access to popular clothing items of the period. Fishing was a major traditional pursuit among the pre-contact Klamath; the presence of numerous metal fish hooks suggests some adoption of new technology into traditional food procurement practices.

Current Archaeological Investigations in the Klamath Basin

Investigations at the Beatty Curve Site (35KL95)

In the late 1970s, the Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT) proposed upgrading the alignment of Highway 140 east of the town of Beatty, because the sharp curve in the road was responsible for a number of accidents involving fatalities. Archaeological pedestrian surveys of the project area soon located a scatter of historical and prehistoric artifacts on either side of the Highway 140 corridor, and the location was designated as the Beatty Curve Site (Figure 10).[164]

Project plans for archaeological investigations at the site went through a number of modifications over the coming decades and were finally approved in 2007. A portion of the Beatty Curve Site contained evidence of a 19th and early 20th century occupation. This portion, designated the East –side, is located on a gentle toe slope of Medicine Mountain overlooking the Sprague River floodplain.

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[164] See the following publications: Pettigrew, Richard M. "Beatty Curve Archaeological Survey, Letter Report" (On file at the Oregon Department of Transportation, Salem. 1977), Musil, Robert R. *Archaeological Investigations at the Beatty Curve Site*. Eugene, Oregon: Oregon State Museum of Anthropology Report No. 87-5, 1981. On file at the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office, Salem., Jenkins, Dennis L. and Thomas Connolly *Data Recovery Plan for the Beatty Curve Site (35KL95)Klamath Falls-Lakeview Highway (OR 140), Klamath County*. Eugene, Oregon: Museum of Natural and Cultural History, ODOT Key #12402, 2007)4.

Field investigation commenced in 2007 with the excavation 25 2x2 m, two 1x2 m, and two 1x1 m units to form one contiguous block (Figure 14).[165] Soil was relatively shallow throughout the excavation block, averaging 30 cm in depth. Among the most noteworthy discoveries were the remains of a cabin measuring 8 ft (2.5 m) by 12 ft. (ca. 3.7m) in dimension with a foot print of 96 ft^2(Figure 15 and 16).

Three features (E7, E11, and E12: Figure 15) helped define the footprint of the cabin. Feature E7 was located along the southwest perimeter of the cabin and was an L-shaped cluster of large mammal bone and other artifacts (Figure 16). This feature appeared to abut the exterior of the cabin and represents a kitchen midden. Feature E11 was located near the southeast corner of the former building and was a collection of large metal objects including blacksmithing tools and iron stock, which may have been employed in repairing wagons or farm equipment. This material likely would have been leaning against the exterior wall of the cabin. The only visible remains of the building were found in Feature E12, located in the northeast quadrant of the cabin area. The feature was the remains of floor planking and included fragments of a probable sill log along the cabin's east wall. The flooring and the sill appeared to be resting directly on bedrock. A number of nails were located *in situ,* including five nails positioned perpendicular to the sill log,

[165]Dr. Thomas J. Connolly of the UO-Museum of Natural and Cultural History is the principal investigator of the Beatty Curve Site (35KL95) archaeological project. Field and laboratory work is ongoing and a final report is anticipated to be completed in 2011.

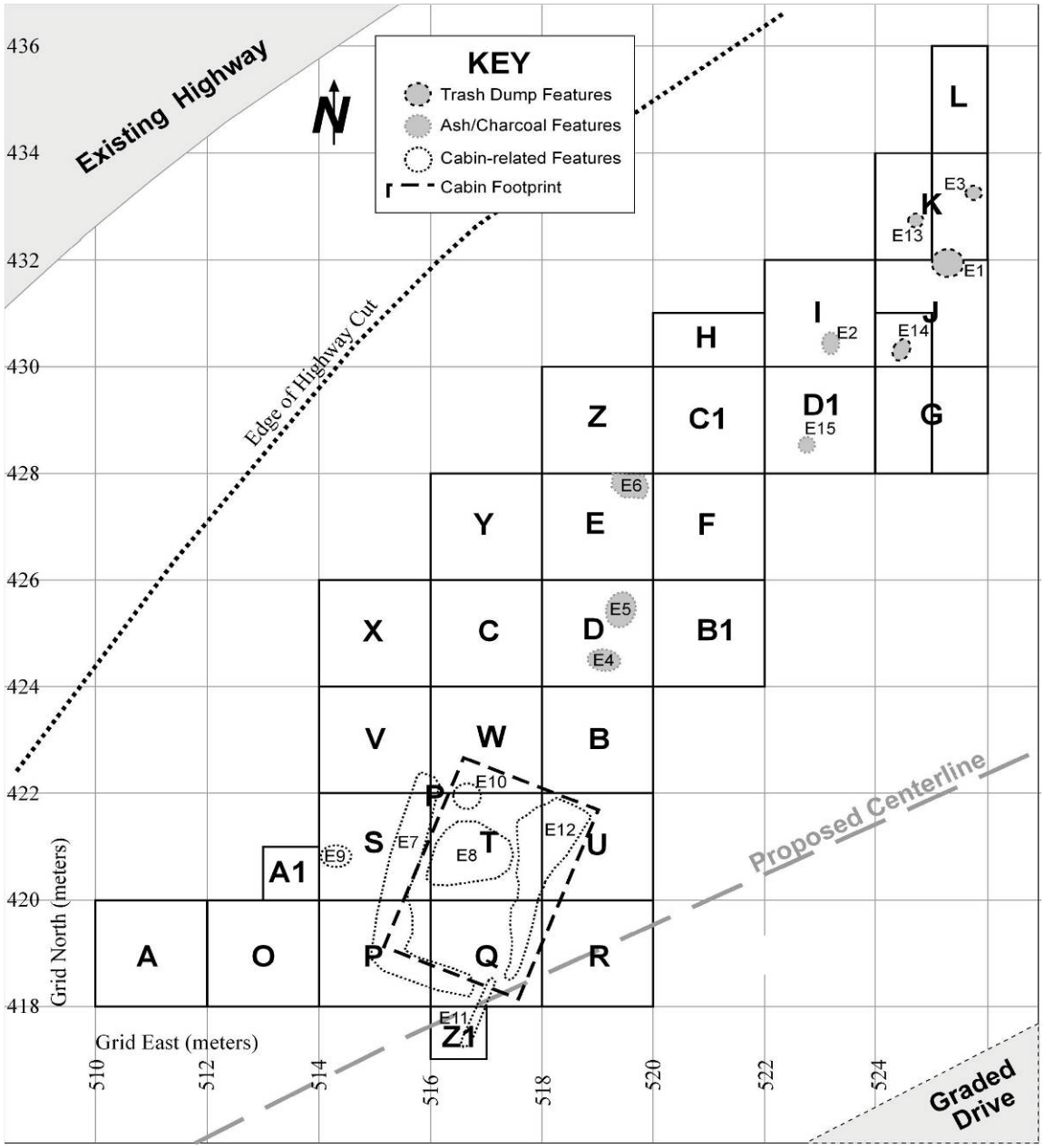

Figure 14. Site plan of the East-side excavation block showing location of the cabin and associated features. (Courtesy of Thomas J. Connolly)

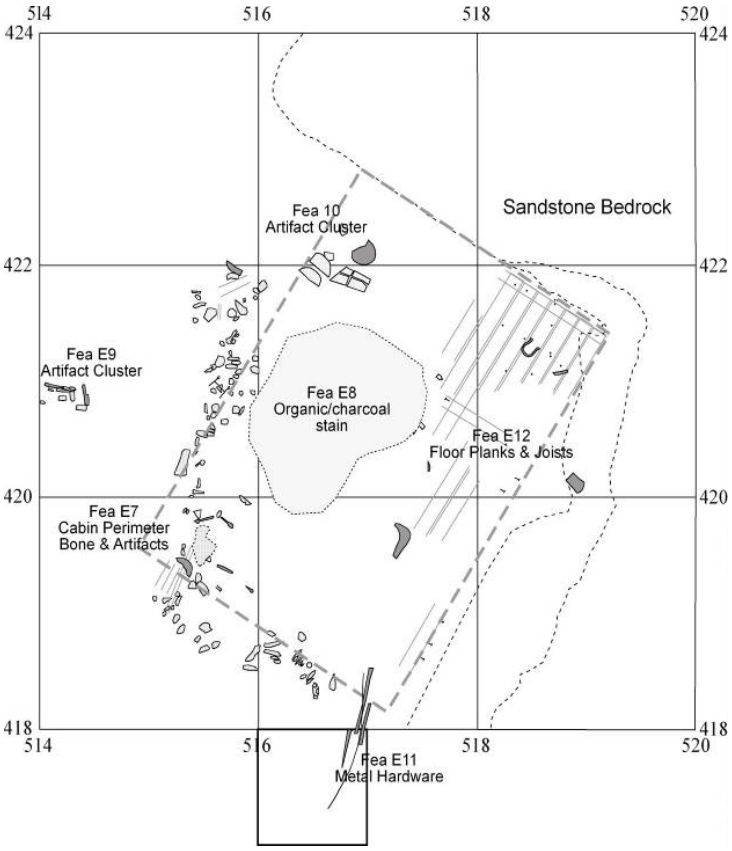

Figure 15: Detail plan map of cabin including the location of features. (Courtesy of Thomas J. Connolly)

Figure 16: Overview of Feature E7 (bone and artifact cluster), looking southwest. (2008 Photograph by Thomas J. Connolly)

suggesting that vertical planks had been fastened with nails directly to the sill. Excavation in the cabin area also uncovered a hand-excavated shelf in the sandstone on the upslope (east) side of the cabin which may have been dug in an effort to provide a level surface on which the building could be sited.

Within the cabin interior were a number of features including a large organic/charcoal stain (Feature E8) which is likely the product of stove cleanout, spilled food, and cooking oil (Figure 15). Associated with this feature were a number of cast iron stove fragments, animal bone, and domestic ceramics. Just to the north of this feature was a concentration of domestic artifacts including fragments of ceramic plates, a nearly complete pane of glass, cast iron stove parts, and at least one clothing buckle. The presence of large fragments of window glass suggests that a window was located in the adjacent wall facing west.

To the north of the former cabin were a number of refuse and charcoal-filled depressions (Figure 14) indicating that exterior domestic space extended in this direction. The charcoal-filled depressions could represent hearths related to food preparation. The frequency of the features increased toward the northern edge of the excavation block on a gradual slope which overlooks the Sprague River. In this location, a high quantity of nails and domestic debris was found, likely indicating a secondary disposal area, but possibly the location of an additional structure. Identifiable architectural features such as post holes, sill logs, or flooring needed to help define the architectural footprint of an additional structure were not located. However, excavation of the northern area did expose discontinuous patches of dried moss, possibly indicating the floor of a historic

structure. Spier notes that the sleeping areas of dome-shaped lodges featured dried grass padding overlaid with woven mats. The moss found at this location may have served a similar function as the dried grass padding.[166]

Deep fissures in the bedrock were found in this portion of the site which had been used to dispose of debris. Feature E3, a pit feature, was located in one of these deep fissures. Among the artifacts recovered from this feature was a decomposed leather bag, which contained natural obsidian needles. Attached to the bag were 1896 patent date snap buttons. Directly underneath the bag was a layer of flattened metal. This feature may represent a refuse pit, alternatively it may also have been a cache. The purpose of the obsidian needles has not been determined, but they could have been fastened to clothing as a form of tinkler used to adorn dance regalia or traditional ceremonial items.

Cultural Assemblage

Laboratory procedures were implemented to catalog artifacts following the functional classification system outlined by the Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database (SHARD) system.[167] Artifact cataloging was conducted by laboratory assistants at the UO-Museum of Natural and Cultural History who cleaned, sorted, and identified artifacts. Historical artifacts were assigned to broad groups (Activities, Domestic, Indefinite Use, Personal, Structural, and Unidentified) which were further split into

[166] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography, 203.*

[167] Anthropological Studies Center, "SHARD. Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database: The How-to Manual," (Rohnert Park, CA: Anthropological Studies Center, 2008). [*see also*: South, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, 47-80.]

various categories (i.e., food preparation and consumption, heating and lighting, and furnishings), which represent more specific types of activity. Within each of these groups, artifacts were further identified by material (i.e., ferrous metal and aqua glass) and function (i.e., bottle, plate, and knife). Each artifact or artifact lot (i.e., bulk artifacts such as glass) received a unique catalog number identifying its precise of location (quad, unit, and level). This information along with functional identification, material type, marks if any, and probable date range was entered into a computer database.. [168]

The artifact assemblage included over 33,000 fragments of historical artifacts.[169] Structural material such as window glass and nails made up the largest proportion, accounting for 52% of the overall assemblage (Figure 17). Over a quarter of the collection was represented by indefinite use items such as unidentified container glass, and metal items. The remainder of the collection contained personal, domestic, activity,

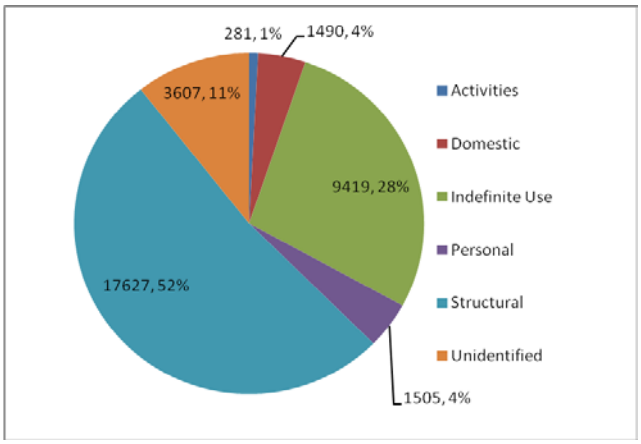

Figure 17. Summary chart of artifact assemblage.

[168] Beatty Curve Site artifact catalogs are on file at the UO-Museum of Natural and Cultural History.

[169] Refer to Appendix A for a complete summary of the artifact assemblage.

and unidentified artifacts. The following discussion summarizes the assemblage and discusses important diagnostic artifacts.

Activities. Approximately 281 items related to activities were collected. This material included a hard rubber ink bottle stopper marked Carter Ink (Figure 18a), slate pencils and slate fragments likely derived from writing tablets (Figure 18b,c). These items were in common use among school-age children for developing reading and writing skills during the 19th and early 20th century. Other Horse tack items recovered included one curry comb (Figure 19c) used in grooming horses, as well as horseshoes(Figure 19a), horseshoe nails, saddle buckles, straps, and bits(Figure 19b). Firearms-related items included numerous shell cartridges. Also collected were a lever and crescent-shaped butt plate from a lever action rifle. Similar parts were featured on the Winchester repeating rifles such as the Winchester Model 1873, manufactured during last quarter of the 19th century. Items related to fishing included barbed fish hooks and sinkers. Entertainment items consisted of one reed plate of a harmonica. Among the earliest dated items recovered from the site was a Dutch East Indies coin which was dated 1839, likely acquired through trade during the Fur Trade-era.

Figure 18. Examples of writing related items: a. top of a hard-rubber Carter's ink bottle, b. slate pencil, c. slate boards.

Figure 19. Examples of horse-related items: a. horseshoes, b. bit, c. curry comb.

Domestic. Clothing maintenance items included approximately 61 specimens and were represented by safety pins, clothes pins, and bluing balls used in whitening clothes (Figure 20a-d). Over 58 food storage items included fragments of canning jars and canning jar lids. Home canning was an important means of long-term food storage throughout the 19th and early 20th century.

Figure 20. Examples of clothing maintenance items: a. thimbles, b. safety pins, c. bluing ball, d. straight pins.

Fragments of food consumption and preparation items such as plates and bowls numbered 1,002, and accounted for the largest amount of domestic material. This portion of the assemblage is represented by fragments of whiteware and ironstone plates, saucers, and bowls. This material was largely undecorated, although examples of blue and red transfer print-ware were collected as well as fragments featuring decal decoration. Transfer-print items were introduced at the turn of the 18th century and enjoyed various

levels of popularity throughout the 19th century and early 20th century.[170] Eighteen whiteware artifacts featured maker's marks. In general, these marks indicate that a majority of the vessels were manufactured between 1875 to the early 1900s. Among the most commonly encountered marks in the collection were J. G. Meakin and Charles Meakin of Burslem, England, with examples dating after 1891. Additional food preparation items include forks, knives, metal ladles as well one butcher knife and one skinning knife.

Heating and lighting items were represented by 129 specimens. This portion of the assemblage includes stove parts, lamp chimney glass fragments (Figure 21a), a lamp burner, (Figure 21b) and the pedestal from one oil lamp (Figure 21c). The oil lamp base is a white opaque glass pedestal base and features a ribbed column terminating in a glass peg. [171] Household furnishings (n=229) included upholstery tacks, furniture escutcheons and pins, picture frame hangers (Figure 22a), wire wall hooks (Figure 22b), and pressed glass vessels fragments. A majority of this material was readily available through mail-order catalogs such as Sears and Roebucks.[172] The picture frame hangers have patent

[170] Patricia M. Samford, "Response to a Market: Dating English Underglaze Transfer-Printed Wares. In *Approaches to Material Culture Research for Historical Archaeologist*, compiled by David R. Brauner, 56-85. (California, Pennsylvania.: The Society for Historical Archaeology, California University of Pennsylvania. 2000) 79.

[171] E.I. Woodhead, et. al. suggest this projection was used to attach a second portion of the object such as marrying an opaque glass pedestal to a transparent font. E.I. Woodhead, C. Sullivan, and Gasset "Lighting Devices in the National Reference Collection, Parks Canada," (Ottawa, Canada: Parks Canada, 1984), 44.

[172] Sears, Roebuck & Company *Catalogue*. New York: NY, Chelsea House Publishers, 1897.

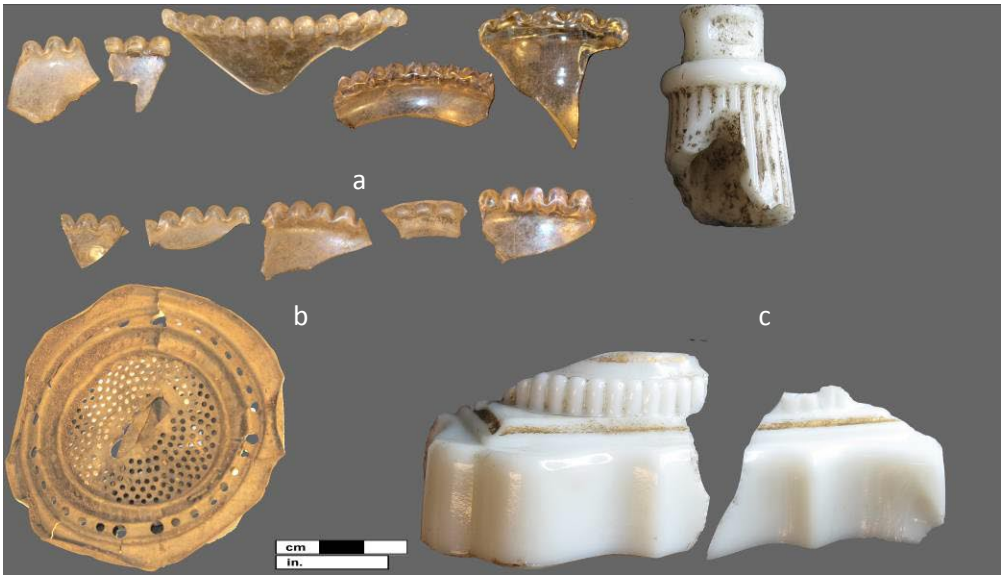

Figure 21. Examples of lighting-related items: a. lamp chimney rims with crimped rim decorations, b. lamp burner, c. lamp pedestal.

Figure 22. Examples of furnishing items: a. wire hooks, b. picture hangers. Note these picture hangers stamped with a 1894 patent date.

dates from 1894. This suggests that some of the furnishings were introduced to the cabin in the 1890s and early 20th century.

Personal. Around 1505 artifacts related to personal use were collected, including 762 clothing fasteners such as buttons. Button types fall into a few general classes: uniform, decorative dress, overall, and Prosser buttons. Five two-piece General Service military buttons feature the spread eagle emblem with a lined-shield (Figure 23a-e). Four are marked Scovills & Extra dating from 1840-1850.[173] Two General Service buttons featured the backmark "Scovills & Mfg Co./Waterbury" used between 1850-1865.[174] One button had a spread eagle with a "C" (for Cavalry) inset in the shield (Figure 23f). The reverse face is stamped "A.N. HORSTMANN BROS & ALLIEN, dating the button to 1852-1877.[175] One button features a pair of crossed cannons surrounded by the words "ORDINANCE CORP (Figure 23i)." The back stamped mark reads "Scovills & Co. Superfine," dating the button to 1850-1865.[176]

One copper alloy button features the words "GOD HELPS THOSE THAT HELP THEMSELVES" bordering a conventionalized view of a farmer plowing a field, in the background is a cabin with smoke trailing out the chimney and sun rising on the horizon.

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[173] Alphaeus Albert, *Record of American Uniform and Historical Buttons. Bicentennial Edition*: 197: 464 It is noteworthy that the eagle design was used on General Service buttons between 1852-1884.

[174] Ibid., 464.

[175] Ibid., 464.

[176] Ibid., 464.

Figure 23. Examples of military uniform buttons: a-e. General Service button, f. Calvery button, g,h. General Service buttons, i. Ordinance Corp. button, j. Tribal police uniform button. Note a majority of these buttons have back marks that date the items to the mid-19th century.

On the reverse face is impressed "US INDIAN DEPARTMENT (Figure 23j)." This button was used by tribal police officers. [177] The button likely dates from 1878-1900. This button is identical to one found at the Bezuksewas Village Site.

Overall buttons were made from metal, and feature a tack-type shank (Figure 24). Some of these buttons have manufacturer marks, and include a number marked "Levi Strauss." Finally, a large component of the button assemblage is the common four-hole sew-through type buttons made of shell and Prosser. Some of the Prosser buttons have calico or gingham transfer-decoration. This type of decorative treatment can date as early as the 1850s, but was most popular following the 1870s.[178]

Decorative buttons are manufactured from two primary materials: black or blue glass (Figure 25a,b) with modeled decoration or faceting, and pressed-metal type buttons, which often featured elaborate floral motifs (Figure 25c). These items appear consistent with high-style Victorian women's clothing.

Accoutrements from the site include coin purse frames, a pendant, a ring, and decorative jewelry. Footwear-related artifacts are represented by 535 items including one complete child's shoe (Figure 26a), shoe screw wire, and rubber boot hardware. The screw wire for attaching the soles to the body of the shoe was invented by Eugene Lemercier in 1862. Other noteworthy items include over six small copper metal tinklers that likely

[177] Richard Harding Davis, *The West from a Car-Window*, 162-165.

[178] Roderick Sprague, "China or Prosser Identification and Dating," *Historical Archaeology* 36(2) [2002]: 111- 127.

Figure 24. Examples of work clothes buttons: a pressed metal button, b. button with train design, c. Key Brand work clothes button, d. Boss of the Road button, Levi Strauss button, M-T DGS Co.button.

Figure 25. Examples of decorative dress buttons: a. black glass buttons, b. blue glass button, c. pressed metal buttons.

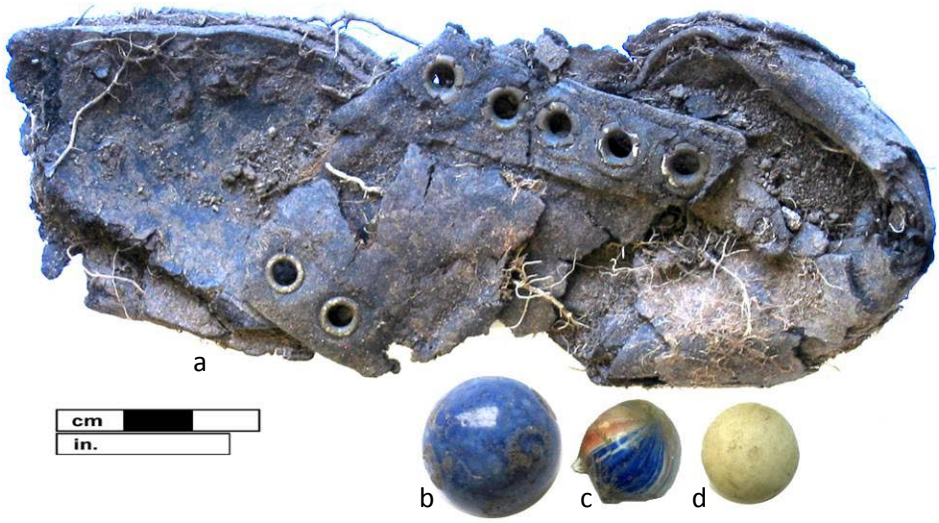

Figure 26. Child's personal items: a.child’s size shoe b. Bennington marble, swirled glass marble, d. clay marble. (2010 Photograph, Author)

attached to the ends of fringed pouches or garments.

Glass fragments related to medicine and alcohol bottles collected included a number of picnic flasks. The use of alcohol was prohibited by reservation inhabitants, who could face severe penalties if caught drinking.[180]

The 111 beads collected including cut, drawn, and molded glass varieties, and several brass beads which largely date from the mid-19th century.

Structural. Structural hardware (n=9951) included machine-cut nails, wire nails, and several rose-head wrought nails, door hardware, and glazier points. In addition, a significant amount of window glass was found. Pane glass thickness increased throughout

[180] Claudia Lorenz, *The Time of My Life*, (Klamath Falls Oregon, Klamath County Museum Research Papers no. 4, 1969.

the 1800s, and measuring glass thickness may be a useful chronological tool.[181] Although a number of statistical approaches have been developed to conduct window glass analysis, among the most widely used approach is the one developed by Randall Moir.[182]

One issue that arises with Moir's approach is that if a building has stood for a long duration it will likely skew the mean value towards a later date. This is due to replacement of broken windows with later material over the course of the life history of a building. Window glass thickness at the Beatty Curve Site was examined by Connolly et. al. to help establish the initial date of construction for the cabin.[183] Results from the study employed the mean and mode of the sample and arrived at an estimated date range from the 1850s to the mid-1880s. However, the best estimator for the age of the glass, and one consistent with both the site's overall assemblage and historical accounts, is the use of the thickness mode value. This value provides an estimate that falls in the latter 1860s. This date correlates with establishment of the subagency at Yainax and, perhaps more importantly, with when frame buildings began to be constructed for reservation residents, including Chief Barkley at the Upper End.

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[181] For a complete treatment of the history of window glass analysis, see: Wieland, Jonathan "A Comparison and Review of Window Glass Analysis Approaches in Historical Archaeology" Technical Briefs in Historical Archaeology, 4 [2009]: 29-40.

[182] Randall W. Moir, "Socioeconomic and Chronometric Patterning of Window Glass," In *Historic Buildings, Material Culture, and People of the Prairie Margin*, edited by David H. Jurney and Randall W. Moir (*Richland Creek Technical Series*, No. 5. Archaeology Research Program, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. 1987) , pp. 73-81.

[183] Thomas J. Connolly, Mark E. Swisher, Christopher L. Ruiz, and Elizabeth A. Kallenbach A Window on the Past: Pane Glass at the Beatty Curve Archaeological Site, South-Central Oregon, *Journal of Northwest Anthropology*, 43(2):141–151, 2009.

Prehistoric Artifacts. Groundstone and flake stone artifacts were recovered from within the excavation block. Flake stone artifacts included abundant obsidan debitage and over 40 projectile points including Rose Spring, Elko, and Desert Side-Notch points. The extent to which this material was associated with the historic occupation in unclear.[184] Sixteen groundstone artifacts were recovered from in and around the cabin. Many of these items are described as manos or metates, tools that would have been employed for grinding roots and seeds. The presence of these items suggests persistence in the use of traditional foods or food preparation techniques. Although flour became a popular staple following the establishment of the reservation, wokas and other traditional foods continued to be gathered by many families, and "this wokus, with dried fish, forms a large portion of the food of those who have not the money with which to purchase flour and groceries."[185] Stern recounts that one tribal member he interviewed employed items such as coffee grinders to hull wokas; when a relative borrowed the grinder she used a milling stone to grind coffee beans.[186]

Indefinite Use and Unidentified. Indefinite use items are artifacts that can be distinguished by form, but their function is unknown. Glass fragments (n=6385) of miscellaneous containers were collected. These containers are generally cans or glass which cannot be identified as containing particular contents. Miscellaneous metal items

[184] Chapter 5 presents the results of the distribution of projectile points. The distribution pattern is similar to the historical artifacts.

[185] Annual Report, U.S. 47th Cong. 1st sess., p 202; Quoted in Stern, *the Klamath Tribe*, 66.

[186] Stern, *the Klamath Tribe*, 67.

included screws with points, bolts, and grommets. The remainder of the collection consists of 3607 fragments of material that were generally so small or badly damaged that they were impossible to identify beyond material.

Temporal Considerations

Time-sensitive artifacts in the cultural assemblage span most of the 19th to early 20th century, with the majority of the diagnostic artifacts dating to the period of the 1870s to 1910s (Table 1 and Figure 27). Glass thickness dating suggests the initial construction date for the cabin was ca. 1870, which corresponds with the historical accounts that document the first Euro-American frame houses appearing in the Yainax subagency area around 1872. Based on these findings, the site appears to have been in use throughout the post-contact period, beginning with the pre-treaty fur trade era. The site was likely not occupied later than the end of the 1920s. This period corresponds with the construction of the modern highway, and the date Lucinda Barkley passed away.

It is noteworthy that there was, or appears to have been, a marked increase in ceramics, clothing items, and domestic goods such as furnishings following the 1890s.

Table 1. Age range of time-diagnostic artifacts; shading indicates the potential age range of a specified artifact

Description (Catalog #)	18 30		18 40		18 50		18 60		18 70		18 80		18 90		19 00		19 10		19 20
North																			
Rifle butt (1718-EK-2A-14)																			
J. Meakin (1718-EI-2D-20)																			
Charles Meakin (1718-EJ-2A-30)																			
J. Meakin (1718-EJ-6A-10)																			
C. Meakin (1718-EJ-7A-08)																			
Knowles (178-EK-8A-04)																			
Cabin																			
Rifle lever																			
C. Meakin (1718-EO-1D-15)																			
A. Meakin(1718-EQ-2B-06)																			
J. Meakin(1718-ES-2D-O8-FE7)																			
C. Meakin (1718-ES-2D-13																			
J. Meakin (1718--ET-5B-03)																			
T. Hughes (1718-EW-1D-12																			
T. Hughes (1718-EW-3C-07)																			
C. Meakin (1718-EW-5D-27)																			
Wood Screws																			
Shoe screw wire																			
Gen. Service Button (EP-1A-06)																			
Ag. Police Button (ED-3D-01)																			
Drawn Glass Beads																			
Prosser Buttons & Beads																			
Scovill Button (																			
Scovills Extra Buton (ES-3A-08)																			
Scovills Extra Button (ES-3B-13)																			
Scovills Extra Btn (EP-2D-01)																			
Horstmann Button (ED-2D-24)																			
Ordinance Button (ED-1D-04)																			
Dutch Coin (1718-ES-2C-15																			

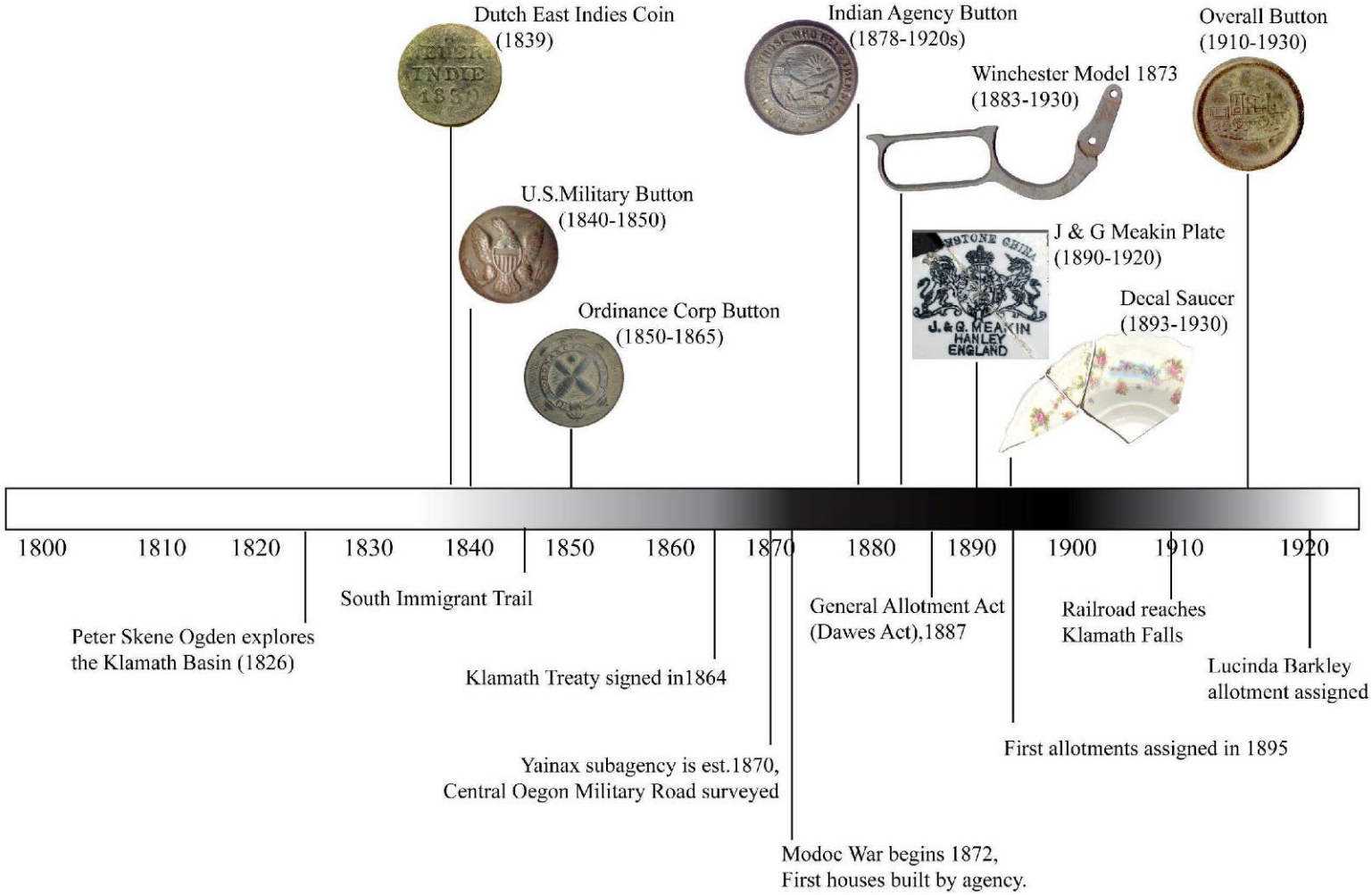

Figure 27. Timeline of major historical events in the Klamath Basin and age of diagnostic artifacts found at the Beatty Curve site. Note that the gradient fill in the timeline represents the peak activity of the homestead.

This may correspond to increased access to manufactured goods (many Tribal members began working as commercial freighters as the Klamath Basin's economy developed). It may also correspond to a general increase in consumerism and popular culture that had begun to dominate the United States by the end of the 19th century. Mark D. Groover has studied the development of North American farmsteads from the colonial period to the 20th century, and has demonstrated that the material life of farmstead residents shifted over time, particularly during the late 19th century due to increased consumerism.[187] Groover notes that "Differences certainly continued to persist among different cultural, ethnic, linguistic, racial, and socioeconomic groups and between different regions, yet nationally, household material culture began to become standardized."[188] The proliferation of material goods at the site during the late 1800s and early 1900s suggests that material culture of the reservation residents was becoming synchronized with that of the nation at large.

Summary of the Case Study

Although several items appear to date to the early contact period, the historical artifact assemblage from the Beatty Curve Site for the most part reflects a diverse selection of material culture from the latter half of the 19th century. The assemblage includes both traditional artifacts and items of material culture introduced through contact

[187] Groover, Mark D. *The Archaeology of North American Farmsteads*, Gainesville, FL: University of Florida, 2008.

[188] Groover *The Archaeology of North American Farmsteads*, 69.

with Euro-Americans. Items that relate to traditional cultural practices includes beads and tinklers likely used for ceremony, status, trade, or other social functions. Traditional foodways appear to persist based on the presence of fish hooks, ground stone, and the relative absence of tin cans or other evidence of commercially prepared food.

It is apparent that the site was used by a household that at various times probably included men, women, and children. The literacy of one or more of the occupants is indicated by the presence of writing implements. The assemblage contains a broad range of consumer goods, including ornate buttons, jewelry, and even decorative furnishings. One might expect that the remote location of the site, and the apparent poor economic conditions faced by many reservation citizens would limit the quantity and diversity of artifacts to a greater extent than was encountered.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF ARTIFACT DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS

Introduction

The spatial pattern of artifacts can provide important clues to about the distribution of activities at an archaeological site. Archaeological inventories from the Beatty Curve Site (35KL95) excavation were employed in mapping the spatial distribution of artifacts. Distribution was mapped according to artifact counts in each 1x1 m quad in each 2x2 m units. The quantity of the material group, class, or material type was assigned to the respective provenience to generate density contour maps (using Surfer mapping software) with different colors representing artifact densities on the excavation grid.

An initial spatial pattern was reflected in the distribution of artifacts in 50x50 cm probes placed every five m over the site area. It was apparent in the field that the historical artifact assemblage was concentrated near the north end of the excavation block and in the vicinity of the former cabin (Figure 28a). Based on these findings, one contiguous excavation block (18 meters long) was opened which revealed the location of the former cabin and numerous charcoal and refuse features. Significant stratigraphy was largely absent, due to the shallow soils. As a consequence, the horizontal patterning of artifacts is treated here as the most relevant dimension for analysis. Following excavation and analysis, the distribution pattern of artifacts was refined to analysize the spatial clustering of certain groups of artifacts.

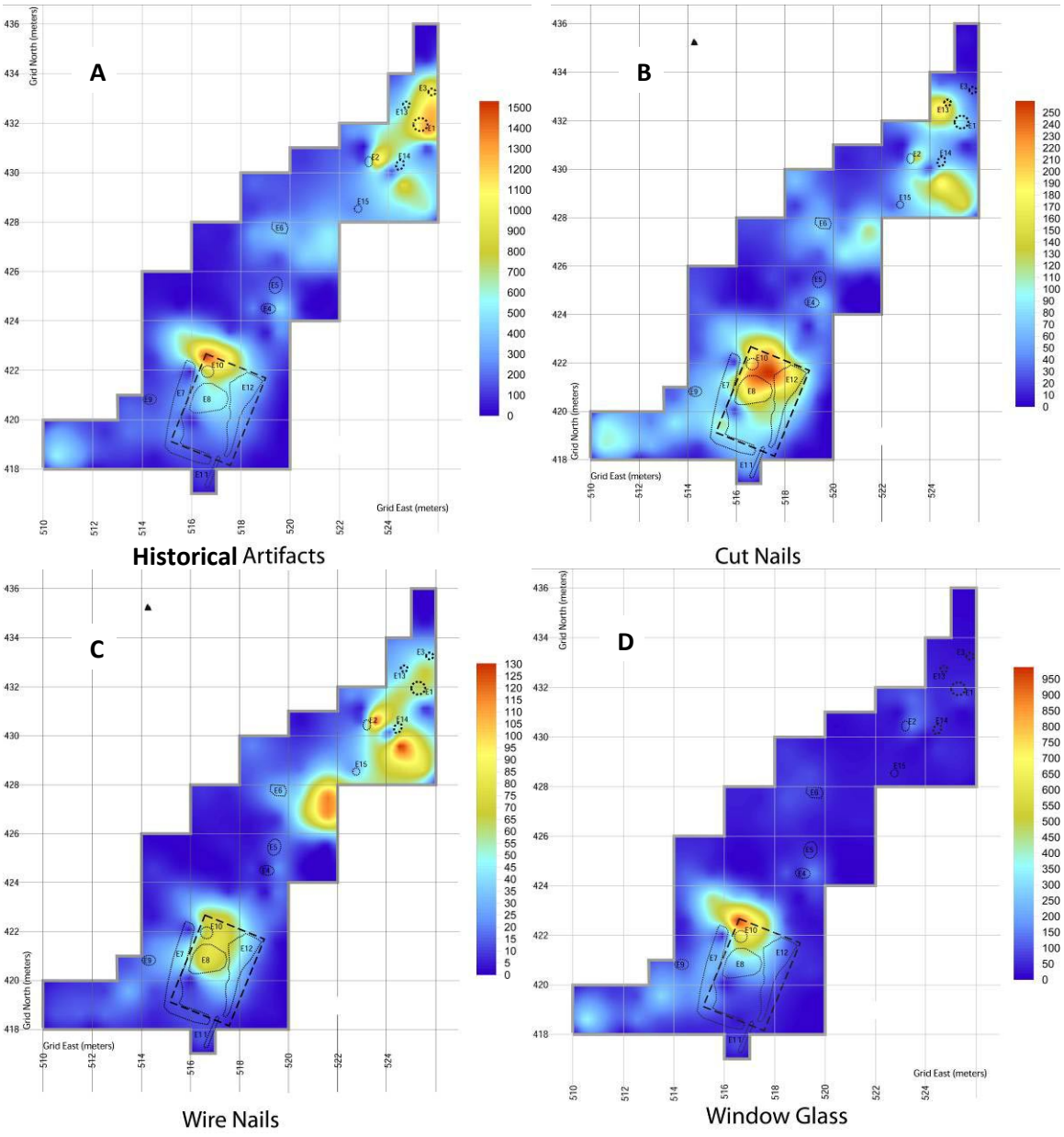

Figure 28. Artifact distribution graphs for a. all historical artifacts, b. cut nails, c. wire nails, and d. window glass; red, yellow, and green indicate high density areas.

The distribution of nails had a distinctive pattern, not surprisingly clustered around the former cabin, but a second cluster occurred in the north area of the excavation block. The northern cluster may indicate the location of a second structure, although when graphing the distribution of cut nails versus wire nails a second pattern emerges (Figure 28b,c). In the main, cut nails were clustered around the cabin. Cut nails are an older building nail in common use from the 1830s to 1880s.[189] These are consistent with a building constructed in the 1870s. Although there are a number of wire nails in the cabin area--likely indicating later repair events--the largest cluster of wire nails was in the north area. This likely indicates that if a building or structure was located in this portion of the site, it was a later construction.

Window glass was largely concentrated at the northwest corner of the cabin feature (Figure 28d). The presence of this glass indicates that the cabin had at least one window. It also provides evidence that the window was situated on the northwest side of the cabin, which would have provided a view from inside of the cabin towards the river.

Subsurface evidence of a building was largely absent in the north area, with the exception of a moss-like matting which appeared to mark the location of an historic surface. Informant recollections of the reservation-era recounted that

[189] William Hampton Adams states that wire nails in North America were not produced in significant quantity until the mid-1880s [*see*: Adams, William Hampton "Machine Cut Nails and Wire Nails: American Production and Use for Dating 19th-Century and Early-20th-Century Site," *Historical Archaeology*, 36(4), 2002: 69.]

families continued to live in what they called wikiups after the treaty was signed.[190] It is possible that the second building was a wikiup-type of structure.

During archival research at the Klamath County Museum a historical photograph was located which shows two Klamath women standing in front of a building made from irregular-sized wood boards and draped with fabric (Figure 29). The door appears to be on hinges and wooden boards (box lumber?) are nailed in place to a undetermined type of frame. Although it is unclear as to the actual size of the building, it is probable that a

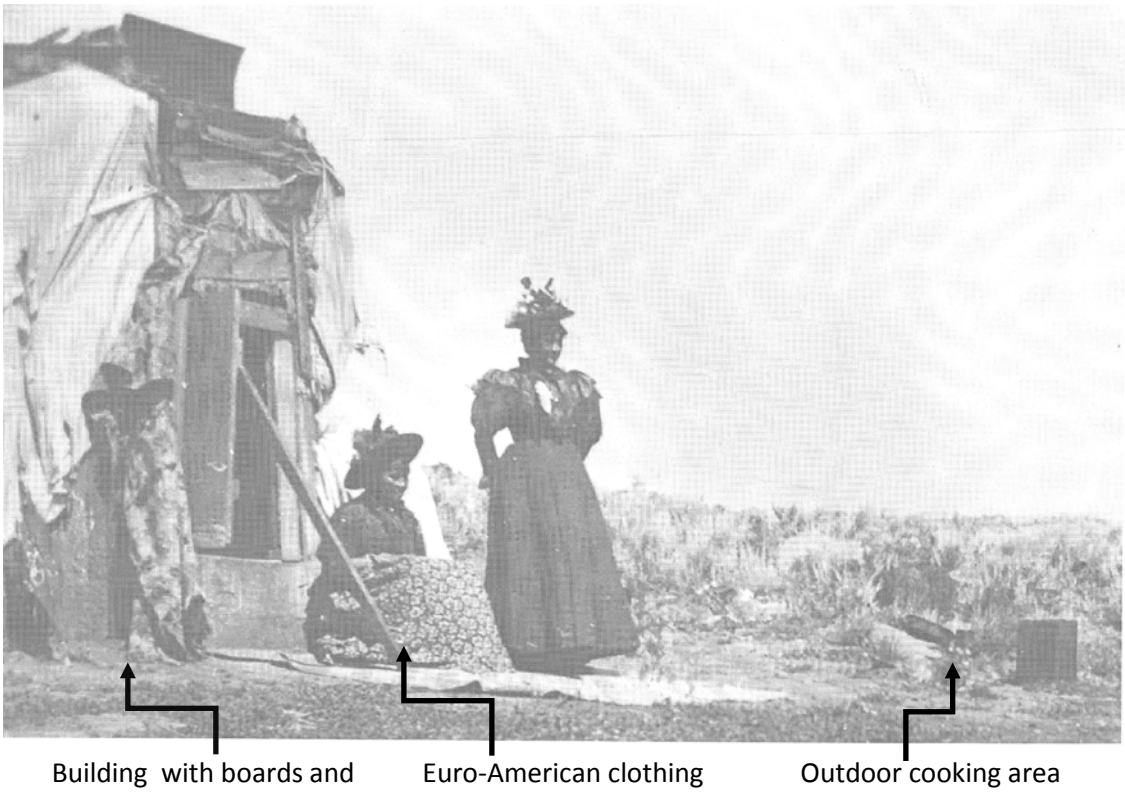

Figure 29. Photograph of two Klamath Reservation women in front of a building constructed of boards and canvas. Date of this picture is unknown. (Courtesy of Klamath County Museum)

[190] Zakoji, *Culture Change*, 195

portion of the structure was fastened together with nails. It is also apparent from the placement of fabric on the roof and sides that the building did not have glass windows. Finally, the building appears to have no foundation, but rather rested directly on the ground. It is likely that such construction would leave little archaeological subsurface evidence. It is possible that construction material in the north area represents the remains of a similar construction to the one pictured in the photograph.

Ceramics were largely concentrated toward the north side of the of the excavation block (Figure 30a). The dearth of ceramics near the cabin can be attributed to the likely use of the north area as a later secondary activity center or for secondary refuse disposal. This interpretation is supported by the relatively late dates of the ceramics (after 1891) and the abundance of refuse concentrations that date after the 1890s. However, the high frequency of domestic refuse in the north area also may indicate that among the chores of the household was the removal of some refuse away from the cabin area.

The distribution of large animal bones was most concentrated around the west perimeter of the cabin (Figure 30b). Since the distribution pattern of faunal remains was calculated by bone weight, peaks represent the largest weight value, which could skew towards large mammal bone. Smaller bone, such as those of fish, may represent the majority of the food bone at the site but this level of analysis has yet to be conducted. As a result, the food bone pattern presented here may not illustrate the intensity of food processing and consumption activity at various locations at the site.

Although the groundstone assemblage in the excavation block was relatively small, the distribution of groundstone appears to be concentrated in the area between the

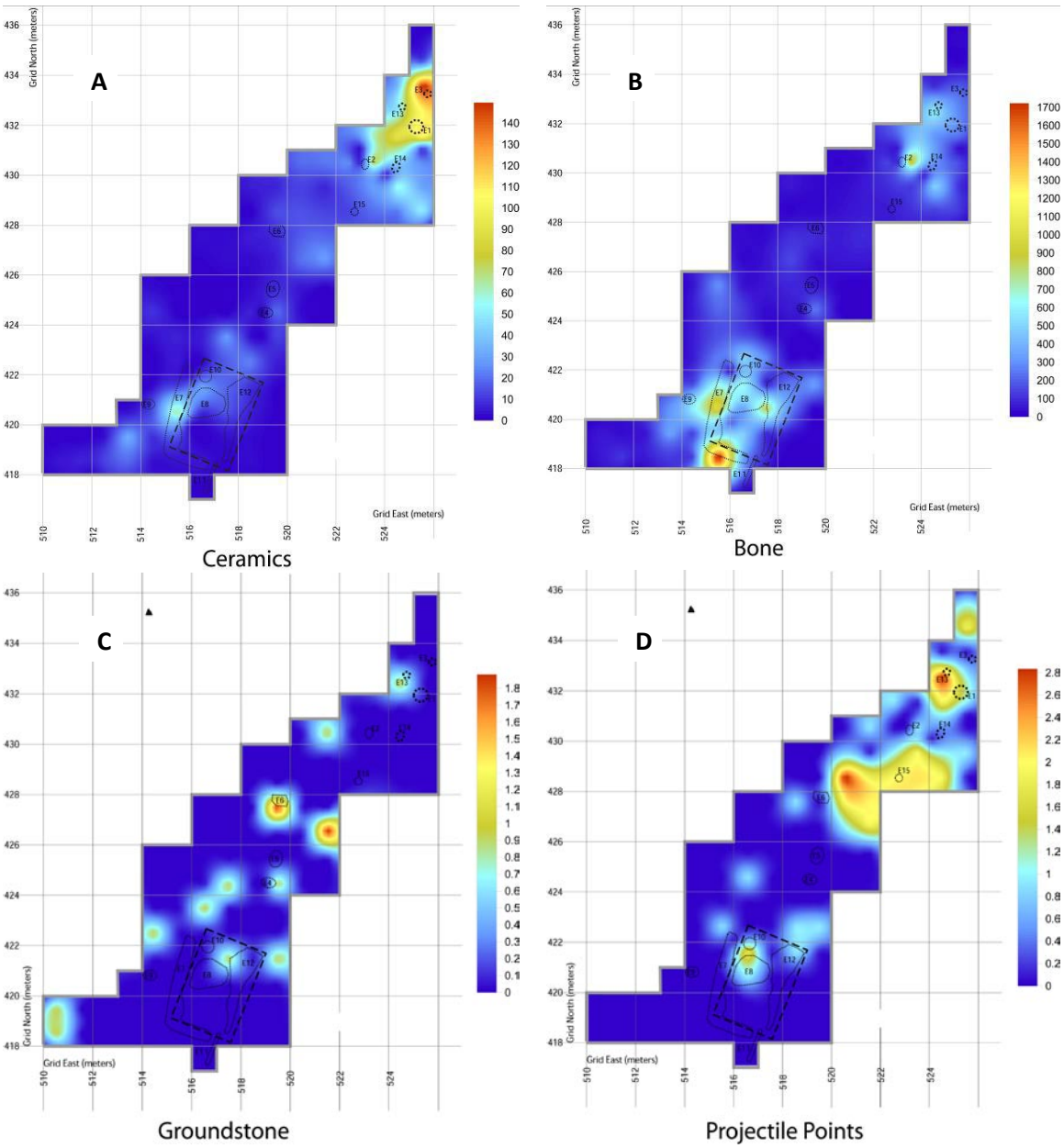

Figure 30. Artifact distribution graphs for a. ceramics, b. bone, c. groundstone, and d. projectile points; red, yellow, and green indicate high density areas.

cabin and the north area (Figure 30c). This area contained a number of ash/charcoal features. The distribution of projectile points was also examined, with a majority of these items concentrated near the north end of the excavation block and cabin. This distribution suggests that some of the projectile points may have been associated with the homestead (Figure 30d).

Clothing maintenance artifacts, such as bluing balls used for whitening clothes and safety pins, were found primarily between the cabin and the northern artifact cluster, which indicates that the outdoor cooking area may have also served as a laundry area (Figure 31a).

Artifacts of the heating and lighting category, including stove parts and lamp chimneys, were clearly associated with the cabin (Figure 31b). The presence of stove parts is consistent with historical accounts which mention that the series of small single room cabins built beginning in 1872 featured a stove. Informants also suggest that stoves were initially not always used for cooking but principally for heating, with cooking conducted outside over an open fire. This is likely due to either a traditional practice of cooking in exterior domestic spaces, or a practical adjustment to changes to interior domestic space. It is interesting to note that the previously discussed photograph shows an outdoor cooking area near the right edge of the frame (Figure 29). At the Beatty Curve Site five charcoal and ash features--interpreted as possible hearths--were located approximately two to five meters north of the cabin footprint. These are likely the location of an outdoor cooking area (refer to Figure 14, Features E4-E6, E15, and E2).

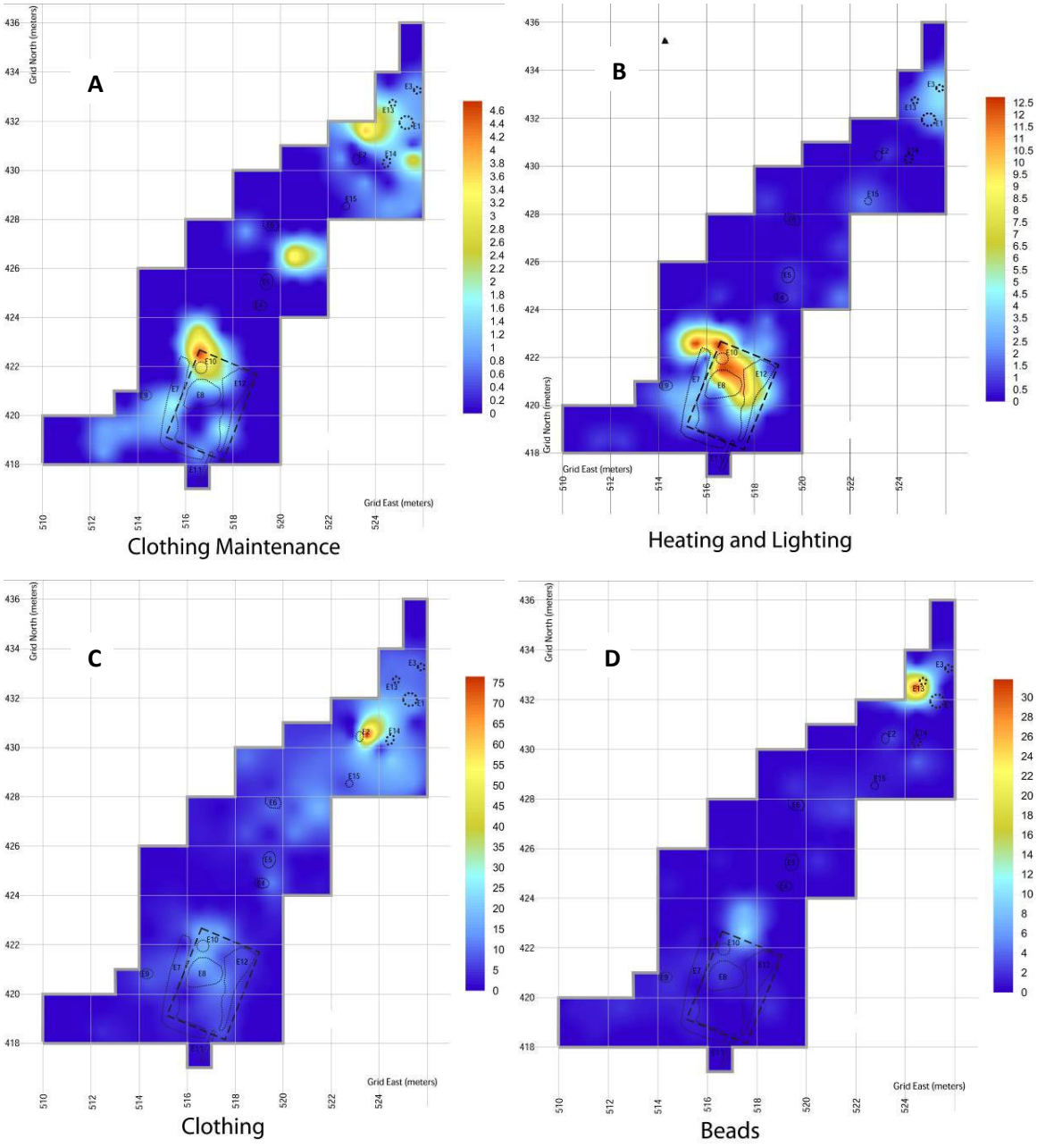

Figure 31. Artifact distribution graphs for a. clothing maintenance, b. heating and lighting, c. clothing, d. beads; red, yellow, and green indicate high density areas.

The beads, as well as clothing items such as clothing fasteners and footwear articles were largely located in the north area (Figure 31c,d). This pattern may be explained by the use of the north area as a activity area or secondary disposal area.

Results from the analysis provide some insights into the domestic activities at the site. The distribution of artifacts shows three general activity areas (Figure 32). Toward the south, away from the road, was a single-room rectangular cabin. The cabin was approximately 100 square feet with wood board flooring and vertical wooden plank walls or siding. The long axis of the building was oriented northeast and southwest with the door facing northeasterly (Figure 32). Based on these observations, the building was likely a front gable. Within the interior was a cook stove. A window was located in the northwest quadrant, with a general living area for eating, sitting, and sleeping along the east-facing wall.

Some food waste, particularly large mammal bones, was deposited directly outside the southwest corner of the building. Iron stock for repairing farm implements and carts was stored against the exterior rear wall. To the north of the cabin was a work yard that included cooking and laundry areas as indicated by the presence of hearth features and clothing maintenance items.

To the north of the work yard was a second possible structure; excavations in this area produced structural artifacts (mainly wire nails), but no evidence of an architectural feature. Any structure at this location was likely temporary, as evidenced by the absence of window glass. The high frequency of artifacts in this portion of the site is partially a function of it being used as a secondary refuse disposal area, where household refuse was

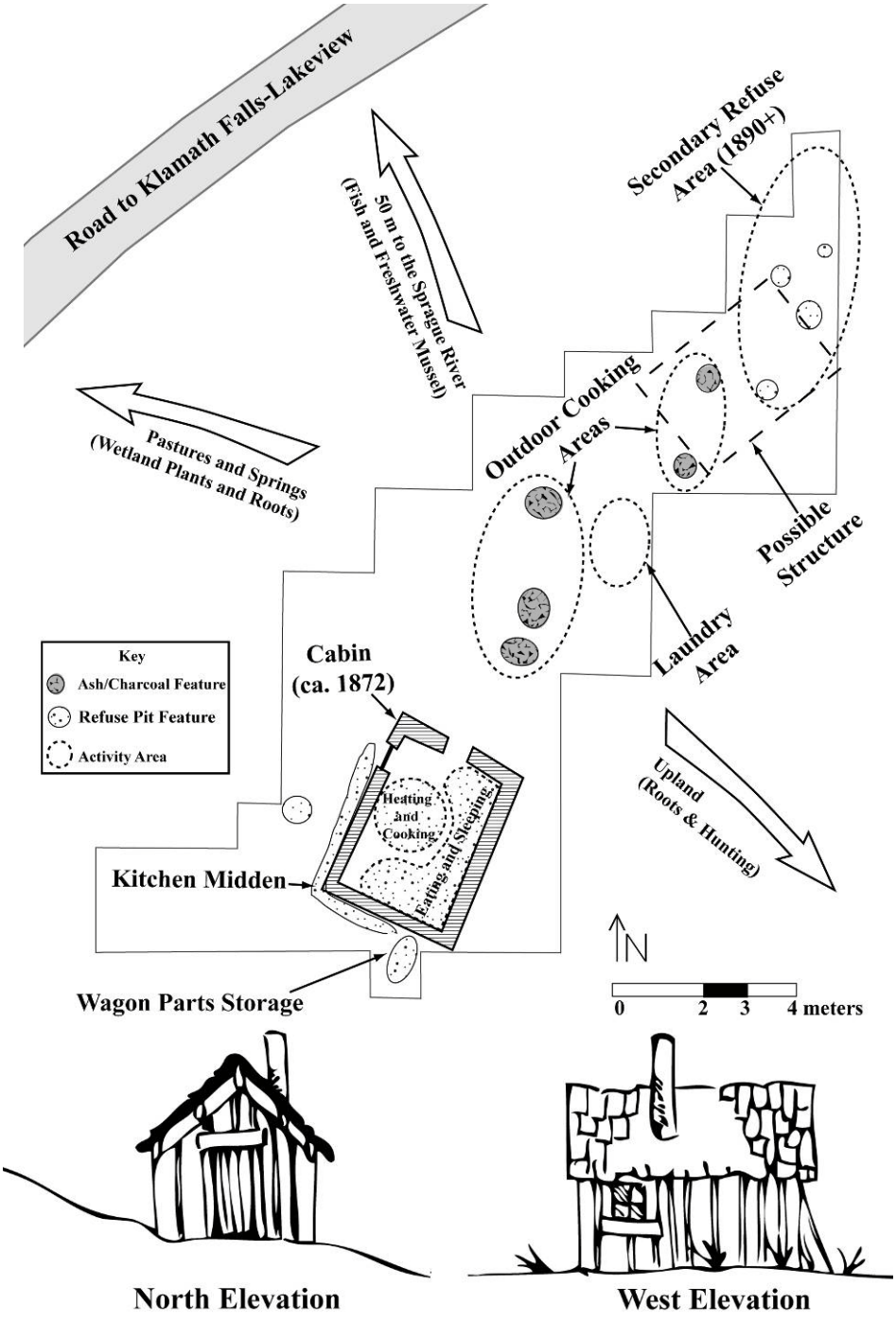

Figure 32. Conjectural sketch plan map with suggested use areas based on the distribution of artifacts. Conjectural sketches of the north and west sides of the cabin.

deposited away from the primary living area. This inference is supported by the number of refuse-filled pit features near the northern terminus of the excavation block. The predominance of wire nails in the northern area (in contrast to the high frequency of cut nails at the cabin), as well as the presence of ceramics and other artifacts that post-date the cabin construction by several decades, indicates that the northern area served as a relatively later focus of activity.

Summary

Time-sensitive artifacts suggest that the cabin was built sometime after the formation of the Yainax subagency in 1870. It was most likely constructed after 1872 for James Barkley, an agency-supported leader of the Upper Klamath. When first discovered, the cabin was thought to be related to an allotment-era Native homestead. Evidence now confirms historic use of the site from the fur trade through the early 20th century, with the period of most intense use largely predating allotment assignments. Indeed, the cabin site is on an allotment that was not formally assigned until 1920, when residential use of the site had effectively ended. However, as noted previously, allotments were typically assigned to families that had historic ties to particular properties. Both the Barkley and Brown families were associated with this property. Documentary evidence points to the Barkley family as the most likely to have lived at the cabin. The site appears to have been abandoned sometime during the 1920s, which corresponds to the decade of Lucinda Barkley's death.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study has produced a reconstruction on paper of a reservation-era Native homestead at the Beatty Curve Site (35KL95). Excavations found the remains of a single-room cabin along with thousands of historical artifacts. Temporally diagnostic artifacts largely date from the 1870s to the 1920s with a few examples dating from as early as the first Euro-American expeditions into the Klamath Basin in the 1830s. The artifacts reflect relatively intense occupation and activity during the critical period between 1860s and the 1920s. Following the 1864 treaty, the United States government initiated policies that coerced the Native peoples to move away from traditional practices.

The primary research question addressed by this study is how domestic space developed in response to acculturation policies promoted by the U.S. government. In addition, this study addressed four sub-questions: 1) What evidence is there for the persistence of traditional cultural patterns? 2) What implications do the findings provide with regard to understanding culture change on the former-Klamath reservation? 3) What types of buildings or settings should preservationists be aware of when conducting cultural resource inventories or Section 106 evaluations within the boundaries of the former-Klamath Reservation? 4) What themes, methods, and content should be emphasized when interpreting sites of this nature?

Evidence of Cultural Persistence

It is clear that the Beatty Curve Site, along with the Bezuksewas Village Site and the Long-Lalo Site (Kamkaun Spring), produced information which could be used to evaluate culture change among first and second generation post-Treaty households. The earliest portions of the Beatty Curve cultural assemblage included ammunition, clothing buttons, and beads. This pattern is replicated in the cultural assemblages recovered during excavations at Bezuksewas and the Long-Lalo Ranch Site. This suggests that initially there was a limited acceptance and/or access to a variety of Euro-American consumer goods.

Some members of the household likely grew up in a traditional house pit. It is also possible that during certain seasons the household moved to other areas of the territory and lived in traditional dwellings. There are indicators at the site that traditional practices continued to be performed. For example, a cache of natural obsidian needles was found buried near the north edge of the excavation block. These items were stored in a pouch featuring a snap closure with an 1896 patent date. It is also probable that some traditional practices may have been consciously hidden from the view of government agents.

Other evidence which supports the persistence of cultural practices is found in artifacts related to Native foodways. Stone grinding tools for processing plant roots and seeds were present around the cabin, suggesting the continuation of traditional food preparation practices. Fish and wild game continued to be regularly consumed, in addition to the newly introduced domestic livestock. Stern suggests that wokas, dried

fish, and other native foods continued to be a staple of Klamath diet many decades after the introduction of Euro-American food items.[191] It is clear that fishing was an important pre-contact activity at the site that continued in the post-treaty time. A majority of the faunal assemblage consisted of large mammal and fish bone, with little evidence of the presence of commercial meat cuts, or the use of packaged food such as might be stored in tin cans.

Evidence of the continuation of traditional building culture at the Beatty Curve Site is suggested by the presence of discontinuous patches of moss in the north area of the excavation block, as well as nails and other structural artifacts. This material most likely indicates the location of a second structure. Spier notes that the sleeping areas of dome-shaped lodges often featured dried grass padding overlaid with woven mats.[192] The moss found at this location may have served a similar function. Native and Euro-American accounts of the 19th century Klamath Reservation relate that dome-shaped lodges continued to be used by tribal members well after the signing of the 1864 treaty.[193] Period photographs document a number of dome-shaped buildings, some examples employing varied sheathing material such as canvas, woven mats, and wooden boards (Figure 29). Although these buildings utilized introduced building material, they resemble pre-Contact

[191] Stern, *The Klamath Tribe*, 67.

[192] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography, 203.*

[193] Informant H.N. refers this type of building as a wiki-up, *see:* Zakoji , "Klamath Culture Change," 195.

building forms (i.e., dome-shaped lodge or summer house, see Figure 4). Ogle recalled, "Indian tee-pees were common place beside more sophisticated buildings."[194]

Thomas Carter, Edward Chappel, and Timothy McCleary found a similar situation on the Crow Indian Reservation in southeastern Montana.[195] They note that Crow tribal leader Plenty Coup maintained a homestead which consisted of a single-story log house, a round horse corral, and a traditional Crow tipi.[196]

In summary, the Beatty Curve Site provides evidence that some traditional practices continued to be performed into the early decades of the 20th century. The persistence of these practices would have been in opposition to government policy that sought to force Native people to adopt Euro-American ways.

Culture Change on the Klamath Reservation

Among the primary goals of the agency was the promotion of Euro-American style houses and new economic pursuits such as agriculture and stock raising. The first such houses were built for agency-supported chiefs, in hope that other tribal members would follow their example and move into the frame houses. The government mission on the agency is encapsulated in tribal police uniform buttons of the reservation period

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[194] Charlie Ogle speaking of the 19th century Klamath Reservation, quoted in Carrol Howe, *Unconquered Uncontrolled: The Klamath Reservation* , (Bend, OR: Maverick Publications, 1992), 74-75.

[195] Carter, Thomas Edward Chappel, and Timothy McCleary "In the Lodge of the Chickadee: Architecture and Cultural Resistance on the Crow Indian Reservation, 1884-1920," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 10 [2005]: 97-111.

[196] Ibid., 102.

(Figure 33). This type of button featured the passage “God Helps Those that Help Themselves” and showed a farmer plowing a field in front of a cabin. This imagery reflects the symbolic power the government invested in the frame house as an integral part of the self-sustaining farmstead. The promotion of these ideals was not limited to the Klamath Reservation, but saw application at other reservations across the western United States. For example, the government instituted similar acculturation policies on the Crow Indian Reservation in southeastern Montana. [197]

Figure 33. Tribal Police button found at the Beatty Curve Site. The inscription on the front reads “God Help Those The Help Themselves.”

[197] Carter, Thomas Edward Chappel, and Timothy McCleary "In the Lodge of the Chickadee: Architecture and Cultural Resistance on the Crow Indian Reservation, 1884-1920," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 10 [2005]: 97-111.

Carter, Chappel, and McCleary state that this policy was accomplished in two ways "educating the children in white-run schools and forcing adults to adopt a sedentary agricultural lifestyle similar to that of other rural Americans."[198]

The artifactual evidence provides a view into how members of the household responded to directed culture change. There is evidence of child-related items including toys such as marbles, education tools such slate pencils and tablets, and a child-sized shoe. These items illustrate that young people were receiving Western-style education and clothing. The presence of women in the household is evidenced by numerous decorative buttons and jewelry, hat pins, and decorative hair combs. At first glance, these items appear out of place in the remote setting. However, it also impresses the reality that commercial culture was increasingly pervasive at all socio-economic levels, extending even to Native Americans on the remote Klamath Reservation.

Comparisons between the Beatty Curve Site and Bezuksewas are numerous. There are a number of striking similarities in the artifacts that were recovered from both sites including many identical dress and uniform buttons. The ceramic and glass container assemblages from both sites are similar as well. This suggests that to some degree goods were likely distributed from a common source throughout the reservation, such as the Agency commissaries, and speaks to the notion that the federal government was promoting acculturation through encouraging the acquisition of Euro-American material culture.

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[198] Carter, Chappel, McCleary "In the Lodge of the Chickadee," 99.

The period between 1864, when the reservation was created, and 1920s, when a majority of the allotments had been assigned, this period saw the gradual introduction of Euro-American house forms, economic pursuits, food items, and other goods. The cultural assemblages from the Beatty Curve cabin record how the household responded to this transition. Heath's structural model has a useful application here and helps explain how regional factors help shape a vernacular setting. Heath notes that as individuals or communities introduce buildings to a region, the decision-making on the nature of the structure is influenced by multiple factors: climate, material availability, ethnicity, social class, and ideology.[199] If the building's conventions are altered in response to regional factors and disseminated a regionally distinct building culture may emerge that is "of a place, of a people, and, inevitably, of a time"[200] Although the cabin form at the Beatty Curve Site was introduced, the way it was utilized showed evidence of a localized and traditional response to new economic, social, and political conditions. As a consequence, the period between the 1860s to 1920s marks a transitional phase, characterized by directed change and resistance, where culturally-hybridized practices were performed.[201] The study of the homestead demonstrates that the domestic space was a product of social process, not a simple container of social process.[202]

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[199] Kingston Wm. Heath, "Assessing Regional Identity Amidst Change", 81.

[200] Ibid., 88.

[201] Ibid., 83.

[202] Clark and Corbett, "Finding Common Ground in Common Places," 153.

Preservation Concerns for Post-Treaty Cultural Resources

A small-single room cabin near the town of Beatty was occupied by members of a Klamath family for over four decades. At first glance, this type of building might be mistaken as an outbuilding (a use it was probably later adapted to in the 20th century) and not a primary residence. Written accounts of early reservation buildings suggest they were of modest size and of simple construction. Based on these facts, it is possible that many past and future cultural resource inventories of the former-Klamath Reservation might overlook the potential significance of these types of buildings.

During various trips through the region, a number of buildings which appear to be roughly the same size and configuration as that of the Beatty Curve cabin were observed. In addition, a series of historical photographs of buildings on the Yainax agency and from the general vicinity show a number of small one to two-room cabins (Figure 34 and 35). These buildings appear to constitute a typical type of early Reservation housing. It would be useful to corroborate this finding with documentation of extant examples.

Archival research proved problematic when it came to studying the history of the Beatty Curve homestead site. Records related to land ownership appear to begin with the advent of allotments. However, it is clear that the Beatty Curve homestead predated the issuing of allotments by at least four decades. Dating the cabin was largely accomplished by analysis of building material and other diagnostic cultural materials. Similarly, determining the age of extant buildings on the former Reservation may be difficult through study of the documentary records alone. Historic preservation professionals should consider having an archaeologist accompany them during field

Figure 34. Photographs of buildings in the area of the Yainax Agency ca. 1930s. (Courtesy of the National Archives)

Figure 35. Photographs of buildings in the area of the Yainax Agency ca. 1930s. (Courtesy of the National Archives)

surveys to identify temporally-diagnostic artifacts in features and refuse deposits that may be useful in estimating the dates of construction and occupation at Reservation-era cabin sites. There should be a sense of urgency to identify Reservation-era historic resources, as they are susceptible to both natural decay and to adverse impacts associated with development projects.

Suggestions for Interpreting a Post-Treaty Homestead

Based on findings from the study, future interpretation projects such as museum displays, community exhibits, roadside interpretive panels should include illustrations and narratives that demonstrate how outside forces such as the military, government, and commercial interests influenced reservation life. For example, the transportation infrastructure developed as joint ventures between private investors and state and federal government, was likely a major contributor to the availability and distribution of household goods. In addition, interpretation should focus attention on social and economic ideals that the government actively promoted with regard to culture change among the reservation population.

This study provides insight into the material world of a post-Treaty household. This information may not be available by consulting historical documents such as probate records. The items recovered from the Beatty Curve cabin could furnish museum professionals with item inventories of post-Treaty households, which in turn will enhance future interpretation efforts.

Finally, it is clear that any future interpretation projects must involve collaboration with the local community and the Klamath Tribes. These types of collaborations promise not only to enhance the accuracy of interpretation, but also engage the broader community in heritage preservation. The excavations at the Beatty Curve site helped to reinvigorate the Beatty community's attention to the cultural value of the site and nearby vicinity and spread awareness and appreciation for the history of the Klamath Reservation and its people.

Conclusion

The study of Klamath reservation-era culture change can prove difficult. Early historical accounts tend to be from the perspective of the government and often lack specificity. However, as seen in this study, the Beatty Curve Site archaeological record reflects regional trends outlined in the historical record. The cultural assemblages from the Beatty Curve cabin, Bezuksewas Village Site, and Long-Lalo Site provide material evidence of how household(s) responded to this transitional period. Although Euro-American buildings were introduced in the 1870s, and some manufactured consumer goods were available by that time, the cultural assemblages show that several decades elapsed before a broad selection of Euro-American domestic goods became commonplace. In this regard, the period between the 1860s and 1920s, saw the gradual introduction of Euro-American house forms, economic pursuits, food items, and other goods. Although extralocal intervention in the form of government policies tried to direct

culture change, residents likely employed strategies of both accommodation and resistance.

An analysis of the patterns of household refuse shows that activities were not limited to the footprint of the building. To the north of the front of the cabin was a work yard with apparent outdoor cooking and laundry areas. The north end of the site was likely used for secondary disposal as well as the location of a possible second temporary building or buildings; use of this area appears to have increased several decades after the cabin's initial occupation (Figure 32). Approximately 50 meters to the north was the Sprague River, which produced fish for household consumption. West of the river and the house were lush pasture lands that could be used to grow hay or to graze livestock. A road likely passed approximately 20 meters from the entry to the cabin which connected this isolated setting to places such as Yainax, Lakeview, Chiloquin, Klamath Falls and beyond.

Among the curious facts learned during this study was that the Oregon Military Road Company owned the property of the cabin until the early 20th century. It is clear from the artifact assemblage that the cabin was at this location for decades prior to the formal settlement of lawsuits against the company. Some documents suggest that both agency and tribal personnel were incensed by the road company's attempt to seize portions of the reservation. It appears that agency personnel simply decided to ignore any claim the road company had to the land.

Within the last several decades a number of important archaeological and architectural investigations have begun to address how historically underrepresented

communities (such as women, working class, minorities, and children) shape their environment. Vernacular architecture scholars have studied these phenomena in diverse settings ranging from Juke Joints in the Mississippi Delta to the 19th century Crow Indian Reservation.[203] In archaeology, studies by scholars such as Kent Lightfoot and colleagues on the native village at Fort Ross on the Northern California coast have provided new perspectives on the intersection of Native Californian, Native Alaskan, and Russian culture.[204] Work conducted by archaeologists at the town of Lowell, Massachusetts has helped illuminate the daily lives of the largely female workforce.[205] This study should contribute to this growing body of literature.

Future work in the Klamath Basin must attempt to identify other examples of these early-Reservation historic resources. Undertaken together, vernacular architecture studies combined with archaeological investigations may provide significant information about this critical transition period not obtainable using one of these methods alone. As demonstrated in this study, a multidisciplinary approach would prove to be the most effective way to study this dynamic period in the history of the Klamath Reservation.

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[203] Nardone, Jennifer "Roomful of Blues, Jukejoints and Cultural Landscapes of the Mississippi Delta," in Alison K. Hoagland and Kenneth A. Breisch, Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, IX (2003): 166-178; Carter, Thomas, Edward Chappel, and Timothy McCleary "In the Lodge of the Chickadee: Architecture and Cultural Resistance on the Crow Indian Reservation, 1884-1920, *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 10 [2005]: 97-111.

[204] Lightfoot, Kent G., *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* . Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005.

[205] Mrozowski, Stephen., Grace H. Ziesing, and Mary C. Beaudry. *Living on the Boott: Historical Archaeology the Boott Mills Boardinghouses, Lowell, Massachusetts*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996.

APPENDIX

ARTIFACT SUMMARY

TABLE A-1. Summary of Historical Artifact Classes and Frequencies from the Beatty Curve Site

Group	Category	Material	Description	ct.*	MNI*
Activities	**Commerce**	Ferrous Metal	Metal Weight	1	1
		Non-ferrous metal	Coin	1	1
	Entertainment	Non-ferrous metal	Harmonica Reed	1	1
	Firearms	Lead	Bullet	3	3
			Lead Shot	1	1
		Ferrous Metal	Rifle part	3	3
			Shell Casing	9	9
			Shotgun Shell	8	8
			Slot-headed turn screw	1	1
			Gun part	4	2
			Shell Casing	1	1
		Non-ferrous metal	Bullet	65	65
			Percussion Cap	2	2
			Primer Cap	1	1
			Shell Casing	9	9
			Shotgun Shell	25	25
	Fishing	Ferrous Metal	Fishing Hook	12	12
		Non-ferrous metal	Fishing Swivel	2	2
	Tool				
		Colorless Glass	Level	6	1
		Ferrous Metal	Auger Bit	2	2
			Axe	1	1
			Chain and Hook	1	1
			Farm equipment	1	1
			File	3	3
			Folding Knife	1	1
			Hay Knife	4	4
			Knife	1	1
			Knife Blade	1	1
			Pocket knife	6	4
			Razor Blade	1	1
			Shovel Handle	25	2
			Tool?	3	3
	Transportation	Ferrous Metal	Bridle Part	2	2
			Buckle	3	3

TABLE A-1. Continued

Group	Category	Material	Description	ct.*	MNI*
			Carriage Hardware	6	5
			Curb Bit	1	1
			Curry Comb	1	1
			Horseshoe	3	3
			Horseshoe Nail	63	60
			Saddle Part	3	3
			Snaffle bit	3	3
			Wheel Hub	1	1
		Leather	Concho	2	2
	Trapping	Ferrous Metal	Trap Spring	2	2
	Writing	Graphite	Pencil	1	1
			Pencil Lead	9	9
		Non-ferrous metal	Pencil Eraser	2	2
		Rubber	Ink Bottle Cap	1	1
		Slate	Slate	2	2
			Slate Board	2	2
			Slate Pencil	4	4
Activities Total				***281***	***245***
Domestic	**Clothing Maintenance**	Bluing	Bluing Ball	6	5
		Ferrous Metal	Button hook	1	1
			Clothespin	16	14
			Needle	3	3
			Safety Pin	15	13
			Straight Pin	7	6
			Thimble	2	2
		Non-ferrous metal	Safety Pin	11	10
			Straight Pin	1	1
	Food	Colorless Glass	Pickle Bottle	2	2
		Aqua Glass	Soda Bottle	1	1
			Pickle Bottle	2	1
		Ferrous Metal	Can	2	2
			Can Lid	2	2
			Key wind	1	1
			Spice Can	1	1
	Food Prep/ Consumption	Amethyst Glass	Pressed Glass Vessel	9	6
			Stemware	1	1
		Colorless Glass	Pressed Glass Vessel	5	2
		Ferrous Metal	3-tine Fork	7	6
			Bread Knife	1	1

TABLE A-1. Continued

Group	Category	Material	Description	ct.*	MNI*
			Butcher Knife	2	2
			Coffee Pot	2	2
			Knife	2	2
			Knife Blade	2	2
			Metal ladel	1	1
			Plate	2	2
			Spoon	7	7
			Table Spoon	5	3
			Tableware	1	1
			Utensil Handle	9	9
		Non-ferrous metal	Spoon	2	2
		Opaque White Glass	Opaque Glass	10	1
			Pressed Glass Vessel	1	1
		Porcelain	Cup	7	3
			Plate	2	2
			Teacup	1	1
		WIE	Bowl	164	51
			Cup	23	11
			Footed Vessel	6	1
			Mug	7	6
			Plate	732	224
			Saucer	2	2
			Teacup	1	1
	Food Storage	Amethyst Glass	Canning Jar	1	1
		Aqua Glass	Canning Jar	47	6
		Colorless Glass	Jar lid	1	1
		Light Aqua Glass	Canning Jar	9	1
	Furnishings	Amethyst Glass	Vase	1	1
		Colorless Glass	Mirror	1	1
			Vase	7	1
		Ferrous Metal	Clock Wind	1	1
			Drawer Pull	2	2
			Frame Hanger	1	1
			Upholstery Tack	179	177
			Wall Hook	8	8
		Non-ferrous metal	Eschtcheon pin	1	1
			Frame Hanger	6	6
			Furniture Escutcheon	2	2
			Furniture stud	1	1
			Upholstery Tack	18	18
		Opaque White Glass	Pressed Glass Vessel	2	2
	Heating/Lighting	Amethyst Glass	Chimney	5	5
		Colorless Glass	Chimney	31	21
		Ferrous Metal	Lamp Part	1	1
			Stove Part	87	62

TABLE A-1. Continued

Group	Category	Material	Description	ct.*	MNI*
		Non-ferrous metal	Burner	2	2
		Opaque White Glass	Oil Lamp	3	2
			Oil Lamp Pedestal	1	1
Domestic	***Total***			***1505***	***743***
Personal	**Accoutrement**	Black Glass	Jewelry	1	1
		Blue Glass	Hair Pin	1	1
			Jewelry	1	1
		Fabric & Leather	Pouch	3	2
		Ferrous Metal	Coin Purse	8	6
			Hair Pin	1	1
		Glass	Gemstone	3	3
			Pin/pendant	1	1
		Non-ferrous metal	Coin Purse	4	3
			Decorated Plaque	1	1
			Jewelry	1	1
			Ring	1	1
	Clothing	Black Glass	Decorative Button	11	11
		Bone	4-Hole Button	1	1
			Button	1	1
		Colbalt Glass	Button	1	1
			Decorative Button	1	1
		Colorless Glass	Glove Button	1	1
		Enamel/Metal	Decorative Button	1	1
		Ferrous Metal	2-Hole Button	8	8
			4-Hole Button	23	23
			Bell	2	2
			Buckle	42	39
			Button	55	55
			Clothing	1	1
			Clothing Hook	5	5
			Corset Clasp	1	1
			Decorative Button	1	1
			Decorative Stud	1	1
			Friction Clip	1	1
			Glove Button	8	7
			Grommet	2	1
			Hook & Eye	63	58
			Metal Button	2	2
			Overall Button	150	150
			Rivet	2	2
			Stud	3	3
			Suspender Hardware	44	37
			Tinkler	1	1
			Uniform Button	7	7
		Non-ferrous metal	4-Hole Button	2	2

TABLE A-1. Continued

Group	Category	Material	Description	ct.*	MNI*
			Buckle	1	1
			Button	8	8
			Decorative Button	1	1
			Decorative Stud	1	1
			Glove Button	25	25
			Hook & Eye	15	15
			Hose Supporter	3	3
			Loop-shank Button	7	7
			Metal Button	1	1
			Overall Button	15	15
			Rivet	6	6
			Rivet	1	1
			Stud	2	2
			Suspender Hardware	15	15
			Tinkler	13	13
			Uniform Button	14	14
			Zipper Pull	1	1
		Plated Metal	4-Hole Button	1	1
		Porcelain	4-Hole Button	2	2
		Prosser	2-Hole Button	3	3
			4-Hole Button	101	101
			Button	3	3
		Prosser and ferrous	Decorative Button	1	1
		Shell	2-Hole Button	27	27
			4-Hole Button	15	14
			Button	8	8
	Footwear	Ferrous Metal	Boot Eyelet	4	4
			Eyelet	14	9
			Golashes	44	33
			Screw Wire	52	48
			Shoe Nail	5	5
			Shoe Wire	1	1
		Leather	Shoe	134	24
		Metal/Glass	Shoe Button	1	1
		Non-ferrous metal	Eyelet	80	52
			Screw Wire	133	127
			Toe plate	1	1
		Rubber	Rubber Boot	70	2
	Grooming/Health	Amber Glass	Medicine Bottle	3	2
		Amethyst Glass	Medicine Bottle	4	2
		Aqua Glass	Medicine Bottle	33	18
		Bakelite	Comb	4	4
		Bone	Tooth Brush	1	1
		Celluloid	Comb	1	1
		Colorless Glass	Medicine Bottle	82	11

TABLE A-1. Continued

Group	Category	Material	Description	ct.*	MNI*
			Perfume Bottle Stopper	1	1
		Ferrous Metal	Razor	3	3
		Non-ferrous metal	Comb	1	1
		Opaque White Glass	Perfume stopper	1	1
		WIE	Chamber Pot	9	5
		Rubber	Comb	1	1
	Misc. Beads			**116**	**111**
		Black Glass	Bead	9	9
		Blue Glass	Blue Glass Bead	8	8
		Colbalt Glass	Bead	8	8
		Colorless Glass	Bead	2	2
		Dark Green Glass	Bead	1	1
		Colorless Glass	Bead	39	39
			Fused Glass Beads	1	1
		Light Blue Glass	Bead	5	5
		Opaque Blue Glass	Bead	4	4
		Opaque White Glass	Bead	9	9
		Orange glass	Mold Pressed Bead	1	1
		Pink Glass	Bead	1	1
		Prosser	Bead	17	16
		Red Glass	Bead	3	3
		Teal Glass	Bead	1	1
		Non-ferrous metal	Copper bead	1	1
		WIE	Ceramic Bead	1	1
		Wood	Bead	5	1
	Social Drugs-Alcohol	Amethyst Glass	Picnic Flask	19	6
		Colorless Glass	Picnic Flask	48	6
		Rubber	Rubber stopper	1	1
	Social Drugs-Tobacco	Clay	Pipe	1	1
		Ferrous Metal	Tobacco Tag	1	1
	Toys	Clay	Marble	1	1
		Glass	Marble	1	1
		Porcelain	Child's teacup	2	2
			Doll Part	1	1
		Marble	Marble	1	1
Personal Total				***1637***	***1231***
Structural	**Electrical**	Porcelain	Electric Insulator	1	1
			Electrical insulator tube	1	1
			Insulator tube	1	1

TABLE A-1. Continued

Group	Category	Material	Description	ct.*	MNI*
	Hardware	Ferrous Metal	Brads	4	4
			Corrugated Fastener	1	1
			Cut Nail	6799	4415
			Door Fastener	1	1
			Door Fixture	1	1
			Door Hinge	4	3
			Door Hook	1	1
			Door Key hole	1	1
			Door Latch	2	2
			Door Lock	1	1
			Fence Staple	45	45
			Finishing Nail	31	31
			Glaziers Point	6	6
			Rose Head Nail	2	2
			Specialty Nail	1	1
			Spike	5	5
			Spindle	1	1
			Unidentified Nail	2	2
			Wire Nail	3043	2931
			Wood Screw	5	5
		Non-ferrous metal	Cut Nail	32	32
			Wire Nail	1	1
	Materials	Brick	Brick	6	4
		Colorless Glass	Flat Glass	7635	597
		Ferrous Metal	Flat Glass	2	1
			Key	2	2
			Glass	17	2
			Flat Glass	17	2
		Non-ferrous metal	Key	1	1
		Wood	Wood	32	3
Structural Total				***17687***	***8105***
Indefinite Use	**Misc. Ceramic**	Porcelain	Misc. Ceramic	4	3
		Salt-glazed Stoneware	Misc. Ceramic	2	2
		WIE	Misc. Ceramic	967	222
	Misc. Closures	Cork	Bottle cork	1	1
		Ferrous Metal	Bottle Cap	1	1
			Can Lid	32	18
			Closure	1	1
			Crown Cap	7	4
			Misc. Can Lid	1	1
		Non-ferrous metal	Can Lid	1	1
			Crown Cap	1	1

TABLE A-1. Continued

Group	Category	Material	Description	ct.*	MNI*
	Misc. Containers	**A**mber Glass	Bottle	825	194
		Amethyst Glass	Bottle	941	202
		Aqua Glass	Bottle	871	167
			Jar	13	7
		Colorless Glass	Bottle	3514	591
			Jar	3	1
		Dark Olive Glass	Bottle	6	5
		Ferrous Metal	Can	200	27
		Green Glass	Bottle	11	4
		Olive Glass	Bottle	14	8
		Opaque White Glass	Bottle	29	21
		Yellow Glass	Bottle	1	1
	Misc. Leather	Leather	Misc. Leather	9	4
			Strap	37	14
	Misc. Metal	Ferrous Metal	Badge	1	1
			Bolt	37	29
			Bracket	6	4
			Brad	1	1
			Buckle	17	15
			Clasp	2	2
			Clip	4	4
			Crimp	1	1
			D-Ring	2	2
			Gear	1	1
			Grommet	191	162
			Handle	12	11
			Link	2	2
			Loop	2	2
			Metal part	13	13
			Nut	22	22
			Pipe	1	1
			Plate	3	2
			Ring	6	6
			Rivet	67	66
			Rod	9	9
			Screw	7	7
			Shank	1	1
			Sleve	1	1
			Staple	2	2
			Strap	334	124
			Strap Buckle	1	1
			Strap tip	2	2
			Swivel	2	2
			Tack	22	22
			Washer	32	25
			Wire	255	180

TABLE A-1. Continued

Group	Category	Material	Description	ct.*	MNI*
			Wire	11	11
			Wood Screw	72	72
		Non-ferrous metal	Bolt	3	2
			Bracket	1	1
			Clasp	1	1
			Grommet	473	449
			Loop	1	1
			Metal part	5	5
			Ring	1	1
			Rivet	161	161
			Screw	1	1
			Strap	16	16
			Strap tip	1	1
			Tack	3	3
			Tag	1	1
			Thumb Tack	1	1
			Tip	2	2
			Tube	4	4
			Valve	1	1
			Washer	11	11
			Wire	8	8
		Zinc Alloy	Ring	1	1
	Misc. Textile	Cotton	Textile	4	3
		Unknown	Textile	78	42
	Misc. Wood	Wood	Handle	1	1
Indefinite Use Total				***9417***	***3019***
Unidentified		Amber Glass	Unid. Glass	18	10
		Amethyst Glass	Unid. Glass	12	6
		Aqua Glass	Unid. Glass	14	12
		Ash	Unid. Ash	2	1
		Black Glass	Unid. Glass	1	1
		Blue Glass	Unid. Glass	1	1
		Bone	Unid. Bone	1	1
		Botanical	Unid. Botanicals	1	1
		Ceramic	Unid. Ceramic	1	1
		Colorless Glass	Unid. Glass	693	225
		Fabric	Unid. Fabric	3	3
		Ferrous Metal	Unid. Metal	2351	580
		Glass	Unid. Glass	129	53
		Gray Glass	Unid. Glass	2	2
		Lead	Unid. Metal	1	1
		Leather	Unid. Leather	155	57
		Metal	Unid. Metal	2	2
		Non-ferrous metal	Unid. Metal	20	12

TABLE A-1. Continued

Group	Category	Material	Description	ct.*	MNI*
		Paint	Paint Chip	1	1
		Pink Glass	Unid. Glass	1	1
		Porcelain	Unid. Ceramic	3	3
		Rubber	Unid. Rubber	19	11
		Unknown	Unkown	66	37
		White Opaque Glass	Unid. Glass	9	9
		WIE	Unid. Ceramic	115	25
		Wood	Unid. Wood	36	6
		Zinc Alloy	Unid. Metal	9	2
		Ferrous Metal	Unid. Metal	11	11
Unidentified Total				***3689***	***1076***

* ct=count refers to number of fragments, MNI=minimum number of individual complete specimens

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