The Center of the World, The Edge of the World: A History of Lava Beds National Monument

Frederick L. Brown
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Lava Beds National Monument

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Cover Photos

Front cover top: Unveiling of Canby Monument in the Lava Beds, June 13, 1926. Left to right in front row: J. Frank Adams (prominent horse rancher), George W. Lyons (supervisor, Modoc National Forest), Oliver C. Applegate (Oregon volunteer in Modoc War), Peter Schonchin’s wife and his grandson, Peter Schonchin (Modoc warrior in Modoc War). Second row: Gertrude French (Chairman of Dedication Committee), Dorothy V. Closter (behind, Secretary of Dedication Committee), Catherine E. Gloster (Past Grand President, Native Daughters of the Great West), Hillard Welch (Grand President, Native Sons of the Great West). (LBNM Archives)

Front cover bottom: Visitors in Merrill Cave, undated photo. Note the ice skates on one man in front. (LBNM Archives)

Back cover top: Gillems Camp on Tule Lake, April/May 1873. (NARA–San Bruno)

Back cover bottom: CCC Camp at Gillems Camp, 1936. (LBNM Archives)

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Introduction

Humans have inhabited the Lava Beds country of northern California for thousands of years. They have gained physical sustenance from its plants and animals. They have told each other stories about the landscape and its meaning in their lives. People have also shaped the landscape and its flora and fauna with fire, hunting, fishing, house building, fire suppression, livestock grazing, road building, and, mostly notably, by draining the adjacent Tule Lake to create agricultural land. As humans have influenced the landscape, the environment with its specific topography and hydrology has, in turn, shaped human actions by limiting certain uses and allowing others. As human projects and natural conditions have shaped each other in this landscape, two very different views of the meaning and value of this place have competed. While Modocs knew this place and valued it for its centrality in their daily lives, non-Modocs understood it as a place at the edge of their world. At times non-Modocs avoided it as a weird, inhuman landscape; at times, they valued it for the qualities that set it apart from the cities and fields they knew more intimately in their daily lives. Few of these newcomers ever gave this place the centrality that Modocs had.

This tension between center and edge is evident in several major themes running through the human history of the Lava Beds, including resource use, story telling, government action, the conservation ideal, water, and topography. First, people have long been attracted to the area by its natural resources; they have linked these resources into regional, and later global, economies. Some Modocs fit the Lava Beds into their annual round of movement throughout the Tule Lake basin. They fished Tule Lake from villages in the Lava Beds and hunted deer between craggy lava flows. They gathered plants there, especially the tules that would give their name to the lake, with which they made mats, baskets, hats, shoes, and even canoes. Distant markets would encourage European Americans to exploit the Lava Beds’ resources in new ways. While families set up farms on more fertile lands nearby, the Lava Beds became a place where single men brought sheep or horses for part of the year, making use of its rocky, poorly watered bunchgrass environment that could not support more intensive agriculture. Ties to the broader American economy also shaped the Lava Beds profoundly with the arrival of the automobile. By 1915, a road had been built through the Lava Beds and more
and more visitors came to explore its natural wonders. To understand the Lava Beds, we must explore these links to local and global economies.

Humans have also been creating and telling stories about the Lava Beds and their region for thousands of years. Different groups told stories with contested meanings. The Modoc creation myth describes Tule Lake as the center of the world and Petroglyph Point—now within Lava Beds National Monument—as particularly important to Gmukamps, who created the world. Modocs also told stories of an angry father-in-law and of a furious bear-woman who created the jumbled landscape of lava flows and volcanic buttes in their rage. The area came to the attention of the American public with the Modocs’ last stand in defense of their homeland within the Lava Beds in 1872 and 1873. Journalists provided the first sets of stories about this landscape for the broader American public—stories that were soon taken up by authors of dime novels. The dramatic events of the Modoc War would bring a trickle of interested travelers in the late nineteenth century and a flood of visitors with the rise of automobile travel in the 1910s. Promotional literature and newspaper accounts molded the image travelers held of the Lava Beds. By the 1920s, government agencies would produce much of the literature and interpretive signs that shaped how visitors understood this landscape. Hearing the stories people have told about the Lava Beds is key to knowing this place. These stories were often contested: While Modocs saw the area as central to their world, whites first saw it as a threatening, forbidding place on the edge of white society. Non-Modocs eventually came to see part of its value in the very unusualness that made it a poor place for homesteading. They also valued it for its relatively unaltered ecological systems, which differed from the cities, towns, and fields that they were transforming much more intensively.

The federal government as a force that had an important impact on this landscape starting in the nineteenth century represents a third important theme. Government actions shaped who lived in and near the Lava Beds, what use they made of the area’s resources, and who would own and manage the land. The U.S. government sponsored early explorers, such as John C. Frémont, who helped make Americans aware of the area. It waged war to acquire northern Mexico—including the Lava Beds—as American territory. Then it developed land laws that encouraged whites to settle the region around the Lava Beds. The government deployed its army to remove Modocs from the Lava Beds in 1872 and 1873 and thereby disrupted ancient cultural and material uses of the land. The Lava Beds had been a place for families, a place at the center of the world for Modocs. For several decades after the Modoc War, it became a place at the edge of the world,
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a place visited only rarely, often by men alone or in small groups. The role of
government continued in the twentieth century, as the Forest Service regulated
grazing in the Lava Beds, promoted tourism, and developed roads and trails under
Hoover-era work-relief programs and under the New Deal’s National Industrial
Recovery Act. The Park Service assumed effective management of the monument
in 1934 and continued developing its infrastructure through another New Deal
program: the Civilian Conservation Corps. The federal role continues to this day,
as the Park Service manages the monument both to preserve its natural and
cultural features, and to allow visitors to explore and enjoy the monument.

A fourth theme—the conservation ideal—emerged even later than the
governmental role. This philosophy became closely connected to government
action. Starting in the early twentieth century, Americans influenced by the
conservation ideal began visiting the area, hoping to protect its natural
environment. The ornithologists and photographers William L. Finley and
Herman T. Bohlman visited the area around Petroglyph Point in 1905 and lobbied
for protection of the birdlife of Tule Lake. Around that time, the conservation
ideal began to shape federal policy, as Theodore Roosevelt created the Forest
Service and began to set aside additional lands as national forest. This trend came
to the Lava Beds in 1920 when the government added this area to the Modoc
National Forest. While the Forest Service had a mandate to conserve natural
resources for future use, the National Park Service was shaped by a different
vision of protecting natural and cultural resources: it sought to preserve them
“unimpaired for future generations.” This philosophy came to shape the Lava
Beds when the Park Service took over management of this monument and other
national monuments throughout the country.

Just as humans have shaped this region, the environment has, in turn, constrained
human activity in the area. Two aspects of the landscape have been especially
important to its history. First, the uneven distribution of water has influenced how
humans used and traveled through the area. Modocs moved throughout the Lava
Beds, but they concentrated their villages along the shores of Tule Lake. When
they set up more temporary camps away from the lakeshore, they were often near
caves that contained water. Likewise, sheepmen and horse-raisers concentrated
their operations near ice caves. Sheepmen especially exploited the area in winter,
when water for their flocks lay throughout the landscape in the form of snow.
Moonshiners, who set up stills in the Lava Beds, typically operated near Tule Lake
or within the ice caves. Because no water flows through the Lava Beds, these rare
water resources have been especially precious.
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Modoc Lava Beds, 1892, with pre-1953 boundaries of current monument superimposed. The butte marked “Crater” is the Peninsula. The butte marked “Bloody Point” is Petroglyph Point (also known as Prisoner’s Rock or the Island). While the current monument contains the most rugged portion of the Lava Beds, regions as far west as Dome Mountain and as far east as Doublehead are sometimes included when referring to the Lava Beds. (“1892 map,” Administrative Records, 1950–80, LBNM Archives). (This image has been modified from the original image in the Lava Beds archives, which incorrectly placed the Petroglyph Point section on the Peninsula.)

The region’s topography, with its rugged lava flows and abundance of hidden places, has also affected how humans used the area. Modocs utilized the lava flows in directing deer during hunts. Both high prominences and the recesses of caves were important places for spiritual quests. Because the Lava Beds contained the
natural fortress of Captain Jacks Stronghold, it became the center of fighting
during the Modoc War. The Modocs’ intimate knowledge of this landscape
contributed to their ability to hold off the U.S. Army. The rugged topography of
the area meant it was ill suited to agriculture and, therefore, remained largely on
the periphery of white society in the years after the Modoc War. With the coming
of the automobile, however, the region’s weird, complex topography attracted
both cave explorers such as J. D. Howard and moonshiners looking for a place to
hide from revenue agents. These unique and interesting features, along with the
region’s association with the Modoc War, led to the creation of the Lava Beds
National Monument in 1925.

These six themes—water, topography, resource use, story-telling, government,
and conservation—run throughout the twentieth-century history of the Lava
Beds, and the first four date back thousands of years. This report’s cover
photograph depicts people whose lives illustrate all of these themes. A
consideration of these men and women also demonstrates that these themes
cannot be neatly separated, as they are tightly intertwined in the lives of the
people who have lived in, worked in, and visited the Lava Beds. The cover
photograph shows people gathered for the dedication of the Canby Monument—
a monument that stood near Canby Cross until the 1960s—on June 13, 1926. In
the center stands Oliver C. Applegate in a white military uniform; on the far right
stands Peter Schonchin with his wife and grandson. Both of these men took part
in the Modoc War, Applegate as an Oregon volunteer, Schonchin as a young man
with the Modoc resisters. The topography of the region greatly influenced the
course of that war, as the U.S. Army and volunteers struggled with an unfamiliar
terrain and eventually drove the Modocs from the stronghold by cutting their
access to water. The war was also the culmination of government policies
encouraging the distribution of land to white settlers and white demands for ever
more land to sustain economic enterprises linked to distant markets. Schonchin
experienced thirty-six years of exile in Oklahoma—a further demonstration of the
power of the federal government.

On the far left, with his hand on his hip, stands J. Frank Adams, who broke horses
during the Modoc War and became a wealthy rancher, holding land north of Tule
Lake and also using the Lava Beds to graze his horses. In just one example of the
ways that local markets became tied to distant places, Adams helped round up
horses in the Lava Beds that were sold to provide mounts for European cavalries
during the First World War. Between Adams and Applegate stands George W.
Lyons, supervisor of the Modoc National Forest, wearing his Forest Service
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uniform. His presence attests to the growing role of government regulation in the 1920s; it also shows how the conservation ideal came to influence the area, as the forest rangers that Lyons supervised reduced sheep grazing in the Lava Beds to what they viewed as a more sustainable level. Behind the front row, next to the monument itself, stand four representatives of the local historical societies who had raised money to build the monument. Their monument, topped by a sculpture of a golden bear (representing California) wounded by Indian arrows, told a particular version of the Lava Beds story. Its inscription referred to the heroism of General E. R. S. Canby and the U.S. forces, but made no reference to the heroism or motivations of the Modoc warriors. In dedicating the monument—and in listening to speeches that day by Schonchin, Applegate, and others—these people were continuing a millennia-old practice of telling stories about the Lava Beds.

The Lava Beds is a region where humans have shaped the environment by exploiting its resources, by framing its meaning through stories, by regulating its use through government action, and by promoting the ideal of conservation. Yet, the environment has, in turn, shaped human actions. This history explores how humans and the environment have interacted in this rugged landscape. It explores how people have valued the Lava Beds as a wondrous and magical place, some for its centrality to their daily life, some for the qualities that set it apart from their usual world.
Chapter 1
The Center of the World:
Modocs and the Lava Beds to the 1820s

Modoc villages in the Lava Beds were vital centers of Modoc life. They sat on the southern shore of Tule Lake—the lake that was the center of the world around which the cultural hero Gmukamps formed the rest of creation. The uneven distribution of water and the rugged landscape shaped how Modocs moved through and used the area. Modocs concentrated their villages along the south shore of the lake. When they traveled elsewhere in the Lava Beds, they focused their activities on caves that had water sources. The hidden sites within caves and the impressive buttes—all products of the region’s turbulent geological history—were especially important sacred places within the landscape, places particularly favored for vision quests. As the landscape shaped Modocs’ lives, Modocs also transformed the landscape. They shaped the meaning of the place through story telling. They changed the appearance of the landscape by building houses. They set fires to encourage the growth of plants and grass favored by deer. Their house building, toolmaking, and hunting in the Lava Beds have left a rich legacy of archeological resources within the monument that continue to shape understandings of this long history. The stories Modocs tell about the Lava Beds and the uses they make of its resources continue to shape the meaning and form of the landscape today.

This chapter presents accounts that Modocs have given of the area’s early history, as well as accounts given by scientists and archeologists—an example of the competing narratives that people have told about the Lava Beds. The scientists’ accounts represent new perspectives on this ancient place that have come to have great importance in the management of these lands and their interpretation for the public. The Modoc stories make clear this people’s ancient and ongoing connection with the Lava Beds. This chapter makes use of the stories and practices that Modoc informants chose to share primarily with three scholars: Jeremiah Curtin in the 1880s, Verne Ray and his students in the 1930s, and Douglas Deur very recently.¹

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This information from oral histories is, by its very nature, fragmentary. Each scholar has gathered information grounded in a specific place and time and relayed by specific tribal people living at different periods in a rapidly changing social environment. Each scholar’s published work is shaped by the particular relationship he established with his informants and the information they felt was appropriate to share, yet all this information is refracted through the unique and enduring lens of Modoc culture. While these sources do not re-create the Modoc world of the early nineteenth century (much less the millennia of historical change that led to that world), they do provide glimpses of Modoc life before European contact.

Gmukamps Creates the World

In the early nineteenth century and for centuries before, certain groups of Modocs returned each winter to their villages in the Lava Beds. They rebuilt their half-subterranean lodges and passed the coldest months of the year there on the southern shore of Tule Lake. The long winter nights were a favorite time for elders to retell stories around the fire about the myth time before the present world came into being. In those lodges, elders likely told versions of many of the stories that were later written down. One of those stories recounted the creation of the world by Gmukamps and the central role that Tule Lake and Petroglyph Point had in that event.

In the beginning, nothing existed except Tule Lake. Gmukamps reached down into the lake to find some mud to make land. He finally reached down far enough and came up with a good handful of mud. He put the mud in front of him, patted it down, smoothed it, and soon Tule Lake was surrounded by land. Gmukamps sat on a little island in the lake and then pushed back the earth on the west and the north to make mountains. He “drew trees and plants out of the earth, and he put birds in the air, fish in the water, and animals on the land. He had shaped and decorated the world as a woman shapes and decorates a basket.”

As he tired from his labors, Gmukamps began to dig a hole in the bottom of the lake to sleep in. Then he thought he might like a place to observe his creation,

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3 This paragraph is based on the creation story told by Evangeline Schonchin to Alice Marriott, with Mary Chiloquin as translator. Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin, *American Indian Mythology* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968), 27–29. For other versions of Modoc creation myths, see Deur, 135–36; Curtin, 1–16, 39; and Ray, 18.

4 Marriott and Rachlin, 28.
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so he built up Petroglyph Point out of the mud. With his fingernail, he cut a notch in the top of the rock where he could look out onto his creation.

Petroglyph Point

Petroglyph Point holds a very important place in the Modoc world as the place Gmukamps built from which to view his creation. In other versions of the creation story, it is to Petroglyph Point that he returns after his acts of creation. The butte, which is now contained in a noncontiguous section of Lava Beds National Monument, continues as a place of cultural and spiritual importance to Modocs (for map, see image on page 3). By geological accounts, this 180-foot hill (also known as Prisoner's Rock and the Island) is made of palagonite and resulted from under-water volcanic activity about 275,000 years ago. About ten to fifteen thousand years ago, the wave action of Tule Lake worked to create the sharp cliffs that bound the butte today. The fluctuating lake level facilitated the deposition of mineral salts over the basalt at the base of the butte, creating a white calcified crust that served as an excellent medium for native people to incise

Image 1-1. Petroglyphs on Petroglyph Point, undated photograph. (LBNM Archives)

5 Deur, 145.
6 Deur, 144–46.
The west and east faces of Petroglyph Point contain thousands of such images etched into the soft rock face. Rock art scholar Helen Crotty counted 1,358 petroglyphs on the west face; surveying the entire butte, Georgia Lee and her collaborators counted more than five thousand petroglyphs. Crotty divided the images into several categories. Most are abstract designs—only twenty appear to be representational, showing humans, lizards, and insects. Most of the petroglyphs involve abstract images of circles, lines, and curves. Crotty noted certain common types: Single lines and parallel lines make up 19.5 percent of the petroglyphs, and zigzag and wavy lines compose 19 percent. Simple dotted lines and circles make up 17.2 percent. Intersecting straight lines represent 13 percent of the images. Circles and ovals constitute 14.6 percent. People created these images primarily through a “pierce and scrape” technique, piercing holes through the crust of the rock face, either leaving the images as a series of dots or scraping to connect them in a line. They occasionally incised lines with a thin, sharp instrument.

These petroglyphs cannot be dated with precision; nor is their meaning known. Certain Modocs have said that the petroglyphs are quite ancient and made by people in the area before the Modocs. Crotty suggested they were likely made some time before the 1840s. Given the fluctuating lake levels that would quickly erode images, archeologist Gregory G. White and his collaborators suggest that the petroglyphs are no more than a few hundred years old. The meaning of the petroglyphs can only be the subject of conjecture. Crotty lists some possibilities. They may be associated with the search for spiritual power through vision quests. They may have been part of ceremonial activities related to food acquisition at Tule Lake. Yet, ultimately, the assessment of New York Times correspondent Samuel A. Clarke, made just after the Modoc War, holds largely

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8 Crotty, 141–68.
10 Crotty, 146.
11 Deur, 145; Don Fisher, the first monument administrator, provided the following information (without reference to its source): “An old Indian, questioned by Army officers in 1873, regarding the authorship of the Petroglyphs quaintly replied, ‘My papa’s, papa’s, papa’s, papa’s,’ repeating ‘papa’ until almost out of breath in an endeavor to explain the great age of the carvings” (Don Fisher, “Fisher’s Report on the Lava Beds National Monument, 1934” [LBNM, 1934]).
12 Crotty, 162–63.
true today: “[I]t is a very interesting question, that may never be decided, as to what people left this record of their life and doings.”\textsuperscript{14}

Old Man Lulus-Dewieas Creates the Lava Beds

As they wintered in the Lava Beds, children especially may have wanted to hear stories about the creation of the landscape in which they were living. Indeed, Schonchin and Koalakaka may well have been among those children. In their old age, these two would tell ethnographer Jeremiah Curtin most of the stories he wrote down in 1884—Old Schonchin from his home on the Klamath Reservation, Koalakaka from her home on the Quapaw Reservation in Oklahoma. The following is a story that Curtin wrote down about the lava fields.

Old man Lulus-Dewieas lived with his son and daughter-in-law in the area that is now the Lava Beds. When the son went hunting, he always told his wife to take good care of his father. He always told her to give food to the old man before she and the children ate. One night the man had a dream that he went hunting and returned to find only a large hole where his house had been. He was scared. Yet his children were crying for meat, so he went hunting.

While he was hunting, his wife decided to learn what her father-in-law would do if she ground seed without giving him any. She pounded seeds, and then quietly put the mortar away without giving any to the old man. The old man saw this and, burning with anger, he went to the south side of the house. His hair grew red as fire. His penis became erect and began to turn and turn and bore through the earth. Soon the hole he was boring was so large, he himself fell into it.

The woman saw the mistake she had made. She called to the old man to stop and she would give him all the seeds he wanted. But the old man continued boring the earth in his rage. The family’s house, the woman, and her children all fell into the hole.

“The old man went on, boring as he went. Everywhere he broke and threw out the earth. Once in a while he raised himself up a little. At such places the earth would be level for a short distance, then it would sink down in a deep hole and leave a wide opening in the ground.”

The son heard the terrible roar and rushed home, but he couldn’t stop his father. The old man continued boring underground until he got beyond Mount Shasta.

\textsuperscript{14} New York Times, July 13, 1873, 6.
The son found the old man there, but the old man told his son to go away. “You must not feel badly; my spirit belongs to this earth. You must go away from me; you must not try to follow me. I shall live forever under the earth.” Ever after, the son wandered the earth feeling lonesome. Lulus-Dewieas left behind a forbidding landscape of caverns and lava flows, interspersed with level ground—a landscape that would be central to the lives of Modoc Indians.

Geology and Ecology
The Lava Beds sit on the northern edge of the Medicine Lake shield volcano—a highlands that covers some nine hundred square miles. Magma emerging from the flank vents of the volcano as recently as 1,100 years ago has created the unusual landscape of the area: the lava flows, spatter cones, and more than six hundred lava tubes. Mount Shasta casts a rain shadow over the Lava Beds region, creating an arid climate with about sixteen inches of annual rain. The Medicine Lake shield volcano also created the gentle slope of the landscape of the current monument rising from about four thousand feet above sea level on the northern end to about 5,600 feet seven miles to the south. The changing elevation, soils, and water regimes defined four distinct ecological regions in the monument. The lake-marsh environment that existed at the northern end of the present monument before the draining of Tule Lake provided the richest area for native uses: wocas (seed pods of the yellow water lily *Nuphar polysepalum*), tules, cattails (*Typha latifolia*), reeds, suckers, trout, geese, ducks, coots, cranes, pelicans, elk, and grizzly bears. The well-developed soils extending from the former southern shore of Tule Lake supported a bunchgrass-sagebrush ecology. At mid-elevations, the monument supported juniper-brushland communities. The bunchgrass-sagebrush and juniper-brushland communities supported pronghorn antelopes, bighorn sheep, deer, rabbits, squirrels, grouse, and coyotes. In the southern portion of the current monument at elevations above 4,600 feet, ponderosa pine grew. This area supported deer, cougars, bobcats, and black bears.

This natural environment shaped uses of the area in many ways. The rain shadow meant that deep snow drifts did not accumulate in the Lava Beds, making an attractive winter ground for deer and for deer hunters. With no flowing streams in

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15 Curtin, 122–24; Deur, 137–38. Stories in Curtin’s book were written down by Curtin based on interviews with Koalakaka in Oklahoma and with Schonchin in Oregon, both in 1884.
the current monument, water was accessible in only a few locations away from the lake. Modoc Indians found these the most attractive locations in the park: archeological evidence is concentrated around the few caves that have water. The barriers created by lava flows aided Modocs in driving the deer into hunting traps. The tortured topography, which Modocs knew intimately, would also serve them well during the Modoc War by providing them the impressive fortress of Captain Jacks Stronghold, hidden lines of retreat between lava flows, and reconnaissance points throughout the Lava Beds.

Gmukamps Creates the Modocs
In their winter lodges in the Lava Beds, elders may also have told stories of how the Modocs came to exist, such as the following story told in Curtin in the 1880s. Gmukamps left Tule Lake and wandered the earth, bringing his daughter with him. When they returned to the lake, they were alone in the world. Then his daughter died and he could not bear to leave her. So, after she put on her burial dress, Gmukamps took her hand, and they both left their bodies behind (although only she was dead) and traveled a road to the west. His daughter warned Gmukamps to keep his eyes closed or he would leave the spirit world. Only she could open her eyes. Eventually, they came to a beautiful house of spirits. Gmukamps made himself very small and his daughter slipped him into a crack, high up in a corner. The keeper of the house gave the daughter goose eggs and crawfish, which caused her to turn to bones. Many others in the house had become bones and they tried to attack Gmukamps when they learned he was not dead. Eventually, Gmukamps grew tired of the house of spirits and decided to return to the world of the living. He filled a basket with bones according to their quality. He struggled and struggled and finally made his way out of the underworld. Using these bones, he created the peoples of the world. As he threw bones from his basket he told each tribe what kind of Indians they would be. “When he named the Shastas he said: ‘You will be good fighters.’ To the Pitt River and the Warm Springs Indians he said: ‘You will be brave warriors, too.’ But to the Klamath Indians he said: ‘You will be like women, easy to frighten.’ The bones for the Modoc Indians he threw last, and he said to them: ‘You will eat what I eat, you will keep my place when I am gone, you will be bravest of all. Though you may be few, even if many and many people come against you, you will kill them.’” After creating these people, Gmukamps left with his daughter and traveled to the place where the sun rises.

18 This story is based on Curtin, 39-45.
Archeology

Archeological evidence in the region around the Lava Beds tells a story of continuity and change. The Modocs emerged from peoples who have long inhabited the Klamath River and Tule Lake basins, from the peoples who created the stone and bone tools that make up the archeological record and who adapted their tools over time in response to the changing environment. Humans have inhabited the Modoc homeland for at least seven thousand years—humans with cultural links to present-day Modocs. In analyzing the evidence from Lower Klamath Lake (about ten miles northwest of the current monument), archeologist Luther Cressman divided these peoples' toolkits into three distinct cultural phases. First, he noted a phase around 5500 BC with bone points and large side-notched projectile points, associated with “fossilized mammal bones including mammoth, horse and camel.” Then, he described a second cultural phase around 2000 BC with “bone awls, a bone flesher, worked antler, handstones, a drilled human skull cap and large side and corner-notched projectile points.” Finally, as native peoples adapted to the changing environment and diversified their food base, items associated with hunting smaller animals and grinding seeds appeared in the archeological record. Starting around AD 500, Cressman noted a material culture characteristic of Klamath-Modoc peoples, including “groundstone pipes, special wocus mullers and grinding slabs, mortars and pestles, shell beads, and small side and corner-notched projectile points.”

Archeologist Robert Squier in turn proposed three separate phases of Cressman’s most recent period. First, the early Indian Bank phase produced elements such as “large projectile points, flexible burials, stone mauls, antler wedges, bone awls, olivella shell beads, bird bone whistles, bone pins and pendants, tubular stone pipes, portable bowls, mortars and thin grinding slabs.” Some of the artifacts associated with his middle Gillem Bluff phase were “medium to large projectile points, large obsidian blades, bone awls, stone mauls, thin grinding slabs and crevice burials.” Finally, he described a more recent Tule Lake phase, which saw the introduction of small projectile points and hopper mortars, along with a

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24 Ibid.
decline in thin milling stones. Such were the tools with which Modocs and earlier Tule Lake peoples fed and clothed themselves. While the evidence shows long-term habitation of the region by people culturally associated with the current-day Modocs, it also shows the ways these people adapted to a changing environment with an evolving toolkit.

Modocs are very close, linguistically and culturally, to the Klamaths. Modocs and Klamaths generally agree that they have strong cultural affiliations with each other and have diverged as they pursued different subsistence strategies. Meacham provides one account of that separation, placing it in the late eighteenth century. When the Modocs first came in contact with Europeans in the mid-nineteenth century, they consisted of three major groups. The Gumbatwas occupied Lower Klamath Lake, the western and southern sides of Tule Lake, and regions to the south, including the Lava Beds. The Modocs of the Lower Lost River valley were the Paskanwas. To the east lived the Kokiwas. Yet, these divisions were quite fluid and movements between the different groups common. All of these groups pursued an annual round of subsistence practices that combined hunting, fishing, and gathering.

Annual Round
For some of the Gumbatwas and Kokiwas, this annual round brought them back each winter to the Lava Beds on the southern shore of Tule Lake. They visited during other seasons as well. As the snow melted and the suckers began to run, the Modocs dismantled their winter houses and stored the timbers in a protected area. Some of the elderly and disabled remained in mat lodges near the winter villages. In their summer villages, they built less substantial mat-covered lodges. After the sucker run slackened, Modoc women gathered desert parsley, epos roots, camas roots, and yellow pond lily seeds. Men hunted deer, antelope, and bighorns, using fire and dogs to drive game. The bighorns brought Modoc hunters back to the Lava Beds during the summer. In the fall, Modocs gathered black cherries, prunes, pine nuts, lowland blackberries, and gooseberries. The fall run of

Ibid.
30 For a description of Modocs and whites at the Lost River fishery in 1883, see Charles E. Bendire, “The Lost River Sucker,” Forest and Stream 32, no. 22 (June 20, 1889): 444.
31 Ray, 181; Stern, “Klamath and Modoc,” 449.
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suckers in late August and early September brought Modocs to the Lost River and other streams. After that run ended, Modocs moved to more remote and higher elevation locations to hunt and gather food.

In winter, Modocs reoccupied their winter villages. Two prominent villages were in the Lava Beds. Gumbat lay on the southern shore of Tule Lake, within the current Lava Beds National Monument. It was this village that gave its name to the western band of Modocs, the Gumbatwas. Some members of the Kokiwas—the eastern band of Modocs—wintered in a large village called Euslis, near Scorpion Point, just east of the current monument and south of Petroglyph Point. It was in their winter villages—in the Lava Beds and elsewhere—that the Modocs built their most substantial houses to protect themselves from the winter cold. Over the years, the southern shore of Tule Lake came to be one continuous area of houses and formerly occupied sites, creating a region particularly rich in archeological evidence that tells the story of Modocs’ connection to this land.

Modocs created their houses by digging down about four feet to create a large circular living area that varied in size from sixteen to forty feet, with twenty-two feet as a typical size. They gathered juniper, cottonwood, or preferably pine, to form the framework of their houses. Holes an additional two feet deep were dug to receive the posts. They then built a structure of beams, rafters, plates, joists, and sheathing. The structure was covered first with tule mats, then with a second layer of strengthening material (bark, planks, or sagebrush), and finally with earth. The result was an “earth-covered lodge which was entered through a hatchway at the top.”

The entrance typically opened to the east, although occasionally to the south or north. The entrance never faced to the west—the direction Gmukamps and his daughter traveled to visit the land of the dead. A fireplace was located near the center of the structure at the foot of the ladder. Depending on the outside temperature, a fire was kept burning long enough to keep the house warm. In

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times of only moderate cold, they kept the fire for a few hours in the morning and a few hours in the evening. Cooking was typically done in a separate cookhouse. The floor was covered with insulating material, often either swamp grass, rye grass, or bunch grass underneath, and a mat of swamp grass on top. In such lodges, Modocs wintered in the Lava Beds protected from the brutal cold.

**Life Cycle**

As the Lava Beds area played a role in Modocs’ lives during all seasons of the year, it also had importance in all seasons of life. The Lava Beds witnessed all the significant events that made up Modoc life. Children played games and listened to elders tell stories at night. Girls reached menarche, spending five days apart from the community in wickiups aided by their grandmothers. Boys reached puberty, heading out on vision quests and making use of the caves and buttes of the area. Couples married through the ceremonial exchange of gifts between their families. Women gave birth in wickiups aided by midwives. Fathers, on resuming hunting after the birth of a child, gave away their first kill. At death, people were cremated at sites within the Lava Beds.

**Gathering**

The Lava Beds area provided a rich resource for gathering, drawing women back to the area at times of year other than winter. Around the end of May, women dug up epos (_Carem oregonum_) in sparsely vegetated rocky areas in and near the Lava Beds, using digging sticks made of mountain mahogany or other dense woods. Near the Lava Beds, they also found, according to anthropologist Douglas Deur’s recent interviews with Modoc informants, “elderberry, thimbleberry, wild plum, serviceberry, chokecherries, and stinging nettle,” as well as rose hips and mountain ash.

The Tule Lake marsh and shoreline afforded a number of useful plants, including cattail, silverweed (_Potentilla spp._), wocas, and tules. Wocas seeds were an especially important source of nutrition, second only to fish. Tules, employed for a wide variety of purposes, were also especially important. The white base of the stems could be ground into a paste to make a breadlike food. Modocs wove a variety of objects from tules, using different species and different parts of the plant.

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38 On Modoc houses, see Ray, 146–59.
40 Deur, 120.
41 Ibid.
42 Deur, 120–21.
43 Ibid.
Image 1-2. Klamath-Modoc quiver, arrows, and bows. The quiver is made of tules. Modocs used objects such as these to hunt deer and other animals in the Lava Beds. (Barrett, plate 20)
to obtain variety in color. For the finer baskets, porcupine quills were added. They made sifting and parching baskets, storage baskets, caps, gambling trays, serving platters, sacks, mats, quivers, moccasins, leggings, blankets, and floating baskets. Tules were used to create rafts as well, especially by war parties. Using their intimate knowledge of the plant life of the Lava Beds, especially on the shore of Tule Lake, Modocs fulfilled a wide variety of nutritional and cultural needs.

**Hunting and Fishing**

The Lava Beds villages also served as bases for hunting. Before setting out on the hunt, Modoc men would enter sweat lodges, both to purify themselves spiritually and to reduce human smells that game could detect. They would also ask the mountains and earth to give up their “lice” (animals) to the hunters in prayers such as the following:

*You, rocks! You, mountains! Give me my deer. I am hungry. I don’t want to starve. You are going to help me. This is my country; it is here for me. I don’t want to be naked or hungry. You’re not generous. [But you should be.] Help me. Give me food, venison, clothing.*

*I address myself to you, my Earth, and tell you that I am hungry. Listen to me, you, my Mountain, give me your lice. I address you, my Rocks, so that you will give me what I seek. I say, this is my world.*

Most important were deer. Modern tribal members explain that the abundance of deer in part led Modocs to establish large winter villages in the Lava Beds. Sitting in the rain shadow of Mount Shasta, the Lava Beds receive relatively little snow. Deer learned that here they could more easily paw through the snow to find forage and they came to represent a “cornerstone of Modoc subsistence in the area.” Modocs also hunted bighorns and pronghorns in the Lava Beds. Modocs found small game in the Lava Beds as well. They hunted the yellow-bellied marmot (“groundhogs”), jackrabbits, and cottontail rabbits in the Lava Beds. Muskrats and porcupines were occasionally hunted there as well.

45 Ray, 21.
46 Ray, 183.
47 Deur, 125; Ray states, “All regions of the tribal lands except the lava beds were utilized for deer hunting . . .” (p. 184). This statement is apparently in error.
48 Deur, 126.
49 Deur, 125–26; Stern, 449.
50 Deur, 128–29.
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The Modocs used the tules of the Tule Lake marshes for various purposes. This image shows the following Klamath-Modoc objects: 1) fish trap made of tule and willow; 2) shoe; 3) basket for gathering wocas. (Barrett, plate 19)

The Modoc men hunted with bows and arrows; they also used tools such as fire, dogs, and snares, depending on the game (see image 1-2). Ethnographer Verne Ray provides the following description of winter pronghorn hunting in Modoc country generally. Modocs used a chute and pound technique, in which piles of sagebrush were used to direct pronghorns toward a round pound—an area enclosed with more piles of sagebrush and rope made of “tule and sagebrush-bark fibers.” As the pronghorns entered the pound, women would set fire to the
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sagebrush and shake the rope vigorously causing the sagebrush piles to gyrate violently. The men could then move in and club some of the trapped and disoriented pronghorns. Modocs also used fire to drive deer, as recounted in their myths. They sometimes used snares to capture smaller animals. They also used their dogs. The Modoc dogs—small with a “heavy coat of gray-white hair”—were especially useful in hunting groundhogs.

Most hunting expeditions consisted of a few men. Although they went out in groups, men typically divided up and hunted individually, unless a collective chute and pound effort was planned. Men did most of the butchering of large animals, with women taking on the final step of cutting the meat in the appropriate manner for cooking, drying, or storage. Women did all the butchering of small animals. Although men took pride in distributing meat to neighbors during the summer, in the less abundant wintertime—when Modocs encamped in the Lava Beds—they might hide meat a quarter mile from the village, bringing it back surreptitiously at night, hidden within a stack of firewood.

The abundance of animals and also the particular topography of the Lava Beds helped the Modocs in their hunting. Hunters sometimes took advantage of the lava flows to chase deer along the natural paths between flows into ambushes set by their fellow hunters. Hunters set up blinds and chased game off precipices. The lava caves also provided water, places to store meat, and temporary shelter while hunting.

The rich marshes of Tule Lake presented opportunities for bird hunting. While few birds could be found in the winter, from the spring to the fall Modocs could hunt ducks, geese, coots, and other waterfowl. They gathered duck eggs; hunted birds both with bows and arrows, and with nets; and used canoes to grab birds by hand after they emerged from a dive. Modocs also hunted for “mud hens” (likely

51 Ray, 185–87.
52 Curtin, 52, 159.
53 Ray, 184; Deur, 128.
54 Ray, 189.
55 Ray, 190.
56 Ray, 183.
57 Deur, 126.
58 Ibid.
59 Deur, 125.
American coot, *Fulica americana*) along the southern shore of Tule Lake, grasping and clubbing the hens when they found them on the ice.\(^{60}\)

Modocs fished from their Lava Beds villages, although catches there did not compare with those on the Lost River. Modocs fished for mullets on the southern shore of Tule Lake, using forked spears made of willow, nets, double-pointed angle hooks, and gorges. They also fished occasionally from canoes and engaged in ice fishing. Fish-drying racks sometimes lined the southern shore of the lake. The southern shore also provided opportunities to gather shellfish.\(^{61}\)

Important to fishing and bird-hunting, as well as to transportation, were canoes. As Modocs went about their lives on the south shore of Tule Lake, canoes were almost as important as feet in getting around.\(^{62}\) Although tule canoes were used occasionally, most canoes were dugouts made from logs from the northern Klamath Basin.\(^{63}\) The Modocs would store these canoes at Tule Lake, sometimes submerged in the water to prevent frost damage.

\(^{60}\) Ray, 189; Deur, 128.  
\(^{62}\) Deur, 119.  
\(^{63}\) Deur, 119; Barrett, 247–48.
Sacred Landscape
The Lava Beds were important, and are still important, to Modocs not only for the subsistence they provided, but also for their spiritual properties. The soil has yielded plants and minerals important for ritual purposes, and the geologically turbulent landscape of the Lava Beds, especially the buttes, crevices, and caves with their privacy and isolation, have provided places to gain power and knowledge through vision quests. Questers ventured out for five days, fasting, running, piling rocks, perhaps taking a sweat bath. During their first vision quests as adolescents, Modocs hoped to dream of life endeavors in which they would have most success: hunting, gambling, or warfare. Modocs also undertook quests later in life at crises provoked by illness, death of a child or spouse, or significant gambling losses. Some of these practices have continued into recent times.

Lok Snewédjas
As they passed the long winter nights in their homes in the Lava Beds, Modocs may have heard their elders tell the story of how Lulu-Dewies created the Lava Beds in anger, boring them out when a woman failed to show proper respect for her father-in-law. Or, they may have heard the following story—one related by Schonchin or Koalakaka in the 1880s—a story in which the Lava Beds were formed not by the disobedience of a wife, but by the disobedience of a husband.

Lok Snewédjas lived on a high mountain near the Lava Beds country. She never had to hunt or dig or cook, as the mountain and the earth fed her. One day a young man was hunting and came up the mountain to Lok Snewédjas’s house. After eating, he fell asleep. When he awoke in the middle of the night, he saw a big black bear sleeping where the woman had been and he was afraid. But the bear awoke and told the man who she was: she was a woman during the day and a bear during the nighttime. The man was no longer afraid and decided to stay with Lok Snewédjas, because back in his village his father abused him.

After a year, the woman had a little boy. At night, the boy turned into a bear, like his mother. The man’s sisters missed him, so he decided to visit his village with the little boy. Lok Snewédjas warned the man not to let the boy play with other children in the evening. The boy might turn into a bear as he played and the villagers would kill him. The man soon forgot his wife’s advice. The boy turned into a bear and began slapping the other children. One of the villagers took his bow and arrow and shot at the bear.

64 Deur, 131–47.
As he died, he turned back into a boy. Lok Snewédjas knew there was trouble and set out from her mountain toward the village in the Lava Beds between the mountain and Lake Klamath.

“The mother came with a terrible roar. The earth trembled. When she shook herself, it was as if the earth was turning over. She tore up the ground, pulled up trees, tore big rocks from under the earth and threw them around like little stones. When she got near, she shook herself; the earth moved and houses fell. A terrible storm of dirt and wind came with her. She was in the middle of the whirlwind. It was dark and nobody could see her.

“There were two orphans, a boy and a girl, in the village. They were little people; they didn’t grow any, but the girl was strong and knew things. She always carried a long stick, sharp at both ends. When the people thought they were going to be killed, the girl told her grandmother to paint her stick red. Then she painted red lines across her forehead, breast, and stomach, and on the top of her arms, and went and sat down in front of where Lok Snewédjas was coming, twisting and tearing up the earth. Lok Snewédjas turned and passed on the right side. Just then the girl punched her stick into the middle of the whirlwind. The storm stopped that minute, and there on the ground lay a beautiful young woman in a dress covered with beads and porcupine quills.”

Lok Snewédjas’s husband tried and failed to revive her. Finally, they called an old woman living among the rocks by the lake, who knew the medicine spirit Skoks. Skoks entered one of the villagers and screamed. Lok Snewédjas’s spirit heard and came back to her body. After three days Lok Snewédjas, her husband, and child went back to the mountain. The man resolved never to leave the mountain again. “I don’t want to kill her spirit by coming back here where I forget all she tells me,” he said.66

Much will always remain obscure in a story like this to the non-Modoc reader steeped in an utterly different culture. Yet the tale shows the powerful link of Modocs to the landscape of the Lava Beds. It ties the ragged shape of this landscape to a scene of everyday life that might seem familiar to any parent: a dispute over child-rearing. To the storyteller, it was a landscape that suggested turmoil and conflict. Yet to Modocs who knew its contours intimately, it was a landscape that could supply many of the needs for life.

66 Curtin, 219–27.
The villages of Gumbat and Euslis in the Lava Beds were vital centers of Modoc life—places where Modocs gathered in the winter to hunt, fish, and tell stories of the myth time. The stories people tell about the Lava Beds and the uses they make of its resources continue to shape the meaning and form of the landscape today. Scientists and Modocs have told competing stories about the Lava Beds. Since park managers have generally had much more training in science than in Modoc culture, for years, these scientific accounts were much more prevalent in the interpretations park rangers gave of the area’s importance. The recent traditional use study of the monument undertaken by anthropologist Douglas Deur, however, shows how the Park Service is seeking to incorporate native perspectives in understanding and managing the monument. The Lava Beds is a place of competing stories, whose rich history becomes even more evident when all these stories are told.
Chapter 2
A World Transformed:
Whites Enter Modoc Country, 1820s–1872

The children who listened to stories in the Lava Beds villages in the early nineteenth century would see great change in their lives. They came of age when trade with whites was gradually transforming the Modocs’ world. They would see the first whites come through Modoc country. They would witness white emigrant travel through their country and the first white settlements. They would live through the Modoc War, some of them among Captain Jack’s band of resisters, some with Old Schonchin’s followers on Klamath Reservation. Some of these children would endure exile to Oklahoma in 1873. A few would live to see exiled Modocs return to Oregon in 1909. Within their lifespan, they saw a world transformed.

The middle decades of the nineteenth century show how white newcomers came to see the unique qualities of the Lava Beds as a hindrance to travel and commerce, rather than exploiting those unique qualities as the Modoc had. Whites and Modocs saw the same lava flows, the same soils, the same plants and animals, yet they gave them very different meanings and uses based on the context within which they saw them. Modocs recognized the importance of the Lava Beds, as they fit it into their story telling and as they shared knowledge on how to use its resources. As whites pursued dreams of commercial networks and settled agriculture, they saw this place as a hindrance rather than a resource and a home.

These decades show how economics, government action, and the individual choices of Modocs and white settlers all came together to radically transform humans’ interactions with this rugged environment. Gold pulled people from the United States, Canada, Latin America, Asia, and Europe to California and later to southern Oregon. The U.S. government shaped the region by waging war to acquire the region from Mexico, by sponsoring scientific expeditions to explore and promote the region, and by establishing reservation and land policies to remove native peoples from their homelands and to distribute that land to whites. The topography of the Lava Beds—where travel on horseback was all but impossible—assured that explorers and emigrants would only skirt this area, rarely
entering into it. Fur trader Peter Skene Ogden and trail markers Jesse and Lindsay Applegate searched for ways to go around, rather than through, the Lava Beds.

The Lava Beds—near the center of the Modoc world—long lay at the edges of white settlements and of white consciousness. Because of this, early white travelers left little evidence of their passage, in contrast to the rich and varied traces of Modoc habitation. This was the case at least until 1872, when the region's very ruggedness made it an ideal stronghold for the Modocs in their war with the United States. In 1872 and 1873, the "Lava Beds" would become a household term around the world as headlines appeared proclaiming, and often decrying, the events of the Modoc War.

Peter Skene Ogden and Fur Traders
In the 1820s, the Modocs saw people of a sort they had never before seen traveling through their country. They saw parties with dozens of men and women, some of them white, some Indian, some of mixed blood: people dressed in strange clothing and carrying weapons Modocs had rarely, if ever, seen before. The brigades led trains with dozens of horses and mules—animals the Modocs had never seen in such large numbers. These strangers were exploring the region for the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC), looking for opportunities to hunt or trade for beaver. While networks of trade had long linked Modocs to other native peoples, the reach of global capitalism was now coming to Modoc country.

Image 2-1. Peter Skene Ogden traveled near the Lava Beds with his HBC brigade in 1826, becoming the first person to write descriptions of the Lava Beds. (Oregon Historical Society, OrHi70)
Finan McDonald and his HBC brigade included the first whites to make contact with the Modocs in 1825 or 1826, although they left no descriptions of the encounter.¹ Peter Skene Ogden and his HBC brigade came through the frigid, but snow-free landscape of Modoc country in the winter of 1826–1827.² In December 1826, Ogden became the first white man to leave a record of seeing the Lava Beds (see Appendix A1). The thirty-six year-old Ogden, a Canadian from a loyalist family that had fled the United States after the revolution, led a crew of thirty-six French Canadians, Iroquois, and mixed-blood trappers, some with their wives and children.³ Whether Ogden’s wife, a Nez Perce named Julia, accompanied him is unknown. Ogden also traveled with Thomas McKay, a man of mixed Indian and Scotch ancestry. Although Ogden’s expedition included many European Americans, it is possible the following description given by Modoc chief Old Schonchin referred to Ogden’s visit: “My father never saw a white man, but before white men came, Tom McKay, a half-breed, and a party that looked like Mexicans, came through trapping and hunting and trading for what we had to sell. He had a good heart and talked peace. They lived in buffalo-skin tents, and traded beads and such things. We had plenty of bear-skins to sell in those days.”⁴

Ogden had left Fort Vancouver for his third season exploring the Snake Country in September. While the rivers of the Rockies were frozen solid in winter, the HBC hoped to do useful work by investigating and trapping the Columbia drainage and areas to the south during these months. As they traveled south, the Klamaths told them there were few beavers but they were willing to serve as guides. On December 19, the expedition came to Lost River. A group of about a hundred Modocs visited their camp and described a landscape farther to the south with “barren Plains covered with stones and destitute of water.”⁵

⁴Old Schonchin, quoted in *New York Times*, July 5, 1873, 3. Maurice Sullivan provides this description: “Thomas McKay was the son of Alexander McKay, who was lost in the attack by Indians on the Astorian ship *Tonquin*. Thomas McKay was half Scotch, half Indian; the idol of the half-breeds of the Northwest, who admired his bravery and marksmanship” (Sullivan, ed., *The Travels of Jedediah Smith: A Documentary Outline, Including his Journal* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1934/1961], 178).  
⁵Ogden, entry dated December 22 [actually 21], 1826, 44.
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From December 23 to January 1, the brigade traveled south from the Lost River area, skirting the Lava Beds. According to Ogden, the Modocs had very few horses: the Modoc guides who accompanied the fur traders were riding five of the eight horses Ogden had seen in the area. On the twenty-sixth, six Indians visited them and Ogden took special note of “their blankets being made of the Feathers of Ducks and Geese.” On the twenty-seventh, they saw a Modoc village likely on the south end of Tule Lake, which Ogden described as “a Camp of Indians in all Men and Women containing 60.” On the twenty-eighth, Modocs came to visit Ogden’s camp, bringing a beaver they had killed in the summer. Ogden suspected the Modocs knew of good beaver rivers nearby that they refused to tell him about. He also suspected they were exaggerating “the Cut Rocks Mountains and want of Water,” which the Indians claimed made travel to the south impossible. An inspection to the south, including McKay’s ascent of a “mountain,” revealed there were indeed few rivers, although the Lava Beds did not make travel impossible.

One group of the HBC hunters went into the Lava Beds themselves and saw more than twenty “Goats” (likely bighorns). The hunters reported “they were obliged to leave their Horses it being impossible to pass owing to the cut Rocks” (see Appendix A1). They also reported that by going south, they could come to the “end of the chain of Rocks.” On December 29, the brigade left the guides and headed south. Ogden provided the following description: “we advanced ten miles road stony but not so bad as I expected altho to the right of us it was certainly one continued chain of cut Rocks as far as the eye could reach nor does it appear to me we have done with them as we are now surrounded on all sides by high hills well covered with timber both Pine and Juniper.” On January 2, 1827, they returned to the Indian village—by then abandoned—and Ogden allowed his men to dismantle some of the houses for firewood. He feared, however, that this “burgalary” might provoke conflict with the Modocs and so resolved to pay them back should they complain, noting of the Modocs that “so far their conduct towards us has been certainly most correct and orderly and worthy of imitation by all.”

6 In his article, LaLande says that the brigade traveled near the southwest corner of Tule Lake and then near Dome Mountain. A footnote in Davies puts the party near the later site of Canby Cross. Richard Dillon puts the party near Gillem Bluff at one point. Ogden’s general descriptions make it difficult to pinpoint their location, other than to say they proceeded south for about ten miles with extensive Lava Beds on their right.
7 Ogden entry dated December 28 [actually 27], 1826, 47.
8 Ogden entry dated December 29 [actually 28], 1826, 48.
9 Ogden entry dated December 30 [actually 29], 1826, 48.
10 Ogden, 50.
Four years after Ogden’s visit, famine struck. An especially heavy snow in 1830 covered many of these food caches and hid the landmarks that identified their location. Nearly half the Modocs died that winter. According to one account, they were saved from starvation when a herd of pronghorns attempted to cross an arm of Tule Lake near its southeastern end (presumably the narrows between Petroglyph Point and the southern lakeshore). The animals became trapped in the ice and drowned in front of the Modoc village of Euslis, providing the Modocs food in their desperate hour.

Because the Modocs had little of value to the HBC traders, they would receive only scattered visits. In the 1830s, traders took some of the Modocs to the Columbia River, although few details of these visits remain. Despite the lack of beaver pelts to trade, the Modocs sought to gain the trade goods the HBC traders had. They especially coveted horses, and they had primarily slaves to trade. They took captives from nearby peoples—most commonly from the Pit Rivers and Shastas, occasionally from the Paiutes and upland Takelmas—and traded them to native peoples of the Columbia. This trade would last from the 1830s into the 1860s. Young girls, who could become wives, were especially valuable. The fur trade and the new trading items it made available were slowly transforming the Modocs’ world; this new slave trade and the horses it brought the Modocs were the most visible signs of this transformation.

John C. Frémont
In the 1840s, the Modocs began to hear stories of whites settling in the Willamette Valley to the north. These settlers from the United States were the vanguard of U.S. expansionism that would soon alter Modoc country. In 1846, the Modocs saw two parties moving through their country that differed from earlier HBC expeditions. Both these parties were made up entirely of men, unlike the traveling families that made up HBC brigades. Although the first party the Modocs saw included some Delaware Indians, the second party that year consisted entirely of white men.

12 Murray, The Modocs and Their War, 11–13; LaLande, 19; Stern, “Klamath and Modoc,” 455.
13 Old Schonchin, quoted in New York Times, July 5, 1873, 3.
The first group they saw was the topographic expedition led by John C. Frémont. In the 1840s, as some Americans jockeyed to acquire the northwest portion of Mexico, Frémont led a series of government expeditions in the West under the aegis of the Corps of Topographic Engineers. Frémont, his father-in-law, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, and many other Americans saw these explorations as a prelude to U.S. expansion in hopes of blazing a shorter Oregon Trail. On an earlier topographic expedition, Frémont had passed north of Modoc country, encountering the Klamaths in 1843, who reported that they “were at war with the Modoc who lived to the southward and to the eastward; but I could obtain no certain information.”

In the weeks before the outbreak of the Mexican-American War, early in 1846, Frémont ranged in California, radically extending the official mandate of his topographic expedition to explore the Arkansas and Red rivers. Traveling with mountain men and Delaware Indians, Frémont was surveying California on a

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15 Roberts, A Newer World, 145.

mission that some suspected was a secret effort to help the United States acquire California.\textsuperscript{17} He presented himself to the Mexican governor of California, General José Castro, simply as an explorer and scientist. Yet Frémont raised the governor's suspicions and Castro ordered him to leave California on March 5. The American consul in California, Thomas Larkin, also admonished Frémont to follow Castro's instructions. Rather, Frémont defiantly remained in the Santa Clara Valley, finally heading north on April 24.

As he retreated north, he came first to Clear Lake; then on May 1, 1846, he camped at Tule Lake east of Scorpion Point, near the Modoc winter village of Eulis, which was apparently unoccupied at the time.\textsuperscript{18} Frémont named the lake Rhett Lake, after Barnwell Rhett, the pro-secession South Carolina congressman and editor of the Charleston Mercury, who, according to Frémont, was “connected with one of the events of my life which brought with it an abiding satisfaction.” Frémont remained there three days waiting for the return of his hunter Archambeau. While Frémont had seen no Indians during his time at Tule Lake, his hunter had reported seeing a party of Indians. After three days on the southeastern end of the lake, they set out again.

Frémont's 1887 Memoirs, penned by him and his wife Jessie Benton Frémont, provided the following description of the scene as the party set out on May 4: “Our animals had been resting on good grass, and when in the morning the welcome order was given to move camp, they made the lively scene which Mr. Kern gives in the picture. This was an order which the animals were always prone to resist promptly, and their three days' rest made them do it now with unusual vigor. But the men, too, refreshed by rest and cheered by the recovery of their companion, entered with equal spirit into the fray, and soon we were again on the trail”\textsuperscript{19} (see Appendix A2). Accompanying Frémont on his travels was Edward Kern, who later created the image to which Frémont referred.

Although the image only roughly approximates the appearance of the landscape, it contains a reasonably accurate portrayal of the Peninsula. Frémont makes the erroneous assertion that their camp on the “southeastern end” of Rhett Lake was “some twenty-five or thirty miles from the Lava Beds, near which Major-General

\textsuperscript{17}Roberts, A Newer World, 141.
\textsuperscript{18}Klamath County Historical Society, History of Klamath Country, 8; Frémont, Memoirs of My Life, 1:480.
\textsuperscript{19}Frémont, Memoirs of My Life, 1:483, and plate after 1:89.
Canby was killed by the Modocs, twenty-seven years later. A camp at the southeastern end of Tule Lake could be no more than two or three miles from lava and about five miles from the most rugged lava flows, which constitute the current monument. Frémont’s camp was likely about ten miles from Canby Cross. Kern’s engraving apparently represents the first image that white explorers made of the Tule Lake basin.

As Frémont and his men moved north in Klamath country, two dramatic events occurred on May 7 and the morning of the eighth. Around sunset, Archibald Gillespie arrived with letters from Secretary of State James Buchanan and from Frémont’s father-in-law, expansionist Senator Thomas Hart Benton. Frémont stayed up past midnight reading the letters. Historians have long disputed the exact content of the letters and whether Benton gave his son-in-law secret instructions to engage in the brewing conflict between Mexico and the United States. In his Memoirs, Frémont claimed his father-in-law’s letters contained veiled suggestions for action. “In substance,” he wrote, “their effect was: The time has come. England must not get a foothold. We must be first. Act; discreetly, but

Frémont, Memoirs of My Life, 1:481.
positively.” Whatever their content, Frémont took the letters as a reason or pretext to return to California and take part in the Bear Flag Rebellion that would contribute to U.S. acquisition of California.

Before Frémont could return to California, however, Indians attacked his camp. Frémont ascribed the attacks to “Tlamaths,” a term he apparently applied to both Klamaths and Modocs. However, Lindsay Applegate would later claim he had heard the attackers were Modocs. The Indians killed three of his men, who were Delawares. In retaliation, the party’s Delawares killed two Indians in the nearby forest. The topographic party then attacked a nearby Klamath village—a settlement apparently not involved in the attack on the topographical party—killing about twenty and setting fire to their reed houses. Kit Carson, a member of

21 Frémont, Memoirs of My Life, 1:489.
the Frémont party, later called the conflagration a “beautiful sight.”
Into this climate of scattered warfare between Indians and whites, a party of white settlers soon visited the area to establish an emigrant road.

**Emigrant Trail**
The same expansionist U.S. policies that pushed Frémont into California would soon bring many more whites to the area around the Lava Beds and would transform the world of the Modocs. White settlers had begun traversing the Oregon Trail in large numbers in early 1840s, making their way to the fertile Willamette Valley. Yet, emigrants desired a better route than the difficult path through the Blue Mountains and down the Columbia Gorge. They also saw the advantage of a southern route to escape the country, should the British gain clear title to it. In May 1846, the brothers Jesse and Lindsay Applegate organized an effort to blaze an emigrant road to the southern end of the Willamette Valley. A group of fifteen men set out from the Willamette Valley near Salem, crossed the

*Image 2-5. Lindsay Applegate. Applegate, his brother Jesse Applegate, and thirteen others established the Emigrant Road along Tule Lake in 1846. (Oregon Historical Society, OrHi 46)*

24 Carter, *Dear Old Kit,* 105.
Klamath River and on July 4 arrived at Lower Klamath Lake (then part of Mexico, as were the Lava Beds and all the rest of California), camping near the site of the Indian attack on Frémont’s camp. The Modocs saw the party and set signal fires to warn of the whites’ presence. The Applegate party then rounded the southern end of Lower Klamath on July 6, 1846, and investigated whether they could travel on the southern shore of Tule Lake. They stood atop Gillem Bluff and looked eastward, noting Tule Lake and “a timbered butte, apparently thirty miles distant.” Imagining they could reach the butte by proceeding along the southern shore of the lake, they rode their horses down the ridge and proceeded eastward. Lindsay Applegate’s account suggests that a trail down Gillem Bluff already existed at this time. The trail, which is still visible today, would provide the U.S. Army access to Gillems Camp and the Lava Beds during the Modoc War.

The rugged terrain of the Lava Beds, however, soon stymied their progress. Writing thirty-one years later, Lindsay Applegate described “[s]hort lava ridges [...] in every direction, while between them were caves and crevices into which it
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

seemed our animals were in danger of falling headlong” (see Appendix A3).27 One of their party, David Goff, spied a flock of bighorns and became separated from the others as he pursued the animals even farther into the Lava Beds. The group decided, however, they would have to turn around and head up the west shore of Tule Lake. As they left the Lava Beds, they noticed the alarmed Modocs heading for “what appeared to be an island four or five miles distant” (perhaps Petroglyph Point or the Peninsula) in a “fleet of thirty or forty canoes.”28 Jumpy after the recent fighting with Frémont—fighting that Applegate believed the Modocs took part in—the Modocs were taking no chances. Shortly afterward, the emigrant party saw Goff riding his horse along the lakeshore and he soon rejoined the party.

After their encounter with the Modocs, the party headed to the north end of the lake. As Applegate later wrote, “We nooned in a beautiful meadow, containing about two sections, near the head of the lake.”29 The choice of language reveals the whites’ goals for the area. By improving the road, they hoped to bring in more settlers who would occupy land divided into “sections” and townships, land cut into the grid of European property arrangements and owned by whites. Using signs, an Indian man showed the whites the natural bridge where the Lost River was forded easily. They then proceeded on to Clear Lake.

The treacherous terrain of the Lava Beds made it a poor candidate for an emigrant road. The topography that Modocs were able to exploit in driving deer or seeking places to quest make it unappealing to European-American ends. The Emigrant Road did not go through what is now the national monument. However, the road would pass very near the Lava Beds, as it skirted the east and north shore of Tule Lake. This eastern shore would soon become a focus in struggles between emigrants and Modocs for control of the area.

Gold Rush and U.S. Sovereignty
The events of 1848 set off changes that profoundly affected Modocs and the Lava Beds. Gold was discovered at Sutter’s mill in January of that year. Mexico ceded California to the United States under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in February. The Lava Beds and the rest of the Tule Lake basin south of Oregon had formally been part of independent Mexico since 1821. Yet, Spanish and Mexican settlement had been confined largely to missions along the coast. With the gold

28 Ibid., 23, 25.
A World Transformed: Whites Enter Modoc Country, 1820s–1872

rush, migrants poured into California from the eastern United States, from South America, and from Asia. California quickly achieved statehood in 1850. These migrants would help transform relations between whites and Indians throughout the West.

These trends very quickly began to shape the Modocs’ world. The mining town of Yreka, sixty miles west of the Lava Beds, sprang up in 1851, when gold was discovered nearby. George Nurse founded Linkville (later known as Klamath Falls), thirty miles northeast of the Lava Beds, in 1867. Linkville would become the county seat of Klamath County, created out of the western portion of Lake County in 1882. Sixty miles to the southeast of the Lava Beds, Alturas was founded in the early 1870s; it would become the county seat of Modoc County, created from the eastern portion of Siskiyou County in 1874. The onslaught of miners, who came to California in the wake of the gold rush and the white settlers who traveled the Oregon and California trails, soon brought settlers to the Tule Lake basin.

Within a generation, the Modocs went from leading lives only marginally affected by the European colonization of the Americas to removal to a reservation, then the war and exile endured by those Modocs who resisted the reservation policy. The Modocs who carefully watched the movements of the Frémont and Applegate expeditions through their country in 1846 likely wore garments made of tules and skins. When the Klamaths (or Modocs) attacked Frémont in 1846, they used arrows, although ones tipped with metal obtained from HBC trappers. They likely conversed with whites only with signs and perhaps some Chinook Jargon of the Columbia basin. In 1872 and 1873, by contrast, the U.S. Army would face Modoc warriors who ordinarily dressed like white miners, in blue jeans, calico shirts, and work shoes, although they stripped nearly naked for battle. They would confront warriors who were crack shots with rifles, and who hurled insults in English over the precipices of Captain Jacks Stronghold.

11 Rachel Applegate Good, History of Klamath County, Oregon: Its Resources and Its People, Illustrated (Klamath Falls, OR: [s.n.], 1941), 57–60.
12 Frémont does not describe Modoc clothing. He does, however, describe the tule shoes and hats of the Klamath, Memoirs of My Life, 1:297.
Emigrant Trains and Ben Wright

Travel through Modoc country along the new Emigrant Road soon led to conflicts between Modocs and whites. Modocs saw men, women, and children making their way along in wagons drawn by oxen, trailing other livestock. The Modocs appear not to have resisted the first emigrants across their land. Jeff C. Riddle, a Modoc born in the 1860s, said that his ancestors were “friendly toward the emigrants” at first and that they “liked the white man’s bread, coffee and other eatables that the emigrants gave them.”

Modocs did little to hamper the first white travelers on the new southern route, in part because they had been devastated by a major smallpox epidemic. Soon, however, the Modocs began resisting (and profiting from) the onslaught. In 1849, according to a government report, the Modocs killed eighteen whites on the eastern shore of Tule Lake, at a place whose exact location is disputed, called “Bloody Point.” In 1851, Modocs (or Pit Rivers) raided a pack train bound for the gold fields and made off with forty-six mules and horses.

A variety of motives pushed Modocs to kill emigrants or steal their livestock. First, they were defending their homeland. Some Modocs hoped that by killing enough of the white newcomers they could drive them from their country. Second, they sought the livestock and manufactured goods the trains brought. Third, they sought the prestige and admiration that came to skilled raiders. Finally, some sources indicate Modocs feared the diseases that whites brought. Whatever the reasons, the Modocs soon gained a reputation as one of the most fearsome and lethal tribes in the defense of their homeland.

Modoc Indians would long remember the events of 1852—events that eerily presaged the Canby assassination in the Modoc War. That year, a party of whites from Yreka set out to avenge Indian attacks on wagon trains. Ben Wright and his men camped near the Peninsula hoping to make the Modocs give up property and female captives they had taken from wagon trains that year. Various accounts

34 Jeff C. Riddle, *The Indian History of the Modoc War and the Causes That Led to It* (San Francisco: Marnell and Co., 1914), 17.
36 Bloody Point was a narrows on the eastern shore of Tule Lake, where the shore came up close to rock outcroppings, providing an ideal place for ambushes. Given the shifting levels of Tule Lake, such narrows may have been located at different places at different times. The Bloody Point of the emigrant trail was not Petroglyph Point, even though this location is labeled “Bloody Point” in a 1894 reconnaissance map (see image on page 11).
claimed Modocs killed thirty-three, thirty-six, or even seventy emigrants that year. In November 1852, Wright invited local Indians to a feast. The Modocs, however, sensed a trap and only two attended the feast. Wright then walked into the Modoc camp on Lost River, while his men prepared an ambush of the camp. Since Old Schonchin, the chief, was absent, Wright went to the second most important man and demanded he return the property and captives. When the leader refused, Ben Wright shot the leader with a pistol concealed under his cloak, and Wright’s men opened fire from a nearby bluff. Forty-one Modocs reportedly died in the ambush; only five survived.

Most versions of the Ben Wright story place the fighting on the northern side of Tule Lake. However, one version placed some of the fighting in the southern end of the Lava Beds. In the 1850s Old Schonchin told Oregon newspaperman Samuel A. Clarke about white men from Yreka who in the 1850s “drove my people into a great cave in the rock country, when they threw powder down and tried to kill them all with smoke. [...] The white people did not kill my men in the cave because they got tired when my men were nearly dead, and went away.” The cave, located in the southern portion of the lava fields, became known as Ben Wright’s Cave.40 The killing of these Modocs set off days of celebration in Yreka. Yet, Ben Wright gained little, not the property he sought, not the captive white girls. Wright did, however, gain the undying enmity of the Modocs. Many Modocs viewed this as an attack “under a flag of truce” that would justify the Modoc killing of peace commissioners in 1873.41 Many of the warriors who fought in the Modoc War had survived this ambush by Ben Wright, including Cho-ocks (Curley-Headed Doctor) and Schonchin John.42

The Ben Wright massacre did not resolve the issue of emigrant travel through Modoc country. Attacks by Modocs and other native peoples continued. In 1854, four whites were killed on the Emigrant Road.43 In 1858, Modocs attacked a wagon train and killed eight near Goose Lake.44 The following year, they killed the men and women of a wagon train near Bloody Point and took the children captive. Indians (possibly Modocs) attacked another wagon train near Goose Lake in 1861, killing three. That same year, Modocs attacked another train near Bloody Point—an attack that volunteers under Lindsay Applegate thwarted.

40 New York Times, July 5, 1873, 3; see also New York Times, July 17, 1873, 2.
43 Murray, The Modocs and Their War, 30.
44 Ibid., 32.
Modocs, likewise, continued to die at the hands of the newcomers, as when whites attacked Modocs on Tule Lake in the summer of 1856. This white-Modoc violence would subside in the 1860s, only to reemerge in full-fledged warfare in 1872.

**Modoc Adaptations to White Culture and Economy**

Not all Modoc interactions with whites were violent. As the novelist Joaquin Miller would say of Indian-white relations in northern California at this time: “The Indians were not at war with the whites, nor were they particularly at peace.” While Modocs’ relations with travelers on the Emigrant Road resembled warfare, their relations with California cattlemen were much more peaceful. The cattlemen who began to settle west of the Lava Beds in the 1850s found ways to get along with the Modocs, even as they made more intensive demands on the natural resources of Modoc country than the wagon trains did.

Starting in 1858, the region began to feel the effects of a post-gold rush cattle ranching boom that shaped much of California. That year several cattlemen began to drive cattle into Butte Valley—an area about twenty miles west and northwest of the current Lava Beds National Monument encompassing the current towns of Dorris, Macdoel, and Mt. Hebron. An 1881 history lists Hyde and Rohrer, J. Hargrove, James Hampton, J. A. Fairchild, G. W. Hard, and I. S. Mathews as cattlemen who took advantage of the area’s bunchgrass to feed their herds from 1858 to 1861. In 1862, the Ball brothers and Presley A. Dorris settled in Butte Valley with their stock. Several other white families soon settled near Lower Klamath Lake and very close to the Lava Beds. The three Van Bremer brothers lived about ten miles west of Gillem Bluff at the foot of Van Bremer Mountain (now known as Dome Mountain). By the 1870s they ran “several hundred head of cattle and a fair band of horses.” Six miles northwest of the Van Bremers lived John A. Fairchild. Fairchild owned “between five and six hundred head of horses” and cattle estimated from 3,500 to 5,000 head. Another four miles northwest of the Fairchilds lived the Dorris brothers, Carlos and Presley. By 1873, Presley Dorris had “over 1,000 head of cattle and a large band of horses.” These ranchers found Modoc land attractive, given their ability to connect with

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45 Murray, *The Modocs and Their War*, 32.
49 Thompson, *The Modoc War, 1872–73*, map 3.
statewide markets. Fairchild, for instance, took his livestock to market by driving south to Sacramento Valley.

Samuel A. Clarke, Oregon journalist and *New York Times* special correspondent, estimated that by 1873 in the territory west of the Lava Beds, “12,000 head of horses and cattle feed over 1,250,000 acres of land.” In the territory west of the Lava Beds, “12,000 head of horses and cattle feed over 1,250,000 acres of land.” These cattlemen found ways to get along with Modocs, allowing them to kill some of their cattle as a tax for using their land. Around 1860, for instance, Fairchild had negotiated with the Modocs for the privilege of grazing his stock on their land. By carrying out his agreements faithfully, he soon came to be on “good reliable terms” with the Modocs. These wealthy stock owners—the Dorries, for instance, had property worth $24,000 in 1870—were able to maintain good relations with the Modocs, who would turn to them as trusted friends during the Modoc War. Relations with the poorer Oregon settlers would be much more contentious.

While Modocs continued their annual subsistence rounds, they also pursued the new economic and social opportunities that white settlement presented, gradually adopting the speech and clothing that white newcomers were bringing to Modoc country. Modoc men took jobs as farm hands and cowboys; women worked as prostitutes and washer women. They frequently journeyed to Yreka for work and pleasure. It was here that they came to trust men such as Squire Potter and the lawyers Elisha Steele and A. M. Rosborough as friends. Whites soon gave Modocs English names. Keintpoos became known as Captain Jack because of his resemblance to a miner by that name. Cho-ocks, the shaman, became known as Curley-Headed Doctor. Chikchikam, Keintpoos’s lieutenant in the Modoc War, became known as Scarfaced Charley for the misshapen face he acquired falling under the wheel of a wagon as a child. Ski-et-tete-ko became known as Shacknasty Jim, for the sad condition of his mother’s home. Slat-us-locks became known as Steamboat Frank, by one account, because his obese mother huffed and puffed like a steamboat as she walked. It was by these names that the Modocs would become known to Americans at large during the Modoc War.

54 *New York Times*, July 5, 1873, 3; July 20, 1873, 6.
Indian Agents and Treaties

Through much of this time, relations between whites and Modocs were handled locally, whether through small-scale warfare or informal agreements. By acquiring California from Mexico and by establishing land distribution policies, the federal government had done much in a general way to favor white American settlers in these encounters, but direct intervention was limited. Gradually, however, the federal government took on a greater role, first by appointing Indian agents to manage relations between Indians and whites and to negotiate treaties placing Indians on reservations, then by sending in the army to enforce those treaties.

U.S. Indian policy in the second half of the nineteenth century served the general purposes of assuring whites access to lands in the American West, confining Indians to reservations, and encouraging the acceptance of European-American culture by Indians. Secretary of the Interior Jacob D. Cox summarized these policies in these terms in 1869: “It has long been the policy of the government to require of the tribes most nearly in contact with white settlements that they should fix their abode on definite reservations and abandon the wandering life to which they have been accustomed. To encourage them in civilization, large expenditures have been made in furnishing them with the means of agriculture and with clothing adapted to their new mode of life.” However, a deep incoherence lay beneath these broad strokes. As historian Richard White has noted, whites had the ironic goal of seeking to integrate Indians into Euro-American culture by segregating them on reservations.

A series of Indian agents directed this federal policy in the lakes region. In 1854, the government appointed none other than Ben Wright as Indian agent for all tribes south of Coos Bay, Oregon. As historian Keith Murray notes, to the Indians this was “tantamount to a declaration of an extermination policy.” Enraged by his humiliation of an Indian woman, Indians killed Wright in the Rogue River Valley in 1856. In 1861, the government appointed Lindsay Applegate as special

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58 White, “It’s Your Misfortune,” 92.
59 Murray, The Modocs and Their War, 30–81.
60 Ibid., 30.
A World Transformed: Whites Enter Modoc Country, 1820s–1872

agent for the Lakes Indians. These agents had to encourage Modocs to move to a reservation in the face of growing pressure from settlers. George Nurse took up his claim that would become Linkville (and later Klamath Falls) in 1863. The Applegates took up a claim at the northern end of Clear Lake around that time as well. As these men encouraged more settlement and whites began to covet land on the northern shore of Tule Lake and pressure grew on the Modocs to remove to a reservation, Captain Jack’s band of Modocs turned to a man they trusted: Elisha Steele of Yreka. Although Steele was no longer an Indian agent by 1864, he agreed to work out an informal treaty with the Modocs in hopes that the government could later ratify it. In the Steele treaty, the Modocs agreed to stop stealing livestock and children, to quit prostituting their women to miners, and to “live on terms of friendship and peace with the white men, and the negroes and Chinamen living under white men’s laws.” In addition, Steele promised to seek a Modoc reservation along the Lost River at the northwest corner of Tule Lake. While the Lava Beds were a key element of their annual round, these negotiations indicate that Modocs saw the Lost River and its supply of suckers as more important. The treaty would, however, have allowed the Modocs to leave the reservation and visit other places in Modoc country. To Oregonian settlers eyeing their lands, this treaty was unacceptable, as it left the Modoc in the Tule Lake basin and gave them freedom to move about the area.

On and Off the Reservation

An important way the government shaped the landscape and people’s lives was through the arbitrary lines it drew on maps. The line between California and Oregon would ultimately prove important to the lives of Modocs. Because the Modoc homeland happened to lie near the arbitrary line that separated California and Oregon and because white settlers were more interested in Modoc lands than in Klamath lands, the Modocs were not allowed to remain in their homeland. The Modocs’ white allies were in California; but J. W. Perit Huntington, Oregon

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61 Ibid., 33.
62 Ibid., 36.
64 Murray, The Modocs and Their War, 35.
65 Ibid.
66 On the treaty process, see Stern, The Klamath Tribe, 32–42.
67 Commissioner of Indian Affairs annual report, 1864, 109.
68 Murray, The Modocs and Their War, 36–37.
Superintendent of Indian Affairs, had the power to make treaties and was more sympathetic to Oregonians' perspective. Given the objections by Oregonians, the federal government did not try to formalize the Steele Treaty. Rather, Huntington set out to negotiate another treaty. This treaty was signed by twenty-one Klamath chiefs representing 710 Klamaths. Four Modoc chiefs representing 399 people signed as well: Captain Jack, Old Schonchin, George (Sleketatik), and Chuck-e-i-ox (Njakeasks). Finally, two Paiute chiefs also signed, representing twenty-two people. Under this treaty the Modocs ceded all their land in exchange for annual payments for the next fifteen years and land on Upper Klamath Lake. The signers agreed that once the treaty was ratified, they would remain on the reservation "unless temporary leave of absence be granted them by the superintendent or agent having charge of the tribes." It gave the Indians exclusive fishing and gathering rights within the reservation but made no such provision beyond the reservation's boundaries.

Image 2-7. Old Schonchin, chief of the Sprague River band of Modocs. His band accepted life on the Klamath Reservation, while Keintpoos's band resisted. (LBNM Archives)

69 Thompson, The Modoc War, 1872–73, 7.
70 Theodore Stern, The Klamath Tribe, 40.
The treaty left the Klamaths on part of their traditional homeland. It also left Old Schonchin’s band of Modocs near their traditional lands on the Sprague River. However, it forced Captain Jack’s band of Modocs to move away from their lands on the Lost River and around Tule Lake. Captain Jack and many other Modocs, therefore, accepted the treaty reluctantly, hoping in part the U.S. Army would be a useful ally against their Paiute enemies.\textsuperscript{71} Old Schonchin, however, abided by the treaty carefully and gave a solemn promise to forgo warfare with the whites. The treaty was signed on October 14, 1864. Although it was not ratified by the Senate until 1870, both the government and the Indians acted as if it took effect immediately. The Modocs moved to the Klamath Reservation soon after the signing.

\textsuperscript{71} Murray, \textit{The Modocs and Their War}, 39.
A number of white families settled on Modoc land in the 1860s, taking advantage of the federal land and reservation policies. William Bybee, Dan Colwell, and Dennis Crawley established homesteads at the mouth of the Lost River. William Boddy lived a little east of the mouth. Henry Miller and the Brotherton brothers (William, W. K., and Rufus) lived on the northeast part of the lake. Louis Land settled east of the Peninsula. These families led a more hardscrabble existence than the wealthy ranchers of Butte Valley. As one Oregon resident put it, they were “people of small means, with small bands of cattle, and who could not afford to be as useful and liberal to the Modocs as the great California rancheros and stock-raisers who occupied Modoc land south of the Oregon line.”

Conflicts with the Klamaths and conflicts between Captain Jack’s Lost River band and Schonchin’s Sprague River band soon led some of the Modocs to leave the reservation. Captain Jack and his band returned to their Lost River villages in 1865 and settled into an uneasy peace with the white settlers, who now lived there. From 1865 to 1868, these Modocs returned to their way of life before the treaty, pursuing hunting and gathering, working for whites, and visiting Yreka. In August 1866, for instance, Lindsay Applegate, the Indian agent, reported that Captain Jack’s Modocs had returned “to their country in and around Clear Lake Valley, and are collecting roots and seeds for winter use.” They likely continued to travel to the Lava Beds, as well. Tensions grew with the Lost River settlers, as each side felt the other was trespassing on their land.

In 1869, Alfred B. Meacham replaced Huntington as superintendent of Indian affairs in Oregon. The appointment of Meacham, a member of the Methodist Church, stemmed from the “Quaker Policy” or “Peace Policy” pursued by recently inaugurated President Ulysses S. Grant—a policy in which churches would have a voice in appointing Indian agents and place more emphasis on Christianizing native peoples. Meacham set about implementing a policy of pushing Indians to accept white culture. For whites, a series of cultural practices marked “civilization”: living in log houses, rather than wickiups; settled agriculture, rather than complex seasonal rounds of hunting, fishing, and gathering; Christianity rather than traditional shamanistic beliefs; men with short hair, rather than long. Meacham and the Klamath Reservation Indian agents endeavored to encourage these practices. He quoted approvingly the speech by Allen David (also known as David Allen), the chief of the Klamaths: “All my people will have white hearts.”

72 Thompson, _The Modoc War, 1872–73_, map 2.
74 Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report (1866), 90.
75 Meacham, _Wigwam and War-path_, 256.
Although Captain Jack’s band hardly stood aloft from white culture—learning English, wearing blue jeans and calico shirts, taking new jobs from white settlers—Indian policy called for Indians to be assimilated not through integration, but by being set apart on reservations. Meacham, therefore, set about gaining Captain Jack’s compliance with the 1864 treaty.

In the fall of 1869, Meacham and Indian agent O. C. Knapp sent messengers to arrange talks with Captain Jack. On December 22, 1869, Meacham, Knapp, and a group of soldiers headed to Captain Jack’s Lost River village. In retrospect, this 1869 encounter served as a dress rehearsal for the Modoc War of 1872–73. The divisions between different members of Captain Jack’s band, which would lead to contentious discussions between Modocs during the Modoc War, were already there. When Captain Jack appeared ready to agree to return to the reservation, the shaman Curley-Headed Doctor jumped up and said, “We won’t go!” Captain Jack asked Meacham what would happen if they refused to return to the reservation. The superintendent replied that his soldiers would fight until they were all dead, and then more whites would come and fight until all the Modocs were dead. Curley-Headed Doctor then argued with Captain Jack, as he would three years later, that they should kill the envoys.

As would happen during the Modoc War, soldiers bungled a show of force meant to resolve the standoff. When reinforcing soldiers arrived too drunk to follow Meacham’s orders to quietly take up positions within gunshot of the camp, Captain Jack heard the clamor and took alarm. As they would do in November 1872, the Modocs fled to the Lava Beds. In 1869, however, only the leaders fled, leaving most of the Modocs behind. Captain Jack’s sister, Koalako (Mary), then journeyed to the Lava Beds and persuaded his brother to return. Captain Jack’s people arrived back on the reservation on December 27, 1869. When the scene was replayed in November 1872, events would turn out very differently.

Back on the reservation, conflicts with the Klamaths resumed. They mocked Captain Jack’s band of Modocs, saying, “Your horses can eat the grass, but it is our grass.” Knapp moved the Modocs within the reservation several times to halt these taunts. Eventually, the Modocs were fed up and returned to the Lost River in April 1870. By June 1870, they dispersed to gather roots. They also resumed

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76 Murray, *The Modocs and Their War*, 52.
77 Meacham, *Wigwam and War-path*, 328.
78 Riddle, *The Indian History of the Modoc War*, 241.
79 Meacham, *Wigwam and War-path*, 345.
80 Riddle, *The Indian History of the Modoc War*, 39.
their visits to Yreka. Knapp met Captain Jack there in August of that year, failing to get the Modoc leader’s agreement to come to the reservation for a meeting.81 In August 1871 another set of envoys went to convince the Modocs to return to the reservation—meeting, according to Meacham, in “a wild, desolate region of country.”82 Again, Schonchin John, Hooker Jim, and Curley-Headed Doctor argued with Captain Jack that they should kill the envoys.

Meacham left the conference convinced the Modocs could not be made to live on the reservation. He promised to petition his superiors for a separate reservation on Lost River. The white settlers of Lost River began to complain more and more about harassment from the Indians, including grazing their animals on what whites considered their pasture land, invading the privacy of homes, and demanding food.83 They petitioned the government to move the nonreservation band back to the Klamath Reservation.

On March 19, 1872, the War Department decided to act. It determined that Captain Jack’s Modocs should be moved back to the reservation immediately. The Indian Office accepted this recommendation and rejected Meacham’s efforts to set up a Lost River reservation. It then replaced Meacham with a new superintendent, T. B. Odeneal, and also appointed a new agent for the Klamath Reservation, L. S. Dyar. These men, who knew little of the complex conflicts among Indians and among whites around the Modoc issue, would make the decisions that led to the Modoc War.

81 Report from Indian Sub-Agent O. C. Knapp to E. S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report, 1870, 68.
82 Meacham, Wigwam and War-path, 354.
83 New York Times, April 26, 1873, 3; Murray, The Modocs and Their War, 59.
Chapter 3
"I do not want to leave the ground where I was born":
War in the Lava Beds, 1872–73

In its broad outlines, the Modoc War resembled many struggles between whites and Indians in the nineteenth century.1 Whites wanted the best Indian land. They also wanted Indians to acknowledge the supremacy of white law. In these efforts, whites were largely successful: with government aid, they were able to exploit the land to the economic purposes they found most useful. Most whites also wanted Indian culture to disappear. Few whites would have disagreed with William Tecumseh Sherman’s hope that “the name Modoc should cease.”2 They disagreed only on whether Indianness would disappear through the death of Indians, through a process of “civilizing,” or through some combination of the two. In these efforts, whites did not succeed. Although Modoc culture has evolved since the late nineteenth century, Modocs still come to the Lava Beds. The descendants of the men and women who defended the Lava Beds still hold that land sacred and still visit it for spiritual renewal.3 The name Modoc has not ceased.

These broad trends could describe many white-Indian conflicts. Yet, lives are not only shaped by broad trends; they are also formed by the specific choices of individual people. Choices made in the white-Modoc conflict meant that the Modocs went to a reservation after a bloody six-month war, rather than after a carefully orchestrated show of force. Those choices meant the Modoc combatants and their families went to a reservation in Oklahoma, rather than the Klamath Reservation or a Modoc reservation on the Lost River or in the Lava Beds. Those choices meant that by the end of 1873 sixty-six whites, two Warm Springs scouts,

2 Quoted in Thompson, The Modoc War, 1872–73, 173.
and some twenty Modocs, who might otherwise have lived long lives, were dead.¹ Both broad trends and individual choices shaped the history of the Modoc War. But, the rugged topography of the Lava Beds took on very different meanings to each side in that war. The Modocs who knew its convoluted landscape intimately considered it home and a refuge, while the soldiers found it a frightening and weird terrain for battle. In this period newspaper coverage helped this landscape enter the national story as a forbidding, foreign place. The national importance of these events would, along with the landscape's fascinating geological features, eventually led to the area being declared a national monument—a place where the largely undeveloped natural terrain as well as Modoc War-era fortifications tell the discerning visitor the story of these momentous events.

The Battle of Lost River
The Modoc War began on November 29, 1872. That Friday morning, Modocs awoke to find U.S. soldiers and Oregon volunteers entering their villages on the Lost River. The arrival of troops did not come as a complete surprise. Major John Green had visited Captain Jack's village on the west bank of the Lost River on September 14. Captain Jack refused to meet him, saying, "White men talk too much." In October, the Modocs' friend John Fairchild had visited them and told them the soldiers would move on their villages soon. At that time, Chikchikam Lupatkue-latko (the man whom whites knew as Scarfaced Charley) told Fairchild the Modocs would not fire the first shot.

The government sent out two forces to bring the Modocs in: regular army soldiers against Captain Jack's village on the west bank and volunteers against Hooker Jim's village on the east. Captain James Jackson of the U.S. Army left Fort Klamath on November 28, with his lieutenant, a physician, and the thirty-six cavalrymen, arriving at Captain Jack's village of fifteen families the next morning around dawn. The troops had moved more slowly than hoped due to muddy roads and had failed to reach Captain Jack's village under cover of darkness. They formed a skirmish line on the edge of the village and ordered the Modocs to surrender. As Ivan Applegate, a civilian scout, saw the Modocs arming themselves and stripping for battle, he shouted to Jackson that they were going to fire. Lieutenant Boutelle gave the order to fire over the Indians' heads. Almost at the same instant, Boutelle

¹Thompson, *The Modoc War, 1872–73*, 202. The Modocs lost about eight men and several women during combat. After combat ended, four Modoc men were killed by vigilantes while prisoners, and four Modoc men were hanged.


³Riddle, *The Indian History of the Modoc War and the Causes That Led to It*, 40.
and Scarfaced Charley fired their weapons. The ensuing firefight commenced the Modoc War. Fierce fighting continued into the afternoon, when the Modoc warriors gradually withdrew. Rather than take the women and children prisoner, Jackson let them leave, believing heavy Modoc losses would prevent any further
resistance. In reality, the Modoc suffered only one death and one injury. The army had two dead and six wounded.

Meanwhile, Hooker Jim’s village of fourteen families stood across the river. Oliver Applegate, Ivan’s brother and an Indian agent at Yainax, had assembled a group of Oregon volunteers in Linkville and with Jackson’s approval set out to help bring in the Modocs. These volunteers advanced into the village with about thirteen or fourteen other civilians from the Tule Lake vicinity, expecting a peaceful surrender. The Modocs, however, put up a fierce resistance and the volunteers retreated to Crawley’s cabin with one dead. The Modocs apparently suffered two deaths, a woman and her child, and three were wounded.

As they fled their Lost River villages, Modocs went off in three directions. Some set out to warn their white friends in California to stay away from the fighting. The largest group, including Captain Jack, many of the men, and all the women and children, paddled their canoes across Tule Lake to the Lava Beds. The third group’s actions showed the divisions already emerging among Jack’s band. A group under Hooker Jim set off on horseback around the north and east shore of Tule Lake to kill the settlers they blamed for the attack on their village. They avoided Dennis Crawley’s cabin, which they knew to be fortified. They killed William Nus, whom they met on horseback. At William Boddy’s cabin, three and a half miles from Crawley’s, they killed Boddy and three other men. They then killed three men at the Brotherton ranch. The different stories whites and Modocs told of these attacks would make peace difficult. The killings seemed justified in their eyes, as retaliation for the civilian attack on their village. Yet to the white settlers, the killings seemed like acts of savage treachery that precluded a peaceful resolution to the conflict. The fear that the Modocs who killed these settlers would be tried as murderers made surrender seem impossible to them. These men would be the most vigorous opponents of surrender throughout the war.

To the Lava Beds

The band of warriors with their families retreated to the place that became known as Captain Jack’s Stronghold. Its lava ridges formed an ideal natural fortress to hold off the U.S. forces. Though they only had some fifty-five fighting men in all, by moving between firing positions and by relying on women to reload, they would hold at bay U.S. forces some six times the size of theirs in the First Battle of the Stronghold. The topography of the Lava Beds made it the center of the war.

7 Riddle, *The Indian History of the Modoc War and the Causes That Led to It*, 43.
Earlier discussions of reservation locations with Steele indicated the Modocs prized their Lost River lands more highly, yet the Lava Beds were also central to their world. Because this landscape provided such an excellent fortress, the Lava Beds would for a time be front-page news around the world.

As the resisters hunkered down in the Lava Beds, Presley Dorris convinced a separate group of nonreservation Modocs—the Hot Creek band—to move to the reservation. Dorris and Fairchild promised the Hot Creeks, led by Ski-et-tete-ko (the man whom whites called Shacknasty Jim) to move to the reservation under military escort. However, as word of this escort reached Linkville, trouble emerged. Although the Hot Creek Modocs had been miles away from the Lost River villages during the fighting and had nothing to do with killing settlers along Tule Lake, men frequenting Linkville’s saloons began talking of lynching the Hot Creeks. Dorris and Fairchild were able to turn back one party of drunken would-be lynchers; but the Hot Creeks got word and decided to cast their fate with Captain Jack in the Lava Beds, rather than rely on Dorris and Fairchild—along with an army escort under the new Klamath agent L. S. Dyar, whom they did not know—to safely lead them through Linkville to the Klamath Reservation. Through the actions of the lynch mob, Captain Jack and his men gained fourteen warriors, including Shacknasty Jim, his brother Shacknasty Jake, Bogus Charley, Steamboat Frank, and Ellen’s Man George.
First Battle of the Stronghold

Throughout December, the Modocs monitored the buildup of forces around them, looking for opportunities to acquire supplies and exchanging occasional gunfire with U.S. troops on the bluff west of the Lava Beds. Meanwhile, they attended to the necessities of daily life and survival in the familiar landscape of the Lava Beds. Various families sought out caves to provide protection from gun and mortar fire. They added to the natural defense of the stronghold’s rock formation by piling up rocks to protect both the riflemen and the families in the caves. Many of these fortifications still stand in the stronghold, as do rock walls added by U.S. soldiers after they captured it. These are the most visible legacy of the Modoc War in the monument today. At night, Modocs posted two guards to watch for attack. They acquired a herd of cattle and drove them into a natural corral within the Lava Beds, slaughtering cattle for food and also getting some fish. While many of the children were almost naked, they kept warm with sagebrush fires and bearskin covers. Proximity to Tule Lake provided them a source of water. Near the center of the stronghold, Cho-ocks (the shaman whites knew as Curley-Headed Doctor) established a ground for war dances. He selected a place where dancers could view most of the peaks of the region—peaks that hold special spiritual significance to Modocs.

As the U.S. Army built up its forces near the Lava Beds in preparation for its assault, it was confident of victory. Soldiers from around the West made their way toward the Lava Beds. Major E. C. Mason and two companies of infantry traveled from Fort Vancouver in Washington Territory by steamship, train, and wagon—a journey that took from December 3 to December 22. Oregon put out another call for volunteers. Captain Kelly and later Captain John E. Ross led one company of sixty-five men from Jacksonville. Oliver C. Applegate, the son of Lindsay Applegate and brother of Ivan, led a group of sixty-eight volunteers composed mostly of Klamath Indians from the reservation, along with a few whites. Fairchild and Dorris raised a company of twenty-nine California volunteers made up mostly of their own ranch employees.

8 National Park Service, “Modoc War Historic District Cultural Landscape Inventory” (National Park Service, 2005).
9 Riddle, The Indian History of the Modoc War and the Causes That Led to It, 50.
11 San Francisco Chronicle, March 1, 1873, 1.
During the initial troop buildup, the U.S. forces led by Lieutenant Colonel (Brevet Major General) Frank Wheaton had no bases of operations within the Lava Beds themselves. The army established a supply depot at Dennis Crawley's cabin on the north shore of Tule Lake. Captain R. F. Bernard’s cavalry troop encamped on Louis Land’s ranch on Coppock Bay, about ten miles east of the stronghold. The main encampment was at Van Bremer’s ranch, about fifteen miles west of the stronghold.
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

After a long wait to acquire howitzers and needed small arms, Wheaton set January 17 as the date for the assault on the stronghold. The plan called for Major Green to lead an attack from the west with Major Mason’s two companies, and Captain Ross’s two companies of Oregon volunteers, along with cavalry troops (dismounted) under Captain David Perry, and John Fairchild’s California volunteers. Meanwhile, Captain R. F. Bernard would lead a cavalry troop, along with the Klamath scouts from the east. On January 15, Wheaton assured his superior, General Edward Richard Sprigg Canby, that “a more enthusiastic jolly set of Regulars and Volunteers I never had the pleasure to command.”

On Thursday, January 16, Modoc sentries saw U.S. soldiers on the bluff west of the stronghold. The Modocs fired a few shots, then hurried down the bluff and reported the approach from the west. These were Green’s forces who had marched the ten miles from Van Bremer’s and set up camp at the top of the bluff that would soon become known as Gillem Bluff. That night Modocs saw soldiers to the east as well—soldiers who had lost their way in trying to capture the Modoc canoes on Tule Lake. The Modocs now knew that U.S. forces were moving in from both sides and debated how to proceed. Curley-Headed Doctor, the shaman, promised the men that his medicine would protect the fighters from the white soldiers’ bullets. Captain Jack argued they should surrender. When they voted on their course, fourteen sided with Captain Jack and peace, and thirty-seven voted with Curley-Headed Doctor and war. Curley-Headed Doctor provided a red rope of tules that he placed around the stronghold, saying no soldier would cross that line. He also ordered a medicine flag erected.

On the morning of the seventeenth, the two sides’ different knowledge of the terrain became key to the fight. As fog enveloped the Lava Beds, the army ordered its forces in from the east and the west. When the two forces converged on the Lava Beds, most of the white soldiers were entering this rugged terrain for the first time in their lives. The landscape that appeared relatively level from a distance revealed crevices and ridges of up to twenty feet. In the soldiers’ minds and in their later reports, these gaps transformed into chasms of a hundred feet. The Modocs, by contrast, knew the place well. They stripped naked to be less visible and wrapped themselves in leather to facilitate crawling over rough lava. After the soldiers had covered about a mile of the three-and-a-half-mile distance from the bluff to the stronghold, Modocs opened fire. Although they suffered few loses, the soldiers’ advance slowed to a crawl.

13 Quoted in Thompson, The Modoc War, 1872–73, 49.
In the east, soldiers quickly encountered crevices that they refused to cross. One chasm, Perry said, might “cost me half my command.” He lost almost no one, when Wheaton finally badgered him into crossing it. The U.S. forces seemed shocked at the difficulty of the advance. The Modocs’ defensive position and superior knowledge of the terrain shattered the soldiers’ resolve and morale plummeted. Many left their weapons behind as they retreated in panic. The Modocs, however, remained in high spirits, shouting insults at the soldiers in broken English. When Perry cried out “I’m shot!” a Modoc woman replied, “You come here to fight Indians, and you make a noise like that. You no man, you squaw.”

The U.S. forces had suffered a humiliating defeat by a force one-sixth the size. The enthusiasm of the Oregon volunteers ebbed markedly and many quickly left their units after the defeat. Given the excellent fortified position of the Modocs, quick victory would have been difficult. Yet the army and volunteers had also shown no ability to stand up to resistance. Wheaton’s predictions of easy victory had come to naught. The U.S. forces’ casualties included twelve dead and thirty-seven wounded. Several observers predicted that to dislodge the Modocs would take a force of a thousand men. This proved about right. By the end of the war, the United States would have 1,055 troops in the theater of war.

Standoff in the Lava Beds
The defeat of U.S. forces led to a standoff of three months before the next major engagement. While Modoc policy could be made relatively quickly through the heated discussions that animated their stronghold, U.S. policy-making involved discussions across the continent. In Washington, D.C., Secretary of War William Belknap, acting at the suggestion of Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, ordered hostilities suspended on January 30, so a peace commission could attempt to resolve the conflict. Alfred Meacham was in Washington, D.C., at the time, casting his vote in the Electoral College. He and Lindsay Applegate, also in the capital, had convinced Delano to try a peace commission. By mid-February, the peace commission arrived at Fairchild’s ranch, composed of Meacham, Jesse Applegate, and Samuel Case of the Indian Service.

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14 Quoted in Murray, The Modocs and Their War, 124.
15 Thompson, The Modoc War, 1872–73, 45.
As the peace commission made its way west, the army redeployed and reinforced its troops. Wheaton moved his main headquarters to Lost River, while leaving about 160 men at Van Bremer’s. Bernard deployed from the Land ranch to the Applegates’ ranch north of Clear Lake. Wheaton soon paid the price of defeat in the First Battle of the Stronghold, as Colonel (Brevet Major General) Alvan C. Gillem arrived to replace him. General Canby, the commanding general of the Military Department of the Columbia, also came down from Portland to direct negotiations. Although the extensive reach of the federal government slowed the process of negotiations, its vast network of resources helped ensure final victory, as more and more troops arrived from throughout the West. The army continued to build up its forces as part of Canby’s compression policy, hoping to encourage the Modocs to negotiate and to be ready to act in the event negotiations did not work. As part of this effort, additional troops made their way from the Presidio in San Francisco and from Nevada toward the Lava Beds.

While this war was broadly a struggle between Modocs and whites, neither side was wholly united. The months of standoff revealed the many divisions among whites. Oregonians favored the war much more strongly than Californians, and they especially wanted the killers of the Tule Lake settlers tried as murderers. Eastern humanitarians, with some western allies, deplored the war and favored a more peaceful policy toward Modocs and other Indians. Indians made far from a united front, as first Klamaths and then Warm Springs fought the United States’ side as scouts. The Modocs themselves were divided between those who remained on the reservation and those who took part in the war. A few Modocs off the reservation never became involved in the war. Among Captain Jack’s men, there were divisions between advocates for surrender and advocates for war. Three and sometimes four factions vied for influence: one loyal to Captain Jack, one to Curley-Headed Doctor and Hooker Jim, and one made up of the Hot Creeks under Shacknasty Jim. On occasion, Schonchin John could muster a separate following. On most matters, however, only Captain Jack’s faction supported him, while the other three supported Curley-Headed Doctor. While Jack often favored peace and surrender, the band as a whole typically pushed for war and revenge.

Captain Jack’s Stronghold was hardly under strict siege during the standoff. The Modocs were able to range widely, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly. In

17 *New York Times*, June 14, 1873, 1.
18 Murray, *The Modocs and Their War*, 139
January, Modocs fired on soldiers at Van Bremer's and on volunteers on the northern shore of Tule Lake. On March 4, Hooker Jim and four others visited Yainax on the Klamath Reservation. Modoc warriors openly visited the army camps during the standoff. One soldier posted to Hospital Rock noted that “Indians were allowed to come into camp at will.”

Modoc women appear to have traveled even more broadly. According to the *New York Times* reporter, Modoc women traveled from the stronghold to Yreka and traded sex for ammunition from white men in the town. Local tradition holds that Modoc women made similar deals with the soldiers.

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21 Murray, *The Modocs and Their War*, 159.
Modocs also received numerous visitors in the stronghold during the three months of waiting. Through these visitors, they sent out mixed messages about their desire for peace and negotiation. A Modoc woman and her white husband—Matilda and Bob Whittle who worked as interpreters for the army—arrived in the stronghold around February 20 with a newspaper reporter. On February 27, the Modocs’ friends Elisha Steele and John Fairchild visited the stronghold, along with Frank Riddle and three reporters. Steele brought back the news that the Modocs agreed to surrender. Fairchild insisted, however, that Steele had misunderstood. A return visit to the stronghold showed that Fairchild was right. The Modocs said if the peace commissioners wanted to talk, they should come to the stronghold themselves. Meacham felt that this could only mean “treachery.” Soon after, however, Captain Jack sent his sister, Koalako, to Fairchild’s ranch to say again that the Modocs agreed to surrender. When the Modocs failed to come out on two scheduled surrender dates in early March, Meacham blamed Charles Blair, a Linkville man, for telling the Modocs that a peace commission only hoped to hang the indicted murderers.

Gillems Camp and Hospital Rock

In the early days of April, the Modocs saw the growing size of the U.S. forces surrounding them. On April 1, Canby moved his headquarters and troops from Van Bremer’s, some fifteen miles west of the stronghold, to the base of the bluff three miles west of the stronghold, a place that would be known as Gillems Camp. Men and mules and horses made their way down the narrow path that is still visible today. Photographs of the camp they constructed at the base of the bluff reveal at least a hundred white canvas tents erected on the shore of Tule Lake. They also show the rock circle that may have served as a corral, which still stands at Gillems Camp. On April 6, Mason moved his forces from Scorpion Point, about eight miles east of the stronghold, to Hospital Rock, about two miles from the stronghold. For the first time, troops were encamped within a short hike from the stronghold. This was also the first time that troops encamped in what is now the national monument.

In these two camps, troops remained throughout April and much of May, until events called for them to patrol more widely. One soldier, Harry De Witt Moore, described the difficulties of life at Hospital Rock. He bedded down in a “den of

22 San Francisco Chronicle, March 3, 1873, 2.
23 Thompson, The Modoc War, 1872–73, 79.
24 Ibid., figure 19.
rocks” covered with a tent-fly filled with “sundry holes, the results of long
service.” Modoc War-era fortifications, such as the one Moore slept in, now dot
the landscape between Hospital Rock and Gillems Camp.25 Moore slept on a bed
of tules covered with blankets, wary of encounters with rattlesnakes and scorpions.
The troops’ diet likely resembled the monotonous fare described by a soldier in a
later Indian-white war: “hardtack, bacon and coffee for breakfast; raw bacon and
tack for dinner; fried bacon and hard bread for supper.”26

25 National Park Service, “Modoc War Historic District Cultural Landscapes Inventory” (National Park
Service, 2005).
26 Quoted in Don Rickey, Jr., Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian
Image 3-6. Photograph of rock circle at Gillems Camp by Muybridge, May 1873. This rock circle, which may have served as a corral, is still standing, although the rocks may have been repiled. While newspapers could not print photographs, many Americans learned the appearance of the battlefields of the Modoc War by buying and viewing sets of stereoscopic images, such as this one. (Courtesy of The Bancroft Collection, University of California, Berkeley)

Image 3-7. Soldiers lined up for inspection of Gillems Camp, April/May 1873. In all, over a thousand soldiers participated in the Modoc War. (Thompson, The Modoc War, 1872–73, fig. 18)
The soldiers and officers were not the only ones in camp. Modocs were frequent visitors. In addition, perhaps some two hundred civilian camp followers lived near the army camps, looking for opportunities to profit from the large military presence. These sutlers provided supplies to the army—often at exorbitant rates—and encouraged soldiers to quickly spend their pay on alcohol, gambling, and prostitutes. Local tradition suggests that sutlers built a provisioning station at the top of the bluff. Like white soldiers in Indian wars generally, these young

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29 Interview with Kenneth McLeod, 1961, quoted in Thompson, The Modoc War, 1872–73, 186.
men had little loyalty to their cause and desertion rates were high. As the *New York Times* correspondent approached the Lava Beds in late May, for instance, he saw “two uniformed stragglers, who hastily got out of the way.”

**Peace Commissioners Killed**

The standoff continued as the United States recalled its peace commissioners. In late March, the Department of Interior recast the peace commission with Meacham, Agent Dyar, and Reverend Eleazer Thomas, a Methodist minister from Petaluma, California. General Canby had the power to replace any member of the commission. These commissioners had several inconclusive meetings with the Modocs. In late March, Captain Jack spoke briefly with General Canby on the trail halfway up the bluff. On April 2, Captain Jack met with the peace commissioners between the stronghold and Gillems Camp. They agreed on little that windy day other than the need to erect a tent as shelter for further discussions. On April 5, another inconclusive meeting—although quite a lengthy one—was held as Meacham, Fairchild, Roseborough, and the Riddles met with Captain Jack, his wives, and seven or eight of his men. As they talked, Jack proposed giving up his Lost River land, if the Modocs were given land in the Lava Beds. “Nobody will ever want these rocks; give me a home here,” he said. Yet he was reluctant to surrender, not knowing where the government would establish a Modoc reservation, telling Meacham, “I do not want to leave the ground where I was born.”

In late March or early April, the Modocs held a war council to discuss how to address the growing pressure to negotiate a surrender. Schonchin John, Black Jim, and many others argued that the whites would never make peace, that the peace commission was just a stall for time while they built up their forces. According to Jeff Riddle, the son of Toby and Frank Riddle, who knew all the Modocs involved in the war, the war party foresaw the assassinations more as suicide than a path to victory. Riddle summarized the war party’s attitude: “We are doomed. Let us fight so we die sooner.” Captain Jack, on the other hand, argued he could negotiate for the lives of the indicted murderers and for a reservation, possibly in the Lava Beds. The war party was prepared for Captain Jack’s reluctance. They had brought a woman’s hat and a woman’s shawl to the meeting. Throwing the women’s clothing on Captain Jack, they mocked him saying, “You coward, you squaw. You are not a

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32 Meacham, *Wigwam and War-path*, 449.
Modoc. We disown you.” Captain Jack leapt to his feet and said, “I will do it; I will kill Canby, although it will cost me my life and all the lives of my people.”

Many in the U.S. camp suspected such treachery. On April 8, Captain Jack asked for a meeting. Army signal men standing atop the bluff that day, however, could see twenty armed Modocs placed near the peace tent, so the peace commissioners declined to meet. On April 9, Toby Riddle along with her young son Jeff visited the stronghold to arrange another meeting, which they set for Friday the eleventh, which was Good Friday. As Toby and Jeff left the stronghold late that evening, a Modoc man named Weium spoke with them briefly a half mile west of the stronghold. According to Jeff, he said, “Cousin Tobey, tell them peace-makers not to meet these Indians in council any more. They will be killed.” Toby believed him and implored the peace commission not to hold a council.

The morning of the eleventh, Meacham and Dyar heeded Toby Riddle’s warning and argued against the meeting. Canby and Thomas argued that the meeting should occur. Canby felt the Modocs would “dare not molest us because his troops commanded the situation.” That day the signal men saw only five unarmed Modocs near the peace tent site, so the commissioners decided to conduct the meeting. Expecting the worst, Meacham gave all his money to Fairchild. A party composed of the four commissioners, Frank and Toby Riddle, and the men the whites called Bogus Charley and Boston Charley, who had spent the night at Gillems Camp, rode and walked out to the peace tent site. When they arrived, they found six more Modocs: Captain Jack, Schonchin John, Ellen’s Man George, Hooker Jim, Black Jim, and Shacknasty Jim. Meacham soon noted the shape of pistols under all the Modocs’ clothing.

As discussions began, Captain Jack demanded that Canby pull back his forces from the Lava Beds and promise them a reservation in their country. When Canby and Meacham made no clear promise, Captain Jack made a sign. Two more Modocs, Barncho and Slolux, emerged from hiding armed with rifles. Captain Jack shouted, according to Riddle’s account, “Ut with kutt (let’s do it).” He aimed
his pistol at Canby but misfired. Frank Riddle and Dyar took off running. Then Captain Jack aimed again and shot the general under the eye. Boston Charley shot Reverend Thomas in the chest. Schonchin John shot Meacham several times and assumed he was dead. The others tried to chase Riddle and Dyar and helped finish off the other three. Toby Riddle, they left alone. The Modocs then stripped the bodies of Canby, Thomas, and Meacham. Boston Charley started to scalp Meacham who was merely unconscious, but gave up when Toby Riddle shouted “The soldiers are coming!” At that, Captain Jack ordered his men to withdraw to the stronghold.

Image 3-9. Scene of attack on peace commissioners as it appeared in *London Illustrated News*. William Simpson created this image based on discussions with eye witnesses. (Thompson, *The Modoc War, 1872–73*, fig. 6)

At about the same time, Miller’s Charley and Curley Headed Jack (and perhaps Comstock Dave) approached Hospital Rock under a white flag and held brief discussion with lieutenants W. H. Boyle and W. L. Sherwood. When the unarmed lieutenants sensed a trap and broke off discussions, the Modocs opened fire. Sherwood and Boyle ran in opposite directions to increase their chances of survival, but the Modocs managed to kill Sherwood. Sentries began firing at the Modocs and provided Boyle enough cover to make his way back to the sentry post.

The killings shocked the nation and outraged the soldiers in the field. A cross was soon erected where Thomas and Canby were killed, according to one account,
using as a base the stones covered with Canby’s blood. This cross did not prove durable and a more substantial cross was erected in 1882. For decades to come, white visitors would see Canby Cross as the most important landmark in the Lava Beds.

Journalism and Photography

The assassination of the peace commissioners brought the war to the attention of white Americans much more forcefully than any previous events. Although the war had great importance and dramatic (often fatal) effects on the lives of Modocs, soldiers, and white settlers, the importance it took in the lives of most Americans depended largely on press coverage. The commissioners had been killed in the early afternoon of Good Friday, April 11. Within minutes of the attack, reporters were on the scene. The lengthy siege had given time for four reporters—the largest press contingent ever to cover an Indian war—to be at the field of battle. Within ninety minutes of the attack, Edward Fox of the New York Herald was in his tent at Gillem’s Camp writing his story. By Saturday, couriers had covered the seventy miles between the Lava Beds and Yreka, a journey that could

39 J. D. Howard interview, May 15, 1961, interviewed by Ben Schwartz [cassette tape] (LBNM Library). Howard based his information, in part, on discussions with Peter Schonchin, who claimed to have witnessed the assassinations.
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take the swiftest horsemen about fourteen hours. The couriers made their way to the town’s telegraph and sent the news to San Francisco and then across the country. On Easter Sunday, papers around the country announced the news. The San Francisco Chronicle headline shouted, “Red Judas: Base Treachery of the Modoc Indians,” followed by twenty-one other subheadlines. The Chicago Daily Tribune headline decried, “Indian Treachery,” saying “Christian Treatment of Untamable Savages a Sorry Delusion.” The more sedate New York Times headline read in full: “Modoc Treachery: Murder of Gen. Canby and Dr. Thomas by Capt. Jack and Other Indians During a Conference.”

The first reporter to come near the scenes of battle had been Robert D. Bogart of the San Francisco Chronicle, who had arrived in Yreka on December 8, 1872, spent three days from December 11 to 14 at Fairchild’s ranch, and returned to San Francisco on December 18. No reporters were near the Lava Beds when the army suffered defeat in the First Battle of the Stronghold on January 17. The Chronicle’s account came from a local man, H. C. Ticknor, and Wheaton’s dispatches to Canby. This unexpected defeat, however, prompted a number of papers to send out reporters. Bogart returned to Yreka by late January. The New York Herald’s correspondent, Englishman Edward Fox, soon followed on February 3. At the

40 San Francisco Chronicle, April 13, 1873, 1.
41 New York Times, April 13, 1873, 1.
Within two days of the killing of the peace commissioners, papers across the country had detailed stories. These headlines preceded the story by Robert D. Bogart in the San Francisco Chronicle with the dateline: "Headquarters in the Field, Lava Bed, April 11th, Via Yreka, April 12th." The partially obscured headlines read: "Shot Through the Head by Capt. Jack," "Repulse of the Redskins," "The Soldiers Maddened at the Loss of Their Commander," and "Starting in the Lava Beds." (San Francisco Chronicle, April 13, 1873, 1)
same time, H. Wallace Atwell arrived, representing the Sacramento Record. Finally, Alex McKay, a Siskiyou surveyor, filed reports for the Yreka Union, and for two San Francisco papers, the Call and Bulletin. By this time, four men were covering the war. Their joint presence near the battle sites fostered a competition for stories and for getting information into print first not seen in any previous Indian-white conflict. Conversely, the large press corps and the exigencies of battlefield reporting fostered cooperation in the form of pool reporting.\(^{42}\)

![Image 3-13. Reporter Alex McKay, representing the San Francisco Bulletin, San Francisco Call, and Yreka Union, at a sentry post near Gillems Camp, April/May 1873. Beginning in early February 1873, reporters were on hand for all the major events of the war. Note the soldiers' rock forts, many of which still dot the landscape. (NARA-San Bruno)](image)

These reporters initially bunked and messed at Fairchild's ranch along with the army's staff. A key prize was an interview with Captain Jack in the stronghold. Fox became the first reporter to enter the Lava Beds and to enter the stronghold, when

\(^{42}\) On press coverage, see Oliver Knight, *Following the Indian Wars: The Story of the Newspaper Correspondents Among the Indian Campaigners* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 104–58.
he forced his way into the delegation including John Fairchild and Robert and Matilda Whittle on February 24–25. Although Meacham had ordered the delegation not to include the reporter, Fox followed the party at a distance, observing their tracks in the snow while they made their way to the Lava Beds. Once they were well within the area patrolled by Modocs, Fox caught up to the party, who felt obliged to accept him lest he fall prey to attack from the Modoc sentries. In Captain Jack’s cave within the stronghold, he heard Captain Jack and his men respond approvingly to the presence of a newspaperman. He listened as Captain Jack, visibly ill at the time, expressed his distrust of Meacham.

Bogart, Atwell, and McKay soon followed up with their own visit to the stronghold on February 27, accompanying John Fairchild, eating dinner served by Wild Gal, entering Captain Jack’s cave to see Jack lying on bearskins still too sick to rise, and discussing terms of negotiation after they had smoked a pipe together. Atwell accompanied Steele on a third press visit to the stronghold on March 3—which was a much tenser encounter—where the Modocs accused Steele of treachery for suggesting they had agreed to surrender. Journalists made no further trips to the Stronghold after hearing Steele and Atwell’s accounts of fearing for their lives.

On March 5, 1873, Bogart was recalled by the Chronicle, leaving Atwell to take over the Chronicle reporting in addition to his work for the Sacramento Record. The three remaining reporters (Atwell, Fox, and McKay) moved to the Lava Beds along with the troops in early April. When fighting recommenced soon after the killings of Canby, Thomas, and Sherwood, the three reporters formed a news pool with one reporter remaining in camp getting headquarters information or watching the entire battle scene from atop Gillem Bluff and two with the troops providing eye-witness accounts of the fighting. This was the first use of pool reporting during the Indian wars.

While the press corps shifted somewhat as the war progressed, a small contingent remained near the battlefields throughout. The press would be crucial in shaping American understandings of the war. Fox left the Lava Beds on April 28 and departed Yreka on May 11. With his departure, Atwell took over the Herald assignment as well. At the same time, William Mitchell Bunker arrived to coordinate Bulletin reporting, while McKay continued to work for the Bulletin.

43 San Francisco Chronicle, March 3, 1873.
44 Knight, Following the Indian Wars, 104–58.
On May 18, Samuel A. Clarke, an Oregon politician and editor, arrived as a special correspondent for the *New York Times*. Although Clarke arrived after most of the fighting had ended, he prepared a number of lengthy articles on the history of the region and Indian-white conflicts. Competition would continue until the execution of Captain Jack and the others, after which reporters would race from Fort Klamath to be the first at the telegraph office in Jacksonville, Oregon.

Just as the Modoc War received more extensive coverage than any previous Indian-white conflict, it also produced the most extensive visual record. The Englishman William Simpson was in San Francisco when he heard of the assassinations and headed to the Lava Beds, spending about a week in late April sketching scenes for the *London Illustrated News* (see images 3-9, 3-17, and 3-18). Just as the First Battle of the Stronghold created the impetus for reporters to cover the war, the killing of the peace commissioners brought two photographers to visit the battle sites. Nearly a hundred photographs survive of the battle sites and participants, taken by Louis Heller and Eadweard Muybridge. The complicated wet-plate negative technology precluded photography of actual combat, but both men provided landscapes, portraits, and staged shots.

Louis Herman Heller worked as a photographer based in nearby Fort Jones. He made perhaps the first photograph related to the Modoc War when he photographed the hanging in effigy of Secretary of the Interior Delano in Yreka on April 13, 1873. The week of April 21–27, Heller set out to take photographs at the battle sites, returning to Yreka the week of May 5. Heller continued his photographic efforts after combat ended, photographing captured Modocs in early June.

Eadweard Muybridge was a photographer of national prominence, who would go on to make a series of pioneering photographs of a running horse often considered to be the first motion picture. The U.S. government hired Muybridge to “prepare photographic views of the different approaches to the lava bed and of

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45 Ibid., 151.
46 Simpson, 9–23.
Image 3-14. Large crevice in Lava Beds, May 1873. The government hired Muybridge to photograph the battle scene, in part to help investigators understand why the Modoc War proved so costly. Using a man for scale, this photograph and others provided evidence of the difficult terrain of the Lava Beds. (LBNM Archives)

Captain Jack's famous cave and fortifications.\footnote{Quoted in Palmquist, "Photographing," 193.} The photographer arrived at the Lava Beds in the party that brought Canby's replacement, Colonel Jefferson C. Davis, on May 2; Muybridge likely finishing his work around May 12. Muybridge's views served in part to document the rugged landscape of the Lava Beds so government investigators could assess the military problems encountered there. His photographs were included in a May 28, 1873, report by his superior, engineer Captain G. J. Lydecker. Although no record exists of a meeting, the two photographers were in the Lava Beds at the same time for at least a few days.\footnote{Palmquist, "Photographing," 195.}
Image 3-15. Illustrations of the Modocs were often quite inaccurate. This image of a bomb exploding in the Lava Beds claimed to show the death of Schonchin John, who in fact was alive. It also portrays the Modocs dressed as Plains Indians, while in reality they wore blue jeans and calico shirts. (Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, May 10, 1873, cover)
Although newspapers and magazines could not reproduce photographs directly, the they made their way into weekly magazines in the form of engravings. For instance, Harper’s published engravings based on Heller’s photographs on June 14, 1873 (see image 3-10). Cards were another way Americans were also soon able to see pictures of the area. By May 17, Heller began selling his set of photographs and had forwarded examples to San Francisco and New York. These provided Americans with images of the war that could be purchased at four dollars a dozen. Muybridge later produced photocards as well.

The work of these reporters and photographers brought an immediacy to the coverage of the war that engaged Americans at large and helped the “Lava Beds” become a familiar term to thousands of Americans. Americans learned the names of the participants, the perspectives and fates of the fighters on both sides, and something of the topography of this rugged landscape. Through the work of these reporters, Americans across the country became engaged in the story of the Modoc War.

Second Battle of the Stronghold

The same couriers who brought newspaper stories about the attack on the peace commissioners to the telegraph office in Yreka also brought news of the tragedy to army officials in Washington, D. C. General William T. Sherman sent orders back by Sunday, saying, “You will be fully justified in their utter extermination.” The Modocs knew that the assassination of the peace commissioners would likely bring a rapid and lethal response. On Monday night, April 14, the Modocs posted sentries on the perimeter of the stronghold. One sentry heard a shot ring out from the west when an advancing soldier stumbled and accidentally fired his weapon. He gave a cry of alarm, taken up by his fellow warriors in the stronghold. That night, Mason’s forces were moving in from the east with about three hundred men and artillery. Green’s forces were advancing from the west with about 375 soldiers, aided by mortar fire. The Modocs now faced an army about twelve times the fighting force of their small band. In fighting on the fifteenth, Green’s men advanced, forcing Modocs posted outside the stronghold to withdraw. Mason’s forces advanced as well, although they left a gap south of the stronghold, Mason claiming it would weaken his line too much to extend to the full area that Gillem had assigned him. That night, Green’s men threw up rock forts each protecting five or six men in an area about half a mile west of the stronghold. Mason’s men spent the night about a quarter to a half mile east of the stronghold.

51 Palmquist, “Photographing.”
52 San Francisco Chronicle, April 14, 1873, 1.
On Tuesday, April 16, U.S. forces advanced enough to cut off the Modocs from their water supply in Tule Lake. That night, a few Modocs stayed behind to harass U.S. soldiers with occasional fire. Meanwhile, the bulk of the Modoc band retreated southward through a deep crevice toward Schonchin Flow. The soldiers advanced toward the stronghold in the morning of the seventeenth to find they had been victorious in gaining the stronghold. The victory proved hollow, as the Modoc force was still intact and at large.
Image 3-17. Image of Modocs defending the stronghold taken from *London Illustrated News*. This image by William Simpson, who visited the battlefield, presented a more realistic image of the battlefield than others. (Thompson, *The Modoc War, 1872–73*, fig. 3)

Image 3-18. Image of soldiers investigating Captain Jack's Stronghold after the Second Battle of the Stronghold, as presented in *London Illustrated News*. This drawing by Simpson presents an accurate portrayal of the cave. (Thompson, *The Modoc War, 1872–73*, fig. 4)
Image 3-19. Engraving of wounded men following the Thomas-Wright Battle, as presented in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, May 17, 1873. The caption reads “Oregon—The Modoc War—Bringing Back to Camp the U.S. Soldiers Wounded in the Ambuscade in the Lava-Beds.” This image likely was not based on a photograph.

**Thomas-Wright Battle**

In the following weeks, the Modocs subsisted on game and cattle and the water in the Lava Beds' ice caves, principally Captain Jacks Ice Cave, Frozen River Cave, and Caldwell Cave. On April 21, their fires were seen in Schonchin Flow two miles south of Tule Lake.\(^{53}\) They also used the jagged topography of Schonchin Flow to monitor closely the movements of U.S. troops. On Saturday, April 26, they saw a large reconnaissance mission led by Captain Evan Thomas with four other officers and fifty-nine enlisted men moving slowly southward from Gillems Camp between Schonchin Flow and the Devil's Homestead. Around noon, the mission sat down for lunch northwest of a large butte that would later come to be known as Hardin Butte. Modocs surveyed the group from the opposite side of the butte. As a group of soldiers moved up the butte to take better reconnaissance, the

\(^{53}\) *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 22, 1873.
War in the Lava Beds, 1872–73

Modocs opened fire. Discipline quickly broke down as the Modocs directed withering fire at the unprotected soldiers. While scattered groups of soldiers stood their ground, most of the men retreated or took cover in a free-for-all. Some of the men, in the words of Atwell, “broke and fled like frightened sheep.”

Donald McKay and his Warm Springs scouts moved in to relieve the reconnaissance party, but the terrified soldiers mistook the Warm Springs for more Modocs and opened fire on their own allies. No amount of shouting or bugle calls could convince the white soldiers that the Indian scouts were on their side. Word soon reached Gilles Camp of the disaster and many felt Gillem exacerbated the situation with a slow response. The rescue was further hampered by many soldiers’ refusal to help carry the wounded. At the end of the day, three of the mission’s five officers had died (Evan Thomas, First Lieutenant Thomas F. Wright, and First Lieutenant Albion Howe), twenty enlisted men were dead, and sixteen were wounded. Many of the wounded waited thirty-six hours before returning to camp. The Modocs apparently only suffered one death.

Gillem took the blame for the debacle. When Colonel Jefferson C. Davis arrived on May 2, he assumed command of the Modoc campaign in all but name. Davis found that the men in camp suffered from a “great depression of spirits.” Meanwhile, the United States continued to send even more soldiers to assure the defeat of the Modocs.

Battle of Dry Lake
The Modocs found they could only live for a short time on the water in the ice caves of the Lava Beds. Around early May, they left the most rugged part of the Lava Beds—the area that is now the national monument—and moved to the southeast. As Modocs dispersed from the Lava Beds, U.S. forces pursued them. Captain H. C. Hasbrouck lead a detachment that encamped near Sorass (or Dry) Lake, about thirteen miles southeast of the stronghold. On the morning of May 10 Modocs launched a surprise attack from the rock bluff north of their camp, an attack that initially seemed it might be a replay of the Thomas-Wright debacle. Under Hasbrouck’s command, however, the soldiers recovered from their initial surprise and launched a successful counterattack, putting the Modocs to flight. The white soldiers and their Warm Springs allies suffered five dead and five wounded.

54 San Francisco Chronicle, April 30, 1873, 3.
55 Quoted in Thompson, The Modoc War, 1872–73, 140.
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The Modocs suffered only one death at the Battle of Dry Lake: Ellen’s Man George. His death, however, proved important. After the battle, the Hot Creek Modocs blamed Captain Jack for Ellen’s Man George’s death. Hooker Jim, Bogus Charley, Scarfaced Charley, Shacknasty Jim, Steamboat Frank, and eight other men with their families rode out of Captain Jack’s camp and made their way back toward Dome Mountain and the Van Bremers’ ranch. Captain Jack, Schonchin John, and others with their families continued to hide out east of the Lava Beds.56

Surrender

Hasbrouck’s men found a trail near Dome Mountain on May 18. Pursuing the trail, they found the western band of Modocs and began firing at them as they fled. The soldiers killed two men and three women. As the Modocs dispersed and the pursuit continued, Mason’s forces withdrew westward from Gillem’s Camp and the army moved its artillery batteries to the Peninsula. By May 20, the army had emptied the Lava Beds of troops. That same day, the western band of Modocs sent a woman to Fairchild to tell him they were ready to surrender. Knowing the end was near, Davis relieved Gillem of his command and reinstated Wheaton. In so doing, he deprived Gillem of any glory of victory. He also exonerated Wheaton of any recrimination related to the First Battle of the Stronghold. On May 22, John Fairchild and his wife brought in the group of sixty-three Modocs. Shortly afterward, Hooker Jim came in by himself and surrendered. The prisoners remained at Fairchild’s until June 2, when they were moved to the Peninsula camp.

Meanwhile, Captain Jack and his dwindling band of warriors were seeking refuge near Clear Lake. First, they went to Bryant Mountain, then toward Steele Swamp. Colonel Davis sent out Steamboat Frank, Shacknasty Jim, Bogus Charley, and Hooker Jim to locate the camp of the remaining Modocs. The Modocs who had called most strongly for war were now ready to turn in their more peaceful leader. They discovered the remaining Modocs on Willow Creek, east of Clear Lake on May 28. As Jackson’s squadron approached the camp, Boston Charley came forward to offer the group’s surrender. But, as Boston Charley talked with the soldiers, a Warm Springs scout accidentally discharged his weapon and the Modocs once again dispersed. As the troops pursued the Modocs up Willow Creek, Scarfaced Charley surrendered on May 30 and offered to persuade the others to come in as well. On May 31, Scarfaced Charley, Schonchin John, and twelve other men, ten women, and nine children surrendered to Jackson. However, several men, including Captain Jack, remained at large.

56 Riddle, The Indian History of the Modoc War and the Causes That Led to It, 126.
Image 3-20. Modoc captives and others on the cover of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Two Indians allied with the United States—Donald McKay, Warm Springs scout, and One-Eyed Dixie, army interpreter—are portrayed here alongside nine of the Modoc captives. These engravings provided Americans their first photograph-based images of the Modoc warriors. The engraver based these on Louis Heller's photographs. (July 12, 1873)
On June 1, someone in the Modoc camp on Willow Creek Canyon noticed a dog sticking its head above the ridgeline and quickly pulled the animal back out of sight. However, the dog’s curiosity was enough to give away the Modocs’ position to soldiers on the other side of the canyon. Captains David Perry and Joel G. Trimble were searching the canyon, aided by Warm Springs scouts and Charley Putnam, Jesse Applegate’s nephew. Jim Shay, a soldier in Sergeant McCarthy’s detachment, soon captured a Modoc known to whites as Humpy Joe. Humpy Joe convinced his half-brother, Captain Jack, to come out of the canyon bottom and surrender. According to the sergeant, Captain Jack emerged after some discussion, “handed his gun to Jim Shay shook hands with him and surrendered himself.”\textsuperscript{57} Soon the rest of Captain Jack’s group surrendered and the Modoc War was over. The Modoc prisoners saw the white soldiers throw their hats up in the air and cheer—a cheer the soldiers on the other side of the canyon took up as well, creating a “considerable noise.”\textsuperscript{58} Oregon Volunteers then brought in Black Jim and

\textsuperscript{57} Quoted in Thompson, \textit{The Modoc War, 1872–73}, 168. \\
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
the last of the Modoc combatants. When Captain Jack met Colonel Davis later that day, he provided no dramatic speech. He simply said that “his legs had given out.”

The Modocs chose the Lava Beds as the best place to make their final stand, and they were thereby able to inflict high casualties on the government forces and to focus the nation’s attention on their resistance. Although the Modocs had made excellent use of their superior knowledge of the terrain, they could not hold out against an army that drew on government resources from across the continent to defeat the small group. The white settlers did not need the Lava Beds, which provided only marginal utility to whites. The U.S. government, however, was determined not to let an example of successful Indian resistance stand as a model for other Indian opponents of U.S. land and reservation policies that favored whites’ economic uses of the area. With a thousand soldiers, the United States was finally able to force the fifty-five Modoc warriors and their families to accept U.S. supremacy.

Trial and Execution
In the wake of the Tule Lake settlers’ deaths and the killing of Canby and Thomas, many white Americans, especially in Oregon, called for blood. When the widows of William Boddy and Nicholas Schira were brought to identify the alleged killers of their husbands, they set upon Hooker Jim and Steamboat Frank with a knife and a gun. The Modocs were saved by a colonel who succeeded in disarming the women. On June 8, John Fairchild was driving seventeen Modoc prisoners from his ranch to the Peninsula camp. Two horsemen approached the wagon near Lost Creek and opened fire, killing four Modoc men and severely injuring one woman. Although many suspected the Oregon Volunteers had done the killing, no effort was made to investigate or prosecute. The surviving prisoners soon arrived at the Peninsula, where scaffolds had been erected on June 5 in expectation that the Modoc leaders would face summary execution. The War Department, however, decided it should first ask the U.S. Attorney General whether the Modocs should be tried under military or civil law. On June 6, he ruled that the Modocs could only be tried in a military tribunal for crimes “committed against the laws of war.”

This ruling meant that the killers of the peace commissioners, who had violated the laws of war, could be tried, but not those who had killed white settlers. It also meant, perhaps not coincidentally, that those who helped track down Captain Jack would escape prosecution. The decision not to try those Modocs, however, outraged many Oregonians.

59 Ibid., 169.  
60 Thompson, The Modoc War, 1872–73, 174.
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The military commission met from July 1 to July 9 and convicted six men: Captain Jack, Schonchin John, Black Jim, Boston Charley, Barncho, and Slolux. All six were sentenced to be hanged. A month before the execution date, which had been set for October 3, 1873, the army knew that Barncho and Slolux’s sentences had been commuted to life imprisonment. Yet, following orders not to reveal this until minutes before the execution, the army dug six graves near the guardhouse and erected a scaffold with six ropes. Only four of those ropes and graves were used. By ten thirty that Friday morning, Captain Jack, Schonchin John, Black Jim, and Boston Charley were dead.

Exile

The Modocs were then sent into exile far from the Lava Beds. Not long before the Modocs’ departure, further tension emerged among whites. The sheriff of Jackson County appeared before Lieutenant Colonel Wheaton on Monday, October 6, with warrants to hand over the convicted Modocs to civil authorities. Wheaton ignored the request, backed up subsequently by his superiors, Colonel Jefferson Davis in Portland, the Secretary of War William Belknap, and President Ulysses S. Grant. On Sunday, October 12, Captain Hasbrouck led a wagon train with the 153 Modoc prisoners of war—a group made up of thirty-nine men, fifty-four women, and sixty children—out of Fort Klamath toward the railroad in Redding.61 In accordance with Wheaton’s orders, the Modocs did not know where they were going. From Redding, they boarded a train that took them to Wyoming. From there, they boarded another train to Fort McPherson, Nebraska. They remained at Fort McPherson for two weeks before proceeding on another train to Baxter Springs, Kansas, close to Indian Territory. They arrived at their final destination on the Quapaw Reservation in northeastern Oklahoma in late November 1873. Most of the Modoc warriors would live out their lives in the Oklahoma hills some fifteen hundred miles from their homes around Tule Lake, where Gmukamps had created Petroglyph Point and where he had created the Modoc people. Many of the older warriors died soon after their arrival in Oklahoma. Only a few lived until 1909, when those exiles who so desired were allowed to return to Oregon.62

Even Captain Jack and the three other executed men underwent a bizarre exile in death. Colonel Wheaton had the heads of the four executed men cut off and shipped to Washington, D.C., for the Army Medical Museum.63 The heads were

61 Riddle, *The Indian History of the Modoc War and the Causes That Led to It*, 192.
62 Ibid., 192–94.
63 Quoted in Thompson, *The Modoc War, 1872–73*, 181.
apparently put on display for a time in the East. Jeff Riddle reported seeing the head of his cousin, Captain Jack, on display in a large pickle jar in February 1875 in Washington, D.C. From 1904 until 1984, the skulls were part of the Smithsonian Institution’s “People of the United States” archeology collection—established as a project in scientific racism to determine the relationship among cranium size, intelligence, and race. In 1984, the skulls were returned to Debbie Riddle Herrera, a descendant of Captain Jack’s cousin, Toby Riddle. Herrera has not revealed where the skulls are now. She only says, “They are home.”

Image 3-23. A-ke-kis (U. S. Grant), Modoc veteran of Modoc War with his grandchildren on Quapaw Reservation, Oklahoma, 1903. He died in 1906 at age eighty-six, three years before the end of the Modoc exile. (Riddle, The Indian History of the Modoc War)


Sunday Oregonian, January 21, 1996.
Modocs and U.S. soldiers left many traces of their struggle behind: a corral, a graveyard, Canby Cross, rock fortifications, weapons, ammunition, even body parts. In August 1873, soldiers moved the bodies of their comrades-in-arms from locations throughout the battlefields to inter them at the graveyard at Gillems Camp.

A total of twenty-nine bodies and one amputated leg lay there by July 1874. However, these bodies were soon removed to a less remote location at Fort Klamath starting in 1875, leaving only the wall behind. The stone wall likely constructed in 1873 still stands as a memorial to these fighters, although its rock have been repiled many times. Soldiers also constructed a rock circle at Gillems Camp, perhaps for use as a corral. Finally, soldiers added to the existing rock monument at Canby Cross in 1875, and perhaps in August 1873 as well.66 The features of the landscape that may tell the most about these events are the lava flows themselves that had such different meanings to Modocs and whites. The topography and Modocs' knowledge of it had allowed them to stave off defeat, yet this same topography would make the Lava Beds a lonely place once the government had defeated and removed the Modocs. The goals settlers had for the area more generally meant the government could not allow Modocs to continue pursuing their ancient economic strategies. Yet, whites would never use the Lava Beds as intensely as the Modocs had.

Chapter 4
The Edge of the World: 
The Lonely Landscape of the Lava Beds, 1873–1910s

During the Modoc War, Captain Jack laid out his hopes for a reservation in the Lava Beds by saying, “No white man will ever want to make homes here.” In large measure, he was right. While dime novels kept stories of the war and its setting alive for Americans, the Lava Beds themselves were a lonesome landscape through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Solitary travelers and small groups—mostly men—were the area’s only visitors. Modocs from the Klamath Reservation no doubt made occasional visits to their ancestral homeland. Some white travelers journeyed to see the sites of the Modoc War, especially Canby Cross. Sheepmen and cattlemen were, perhaps, the most regular visitors, finding some graze in the bunchgrass between lava flows. One horse-ranching operation even bought land in the Lava Beds. Yet the area saw nothing to match the activity of the villages where Modoc families had wintered for centuries before the Modoc War. The U.S. war on the Modocs had transformed the Lava Beds from being at the center of the Modoc world to being at the edge of white society. Many of the whites who visited during this period, in fact, described the rugged lava fields that brought up fresh memories of the Modoc War as an inhuman, lonely, even a haunted landscape. Many Modocs who remained in the region also avoided the place because they saw it as tainted with a bitter history. The invention of the automobile and the national policy of alcohol prohibition made the Lava Beds a lively place again in the 1920s.

Dime Novels: The Stories Americans Read about the Lava Beds
For a time, the Modoc War and its principals captured the nation’s attention. Press coverage allowed Americans to follow the war in detail. Many Americans even took the time to write Captain Jack—often using the prestamped penny postcards introduced in 1873—giving the Modoc chief advice or congratulating him on his heroism. The memories of the war continued in Americans’ minds even after it faded from the newspapers. In an apparent reference to the Modoc War,

1 Alfred Benjamin Meacham, Wigwam and War-path (Boston: J. P. Dale and Company, 1875), 447; Jeff C. Riddle, The Indian History of the Modoc War and the Causes That Led to It (San Francisco: Marnell and Co., 1914), 64.
2 New York Times, June 14, 1873, 1.
Seattle residents in the 1870s came to call the city’s red-light district the “Lava Beds,” a place where many of the residents were Indians and which whites saw as a fire hazard threatening nearby largely white neighborhoods. Within a few months of the end of the Modoc War, Americans could also learn about the Lava Beds and the Modocs through dime novels. Several such books were published in 1873. T. C. Harbaugh (under the penname Captain Charles Howard) wrote *The Squaw Spy; or, the Rangers of the Lava-Beds* in the Pocket Novels series published by Beadle and Adams in New York. Captain Seth Hardinge published *Modoc Jack; or, the Lion of the Lava Beds* in the Champion Books series, also based in New York. Both novels took great liberties with history, although Hardinge provided more accurate details about the war and the landscape. The novels showed not only the continuing interest in the war, but also—in the different themes each author developed—the divisions among white Americans about the meaning of the events in the Lava Beds.

In *Modoc Jack*, Hardinge presents a hastily thrown together novelization of the war that included all the major battles—some of the prose lifted directly and without attribution from newspapers. He begins, however, with a fictionalized youth of Captain Jack, a narrative that embroiders wildly on the fact that the real Captain Jack justified the murder of the peace commissioners by pointing to Ben Wright’s earlier killing of Modocs under a flag of truce and specifically the killing of his father. In the novel, Jack’s father has been captured by whites. At the novel’s outset, Captain Jack vows to his mother to avenge his father, whom the novel gives the name Bright Feather: “But, mother, the time will come when the Son of Bright Feather will avenge his father’s wrongs, when he will drink the blood of the palefaces as the hunted deer laps the waters of Nondagura when the sun looks down from the top of the sky mountains.” The novel’s Captain Jack spends time as a houseboy to an English family on the California coast, while searching for his father—an invented episode that allowed Hardinge to include dialog justifying Modoc suspicions of whites. When the lady of the house asks if Jack is a Christian, he replies, “No Christian. Christian steal land. Christian steal my father. Christian kill all red men and steal all their land.” The novel then summarizes most of the major events of the war in a manner largely sympathetic to the Modocs, saying, for

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1 *Seattle Daily Intelligencer*, May 5, 1878.
2 Charles Howard, *The Squaw Spy; or, the Rangers of the Lava-Beds* (New York: Beadle and Adams, 1873); Seth Hardinge, *Modoc Jack; or, the Lion of the Lava Beds* (New York: Champion Books series, 1873). A third dime novel published that year was Hector Randall, *Captain Jack; or the Heroes of the Modoc War* ([Boston]: Richmond and Co., 1873).
3 Hardinge, *Modoc Jack; or, the Lion of the Lava Beds*, 14.
4 Ibid., 26–27.
instance, “The Borderers hated the Indians, and they made no secret of it, while, on the other hand, the Indians regarded the Borderers as interlopers on their own domain.” A number of real-life participants appear on the novel’s page: Captain Jack, Bogus Charley, Shacknasty Jim, and many others among the Modoc warriors; Presley Dorris, John Fairchild, and Lindsay Applegate, among the white settlers.

The novel also provides a fairly accurate description of the Lava Beds, using the words of Jesse Applegate in an unattributed quotation from press coverage:

> these lava beds present a strange appearance. If one could imagine a smooth, solid sheet of granite ten miles square and five hundred feet thick covering resistless mines of gunpowder scattered at irregular intervals under it—that these mines are exploded simultaneously, rending the whole field into rectangular masses from the size of a match-box to that of a church, heaping the masses high in some places and leaving deep chasms in others. Following the explosion, the whole thing is placed in one of Vulcan’s crucibles and heated up to a point where the whole begins to fuse and run together, and then suffered to cool. The roughness of the upper surface remains as the explosion left it, while all below is honey-combed by the crevices caused by the cooling of the melted rock.

The novel ends abruptly with the execution of the convicted murderers. While the first portion of the novel is wholly invented, the second portion based on events during the war gives readers a reasonably accurate account of the events that had first brought the Lava Beds to the attention of the nation. Hardinge’s adventure novel expressed sympathy for the Modocs’ plight and helped keep a heavily embellished version of Modoc War story alive in American memory.

Howard’s novel, The Squaw Spy, takes much greater liberties with the history of the war, and provides a less accurate portrait of the Lava Beds’ topography. The “Squaw Spy” of the title is a woman in the Modoc camp providing intelligence to army forces, a figure perhaps very loosely based on Tobey Riddle. The novel invents several scenes to increase the view of Modocs as savages, notably describing several instances of Modoc warriors killing each other over perceived wrongs. While Hardinge’s Modoc Jack includes a relatively factual retelling of the

7 Ibid., 49.
8 Zion’s Herald, April 24, 1873.
9 Hardinge, Modoc Jack; or, the Lion of the Lava Beds, 52–53.
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

major battles of the war despite his invented prewar narrative about Jack’s childhood, Howard’s *Squaw Spy* focuses on the wholly fictional wartime efforts of an invented character, the scout Kit South, to rescue his daughter, Teresa, whom the Modocs kidnapped at the same time they had killed South’s wife. With this choice, Hardinge centers the action on the defense of white womanhood from “savages” in marked contrast to the actual events of the war, in which Modocs were careful to kill only male settlers and leave the women unharmed. In further contrast to Hardinge, Howard presents a largely invented cast of characters. Along with actual Modocs, such as Captain Jack and Curley-Headed Doctor, are such fictional characters as Baltimore Bob, New York Harry, and Steamboat Dick.

The novel also provides an image of the Lava Beds, based more on imagination than reality.

_Below the surface of the Lava-Beds, as I have said, a perfect honeycomb of dark passages exists. Therefore the savage can retreat from one stronghold to another—miles distant—without once showing his face above earth. Against such disadvantages our troops were compelled to fight the Indians, and the considering reader has long since ceased to wonder at the prolongation of the war._

In reality, Modoc retreats made use of aboveground corridors between lava flows, rather than underground passages. In addition, Howard’s novel talks of many streams flowing through the caves, allowing movement among them. Characters jump into canoes to travel between caves on subterranean rivers that existed only in the author’s imagination.

While many of the differences between the novels reflected simply the individual skills and choices of two authors trying to cash in on the Modoc War, the novels also showed that opinion among whites was far from unanimous about the war. In writing for a largely white audience, Hardinge chose to create a largely sympathetic portrait of the Modocs, emphasizing that the war was justified by past wrongs and the hypocrisy of Christians claiming to have something to teach the Modocs. Howard chose to emphasize the barbarity of the Modocs and their threats to white women. Yet both novels show that the war had captured the attention of the American people for a time. Among the tales of Comanches, fur hunters, balloon scouts, and outlaws published that year, at least two publishers felt readers would be attracted to novels with “Lava Beds” in the title. These

11 Howard, *Squaw Spy*, 41.
The Lonely Landscape of the Lava Beds, 1873–1910s

novels mixed fact and fiction in ways that show how muddled the events of the war likely were in the minds of many Americans. They also allowed Americans with diverse opinions to choose the image of the war that fit their preconceptions.

The story of the Modoc War had much to recommend it in capturing the attention of white Americans. The band of fifty-five warriors held off a force up to twelve times its size—the nation’s most expensive Indian war for the size of Indian force. Yet Captain Jack did not fit well into the forlorn image of the noble savage, and the killing of the peace commissioners could not be easily worked into a story of justified resistance. Jack’s final speech, while it somewhat accurately blamed others for his problems, did not have the nobility and philosophical depth that attracted white Americans to other Indian orators. Ultimately, the story of Captain Jack would fade from the national memory. Captain Jack would not enter the pantheon of Indian leaders remembered by whites: Chief Joseph, Geronimo, and Sitting Bull. While the Modoc War utterly transformed the lives of Modocs and profoundly shaped the lives of white settlers around Tule Lake, in the imagination of Americans it would enter the second tier of Indian stories known mostly to locals and to devoted students of the Indian wars.

The Lava Beds and the Modoc War Find a Place on the Map

The site of the Modoc War began to appear on maps immediately after hostilities ended, with the designation “Lava Beds” or occasionally “Modoc Lava Beds.” Maps portrayed the area that is now the monument as just off the beaten path. Starting in 1871, the Ticknor Road ran just south of the monument, connecting Yreka to what is now Modoc County.12 This road may have had two separate alignments, as maps occasionally portrayed it running just south of what is now the Lava Beds National Monument and sometimes running through the southern part of the current monument.13 Another road ran along the eastern shore of Tule Lake and then headed southward, crossing Ticknor Road about a mile and a half east southeast of the current southeast corner of the monument.14 This road connected the settlements on the northern shore of Tule Lake with Craig and the

13 A letter from Dan A. Davis, acting supervisor of Modoc National Forest, to E. P. Leavitt, dated April 19, 1943, made the following comment about the road running through the extreme southeast corner of the monument: “The Forest Service did reconstruct and realign this road back in the year of 1932; however, certain portions of this road had been constructed years before and was known as the Old Tichnor Road and was used by the emigrants and stockmen.” Shaw file, LBNM Archives.
14 Modoc County map, 1910, Journal of the Modoc County Historical Society, 1999, no. 21 (insert); map, 1892, LBNM Archives.
Image 4-1. Rand McNally map, 1879. Note that two roads run by the Lava Beds (south of “Tule or Modoc” Lake), but none run through it. Boyles Camp on the Peninsula is the only Modoc War site marked. (David Rumsey Map Collection, Cartography Associates)
The Lonely Landscape of the Lava Beds, 1873–1910s

Big Valley. Like Ogden, Frémont, and the Applegates before them, whites in the late nineteenth century more often went by the Lava Beds than through them.

Mapmakers found a number of cultural features associated with the Modoc War to be noteworthy. An 1879 map showed “Boyles Camp” near the Peninsula. An 1883 map showed a trail running westward along the south side of Tule Lake and ending near Gillems Camp. The map has three labels related to the Modoc War: “Jacks Stronghold,” “Gen. Gillems Camp,” and “Gen. Canby killed April 11, 1873.” The trail along the southern end of the lake was likely very little used since few other maps portray it. An 1892 map designated the area around Captain Jacks Stronghold as “Modoc Rifle Pit.” A 1911 map labeled only one site associated with the war: “Canby Monument,” which it marked with a cross. The maps generally agreed on the importance of Canby Cross, which soon became a focus of white travelers to the area.

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17 Map, 1892, LBNM Archives.
18 Abbott M. Green, “Official Map of Modoc County, California” ([Alturas?): 1911], David Rumsey Map Collection, Cartography Associates (www.davidrumsey.com).
Early White Visitors: The Lava Beds as Travel Destination

Within months of the war’s end, a few intrepid travelers made their way to the Lava Beds to see the site of Canby’s death and the other places associated with the Modoc War. One guide book published in 1875 (although apparently written in 1873) provided tourists information on how to visit the Lava Beds, declaring:

*Yreka, in the Shasta Valley, is the centre of a considerable mining district, and therefore a busy place, even without the Modoc War, which gave it a temporary renown during the winter and spring. Now that the Modoc war is closed, no doubt the famous lava beds will attract curious visitors from afar. They can be reached in thirty-six hours from Yreka; and that place is distant thirty-six hours from San Francisco.*

Visitors acquired local guides, who could show them the most important sites.

The number of travelers who made pilgrimages to the Lava Beds in the era before the automobile is unknown. According to one story, however, by the early twentieth century there was “a large book in the cave known as Captain Jack’s Stronghold. Many famous people including the governors of four states had signed it.” Perhaps the most famous early visitor was the naturalist and author John Muir, who came in 1874 (see Appendix A9). While camping near Dome Mountain, Muir and the other members of his sheep-hunting party stopped at the Van Bremers’ ranch and acquired the “elder Van Brimer” as a guide to the Lava Beds. They camped the first night atop Gillem Bluff. They then visited the soldiers’ graveyard at Gillems Camp, which Muir described as “a square enclosed by a stone wall.” The group went to the site of Canby’s death. Muir’s detailed description of the scene, which makes no mention of a cross or other marker, seemed to suggest the cross erected after Canby’s death had fallen down or been taken away.

*Picking our way over the strange ridges and hollows of the “beds,” we come, in a few minutes, to a circular flat a score of yards or so in diameter, where the comparative smoothness of the lava and a few handfuls of soil have caused the grass tufts to grow taller. This is where General Canby met his fate. From here our guide led us around the shore of the lake to the main Modoc stronghold, a distance of about two and a half miles.*

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They then visited Captain Jack’s Stronghold, where he found Captain Jack’s Cave “littered with the bones of animals slaughtered for food during the war,” and where one member of the party hunted intently for relics of the war.22

The naturalist, who would later help found the Sierra Club and fight for the preservation of Yosemite and other wild places, found both the landscape and its former inhabitant unnatural and otherworldly. He saw the Lava Beds as “uncanny,” a “forbidding and mysterious” landscape, containing rocks of “unnatural black” and a place of “weird, inhuman physiognomy.” He termed the Modocs who had been “at home” in the Lava Beds “as unknighthly as possible,” “incapable of feeling any distinction between men and beasts,” “repellant in their aspects,” “unkempt and begrimed,” and “devilish.” He suggested, however, that nature could redeem the place, when he wrote of Captain Jack’s Cave: “The sun shines freely into its mouth, and graceful bunches of grasses and eriognae and sage grow around it, redeeming it from all its degrading associations, and making it lovable notwithstanding its unfinished roughness and blackness.”

The English traveler John Whetham Boddam-Whetham also wrote of a visit to the Lava Beds in 1873 or 1874, obtaining Miller’s Charley—one of several Modocs who had sat out the Modoc War, but also found a way to stay off the reservation—as a guide (see Appendix A10).23 Boddam-Whetham and Miller’s Charley descended the trail down Gillem Bluff on horseback and explored the battlegrounds on foot, making note of the graveyard, rock fortifications, and Captain Jack’s Cave. He made no mention of the site of Canby’s death.

In September 1882, Lieutenant John S. Parke of the U.S. Army re-created the monument that would be the focal point of many whites’ visits to the Lava Beds. Under orders to report to Fort Klamath, he took time out from his schedule and stopped by the Lava Beds to place a monument at the site of Canby’s murder—a site he had first visited in 1880. He was motivated, he said, “by a desire to see that the exact locality of these stirring events, and especially the place where the Council tent stood, should be so marked that when this historic place comes to be visited by the interested or the curious, it may not be of such uncertain location as to be a matter of speculation and discussion.” Parke stopped by Fairchild’s ranch, where the rancher’s carpenter made a cross “of lumber about six inches square,

22 Muir, Steep Trails, 38.
twelve feet high with arms of four feet." He and the carpenter conveyed the cross to the top of Gillem Bluff on a buck-board and then carried it down the bluff and erected it.24

In the 1890s, visitors could still find artifacts and see Canby Cross. In 1894, a Modoc Indian who lived on the north shore of Tule Lake served as guide to John H. Hamilton on a visit to the Lava Beds. They traveled on horseback down the west side of Tule Lake, finding the going difficult where “the rocky bluffs drew close in to the water.”25 They began their visit at Gillems Camp, where they found “a brass button, a rusty horseshoe” and “the ankle bone of a human foot.” Hamilton described the journey to Canby Cross as being “over the lava,” suggesting there was no clear trail. Here he noted the “plain white cross” with the inscription “General Canby, U.S.A. / was murdered here by the Modocs / April 11th, 1873.” The two men followed a “narrow, winding trail” from Canby Cross to Captain Jacks Stronghold. Behind the fortifications leading to the stronghold, he noted “little piles of empty cartridge shells.” In the stronghold, he saw the

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“whitened bones” of the cattle on which the Modocs had subsisted. The two men camped near the stronghold.

Like many white Americans, Hamilton saw Indians as belonging to the past. Seemingly forgetting he had visited the Lava Beds aided by a Modoc guide, he provided the following reflection on the Modocs’ fate: “Though the Modocs were but savages, and of course in the nature of things must soon have given way before the relentless march of the white race, yet it seems sad that the race should have been annihilated."26 In reality, the Modocs persisted. In the Modoc War, they suffered a crushing defeat and offered no further armed resistance to U.S. law. Yet they retained their identity as Modoc. Beyond the two visits of Modoc guides to the Lava Beds recorded by white travelers, Modocs likely made many other journeys to the Lava Beds during this period, journeys whose details are lost to history.27 Although Modoc villages never again arose on the southern shore of Tule Lake, the Lava Beds continued as a place of spiritual and historical importance to Modocs.

Hunting and Livestock

While white travelers exploring the sites of the Modoc War focused their visits on sites near the southern shore of Tule Lake, local hunters ventured into regions of the Lava Beds away from the lake. Speaking of the Lava Beds, Muir said, “This is a famous game region, and you will be likely to meet small bands of antelopes, mule deer, and wild sheep.”28 The abundance of deer would have been a special attraction to non-Indian hunters, as it was to Modocs. Of the region’s hunters living in simple, scattered cabins throughout the area in the 1870s, Muir wrote, “They can tell where the deer may be found at any time of year or day, and what they are doing.”29 They no doubt knew the Lava Beds were a favored winter ground for deer and made their way there accordingly. As hunters traveled the southern regions of the Lava Beds, they would have been especially attracted to those caves, such as Skull Cave, that could provide them water. By one account, it was a group of deer hunters, including E. L. Hopkins, William Stonebreaker, and the Gurkey brothers, who first explored Skull Cave in 1892.30

26 Hamilton, “In the Lava Beds,” 100.
28 Muir, Steep Trails, 36.
29 Ibid., 19.
Muir also noted that large flocks of bighorn sheep visited the Lava Beds occasionally. According to some accounts, these died out in the late nineteenth century. U.S. Biological Survey naturalist Vernon Bailey collected letters from locals, who believed the bighorns died out around 1880 of "a disease similar to the scab," which they caught from domestic sheep. They also blamed competition from livestock. Harry Telford of Klamath Falls wrote Bailey in 1914 to say that "Mr. Reams who had cattle in the Lava Beds in the early days says [bighorns] were plentiful there up to the winter of 1879 and '80, when he thinks they were winter killed. A large number of cattle and sheep had been run in the Lava Beds during the summer and fall of 1879 and had taken most of the feed, and the hard winter finished them." Bailey doubted they had died from starvation, but rather believed it was from scabies.

By other accounts, however, bighorns inhabited the area into the 1880s. A hunter obtained a bighorn ram and ewe near the Lava Beds and described them in an 1881 article in *Scribner's*.

Jeff Riddle said that "in 1883 he and his father killed three Mountain Sheep near Schonchin Butte." In 1890 he was in the Lava Beds and did not see any live sheep but found many dead ones. He thought that during the heavy winter of 1889 or 1890 all the sheep starved, as he knew of none being seen after that time.

As long as these impressive animals roamed the area, they no doubt drew hunters to the tortured landscape of the Lava Beds.

Other species attracted hunters to the Lava Beds in the nineteenth century as well, as recorded in anecdotal information gathered by Park Service employees in the 1930s. A number of species became rare by the early twentieth century, as grazing, hunting, and the draining of Tule Lake altered the environment. Bearpaw Cave—another cave with water—reportedly received its name from an old trapper, Tom Durham, who skinned a bear close to the cave and nailed its paws to a nearby juniper tree in the 1880s. By some accounts, bears had not been seen in the

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34 Fisher, “Names of Features”; Keith A. Murray, “Digest of Conversation with J. D. Howard Relative to Early Exploration, August 15, 1958” (LBNM Library MUR), 5. According to census records (Ancestry.com), in 1910, Thomas Durham, 46, was living in Merrill with his 33-year-old wife. He was a retired farmer, with five children ages 6 months to 13 years old, all born in Oregon. He was born in Missouri around 1864; his wife in Illinois around 1877. They were married around 1896. He rented his place in Merrill in 1910. He apparently moved to Oregon sometime before 1897.
The Lonely Landscape of the Lava Beds, 1873–1910s

monument since that time. Otters were quite common along the lakeshore in the late nineteenth century. Jim Hammon, a resident of Merrill, Oregon, reported having seen young otters playing “follow the leader” on the southern shore of Tule Lake. Naturalist Vernon Bailey heard there might have been a few wolves in the Lava Beds in the 1890s; one wolf was sighted in the monument as late as 1943. “Sierra grouse” (blue grouse; Dendragapus obscurus) were common throughout the timbered portion of the Lava Beds into the 1910s. “Sage chicken” (sage grouse; Centrocercus urophasianus) thrived along the northern boundary of the monument into the 1920s and still existed in “a few scattered bands” until the mid-1930s. While detailed records of hunting parties do not exist, their gunfire likely pierced the silence of the Lava Beds on a regular basis.

A few men undertook livestock operations, making use of the Lava Beds in the late nineteenth century. In general, cattle could only travel through since the lack of good water sources made it poor cattle range. Horse and sheep could use bunchgrass farther from water. As noted, a Mr. Reams ran cattle in the Lava Beds in the 1870s. The JF ranch grazed the area, losing cattle in droves during a huge die-off caused by the eighteen-foot snows of 1889–90. The operation recovered and a local resident reported that the “JF outfit” still brought cattle through the Lava Beds in the early years of the twentieth century. Wild horses also started to appear in the region around the 1880s. Strictly speaking, while these creatures were not livestock, since they had no owners, they would take a role in the economy of the region in the early twentieth century, as various settlers rounded up mustangs for sale. Sheep would be the most important type of livestock to use the Lava Beds. By one account, “In 1885 [Ivan?] Applegate, [Jerome] Whitney, and [Claude?] Brown brought the first sheep into the area now included in the Lava Beds National Monument.” The exact extent of these operations is difficult to gauge. The first estimate of flocks in the area came after the boom of the 1910s. In 1920, the Forest Service estimated that 125,000 sheep grazed the 323,000-acre Lava Beds section (a broad area more than seven times larger than the current

36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.; LBNM monthly report, February 1943.
38 Brainerd, “Past Wildlife,” 10, 11.
40 Memorandum by Fisher dated November 27, 1942, file: 207 reports, box 315, Western Region, RG 79, NARA–San Bruno.
41 Interview of Guy Merrill by Francis Landrum (transcript), June 6, 1965, oral histories, Klamath County Museum.
42 Memorandum by Fisher dated November 27, 1942, file: 207 reports, box 315, Western Region, RG 79, NARA–San Bruno.
The current Lava Beds National Monument includes all of T45N R4E, the portion T46N R4E south of the Tule Lake shoreline, as well as small portions of T45N R3E and T46N R5E. The holdings in the southeast corner of T45N R4E are marked “A. Lauer”—the only private land holding at the time in what is now the main portion of Lava Beds National Monument. Note also the Tichnor Road running just south of what is now the monument. (Map held by Siskiyou County Road Department)

46,560-acre monument). The stockmen who tended these animals and the hunters who traveled through the area likely slept in tents near caves with water. We know of only one cabin built in the Lava Beds during this era; it was erected by Anna Lauer’s husband Charles Caldwell.

Image 4-5. 1985 topographic map of southeast corner of Lava Beds National Monument annotated with early-twentieth-century land holdings. Anna Lauer filed a homestead claim on the tract marked A on January 23, 1904 (160 acres). The claim was cancelled on October 30, 1912. Lauer filed a patent on the tracts marked B, C, and D (200 acres) as school land from the State of California on September 22, 1904. Final action was taken on the patent on September 14, 1911. Lauer sold tracts B, C, and D to Albert Spicer in 1921. In 1926, Spicer sold the tracts marked B and C to Pickering Lumber Company. In 1939, Pickering sold the two tracts to Shaw Lumber Company. In 1942, the NPS acquired the inholding from Shaw. Spicer sold the tract marked D to Robert S. Adams in 1929. The NPS acquired this inholding from Adams in 1944 through condemnation. Land records designate the tract marked B as section 38 and the tracts marked C and D as section 39.

Horse-Raising in the Lava Beds: Anna Lauer & Charles Caldwell
The story of Anna Lauer and Charles Jarvis Caldwell illustrates how for whites the Lava Beds represented the edge of the world. They were one of the few families to gain title to land within the Lava Beds and even for them the region lay on the edge of their livestock operation. Anna Lauer was the first white person to acquire land
in what is now the main portion of Lava Beds National Monument (excluding the Petroglyph section, which is discussed in the next chapter). Her interest in the area stemmed from horse-raising and from her fiancé and later husband, Charles Caldwell. While detailed descriptions of their activities within the Lava Beds are lacking, records reveal a great deal about their lives more generally and their entire livestock operation, of which the Lava Beds formed an important component. Anna and Charles represent an early example of how whites in the region took advantage of federal legislation favoring land distribution to acquire former Modoc lands and to turn them to economic activities tied into globalizing networks of trade. Their operation also shows how the specific characteristics of the Lava Beds—with its rough cinder soils and its uneven distribution of water—shaped how humans exploited its resources.

Their lives also tell us much about the changing social structure of those who visited and worked in the Lava Beds. As the Lava Beds shifted from the center of the Modoc world to the edge of white society, it also went from a place inhabited by families to a place frequented mostly by men—either unmarried men or men traveling without their wives. All the people whom documents describe visiting the area as travelers, hunters, or stock tenders in the late nineteenth century were men. Caldwell’s early career exemplified this trend. Lauer’s life, however, represented an important exception to this trend. While detailed descriptions of her link to the Lava Beds do not exist, scattered evidence indicates that Lauer acquired an interest in horse farming and the Lava Beds from her first husband, Charles Caldwell. In her second marriage after Charles’s death, she apparently

Image 4-6. Charles Jarvis Caldwell (1856-1906). Caldwell and his ranch hands ran horses in the Lava Beds and built a cabin near Caldwell Cave. His future wife, Anna Lauer, acquired land near Caldwell Cave in 1904. (LBNM Archives)
had a greater role than her husband, Dwight Randall, in managing the family’s horses in the Lava Beds. At least this one woman took an active role in managing livestock in the Lava Beds beginning the early twentieth century.

Charles Caldwell was born June 21, 1856, in Athens County, Ohio. In Ohio, he attended medical school briefly but did not get his degree. He moved to Yolo County, California, in 1882, following his brother Frank to Modoc County in 1885 and working as a schoolteacher and rancher for most of his adult life. According to Ruth Wells Caldwell (the wife of Caldwell’s son), he brought the first Clydesdale horse to Modoc County, a registered stallion named “Duke.” Caldwell was a bachelor until the last fourteen months of his life. Many of his hired hands were single as well—men such as Chub Kennedy, Dave Youtsey, Milt Smith, Mose Hart, Art Moser, and Henry Hollister. Caldwell and his ranch hands found the Lava Beds a useful place to toughen the hooves of their horses. They camped near and in the two Caldwell caves. At first, they would shelter in the caves. Later, he built a cabin, the remains of which can still be seen near Caldwell Cave.

Caldwell’s personal life changed dramatically in the early twentieth century, when he met Anna Lauer. Her father, John Lauer, had emigrated from Germany in 1869; her mother, also named Anna Lauer, emigrated from Switzerland in 1876. Her parents were married around 1878 and lived in Iowa, where Anna was born in 1881, until about 1885, when they moved to California. In 1900, the nineteen-year-old Anna was working as a schoolteacher in Red Bluff township, Tehama County, some 130 miles south of the Lava Beds, and lodging with a family of stock

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46 Of these men listed by Ruth Wells Caldwell, the following can be identified in census rolls: Dave Youtsey (according to 1900 census, a single farm laborer living in Hot Springs, Modoc County, born January 1868); Milt Smith (according to 1900 census, a single farm laborer living in Hot Springs, born February 1871). Census records accessed via HeritageQuest.

47 In the 1930s, J. D. Howard provided a description of Caldwell and his operation. Howard never met Caldwell and his description had several errors: “Caldwell Cave and Butte. Named for a man by this name who had a horse ranch here. Lived in the log cabin whose remains are still standing with his wife and two daughters. A schoolteacher from Boston. Moved west to get out of bad neighborhood. Left Lava Beds and went to Medford. Mrs. Bill Quinn of Tulelake is a descendant of Caldwell.” (Murray, “Digest,” 9). Caldwell came from Ohio, not Boston. He had one son, not two daughters. Charlie Caldwell’s wife, Anna Lauer, later moved to Medford with her second husband, Dwight Randall. Charles did not move to Medford. He left the area for Winters, California, when he became ill and died there in 1906. While Charles and Anna may have spent time in the cabin, they were never there with their son Charles Edson Caldwell. The boy was born in Winters, California, on July 4, 1906, and the elder Charles died there three weeks later on July 25. The cabin was never their primary residence. They had a larger house at Bucher Swamp.

48 Census entries Anna Lauer (Caldwell Randall) for 1900, 1910, and 1930 (accessed via HeritageQuest).
raisers, Edgar and Frances Saunders. Around this time, according to Ruth Wells Caldwell, who later married Charles’s son, Edson, “On one of his various trips to San Francisco to sell his Clydesdales, Charlie Caldwell met a beautiful, black-haired, rosy-cheeked school teacher, Anna Lauer. [...] At the time Charlie was 48 and had never married.”

Anna worked with Charles to acquire land in the Lava Beds well before the two were married. On January 23, 1904, Anna Lauer made a homestead entry with the federal government on 160 acres in section 35 of Township 45 North, Range 4 East. This section contains the Caldwell Cave, near which the remains of the Caldwell cabin are still visible. Anna Lauer also filed with the state of California on two hundred acres of school land in Section 36 on March 22, 1904. This land is east of Caldwell Cave and near the southeast corner of the current monument.

Modoc County assessment records reveal the size of Caldwell’s entire livestock operation. Even not counting the property that his future wife was acquiring as they courted, Charles’s operation grew substantially from 1901 to 1905. He went from owning 394 acres to owning 566 acres, all of it near Canby. His assessed worth went from $1,213 to $5,958. His livestock grew from just fifty horses to two hundred stock horses, twenty colts, one stud, eight work horses, three stock cattle, forty-eight jacks (male donkeys), and four mules. These records suggest that he had expanded his horse-raising operation substantially and also started siring jacks to his mares to breed mules. He apparently had been using the Lava Beds to run his horses for years; but in 1905, he would acquire legal access to that land through his bride.

On June 21, 1905, Anna and Charles married. Charles was forty-eight; Anna was about twenty-five. Soon after their marriage, Anna became pregnant and Charles developed health problems. Charles soon left Bucher Swamp for Canby to stay with his brother, Frank. When his condition did not improve, his brother Dr. Ned

50 It is possible that the Anna Lauer on this document is the mother of the woman who married Charles Caldwell.
51 S ½ of SE ¼, NE ¼ of SE ¼ and SE ¼ of NE ¼ of Section 35, T45N, R4E, 160 acres, HE 5029, RED02429, GLO records, California BLM.
52 Patentee: Anna Lauer, no. SHA 4301, California Lands Commissioner.
53 In 1901, he owned 154 acres in T42N R10E with no improvements and 240 acres in T42N R9E with $200 of improvements, for a total of 394 acres worth $487. Besides his fifty horses worth $500, he also owned a wagon worth $25 and one watch worth a dollar. In 1905, besides livestock, his personal property also included a watch worth $10, firearms, wagons, an engine, and a harness. (1901 and 1905 property assessment rolls, Modoc County Courthouse.)
Caldwell brought Charles and Anna to his home in Winters, a small town between Sacramento and San Francisco. On July 4, 1906, their son Charles Edson Caldwell was born in Winters. The elder Charles’s health did not improve, so he began to put his affairs in order. On July 23, he executed legal documents to transfer his property to his new wife and infant son—documents that again reveal the overall size of the family’s livestock operation. To Anna, “in consideration of the love and affection” she had showed him, he transferred various real estate in Modoc County and certificates, along with “household effects, farming implements [sic], wagons, vehicles of all kinds and descriptions, scrapers, twelve cows, their calves, hogs, horses and mules, including all colts, and all other property possessed by me.” The elder Charles died three weeks after his son’s birth, on July 25, 1906. He was fifty years old.

Anna remained in Modoc County after Charles’s death and her interest in the Lava Beds area continued as well. Within two years of Charles’s death, Anna remarried to Dwight Dewitt Randall of Alturas on June 20, 1908. Their son, Dwight Lauer Randall, was born on April 2, 1909. In 1911, Anna paid in full the two hundred acres of school land in the section 36 of the Lava Beds, the land she had filed a patent on in 1904. Forest Service records also show that she (or her mother, who was also named Anna Lauer) obtained 120 acres of land east of the current monument eight months before she married Randall. Once Anna had access to land in section 36, she apparently decided she did not need the Homestead Act land around Caldwell Cave in section 35. An expiration notice was issued on August 31, 1912, and the homestead entry was cancelled on October 30, 1912.

The 1910 census shows Anna and Dwight living in Canby with their two sons—Charlie from Anna’s first marriage, and Anna and Dwight’s son also named Dwight. The census entry suggests that Anna Lauer was active in the management of the family farm. Census records typically obscured the work of farm women by listing their occupation as “none” or “at home.” The census entry for the Randalls was unusual for several reasons. First, the census enumerator, Chester Godfrey, listed Anna as the head of household, whereas almost all census entries at that

54 Book of Deeds, 23:123, Modoc County Courthouse.
55 Patent issued October 27, 1911 to Anna Lauer, State Land Office No. 13138, v. 14, p. 190, noted in Index to Land Patents, Siskiyou County Recorders’ Office; patentee: Anna Lauer, land records, California State Lands Commissioner.
56 120 acres in T 45 N, R 6 E, section 33, on October 17, 1907, through S.P. no 3672; this was approved on December 18, 1907, and final action on the patent was taken on September 14, 1911. (GLO Plat maps, 1870–1970, box 2, Division of Lands and Minerals, Modoc NF, RG 95, NARA–San Bruno.)
57 Homestead entry 5029, serial no. 02429, GLO records, BLM.
time listed the husband as head of household. While this would seem to show a particularly independent woman, it may have simply made it easier for Godfrey to show the relationship of all household members to the head of household. Anna had one child by each of her two husbands at that point. More interestingly, Godfrey initially noted Anna as the owner of the family’s farm. Only later did he mark through this notation to indicate that Dwight owned the farm. Next, the census form said that Anna did, indeed, have an occupation: that of “farmer.” Not only this, but the form gave Anna a slightly different occupation than her husband. The form listed Anna as a “farmer” on a “horse farm.” By contrast, her husband Dwight was listed as a “farmer” on a “general farm.”

The fact that the census said she ran a horse farm combined with the evidence that she continued her efforts to acquire land in the Lava Beds suggest that Anna had an active role in a horse-ranching operation that included land in the Lava Beds. Further details are regrettably absent. The Siskiyou County assessment rolls for 1912 set the value of her two hundred acres in section 36 of the Lava Beds at $1,600 and noted the presence of “timber.” J. D. Howard visited Caldwell Cave (within section 35) in 1916 and reported that he saw a twenty-eight-rung ladder, a twelve-quart bucket on the end of a wire, and a horse trough. Because this was during the time that Anna Randall owned property in the adjacent section, this may well have been part of her horse operation.

Anna apparently gave up her horse ranch in the 1910s, when the Randalls left Modoc County. By 1920, Dwight and Anna were living in La Grande, Union County, Oregon, where Dwight was pursuing missionary work. In March 1921, Anna Lauer Randall and Dwight Randall conveyed all two hundred acres of the property in section 36 to Albert F. Spicer, a fifty-year-old divorced ranch foreman living in Alturas township. Anna Lauer would survive her first husband Charles by almost seventy-one years, dying in 1977, at age ninety-six.
The Lonely Landscape of the Lava Beds, 1873–1910s

The Caldwells had left a visible legacy of their livestock operation with the cabin whose remains are near Caldwell Cave. They also left a more subtle legacy with the ecological changes from grazing and watering dozens of horses in the Lava Beds. As they brought horses from more southern parts of California, they linked the Lava Beds to broad networks of commerce. Their story shows how government actions and their own hard work allowed white settlers to turn these lands to new purposes, but purposes constrained by the rugged topography and limited water of the Lava Beds.

Boating on Tule Lake

The geography of the Lava Beds—specifically their proximity to Tule Lake—had shaped human uses of the area long before white settlement, as Modocs traversed the lake in dugout and tule canoes. The lake connected village sites on the Lost River with sites in the Lava Beds. Most white visitors in the late nineteenth century, however, came to the Lava Beds on foot or on horseback. Boat travel increased in the early twentieth century, due to the growth of towns on the north shore of Tule Lake that gave boats a base of operation. Charles H. Merrill and his brother Nathan had founded the town of Merrill near the mouth of the Lost River in 1894. J. Frank Adams encouraged the development of Malin starting in 1909, when members of the largely Czech community started arriving. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, boats from these towns and from shoreline ranches plied Tule Lake both for commerce and for pleasure.
A number of these boats hauled cinder for road building from Coppock Bay to the northern shore of Tule Lake. These crafts chugged by Petroglyph Point and the Lava Beds; however, they likely made little or no use of resources within what is now the national monument. Tom Calmes operated such a boat. A man named Perquisc operated Calmes’s first boat, the *Crystal*, which he used in 1911 “to push barge loads of cinders from Tule Lake Peninsula to Merrill for road building.” Calmes later had the *Shag* built—a boat on which Bill Purdy worked as engineer and Charlie Murphy as pilot, hauling cinders from the Peninsula for three or four years. Jess Witlatch also worked hauling “red cinders” from “Cinder Mountain” for Calmes. Milo Coppock, who homesteaded near Petroglyph Point, had a small boat and barge, which he used to transport cinders from the Peninsula to Merrill, also transporting hay and vegetables. The work of these men and others eventually eliminated the cinder butte that once stood south of Petroglyph Point.

Boats also brought visitors to the Lava Beds themselves. Tourism came to include both men and women in this period, as Tule Lake residents took launches from Merrill or Malin to picnic and visit Captain Jacks Stronghold and other points in the Lava Beds. The Bureau of Reclamation project to drain Tule Lake for farmland would eventually bring an end to these trips. However, their barges aided the tourist travel for a time. In 1915, the Bureau offered to carry interested residents on its barge from the Adams Ranch to Captain Jacks Stronghold. The barge left Adams Ranch at eight in the morning and returned around six in the evening. Occasionally, these tourist jaunts ended in near disaster. One 1911 trip from Malin to Lava Beds hit trouble when the one-and-a-half-horsepower launch stalled in the middle of a stormy Tule Lake. Fortunately, waves pushed the boat to the eastern shore and the group was rescued.

In addition to day trips, locals also used boats for more extended trips to the scenes of the Modoc War. Seldon K. Ogle remembered one difficult trip he made to the Lava Beds around 1910. He spent a day in Merrill trying to find a boat. All he could find was a leaky ten-foot duck boat. He left Merrill at noon, went six

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62 Devere Helfrich, “As Told to me by... Tom Calmes,” *Klamath Echoes* 1, no. 2 (1965): 88.
64 Helfrich, “Boating,” 73.
65 Note the “Cinder hill” indicated on GLO cadastral map, 1874, California BLM.
67 *Dorris Times*, September [date?], 1915.
68 Newspaper clipping, July 30, 1959, Merrill, Midland, Malin file, file 184, Klamath County Museum.
69 Newspaper clipping, November 4, 1956 [unknown source], file 214, Klamath County Museum.
The Lonely Landscape of the Lava Beds, 1873–1910s

miles to the mouth of Lost River, and reached the west side of Tule Lake by nightfall. The next night, he camped in a cave near Gillem's Camp. He later learned this was Toby Riddle's restaurant during the war. From there, he went to Canby Cross, where he saw “the cross and monument.” He then followed an “old trail” from Canby Cross back to Gillem's Camp. A coyote followed him most of this time. The next morning he awoke to snow on the ground and saw four “Indian spirits” (coyotes) in a circle looking at his boat. He found the route to Captain Jack's Stronghold by following the empty cartridge shells. During the nine days of his trip, he saw no one else. In May 1911, Goeller, Rutenic, and Shook visited the Lava Beds using Goeller's launch, spending two weeks there. The first week, Peter Schonchin accompanied them. Visiting the site of the Thomas-Wright Battle, they saw the ground scattered with cartridge shells.

Whites soon began to view Tule Lake as more useful as a water source for irrigation than as a travel corridor. As the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation gradually drained the lake from the 1910s to the 1940s, the brief period of boat travel by whites ended, and by the 1920s, most visitors were coming to the monument in automobiles. Irrigation plans have a long history in the Tule Lake basin. The large landowners who were prominent in the area's history and important to the history of the Lava Beds all were involved in irrigation efforts. Even before the Modoc War, in 1871, Jesse Carr and Jesse Applegate had an irrigation plan (never realized) involving digging a canal between the Klamath and Lost rivers. The Newlands Act of 1902 provided the legislative framework for draining the lake and J. Frank Adams and William C. Dalton soon led a local petition drive calling for government-sponsored irrigation works. The Bureau of Reclamation organized the Klamath Project in the Lost River and Klamath river basins around 1905. For a time, plans to drain Tule Lake focused on Scorpion Point, about two miles south of Petroglyph Point. Adams and Dalton had discovered water flowing into lava formations there in 1907. From 1908 to 1915, the Bureau of Reclamation worked to increase flow into these formations with only limited success. Substantial drainage of Tule Lake only came with the completion of a diversion dam on the Lost River four miles southwest of Olene in 1912.

70 Helfrich, “Boating,” 74; Klamath Falls Herald, May 22, 1911 (retyped in LBNM Library 979.4 LAV).
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

The water diverted to the Klamath River deprived Tule Lake of its water source and led to gradually declining lake levels through evaporation. By 1919, the lake had been reduced from 98,600 acres to 68,000. By 1923, only 2,000 acres remained. That same year, the Klamath Project built another dam on Lost River, eleven miles north of Clear Lake. The project built a dizzying array of other structures as well, establishing the complex network of canals, dams, and pumps that moves water throughout the Klamath and Tule Lake basins. At Tule Lake, an area of some 13,000 acres was eventually set aside in two sumps that still provide habitat for a variety of wildlife and store water for irrigation. As the waters of Tule Lake receded, dozens of homesteaders had the opportunity to claim the new lands of the old lakebed in a series of homestead lotteries from 1917 to 1949. They raised alfalfa, onion, horseradish, and cereal grains, with Netted Gem potatoes proving an especially successful crop. Standing atop Gillem Bluff or Petroglyph Point, the dramatic changes to the historic scene are obvious. Where once native peoples lived and hunted near the productive lakeshore, where water once lapped up near the army tents at Gillem Camp or near the Coppock and Rich homesteads at Petroglyph Point, the green of farmers’ fields now dominate the scene. Although small-scale irrigation efforts took place before this federal program, it is unlikely this vast transformation of the lake that borders Lava Beds would have taken place without federal investment.

In the late nineteenth century, the Lava Beds came to have a permanent, if relatively minor, place in American memory. Dime novels told varying stories of the Modoc War—stories that either denigrated or pitied the Modocs who had lost that war. These stories acquainted Americans with the rugged topography of the Lava Beds, sometimes exaggerating wildly in their descriptions. They helped establish the Modoc War as the central narrative that non-Modocs knew about the Lava Beds, in contrast to the Modoc view in which the Modoc War was only the most recent and most painful of centuries of stories about the place. Mapmakers began to recognize the Lava Beds in general, as well as specific sites associated with the war, as important places to mark. Ironically, however, while the area became known to more and more Americans, the landscape itself was largely emptied of people. Despite occasional visits by travelers, hunters, and stockmen, the Lava Beds—formerly the center of the Modoc world—lay on the

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73 Stan Turner, The Years of Harvest 149–70.
The Lonely Landscape of the Lava Beds, 1873–1910s

edge of the world of white Americans. This trend showed the power of the federal government—in this case the U.S. army—to radically change how people interacted with the landscape, by militarily defeating the Modocs and forcing them to move hundreds of miles away. Other trends, however, had begun to bring people back to the area by the early twentieth century. The federal government distributed former Modoc lands to settlers, who took up residence in Merrill and Malin, and even to Anna Lauer who acquired land within the Lava Beds. As white families came to live in the area, they found reasons to visit the Lava Beds. They came to the Lava Beds or close by for economic reasons, including horse-raising and cinder-hauling. They also came to see the sites associated with the stories they knew of the Modoc War. As will be discussed in chapter 6, the trend of the government action, economic opportunities, and story telling bringing people to the Lava Beds only increased in the 1910s and 1920s.
Chapter 5
“A Legitimate Trade”: Farming, Hunting, and Conservation at Petroglyph Point, 1873–1910s

The area around Petroglyph Point attracted land buyers earlier than did the main section of what is now Lava Beds National Monument. Not just hunters and itinerant stockmen, but whole families took an interest in the area. Even before the homesteaders, the area attracted the attention of cattle baron Jesse Carr. Within the land that is now the Petroglyph Point section of Lava Beds National Monument, land owned by Carr sat adjacent to the land James Rich homesteaded. The two operations could not have been more different in scale and in the social positions of their landowners, yet they each sought to gain income from the land from which the Modocs had been recently dispossessed. The area also attracted the attention of conservationists, which points out a different set of contrasts. While local ranchers and hunters adopted a utilitarian view of wildlife, urban conservationists sought to protect this wildlife for its intrinsic value. The latter groups' efforts in the area marked the beginning of an ongoing history of the conservation ideal shaping policy and understandings of the Lava Beds. As historian Karl Jacoby has phrased it, the two groups have very different “moral ecologies”—differing views of how humans could interact appropriately with wildlife and what role the state should take in regulating hunting and gathering.1 Versions of these competing perspectives continue to shape the region to the present.

Jesse D. Carr, Cattle Baron
The first person to own land under U.S. law in what is now the Lava Beds National Monument was Jesse D. Carr. Shortly after the Modoc War ended, on September 23, 1874, the Monterey County cattle baron filed on school land with the State of California: lots 1 and 2 of Township 46 North, Range 5 East, Section 10, about thirty-four and a half acres.2 Records indicate the land was paid in full

2 Map dated June 18, 1947, “Petroglyph Land Acquisition,” LBNM Archives, file no. SHA 1198, UC Patent Book 2, p. 329, as cited in California Lands Commissioner land sale index. Lot 1 was 13.25 acres; lot 2 was 21.30 acres.
in 1883, the year he received a patent. This land is now the area in the Petroglyph section north of the butte where the road runs through, and was part of the lands added to the monument in 1954.

3Patentee: Jesse Carr, SHA 1198, California State Lands Commissioner.
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

Image 5-2. 1879 GLO map with annotations showing property ownership from 1874 to 1910. Jesse Carr filed on his school land with the State of California in 1874 and paid up in full in 1883. Arthur H. Crawford settled on his land in 1899, filed on it under the Homestead Act in 1902, and proved it up in 1905. Milo Coppock settled on his land and filed under the Homestead Act in 1900 and proved it up in 1907. James Rich filed on his Homestead Act land in 1903 and proved it up in 1910. (1879 GLO map, California BLM, annotations by Frederick L. Brown)
Image 5-3. 1887 map of Petroglyph Point and Coppock Bay, with later names of features added in brackets. (Modoc County Courthouse)
Born in Tennessee in 1814, Carr had come to California during the gold rush in 1849, having been appointed deputy collector of the Port of San Francisco—this after various business ventures in Nashville, Memphis, and New Orleans.\(^4\) He became involved in ranching by 1852, purchasing extensive holdings in Monterey County in 1860 from the Thomas O. Larkin estate and making his home in Monterey County from then on. Just as he brought business skills and capital acquired in the eastern United States, he also imported animals from elsewhere to improve his ranching operation: Durham cattle, Kentucky racing stallions, and Spanish Merino sheep.\(^5\) Like other wealthy cattlemen, he diversified his business; in his case, he managed several stage coach companies in the 1860s. By the 1870s, he owned 45,000 acres of land in Monterey County.\(^6\)

Like a few other Californians during this period, Carr successfully took advantage of the natural resources and legal climate of the region to amass huge wealth. As historian David Igler has argued in *Industrial Cowboys*—focusing on Miller and Lux, one of the largest such California ranches—these operations must be understood in the broader context of nineteenth-century industrialization. These businessmen employed strategies common to many business enterprises by “reducing risks, segmenting labor, and creating vertically integrated production units.”\(^7\) Yet they adapted these strategies to novel conditions in California by taking advantage of opportunities to acquire land, influencing state land laws, and hiring the lawyers needed to navigate the complex legal environment. They recognized the critical importance of water rights. They balanced risks from flood and drought through largely dispersed land holdings. Many of these strategies are evident in the Carr operation in Modoc County.

Although Carr continued to live in Monterey County, he worked in conjunction with Jesse Applegate as early as 1872 to acquire land in Modoc County, especially near Clear Lake. Within two years of starting his ranching enterprise in Modoc County, Carr had land at Petroglyph Point. In 1878, the assessor reported that Jesse Carr had the following property in Modoc County: five hundred horses, five hundred cattle, six thousand sheep, five dogs, and 10,025 acres of land.\(^8\) He reportedly lost all these sheep the following year. An 1892 biographical sketch

\(^{5}\) Oscar T. Shuck, Historical Abstract of San Francisco (San Francisco: O. T. Shuck, 1897), 39–40.
described an even larger operation focused on cattle: “Mr. Carr owns 20,000 acres of land in Modoc County, and the water controls 100,000 acres. He considers this the best piece of property he has. It is stocked with 5,000 head of cattle and 500 horses.”

We do not know the exact importance of the Petroglyph Point land to Carr’s sheep and cattle ranching; it seems significant, however, that the Carr holding spanned the isthmus leading to Petroglyph Point and the surrounding lands known simply at “the Island,” an area that was an island or a peninsula depending on the lake level. By owning some thirty-four acres, Carr controlled land access to several hundred acres.

We also do not know whether Carr ever visited this land, although his son may have. While Jesse never lived in Modoc County—he made only occasional visits—his son Larkin Carr did. The 1880 census listed Larkin Carr living at Clear Lake with his wife, Anthalinda, two children, laborers, a cattle dealer who boarded with them, a blacksmith, and a Chinese servant. When Jesse Carr died in 1903, he willed his property in Modoc County to his daughter, Jesse Carr Searle, who incorporated the Tule Lake Land and Livestock Company in 1906 to manage this property. This company eventually became the Klamath Lake Land and Livestock Company, incorporated by Jesse Carr’s nephew, William C. Dalton, in 1920. The property remained with the Klamath Lake Land and Livestock Company until 1940, when it was conveyed to Hubert O. Williams. The Park Service eventually acquired this land in 1954.

Homesteading at Petroglyph Point: The Rich/Coppock family

The Carr land that is now part of the Lava Beds National Monument tells one story of California: the “industrial cowboys” who were able to gain immense wealth after the United States acquired California. The acreage just north of the Carr land, and still in the national monument, tells a very different story of homestead farming. The Homestead Act of 1862 represented the U.S. government’s plan to distribute land in the American West to white settlers. The act granted citizens patents to parcels of up to 160 acres once they had “proved up” their claim by residing there for five years, farming it, and building a house. While Anna Lauer unsuccessfully tried to prove up Homestead Act land near

9 Bay of San Francisco, 510.
Caldwell Cave, the only successful claim under the Homestead Act within the current monument was that of James Rich near Petroglyph Point.

Before James Rich arrived at Petroglyph Point, his stepson Milo Coppock had staked a claim of about 157 acres less than half a mile south of the current Petroglyph Point section. Indeed, Coppock’s claim and Rich’s later claim likely functioned as one operation. In 1900, Milo F. Coppock and his wife Alice came to the Coppock Bay area that would soon take their name (although the spelling soon became corrupted to “Copic Bay”). Milo had worked in the San Joaquin Valley in the late nineteenth century as a nurseryman and hunted birds for the San Francisco market for Miller and Lux. The Tule Lake area reportedly attracted the family with its abundant wildlife and sparse settlement. The Coppocks lived in a small cabin for two years before they could bring in lumber to build a five-room house. By 1906, they had a house that measured fourteen feet by twenty-four feet, a dairy house, a granary, a corral, a fenced-off garden of five acres, and a fence around his entire claim. Coppock successfully proved up the land on May 1, 1907.13

The Coppocks had a diverse operation, including an orchard with apples, peaches, and pears. Indeed, settlers from Malin on the northern shores of Tule Lake would take boats or wagons to the Coppock place to get fruit for winter canning.14 Coppock ran sheep and cattle. At times, he ran his cattle in the Lava Beds. Finally, Coppock derived income from hunting. He and his neighbor, Arthur H. Crawford, hunted birds together at a camp at Dry Lake on trips that would take them away from their homesteads for up to six weeks at a time.15 They also hunted closer to home. According to local historian Isabelle Barry, Coppock “trained a cow or steer to feed out into the marshes toward the game while he walked along on the off-side of the animal until he came within shooting range of

13 Milo F. Coppock patented 157.26 acres with the following description: N ½ of NE ¼ of Section 15; SW ¼ of NE ¼ of Section 15; Lot 1 of N ½ of NW ¼ of section 14; all in T46N R5E, Mount Diablo Meridian, Modoc County, CA, document no. 2726, GLO Land Records [accessed via http://www.glorecords.blm.gov August 2006]. Milo’s brother Joseph Elsa Coppock patented 320 acres nearby in T45N R6E, Sections 1, 2, and 11 on May 3, 1920, document no. 05401, GLO Land Records [accessed via http://www.glorecords.gov, August 2006]. Arthur H. Crawford also patented land very near Petroglyph Point, although not including any land currently part of the monument. On December 30, 1905, Crawford proved up 160 acres constituting the S ½ of the SW ¼ of Section 10; the SW ¼ of the SE ¼ of Section 10; and the NW ¼ of the NW ¼ of Section 15, in T46N R5E, Mount Diablo Meridian, Modoc County, CA, document no. 2644. This is an area just south of the Petroglyph Point section, north and west of Milo Coppock’s land.
14 Devere Helfrich, “Boating on Tule Lake...” Klamath Echoes 1, no. 2 (1965): 73.
15 Land Entry file for Milo Coppock, Document no. 2726, NARA.
From their home near Petroglyph Point, the Coppocks ventured on occasion to the Lava Beds and the scenes of the Modoc War, sometimes leading groups of visitors on tours of Captain Jack's Stronghold.

Three years after Coppock staked his claim, his mother and stepfather, Ruth and James Rich, acquired land a mile north, between the Peninsula and Petroglyph Point. On September 29, 1903, James Rich filed on 160.97 acres in Township 46 North, Range 5 East, section 3, lots 1 and 4-10, making payments of sixteen and twenty-two dollars that year. The southernmost portion of this claim, lots 9 and 10 (32.66 and 9.49 acres respectively) would become part of the monument in 1954. According to Rich's land entry file with the General Land Office (GLO), he first moved onto the land on July 15, 1903. Rich (about ninety-one years old at the time) and Ruth (about fifty-nine), his wife of nine years, brought their three cows and two calves and camped in a tent. In September, they built a cabin, sixteen feet square, with a floor, two windows, and two doors. The elderly Rich (perhaps with Coppock's help) also built a chicken house, milk house, and corrals, dug a good well, and planted five or six acres of fruit trees and garden. He fenced his entire claim, using "wire and posts, and some rock." The land entry file does not make clear exactly where on the property the house was located, whether on the current monument land or not. If the fence did indeed enclose the entire claim, it would have run through the current Petroglyph section on the south edge of lots 9 and 10.

After residing on the land for five years, Rich hoped to prove it up and take full possession. Through disability or lack of education, Rich could not write; so in July 1908 he had someone else pen a letter to the land office saying, "pleas set date as soon as possible for me to proove up as I was born in 1812 my time is short & I want to get my afairs strait." That year, Rich and his neighbors testified to the land office to show he had proved up his claim, describing the farm in the following terms. He typically cultivated two to four acres a year, raising elderberries, gooseberries, currants, potatoes, and pumpkins. Due to rising water in Tule Lake, which he still referred to as "Rhett Lake", he was forced to abandon about three acres that he cultivated in 1904 and 1905. He had raised hogs each year from 1905 to 1907 and by 1908 had about eighteen cattle and one horse. Rich's final patent was approved on July 14, 1910.

17 Age based on 1870 and 1880 census entries; 1900 and 1910 censuses give her a later approximate birth date. Census records accessed via HeritageQuest.
18 Land Entry file for James Rich, serial patent number 149805, HE 4980, Redding Office, GLO records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
Prior to this final action, James and Ruth Rich transferred the land to Ruth’s son, Milo Coppock, on December 15, 1908. Milo added this to his existing homestead. James Rich’s age, the quick transfer of his land to Milo Coppock, and the proximity of Coppock’s land to Rich’s land all suggest that the lands may have operated as one single farming unit. Between the two Coppock homesteads stood the butte of Petroglyph Point. Swept up with the patriotic fervor of World War I, their son, Charles Coppock, painted a U.S. flag on the east side of Petroglyph in 1917. Soon after, he enlisted in the Marine Corps by lying about his age. This land stayed with the Coppock family until 1923, when it was conveyed to Hubert O. Williams. Milo Coppock died on May 3, 1924.

The land Coppock owned sat adjacent to land owned by the large Carr operation. The two operations could not have been more different—Carr controlling tens of thousands of acres in Modoc and Monterey counties, Coppock owning a few hundred acres, all of which one could view standing atop Petroglyph Point. Unlike Carr, who may have never seen his land at Petroglyph Point, Coppock had to testify that his family had lived there continuously in order to prove it up. Conflicts were common between large cattle operations like the Carr Ranch and homesteaders such as the Coppocks. A 1947 newspaper article about the Coppock homestead based on an interview with Alice Coppock suggests such conflicts between the Carr operation and the Coppocks, although it provides few specifics:

Some of the large cattlemen were antagonistic toward the homesteaders and tried various methods of discouraging them. One trick was to padlock the gates. Most fences ended in the lake, so the settlers just swam their horses around the end of the fence. Contrary to most popular stories, Mrs. Coppock says there were no shootings on their place.

Lying adjacent to each other in what is now the Petroglyph section of Lava Beds National Monument, the Carr parcel and the Rich/Coppock parcel tell two very different stories of landownership in the American West—stories that show how government policies helped white settlers bring a new set of economic pursuits to former Modoc lands.


Conservationists and Plume Hunters

Just as distant cattle barons such as Carr shaped the landscape near the Coppock homestead, urban conservationists came there as well, hoping to alter the ways that locals used the area’s resources. In the early twentieth century, improved transportation, growing networks of trade, industrial ranching, and increased white settlement were tying the local ecology more and more closely to the national economy. For Coppock and others, the abundant wildlife of Tule Lake was a resource that helped them feed their families. At the same time, less utilitarian views of wildlife were emerging. The area around Petroglyph Point was also shaped by the growing conservation ideal. Several prominent conservationists visited Coppock Bay in the early twentieth century to assess the birdlife of the area and make the case for protecting it. Most notably, in 1905, William L. Finley and Herman T. Bohlman made an ornithological trip in the Klamath lakes region, spending two weeks on Tule Lake. Although there is no clear evidence that they entered the main portion of the current monument, they spent about a week camping and photographing at and around Petroglyph Point. Their journey provides the only extensive photographic record of the current monument between the Modoc War photographs of 1873 and J. D. Howard’s photography of the late 1910s and 1920s. These men brought with them a very different view of wildlife than that held by Coppock and other local hunters.

Finley and Bohlman were boyhood friends and neighbors from Portland, both born around 1875, who had together pursued an early interest in collecting and selling bird eggs and bird skins. As ornithological collecting fell into disfavor among urban elites in the 1890s, the young men turned their attention from collecting to photographing birds. In 1894, Finley, Bohlman, and others established the North-Western Ornithological Association.22 Around 1897, the two men began organizing annual summer trips to photograph birds.23 Through their photography and activism, they were prominent in efforts to conserve wildlife, especially Finley. He helped found the Oregon Aubudon Society in 1902 and became its president in 1906. He lobbied for Oregon’s passage of the Model Bird Act in 1903 and worked to eliminate the plume and feather trade.24

The birds of Tule Lake had become especially attractive to hunters, as the plume trade took off in the late nineteenth century. Among the species seen on women’s

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24 Mathewson, William L. Finley, 6–9.
hats by one observer in New York City in 1898 were many of the species common to Tule Lake: herons, gulls, terns, and grebes.\textsuperscript{25} The craze for bird feathers and even entire birds on women’s hats was hardly the only threat birds faced in the late nineteenth century, yet the millinery trade was a key focus of early conservationists. For many middle-class women active in the burgeoning women’s clubs that promoted literary discussion and urban reform these feather hats (an especially visible threat to wildlife) seemed particularly out of step with the nurturing moral character they felt should define women. Partly in response to the surge in women’s hats adorned with feathers or entire birds, Audubon societies began to form across the country to lobby for protections. Women generally provided the bulk of the membership of these societies and keep them running week to week, although the societies often recruited men as club presidents and field investigators. On the national level, Congress passes the Lacey Act in 1900, which banned the transportation across state line of birds killed against state law; but conservationists including those who visited Tule Lake continued to work for stricter state laws to curtail this commerce.\textsuperscript{26}

Conservationists began to visit Tule Lake and specifically Coppock Bay in the late 1890s, as they heard stories of plume hunters decimating the birdlife of the area. They would publicize the natural riches of the area to a national audience and lead efforts to assess and protect the area’s wildlife. Naturalist Vernon Bailey camped on the shores of Tule Lake in July 1899, a year before the Coppocks established their homestead, and found birds breeding in abundance. Although his descriptions were vague, he apparently camped at Coppock Bay, since he referred to a corner of the lake with a peninsula and a set of rocky islands. As he walked on the shore, avocets and black-necked stilts screamed and dove and scolded him for invading their nesting area. By contrast, the cormorants and pelicans deserted their young at the first sign of alarm.

Bailey reported that hunters had driven the thousands of pelicans who once nested on the peninsula to “a few little rocky islands in the lake.” He also saw “under one group of trees where the cormorants nested, nearly a hundred almost full grown young […] lying where vandals had shot them from their nests.”\textsuperscript{27} Wading out from shore, he could see first the nests of coots and ruddy ducks supported by standing tules in shallow water; then the nests of grebes floating on

\textsuperscript{25} New York Observer and Chronicle, February 17, 1898, 76.
\textsuperscript{27} Vernon Bailey, “Unprotected Breeding Grounds,” The Condor 4, no. 3 (May–June 1902), 62–64.
Farming, Hunting, and Conservation at Petroglyph Point, 1873–1910s

tule mats in two to four feet of water; then the nests of Forster terns floating in waist-deep water; and finally black terns half a mile from shore. On rocky islands, he saw Caspian terns, pelicans, and gulls. In a 1902 article in The Condor, Bailey used his experience at Coppock Bay and elsewhere to plead for action:

In the past four years many thousand grebe skins have been shipped from this one lake, and the skin and plume hunting business has spread over the Great Basin Country. A few years ago market hunters visited these lakes when the young ducks were nearly fully grown and the old ducks moulting [sic] and unable to fly, loading their wagons with them for the market. While the game laws have put a stop to the open wholesale slaughter of ducks out of season most of the other birds, just as worthy of protection, are left un guarded. The white pelicans have been driven from many of their breeding grounds. The most beautiful species of our grebes have been woefully thinned in numbers, and unless some protection is afforded the birds these lakes will soon be a veritable part of the desert.  

Six months later in January 1900, Bailey spoke to the Biological Society of Washington [D.C.] and told its members the dangers to the birds of Tule Lake. He told his fellow biologists about:

"Where the Grebe skins come from," and how the birds are killed by the thousands among their nests on the lakes of eastern Oregon and California. Three species, the western, the eared, and the pied-billed grebe were found breeding among the tules in the shallow waters of Tule Lake, California, and here the hunters were engaged in shooting the old birds, stripping the skins from their breasts and shipping them to San Francisco. From twenty to fifty cents were received for a skin and the hunters were making from twenty to thirty dollars a day. At the present rate of destruction the birds will not last many years and the speaker raised the question, can they not be protected?  

The growing links to world markets presented opportunities for hunters and perils for birds. This abundant wildlife attracted Milo Coppock to the area the following year.  

28 Ibid., 64.
29 "Biological Society of Washington, 316th Meeting, Saturday, January, 13th," Science 11, no. 266 (February 2, 1900): 188–89.
As the hunting continued, another naturalist made his way to Coppock Bay. J. M. Willard of the Cooper Club visited in 1903, three years after the Coppocks had established their homestead south of Petroglyph Point. Although he did not mention the active hunters Coppock and Crawford, Willard did report that two half-brothers, Tom Kurr and Oscar Rankin, hunted grebes on Tule Lake as well as Eagle Lake. They owned a boat and a team of horses to haul the boat between the two lakes. Willard noted with dismay, “The ranchers of the country around these lakes seem to consider the slaughter of birds as a legitimate trade, and encourage it rather than otherwise.”

On the lower, deeper (southern) end, Willard noted “ducks, coots and grebes in abundance.” “I do not think,” he wrote, “that the upper, shallower [northern] end of the lake is a good place for grebes, at this season of year at least; further, there might have been numbers of birds all about hidden in the tules, startled by the noise of my passage, for I made considerable, floundering waist-deep over and through the mat of fallen tules.” Willard had a very different view of these birds than local ranchers did. He was appalled that local ranchers had killed a rookery of blue herons. They also “visited the breeding ground of gulls, pelicans, and cormorants, and had broken every egg they could find.” The ranchers killed these birds, he said, because “the birds are killing off the fish from the lake, and that they are of no use in the world.”

After depleting the grebe colony of Coppock Bay, the hunters moved to the northern end of the lake. Speaking in 1910 before the Royal Society of Arts in Great Britain, ornithologist James Buckland described the continued slaughter of Tule Lake’s birds:

*During the last six or seven years there were from twenty to thirty camps of professional killers and skinners stationed along the border of Klamath Lake, and the north end of Tulé Lake, engaged solely in killing grebes. Wagons visited the camps regularly—about three times a week—to collect the skins. This continued on until every grebe which had lived on the northern borders of Tulé Lake had been wiped out of existence, and until the great breeding grounds on the southern end of Lower Klamath Lake had been reduced to a few small colonies.*

32 Ibid., 115–16.
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Through the efforts of these traveling conservationists and naturalists, Tule Lake became known to an audience of nature-lovers around the world.

As conservationists grew concerned about depleting bird populations on Tule Lake, Finley and Bohlman set out to explore the Klamath lakes region. Starting in late May 1905, they spent about two weeks rowing around Tule Lake and then two weeks visiting White Lake and Lower Klamath Lake. At Merrill, they acquired a fourteen-foot rowboat and headed to J. Frank Adams’s ranch at the mouth of the Lost River. Here they camped for five days, hearing the “Whit-whit-ie!” of avocets and the “Quit! Quit!” of stilts, observing and photographing killdeer, ducks, quail, and burrowing owls. Finley’s brief descriptions of the trip do not reveal whether they talked with the ranch’s owner, J. Frank Adams, who may already have been running horses in the Lava Beds by this date. From the Adams Ranch, they rowed south until they came to a wreck of a cabin on a grass island. Here they saw the remains of the plume hunters’ camp with shell casings and feathers strewn about. This may be the cabin, apparently about six by twelve feet with a slanted roof, which they photographed and gave the caption “The Deserted Hunter’s Cabin.”

The men clearly had a grand time as they camped and photographed together. Their journey also had a serious purpose: to collect photographs and other evidence about the birdlife of the lakes and to foster the preservation of that wildlife. The photographs and stories they gathered would help them publicize these issues. The scene at the cabin, for instance, would inspire Finley to publish an emotional appeal for conservation in the Atlantic Monthly five years later.

Worst of all were sights that brought the tears. I saw a grebe mother that had been shot, and not been found by the plume-hunters,—a mother lying dead beside her home. In a small bunch of tules I saw a grebe baby trying to crawl under a dead mother’s wing,—cold, helpless, starving. I can hear him yet.

Thus it was that we saw the passing of the great grebe colony along the northern end of Tule Lake. It was not the first colony of birds we had seen annihilated, but it left a deeper impression than any such sight I had seen before, or have seen since.

**Box 30, folder 39, Neg. A1735, William L. Finley Collection, Oregon Historical Society.**

The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

Image 5-4. William L. Finley and Henry T. Bohlman encamped east of Petroglyph Point, 1905. The campsite is within or very near the current monument. Bohlman is pulling the shutter string with his right hand. (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1608)

Image 5-5. Rephotography of previous image, June 2006. This image was taken in the parking area east of the butte, within the Petroglyph Point section of LBNM. (Photo: Frederick L. Brown)
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Image 5-6. The Peninsula with “Cormorant Island” and Coppock Bay in foreground. Photograph by Finley/Bohlman, 1905. (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1645)

Image 5-7. Finley and Bohlman rounding “Bloody Point” (likely Petroglyph Point), 1905. (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1612)
Image 5-8. Finley in front of his tent in Pelican Camp, opposite Petroglyph Point, 1905. (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1599)
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Image 5-9. Bohlman, left, and Finley in Pelican Camp, 1905. The campsite was likely near the current northeast corner of the monument. (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1827)

Image 5-10. Pelican Island, 1905. (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1821)
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

Image 5-11. Cormorant chicks on Pelican Island, with Petroglyph Point in background, 1905. (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1627)

Image 5-12. Pelicans and cormorants on “Pelican Island” with Petroglyph Point in background, 1905. (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1801)
one dropped and came up with fish, he was surrounded by a bunch of gulls, each scrambling to get a nose in the pelican’s big fish bag.

The summer of 1895, we had a chance to make an intimate study of the white pelican in its home on the lakes of southern Oregon. I have never seen this bird plunge for its fish as the brown pelican does, but those we watched always swam along and with a swift motion scooped up the fish here and there from the surface. The birds were so plentiful about Tule Lake that we were anxious to find where they were nesting.

We set out across Tule Lake for the peninsula which was fifteen miles distant. Our fourteen-foot boat was well loaded, but a good wind to the rear helped us along. The further we went, the stiffer the wind grew. At first we used our big wagon-umbrella as a sail. I stood in the bow and held it, and we plowed along,

but at times the wind came in puffs, and once or twice our sail was almost demolished and I nearly landed in the water. The boat began to ship water and we both had to exert our best energy at the oars as the wind veered. Not till dusk did we reach the rocky shore of the peninsula, only to find that the treacherous point forbade a landing. Later we found a small sandy beach where we waded ashore and made a rough camp for the night.

This peninsula, upon which we found the crater of an extinct volcano, extended out from the east shore. The neck at the narrowest point was only fifty feet wide and across this we dragged our boat and set out for the lower end of the lake.

We paddled up the inlet for two miles and came to a rocky island containing a colony of Farallon cormorants. Here on the rocks, in a space of twenty-five by
Image 5-14. Bohlman preparing a shot of Pelican Island, with Petroglyph Point in the background, 1905. (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1797)

Image 5-15. Pelican Island and Petroglyph Point, 1905. (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1805)

Image 5-16. Detail of previous image, showing at least five cattle grazing near the shore of Tule Lake at Petroglyph Point. Rich, Coppock, and Crawford all had ranches very near Petroglyph Point. These cattle are also visible in 5-12 (A1801), 5-20 (A1804), possibly 5-14 (A1797), and 5-19 (A1654). (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1805)
Image 5-17. Pelican Island, 1905. The Peninsula, left, and Petroglyph Point, in background. Land between the Peninsula and Petroglyph Point owned by Jesse Carr's descendants and James Rich (right). (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1803)

As they made their way south on Tule Lake, they enjoyed a swift helping wind, deploying their umbrella blind as a sail at times. Later that day, they reached the Peninsula. As they portaged over the thin stretch of land fifty yards wide connecting the Peninsula to the mainland, near the present town of Newell, they stopped to photograph themselves pushing their boat with the Peninsula in the background. They then rowed south and camped on the east side of Petroglyph
Farming, Hunting, and Conservation at Petroglyph Point, 1873–1910s

Image 5-21. Southern end of Petroglyph Point with pelicans in flight, 1905. Some of the land on the right may have been Arthur Crawford’s. (Oregon Historical Society, Finley Collection, A1818)

Point—“just below the crater of an extinct volcano” as Finley described it—at a campsite they dubbed Rattlesnake Camp. As they prepared breakfast in the camp one day, they stopped to photograph themselves. While Finley cut bread and Bohlman poured coffee, Bohlman pulled the shutter (see images 5-5).

One morning they rowed out to “a rocky island containing a colony of Farallone Cormorants,” an outcropping in Coppock Bay they dubbed “Cormorant Island.” As Finley described it, “In a space of 25 or 50 feet we counted 190 nests, containing about 300 young birds and half as many eggs.” The men took numerous photographs: close-ups, scenes with the Peninsula in the background, and scenes of the men themselves with the birds—scenes that revealed the abundant wildlife of the marsh and that told the story of their journey.

Their choice of photographic subjects was revealing. They avoided taking images of the nearby Coppock, Rich, or Crawford ranches: the only signs of ranching are a few cattle just barely discernable grazing the lake shore of Petroglyph Point (see

37 Photo A1608, William Finley Collection, Oregon Historical Society; Rephotography of this image provides the clearest evidence that Rattlesnake camp was in or near the Petroglyph Point section of Lava Beds National Monument.
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

images 5-15 and 5-16). Yet, neither did they seek to portray a pristine landscape devoid of human presence. Rather, the two young naturalists appeared repeatedly in photographs with the birds. In one photo, the two men sat surrounded by cormorants, Finley took notes, while Bohlman sat next to a nest holding an egg in his right hand and pulling the shutter with his left. In another, Finley held a camera, while Bohlman sat with a box (presumably of photographic plates) and pulled the shutter. In another, Finley held what appears to be a pencil out to two young cormorants.

From their campsite at the base of Petroglyph Point, the men apparently made their way up the butte. The Finley photograph collection includes two photographs of cliff swallow nests, labeled as being taken on Tule Lake during this trip. Although the exact location of these nests is not clear from the photos or their captions, Petroglyph Point seems the most likely place they would have encountered cliff swallow nests.

Finley and Bohlman then rowed through the inlet from Coppock Bay toward Tule Lake proper. It was perhaps near here that they staged a photograph of themselves rounding a point they labeled Bloody Point, a name some early maps attached to Petroglyph Point and the Island (see image 5-7). West of Petroglyph Point, they found one of the “few little rocky islands in the lake” referred to by Bailey in 1899 that still had pelicans. They discovered hundreds of pelicans and cormorants nesting together at an outcropping they dubbed “Pelican Island.” Here again, they took numerous photographs, many with the west face of Petroglyph Point in the background.

In addition to shooting numerous photographs of the birds, Finley waded out to photograph Bohlman at work. These photographs represent the first extensive photographic record of Petroglyph Point. They show water lapping up on the western shore of the butte, several trees dotting the shoreline, and cattle grazing near the rock face. Again, their photographs included close-ups of the cormorants and pelicans, broader shots of the island with Petroglyph Point and the Peninsula in the background, and shots that portrayed Bohlman at work. They camped on the southern shore of Tule Lake west or southwest of Petroglyph Point, at a

38 Mathewson, William L. Finley, 77.
39 Ibid., 78
40 Ibid., 76.
41 Photo A1883, A1884, William L. Finley Collection, Oregon Historical Society.
42 Photo A1612, William L. Finley Collection, Oregon Historical Society.
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location within a few miles of the current northeast entrance to the monument, a site that Finley’s photo captions refer to as “Pelican Camp” or “Camp near Willow.” They took at least two photographs of this campsite. In one, Finley peered across the lake using a looking glass, while Bohlman took an axe to a stick and pulled the shutter with his left hand. In the other Finley took notes while sitting in front of the tent (see images 5-8 and 5-9).

From their campsite they could easily have hiked or rowed about five miles west to Captain Jacks Stronghold, or two miles farther to Canby Cross, to visit the sites that attracted most white travelers to the area. Yet the articles Finley wrote about the trip and the dozens of photographs surviving from their time at the southern end of Tule Lake provide no evidence of a trip to the Lava Beds. Unlike many local residents who saw Canby Cross as the southern Tule Lake location of greatest interest to travelers—sometimes the only site noted on maps—Finley and Bohlman had a different objective: observing and conserving birdlife. For this purpose the shallow waters around Petroglyph Point held greater interest than the deeper waters farther west. For these two men, the plight of this area’s wildlife trumped the story of the Modoc War. Wildlife would take a more and more important role in the management of the Lava Beds throughout the twentieth century.

After spending several days around Petroglyph Point, likely a week or more, the two men returned to Merrill and continued their travels on White Lake and the Lower Klamath Lake. Over the next twenty years Finley included photographs from the Petroglyph Point area and accounts of the journey in a variety of articles written to encourage the preservation of cormorants, pelicans, grebes, and the other birds they encountered on their trip. He wrote about the journey in The American Magazine in 1906, The Condor in 1907 (2 articles), The Atlantic Monthly in 1910, and National Geographic in 1923. While Rich, Coppock, and Crawford lived out their lives within a stone’s throw of Petroglyph Point and Coppock Bay, these two brief visitors from the city had a much greater role in acquainting people across the nation with the landscape. They acquainted a broader public with a new story about the area, beyond its association with the Modoc War.

Photos A1827 and A1599, Finley Collection, Oregon Historical Society.

Finley did not provide an exact chronology of his and Bohlman’s travels. He wrote that they spent two weeks on Tule Lake and that they spent five days at the Adams Ranch. This could mean they spent the remaining nine days or so at the south end of the lake. Alternatively, Finley may not have included the five days at Adams Ranch in their two weeks on the lake and they may have spent all of the two weeks around Coppock Bay.
The efforts of Finley and Bohlman were too late for the grebes of Coppock Bay, which disappeared around 1904. Finley made no mention of grebes nor took any photographs of them around Coppock Bay. By contrast, Bailey had seen them there in 1899, as did Willard in 1903. Their efforts were also too late for the grebes of northern Tule Lake: Finley and Bohlman witnessed the rotting corpses of the last grebes on the northern end of the lake in 1905. They would, however, play an important role in the creation of the Klamath and Malheur Wildlife Refuges in 1908. Finley also worked for the founding of Oregon's Fish and Game Commission in 1911 and served as a commissioner. Perhaps because plans were already well under way for Tule Lake to be drained for agriculture, the Tule Lake Wildlife Refuge was not created until 1928. In the assessment of the eminent naturalist Roger Tory Peterson, "Had it not been for William Finley, and I say this advisedly, the great wildfowl marshes of Klamath, Tule, and Malheur might have been lost forever."45

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The area around Petroglyph Point was shaped in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by government land policies, by the economic opportunities that land and wildlife afforded, and by the conservation ideal. The James Rich homestead (soon transferred to Milo Coppock) and the adjacent land owned by Jesse Carr demonstrated two very different types of agricultural operations, which benefited from federal land laws and the productivity of the region around Coppock Bay. The area also attracted conservationists with a very different view of the local environment. Their efforts may not have greatly altered Coppock's life. He died in 1924, four years before Tule Lake Wildlife Refuge was established. However, Finley and Bohlman's trip is important as an early well-documented journey to the area by supporters of conservation—an ideal that would in various forms continued to shape the landscape to the present. It is important also because Finley used the stories and photographs gathered during the trip in his lobbying and publicity efforts for decades afterward.

Throughout the twentieth century, state and federal government would take on a greater and greater role in managing environmental arrangements in the vicinity of the Lava Beds as well as nationally. The Modoc National Forest would become manager of the Lava Beds starting in 1920, influenced by a philosophy of efficiently managing grazing and timber resources to promote economic

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development, while leaving enough resources available for future use. With the
creation of the Tule Lake National Wildlife Refuge in 1928, the Biological Survey
would come to manage the remnant marshes of Tule Lake that abut the Lava Beds.
The National Park Service, shaped by the variant of conservationism that focused
on preservation, would come to manage the Lava Beds starting in 1934. From the
1930s on, park rangers worked to enforce game laws within the national
monument. Most recently, bitter struggles have gripped the Klamath basin over
balancing the use of water for farming and to preserve endangered suckers. The
competing views of wildlife held by local ranchers and the visiting naturalists in
1905 continue to shape policy and attitudes in the land around Tule Lake.
Chapter 6

The Lava Beds changed markedly in the 1910s and 1920s. The lonely landscape of the late nineteenth century became the “Wonderland” touted in tourist tracts and a prime winter ground for sheep. It became more tightly connected to the world of non-Indians. Still, it remained on the edge of that world, as the qualities that recommended the area to visitors—its amazing geological features and its sheep-grazing resources—did not invite permanent settlement. A number of trends came together to strengthen these networks of connection: the rise of automobile travel, a boom in sheep markets, and the influence of federal power in the form of land laws, prohibition, and Forest Service policies. While a trip on horseback often required camping out for the night, the automobile made day trips easier. Automobiles made it possible to visit the caves that lay well south of the Tule Lake shoreline. Cars also allowed moonshiners to run illegal whisky out the Lava Beds and revelers to drive into the prohibition-era resort at Bearpaw Cave. The boom in the sheep industry in the 1910s increased use of a different sort: more and more stockmen trailed their flocks through what is now the monument. In a variety of domains, the government (especially the federal government) shaped use of the area. It encouraged road-building, distributed federal land, and drained Tule Lake. It enforced the prohibition on alcohol in the 1920s. The federal government had its greatest influence during this era through the U.S. Forest Service, as the Lava Beds became part of Modoc National Forest in 1920. The Forest Service gradually took on a greater role managing activities in the Lava Beds, including automobile tourism and sheep grazing, that predated its jurisdiction over the area.

As markets, government, and the automobile connected the Lava Beds more tightly to the world, it became a much livelier place. These trends also continued a shift in the ways people interacted with and knew the local landscape. Modocs knew the landscape based on their local knowledge and shared cultural information. The motorists who began visiting the Lava Beds in the 1910s

1 Siskiyou News, April 30, 1925, 1.
Automobiles, Livestock, and the Forest Service, 1910s–1934

provided a new audience for the stories Americans had been telling about the Lava Beds since the Modoc War—stories that were now recounted by tour guides and on plaques in the Lava Beds themselves. The author Zane Grey told new stories about the Lava Beds in his popular novel, Forlorn River. Twentieth-century visitors, however, would never know the Lava Beds as intimately as the Modocs had. To facilitate a new way of knowing the landscape, the Forest Service and others developed systems of maps and signs so that travelers could visit the area briefly and quickly orient themselves. Aided by maps and signs, tourists and revelers turned the lonely landscape of the Lava Beds into a hub of recreation and good times.

1) The Rise of Automobile Travel: Tourists, Revelers, and Moonshiners Come to the Lava Beds

With the introduction of the Model T in 1908, automobile ownership soared and automobile tourism became an option for many Americans. Registered automobiles in the United States leapt from five hundred thousand in 1910 to 6 million in 1920.2 Automobile enthusiasts camped beside their cars in rural and wilderness locations, which a few years before had been too remote for city-dwelling travelers. The automobile created greater links between rural and urban areas. As historian James J. Flink has noted, “[I]t permitted escape from the supposedly debilitating environment of the city without cutting oneself off from the advantages only the metropolis offered.”3 In the 1910s, local residents drove the first automobiles into the Lava Beds. Guy Merrill drove his Buick Model 14 to Golddigger’s Pass in May 1911. The Klamath Falls Herald announced this journey as the first auto to enter the Lava Beds.4 On June 24, 1915, local officials from Klamath and Modoc Counties met at Bearpaw Cave to discuss building a road into the area. The Klamath County party left Klamath Falls, drove their cars five miles beyond Sam Fleener’s place, and walked the remaining five miles to Bearpaw Cave, where they consulted with Modoc County officials and visited the ice cave. In attendance were Charles H. Merrill, O. C. Applegate, O. C. Applegate, Jr., and Richard Gibson of Klamath County, and C. J. Fuller, Lester Woods, and George Krezge of Modoc County. The result of this meeting would be an automobile road through the Lava Beds.5 The newspaper described grand plans

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4 Klamath Falls Herald, May 27, 1911 (retyped in LBNM Library, 979.4 LAV).
5 Klamath Falls Evening Herald article, reprinted in Dorris Times, June 25, 1915, 2; Klamath Record, May 14, 1920, 5.
Image 6-1. Image from photo album showing automobile at Bearpaw Cave, ca. 1914, soon after the first automobiles arrived in the area. The ability of autos to bring visitors to the ice caves would transform the Lava Beds. (LBNM Archives)

Image 6-2. Visitors, 1914, dropping pebbles into Fleener Chimneys. (LBNM Archives)
for this road “to give Klamath County, in conjunction with the Crater Lake trip, the most scenic highway in the State.”

The article did not lay out the exact route of the “Lava Bed road,” although it seemed to link Klamath Falls to Fleener’s place and Bearpaw Cave and then connect to a Modoc County section of road. Guy Merrill may have been referring to the same road project when in a recorded interview he discussed building the first road to Bearpaw Cave in the following terms:

Well we built a road in there. That was the first that was ever in there. Oh we used to have a cow trail that ran in there but we built a road in there. I, my dad discovered them I think in about 1904 or 1906 and we built a road in there from the [Fleener place?]. There was already a kind of a road in there. A hunters road that they would come out there and from there on in my dad and a bunch of them we built it in there. In fact the Chamber of Commerce put up a little money to help build the first one that went in there. That was old Bert Hall and all that bunch was in there. So we had a big stay down there one time after that. But he built the first road in there, My dad.

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6 Klamath Falls Evening Herald article, reprinted in Dorris Times, June 25, 1915, 2.
7 Guy Merrill interview, 1965, Klamath County Museum; the transcription of the interview says: “we built a road in there from the (Cleaner?).”
The Merrills’ interest in the area first emerged from their stock operations. An examination of the Merrill family’s history shows how the trends of increased automobile travel and increasing sheep grazing in the Lava Beds were intertwined. Attracted to the area by the irrigation projects J. Frank Adams was pursuing, Charles H. Merrill and his brother Nathan had founded the town of Merrill on the northern shore of Tule Lake in 1894. Nathan was born in 1836 in New Hampshire, Charles in 1847 in Illinois, and the family came to California around 1870. They platted the town of Merrill in 1894 on land Nathan had bought from J. Frank Adams in 1891. Like many who participated in the sheep business in the 1910s, they had a diverse operation that focused not only on sheep. Charles H. Merrill had a large horse operation, running about a thousand head over Klamath and Siskiyou counties. He and his son Charles “Guy” Merrill apparently first started using the area around Bearpaw Cave as a winter camp for his horses.

The Klamath County personal property rolls traced the family’s shift from horse-raising to shepherding. In 1900, Charles H. Merrill had no livestock. In 1910, his sons, Purl Rice Merrill and Charles “Guy” Merrill, had 150 horses (and mules) and nine sheep. In 1912, Guy Merrill owned fifty-eight horses and no sheep. The 1918 personal property rolls show that Guy Merrill had four hundred sheep. By the time they built the road to Bearpaw Cave, the Merrills had a well-established sheep operation centered around the cave.

Soon after building the road, Charles H. Merrill made application on August 5, 1916, under the Timber and Stone Act of 1878, to acquire 160 acres near Bearpaw Cave. He hired a timber cruiser, who valued the juniper and “small yellow pine” on the property at $400. Based on this assessment, Merrill submitted his application for the land on August 5, 1916, claiming he was most interested in the land to make fence posts out of the juniper. This application, however, raised concerns for C. J. Blanchard of the Reclamation Service, who felt the area might merit status as a national monument. The General Land Office (GLO) inspector, Leroy A. Palmer, raised other issues as well, casting doubt on Merrill’s claim to wanting the land for timber in the following terms:

9Census records, 1900 (accessed via HeritageQuest).
10Merrill Centennial Committee, *Merrill Centennial, 21–22.*
11Klamath County personal property rolls, 1918.
12Charles H. Merrill land entry file, patent number 602422, HE number, General Land Office records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
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The applicant, Mr. Merrill, is a stock man and sheep man and ranges quite a band of sheep in this locality, and either owns or controls through lease about 1600 acres of land hereabouts. This land is covered by a good growth of bunch grass, and I have no doubt that if the facts of the case were known, it is probable that the applicant desires this land more for its grazing value than for the timber or stone thereon.

Palmer went on to note, however, that the GLO had generally been unable to prevent such inappropriate uses of the Timber and Stone Act; they had little choice but to approve it. He also determined that the area did not merit status as a national monument (for details see page 196 below). Charles H. Merrill succeeded in obtaining his timber patent on October 1, 1917.\(^\text{13}\)

It seems clear that Charles H. Merrill acquired the land in part for livestock. However, by about 1923, his son Guy had established the Bearpaw Resort there. Whether Charles H. Merrill already had a resort in mind in 1916 is unknown. It is interesting to note, however, that Oregon had started enforcing statewide prohibition on January 1, 1916, a few months before the elder Merrill started his Timber and Stone Act claim. The rise of the automobile era and legislation prohibiting alcohol went together to make the Bearpaw Resort a going concern and to gather the largest concentrations of people that Lava Beds had seen since the Modoc War. To understand the emergence of the Bearpaw Resort, we must first consider the broader context of prohibition in the Oregon-California borderland.

**Prohibition and Bootlegging**

The rise of automobile travel and the passage of antialcohol legislation combined to make the Lava Beds an especially attractive place for moonshiners. Government played key roles in both trends by enforcing prohibition and by building roads. Prohibition laws made remote rural locations, and especially ones with caves to conceal stills and liquor stashes, attractive. Automobiles and the newly built roads made it possible to transport the illegal whisky for sale in the nearby towns of northern California and southern Oregon. While the Lava Beds had been important to the Modoc Indians for hunting and gathering and for its spiritual properties, while it had continued importance for recreation and for livestock operations, the only recorded manufacturing in what is now the Lava Beds National Monument was the illegal production of alcohol during prohibition.

\(^{13}\) Charles H. Merrill land entry file, patent number 602422, HE number, General Land Office records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

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The local history of prohibition predated nationwide prohibition, which lasted from 1920 to 1933. Progressive reformers won control of the California state government in 1910. In 1911, they passed a local-option law, allowing local jurisdictions to outlaw liquor production, sale, and consumption, providing a statewide legal framework to strengthen the efforts of counties such as Siskiyou that were already limiting commerce in alcohol. In 1909, Siskiyou County had become dry except for several cities that retained the right to make and distribute liquor. Thus, alcohol production in the Lava Beds was illegal from 1909 forward. Oregon allowed the local option of going dry starting in 1904. On November 3, 1914, Oregon passed a statewide prohibition amendment, which went into effect January 1, 1916, four years before national prohibition took effect.

Throughout the changing prohibition laws, Siskiyou County was generally more wide open than Klamath County, and booze flowed northward across the border even before national prohibition. Dorris was one of the towns that retained the right to produce alcohol, despite the general ban throughout Siskiyou County. Dorris, some eighteen miles northwest of the Lava Beds and four miles from the Oregon border, had the reputation of supplying alcohol to Klamath County residents, both by shipping it over the state line and by Klamath County residents traveling to Dorris to drink. When Siskiyou went dry in 1909, one newspaper was careful to note that “Klamath Falls will still be able to get its supply of firewater from Dorris as usual.”

In 1919, the nation approved the Eighteenth Amendment prohibiting the sale, manufacture, and transport of alcohol. California ratified the amendment on January 13, 1919, and Oregon did so two days later on January 15. A year later, on January 16, 1920, the Volstead Act enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment took effect nationally. With nationwide prohibition, however, liquor still flowed north and not south across the Oregon-California border.

Prohibition succeeded in reducing alcohol consumption; by definition, however, it increased illegal alcohol production. The process of making moonshine whisky

16 *Dorris Booster*, June 26, 1908, 4; September 17, 1909, 1.
17 *Dorris Booster*, June 26, 1908, 4; September 17, 1909, 1; *Klamath Falls Evening Herald*, November 29, 1909, 1.
involved “soaking up the mash—a potent combination of corn and sugar—and putting the fermentable, starchy mixture over a fire.” Moonshiners needed rye or corn, sugar, and importantly lots of water. While all the caves presented opportunities for concealment, moonshiners were especially attracted to caves with water. The area’s topography and water resources were once again key to its history.

One of the prominent bootleggers in the Lava Beds, as locals recall it, was Jim Howard. Howard first appeared in the diary of Lava Beds enthusiast J. D. Howard (no relation) in 1919: “Sep. 28.1919. Mrs Reynolds has just told me that John Floden, Jim Howard, and Love Chandler have shot the lock off my camp chest and pilfered it, Oct.10/19. Jim Howard has put everything back and all is well.”

Although J. D. Howard’s entry makes no reference to bootlegging, it provides circumstantial evidence that moonshiners were operating in the Lava Beds before national prohibition took effect in 1920. It also raises the possibility that Floden and Chandler could have been associates of Howard’s in manufacturing hooch. Although this is merely guilt by association, further evidence that Floden and Chandler might have been set up to haul illegal moonshine comes from the fact that Floden was a jitney driver and Chandler ran a mail route.

Like the Modocs, like white hunters and stockmen, moonshiners sought the caves with water. Unlike these others, however, moonshiners used water quite intensively and quickly depleted the resource. According to J. D. Howard, Jim Howard started making moonshine in Bearpaw Ice Cave (today’s Merrill Cave). When Guy Merrill established his resort there around 1923, Jim Howard moved to Mushpot Cave. The fireplace for his distilling operation is still visible near the entrance of Mushpot Cave. When J. D. Howard would lead groups through the Lava Beds, he was careful to steer clear of Mushpot Cave. After leaving Mushpot Cave (perhaps because it lacked water), Jim Howard went to Crystal Cave (now

19 “Bootlegging Days,” box 6, folder 1, Janis Kafton Collection, Shaw Historical Library.
21 The 1920 census lists two James Howards in Siskiyou County, one in Hilt and one in Edgewood; none in Modoc County; and none in Klamath County. It lists no one as “Jim Howard.” Neither of these men can be clearly identified as the bootlegger. The 1917 draft registration records indicate an Oscar Love Chandler, born in Kentucky in 1892, living in Malin and working as a farmer and stock raiser (accessed through Ancestry.com). The 1920 census lists a John Flodin, a Swedish immigrant also born in 1892, living in Klamath Falls and working as a “jitney driver, private car” (accessed through Ancestry.com). A newspaper clipping from 1959 provides the following information: “Mr. Love Chandler had the mail route between Tule Lake and Merrill. He also brought the Malin mail to Adams’ store, which at that time was a general store and P.O.” (Newspaper clipping of letter by Joseph and Emily Divisek [source?], 7–30, 1959, file #184, Klamath County Museum).
known as Crystal Ice Cave), where his operation destroyed most of the ice, and then to Schonchin’s Well. All of these caves, except for Mushpot, had water.22

Local “buckaroos” also remember that Jim Howard operated a horse camp and whisky still at the north end of the Lava Beds, close to the Lava Beds’ other water source, Tule Lake. The exact location of the camp is unknown. However, a 1925 GLO cadastral survey map showed a house near Canby Cross and a 1934 map indicated an old still nearby on Shepherder’s Road.23 When he worked on J. Frank Adams’s ranch, Ernie Gillespie and other riders would visit Jim Howard to taste his whisky. Gillespie remembered, “By God, it was just about the best whiskey I ever drank, until I looked at it.”24 Gillespie later discovered that the whisky mash was kept under the chicken house: large amounts of chicken dung fell through the floor into the mash. Claude Shuck remembered that Jim Howard gave him and his friends some watered-down whisky that “burned all the way down, like medicine.” He and his friends had a camp five miles from Jim Howard’s well and still. He said he could hardly get back on his horse after drinking Howard’s moonshine.25

Anna Fisher Ogle, widow of Don Fisher, the monument’s first superintendent, remembered another story, which may have been about Howard. She said that federal agent Lewis Mueller arrested an “old gentleman” working out of Mushpot Cave. The agent handcuffed the moonshiner to the steering wheel of the agent’s car, while he destroyed the still. When he returned, the perpetrator had chopped apart the steering wheel and escaped. Local residents do say that federal agents finally arrested Howard. Ernie Gillespie remembered riding into Howard’s camp once to be greeted by revenue agents. Reporter Lee Juillerat, after interviewing several old-timers, provided this summary of Jim Howard’s fate: “Howard, then an old man, was taken to Yreka after being arrested by the federal agents. Tried and found guilty, he was given only a short jail sentence and later died in a senior citizens home.”

While some of the moonshine was consumed by passing buckaroos, the moonshiners used automobiles to transport most of it to buyers elsewhere. Once the moonshiners had manufactured the stuff, they likely hauled much of it to

22 Murray, “Digest,” 2; for cave locations, see map 6-35.
23 GLO cadastral survey map, 1925, available from California BLM. The house is about a quarter mile east southeast of Canby Cross.
25 Ibid.
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Oregon. Warren Fruits, a former banker in Merrill, remembered that hooch from area stills “got around at the smaller towns here, at dances and stuff.” Fruits claimed never to have tasted the illegal drink, but said “it would knock you right on your fanny if you had too much.” Moonshiners transported the whisky out of the Lava Beds by attaching five-gallon containers under the bodies of their cars or by adding extra gas tanks.26 Park Service maintenance workers remember seeing such extra gas tanks scattered around in the early days. The journeys put a low premium on safety. In November 1924, the body of Arthur Page was found on the Oregon side of the Siskiyou Mountains near the California line, and his “Chrysler roadster was loaded with booze.”28 Although there is no indication that Page was working in the Lava Beds, Bud Cheyne apparently was. According to notes from a 1993 historical society meeting, “Bud Cheyne—spoke of bringing the whisky in from Lava Beds area when he was young. He could elude almost anybody—because he knew the roads so well & the dust stirred up by wheels made a fine screen. He did this for about 2 yrs—his old Dodge.”29

It is impossible to know the exact extent of operations in the Lava Beds. Moonshining was such a well-known aspect of the area, however, that a published map from 1934 indicated the location of three different “old stills”: one on Sheepherder’s Road and two near ice caves in the southern part of the monument.30 Combining the 1934 map, J. D. Howard’s notes, and Park Service cave surveys for debris, it seems at least seven caves were used by bootleggers. In many of these caves, copper tubing, tin cans, and refuse attest to this illegal industry. The Lava Beds were far from unique in offering a good location to hide bootlegging operations. When a group of locals gathered in 1993 to discuss bootlegging days, the Lava Beds was just one of many locations they had stories about.31 Yet, moonshining was a colorful and important phase of the history of the Lava Beds. It provides one of many examples of how government policy and economics worked together with the specific topography of the Lava Beds to influence the lives of those who visited or worked in the Lava Beds.

Bearpaw Resort

Some of the Lava Beds moonshine did not have far to travel. According to local residents, it fueled the dances at the Merrills’ Bearpaw Resort (also known as

26 Interview of Gerald Johnson and others by Lee Juillerat, 1976[?], [cassette tape], LBNM Library.
27 Juillerat, “Mooshine Memories.”
28 Butte Valley Herald, November 24, 1924, 3.
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Image 6-4. Bearpaw Resort dance platform with Bearpaw Butte in the background. Photo taken in 1934 after the resort had closed. (LBNM Archives)

Image 6-5. Rephotography of image 6-4. (Photo: Frederick L. Brown)
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Image 6-6. Bearpaw Resort Dining Hall, photographed in 1934. (LBNM Archives)

Image 6-7. Bearpaw Resort Dining Hall, photographed in 1934. (LBNM Archives)
Bearfoot Resort. It also fueled the pigs that wound up on dinner plates in the resort’s restaurant, as the leftover mash was fed to the hogs. In the early 1920s, Guy Merrill established a summer resort near Bearpaw Cave that included a restaurant, hotel, dance hall, and opportunities to explore the Lava Beds—yet another transformation of the Lava Beds made possible by the automobile. At least three buildings were constructed as part of this effort.

Contemporary descriptions of the resort are frustratingly brief. In August 1923, J. D. Howard wrote that “[o]ne Guy Merrill is trying out a Summer Resort on his Fathers Land.” A Forest Service letter from September 1923 noted that J. D. Howard had “maps of the various caves on exhibit at the Bearfoot resort.” A Forest Service promotional brochure from around 1923 noted that a “private summer resort” was maintained at Bearpaw Cave. A map of the Lava Beds in the Alturas Plaindealer in 1926 indicated “Bearfoot Resort” next to “Bearfoot Cave.”

32 Lee Juillerat, “Moonshine Memories.”
33 In her history of the monument, Anna Fisher suggests that the resort was operated from about 1921 to 1925 (Anna Fisher, “History of the Lava Beds National Monument,” 10). She says “In 1921 Guy and Polly Merrill of Klamath Falls, Oregon, filed on a homestead at Bear Paw Cave and had a resort there for four years. They took tourists through the lava beds to see the caves. Later they gave up their claim and signed it over to the National Park Service in about 1950.” There is no evidence that Guy and Polly filed a homestead claim in 1921; rather, Charles H. Merrill filed a Stone and Timber Act claim in 1916.
34 Letter from Howard to Frank B. Durkee (editor, Sacramento Bee), August 28, 1923 (copy of letter in possession of Lee Juillerat).
35 Letter from [William Brown?] to J. D. Howard, September 13, 1923, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.
36 Forest Service, “A Trip Through the Land of the Modocs and the Modoc National Forest” (1923), J. D. Howard Papers, Shaw Historical Library.
37 Alturas Plaindealer, August 20, 1926.
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Likewise, the national magazine *Touring Topics* indicated the resort on a map accompanying a 1927 article by Modoc National Forest official William S. Brown. A 1928 article referred simply to the “abandoned resort” at Bearpaw Cave. Taken together, these documents seem to show that the resort operated roughly from 1923 to 1927. The Merrills were “trying out” a resort in 1923 and by 1928, it was “abandoned.”

Although no documents from the 1920s have come to light on the subject of moonshine whisky at Bearpaw Resort, it seems hard to imagine that locals, including Merrill banker Warren Fruits, are wrong in saying moonshine was an important part of this remote roadhouse set up during prohibition. That said, two of Guy Merrill’s daughters born too late to remember the active resort noted that Guy’s wife Polly and his father Charles H. Merrill were teetotalers. While Guy did drink, they thought it would be surprising from what they knew of him that he would serve moonshine whisky at a resort he ran. His daughters said they heard little about the resort growing up in the 1930s, although the family would often visit the Bearpaw area in the summer.

The Bearpaw Resort must have created a great many stories. Only a few of these stories have been recorded in oral histories and newspaper articles through the years. Although J. D. Howard did not describe the resort at the time, he later recalled that it included “a road house, dance hall, hotel.” Park Service employees had the impression the resort was “quite a little going concern.” Photographs of the abandoned buildings dated 1934 show at least three different structures, some very near the entrances to Bearpaw and Merrill Caves, and a dance platform off in the woods near Bearpaw Butte. The placement of the buildings suggests that the resort may have had more family-oriented (and legal) activities in the hotel and restaurant near the road, while dancing and drinking took place farther off in the woods.

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40 Juillerat, “Moonshine Memories”; interview of Gerald Johnson and others by Lee Juillerat, 1976[?], [cassette tape], LBNM Library.
42 Murray, “‘Digest,’” 2.
43 Interview of Gerald Johnson and others by Lee Juillerat, 1976[?], [cassette tape], LBNM Library.
When Guy Merrill was interviewed on his eighty-third birthday in 1965, he was reluctant to talk much about his resort at Bearpaw Cave. When asked about it, the generally talkative man said, “Oh it’s too long to tell.” With prodding, he eventually gave a brief description of the resort. When asked if he had a “little cabin” at Bearfoot Cave, he said, “Oh yeah we had quite a lot of buildings there at the caves at one time. I had a little resort there, tents, sleeping quarters and everything. Had a little resort there for 2, 3, 4 years. A museum there and everything but after we left there the people, homesteaders were coming into Tulelake about that time. They went down and stole everything that was there. They tore the buildings down and moved them away.” Perhaps significantly, Merrill made no mention of the dance platform.

Guy Merrill’s granddaughter, Polly Strahen, likewise said her grandfather always resisted talking about the Bearpaw area at all. Her grandmother, Polly Pleasanton Merrill, would talk about the area, but not about the resort. Polly Strahen only heard from others that there had been a dancehall there at one time. Strahen’s mother remembered that they used one of the caves as an ice box and had great fun sliding down an ice slope within the cave. Strahen remembered that her family would go to the Merrill Cave area every summer when she was young. While her

44 Interview of Charles “Guy” Merrill by Francis Landrum, June 6, 1965, tape 37 (transcription), Klamath County Museum.
45 Guy Merrill interview, 1976, Klamath County Museum.
grandmother would visit the area, every year but one her grandfather refused to
go. Strahen thought maybe Guy Merrill felt sad about losing it or perhaps he just
felt sad about growing older. 16

Despite Merrill’s statement that homesteaders tore down the buildings, the Park
Service photographed these buildings standing northeast of Bearpaw Butte in
1934. 47 By 1936 they were torn down. 48 In 1950, Jerry Johnson remembered the
Merrill Cave area having a fence, corral, hog troughs, and the remains of buildings
and many five-gallon cans around. 49 Yet, much remains unknown about the
resort. How did Guy Merrill get the idea to start a resort? Did his father have that
in mind when he bought the land? Why did the resort shut down? Was it raided by
prohibition agents? Was it losing money? Why was Merrill so reluctant to talk
about or visit the area? How did the resort mix moonshine whisky and dancing,
with activities that seem more family oriented, including a museum, restaurant,
hotel, and tours of the Lava Beds? How many people came and what kind of
music did they dance to? Standing near Merrill Cave today, one can hear the wind
in the juniper trees and see the occasional lizard scurrying for cover. The observer
sees little, however, to remind one of the roadhouse and dance hall that animated
the Lava Beds. While a few stories have been written down, most of the people
who drove to this remote landscape to dance and drink, to stay in the hotel and
visit the Lava Beds have already passed on, having shared with the best stories
with friends, but not with posterity.

J. D. Howard, promoter of the Lava Beds
It was Judson D. Howard (commonly known as “J. D.” or “Judd”) who did
perhaps the most to promote automobile travel to the Lava Beds in this era.
Howard did not work for the Forest Service or the National Park Service. He did
not own flocks of sheep or herds of horses. He did not even own a horse or a car,
although cars would be quite important in his exploration of the Lava Beds. For
much of his life, he had no steady work and supported himself working odd jobs
as a carpenter, mineral assayer, and tour guide. Yet, he had abundant curiosity and
intelligence, the ability to live on very little, and tireless energy to explore. Howard
discovered and named many of the lava caves. He introduced many locals to the

16 Interview with Polly Strahen, August 19, 1976 [cassette tape], accession no. 2251, catalog no. AC 979-
421 STR, LBNM Library.
47 Letter from David H. Canfield, dated February 15, 1934, RG 79, box 314, file 101, part III, NARA-
San Bruno.
48 Letter from David M. Canfield to Don Fisher, June 5, 1936, box 331, Western Region, NPS, RG 79,
NARA–San Bruno.
49 Interview of Gerald Johnson and others by Lee Juillerat, 1976[?], [cassette tape], LBNM Library.

The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

Image 6-10. J. D. Howard, dubbed the “Father of the Lava Beds,” spent much of his life exploring, promoting, and naming the caves of Lava Beds National Monument. Although camera shy himself, he created an extensive photographic record of the Lava Beds. (LBNM Archives)

wonders of the Lava Beds. A plaque now sits near the monument’s visitor center honoring him as the “Father of the Lava Beds.”

Howard was born around 1880 in Iowa. He spent much of his twenties and thirties traveling “the grain States” working as a “geologist, mineralogist, chemist and a miller and mill wright.” He claimed to have worked in states throughout the Midwest and West, including Minnesota, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Oregon, and California, traveling especially in Nebraska and Kansas. The 1910 census confirms that Howard boarded with a family in Lacrosse, County,

51 J. D. Howard to Berthelsdorft, December 31, 1957, quoted in Juillerat, “J. D. Howard,” 47.
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Kansas, and worked there as a miller. The papers left behind after his death contained enthusiastic endorsements from mill owners who had employed him.

Howard told his neighbor, Louis Taucher, that his journey West began when a woman he loved in Colorado laughed in his face at his proposal of marriage. Heartbroken, he just started walking. He traveled from Colorado to Wyoming, taking several years, working odd jobs and exploring along the way, until he came to Klamath Falls, Oregon. Howard arrived there in 1916, when he was about thirty-six, and started working for the Martin Brothers mill. Soon after that, he took a job in a mill at Merrill, on the north shore of Tule Lake. Howard quickly fell in love with the nearby Lava Beds. He spent much of the rest of his life exploring the labyrinthine caves and the mysteries of the Modoc War. He gave up his youthful wandering from town to town and state to state for a more concentrated wandering among the lava caves.

Howard first visited the Lava Beds with George Howell, a bee farmer living near Merrill, along with Howell’s wife and daughter on September 10, 1916. Howell had visited the Lava Beds before and was able to point out key features to Howard. The group apparently drove in on the new road that the Merrills and Klamath and Siskiyou County officials had just opened in 1915. Several days later, Howard had Howell drive him and his father, Martin D. L. Howard, back to the Lava Beds, where father and son slept at Bearpaw Cave. Howard spent much of the next twenty years exploring the Lava Beds and showing others the geological curiosities of the area, even spending the winters of 1917–18 and 1920 in a tent in the Lava Beds. He also explored and theorized about sites of the Modoc War and the petroglyphs and other native artifacts of the area. He did little mill work after 1927 and lived as best he could on small jobs of carpentry, mineral analysis, photography, and leading visitors through the Lava Beds. He treasured his independence both from employers and from unions.

Howard introduced many Klamath Falls residents to the Lava Beds. Although others with more political clout such as Oliver C. Applegate had more to do with the area being set aside as a monument, no one did more to promote the area than

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54 J. D. Howard to Jesse Palmer, December 13, 1930, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library; Juillerat, “J. D. Howard,” 54.
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did J. D. Howard. Existing entries from Howard’s diary are far from complete and likely include only a few of the many visits he made to the area. These entries do provide a portrait of some of the many interested travelers—typically working men, some with their families—who gave Howard lifts to the Lava Beds in exchange for his company and guide services. Some of these tourists also provided payment. In the 1920s, Howard got ten dollars a day plus expenses for guiding groups through the Lava Beds. Among those he visited the area with from the 1910s to the 1930s were farmer Robert Dalton, fellow millers Carey Ramsby and Charles Martin, carpenter Joe Lentz, fuel truck driver Claude Williams, wood dealer Cal Peyton, and dentist Vincent Rambo. In June 1921, he helped lead a group of thirty-seven boy scouts who camped in the Lava Beds for two days. In 1924, he visited the area with Peter Schonchin, who had fought as a young warrior during the Modoc War, driven by monument dealer George D. Grizzle. Howard also visited the area with his friend William Brown of the Forest Service, and later with E. C. Solinsky, David Canfield, and Don Fisher of the Park Service.

Howard was not always in motion. He noted that one time his traveling companion did not want to explore the caves because it was too hot, so they spent a week reading magazines by Indian Well. But, friends reported he had stamina in hiking that belied his frail appearance. As he moved around the Lava Beds, he engaged in a variety of projects. Primarily, he explored for new caves, named them, and mapped them out. In 1920, he worked for a time with French immigrant and civil engineer Francis Cone (pronounced “co-nay”) in mapping the caves, although dissatisfied with Cone’s work Howard remapped much of the areas Cone had surveyed. Once Howard had settled on a name for the cave, he would write the name near the entrance in colored paint. These paintings are still visible in dozens of caves. In all, he later wrote (with his trademark oddball punctuation and capitalization) that he “found 123, caves 75 Chimneys and fifty natural

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56 Keith A. Murray, “Digest of Conversation with J. D. Howard Relative to Early Exploration, August 15, 1958” (LBNM Library MUR), 1.
58 Klamath Falls Evening Herald, June 15, 1921, 1.
59 “Field Notes,” 1924; 1920 census entry for George D. Grizzle (accessed via HeritageQuest).
60 J. D. Howard, “Phenomena,” 1953 (copy of manuscript in possession of Lee Juillerat).
61 Hathaway, “Field Notes,” February and March, 1920, J. D. Howard to J. D. De Muth, March 5, 1957, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library; 1920 U.S. census (accessed via HeritageQuest).
bridges, and One Tree cast.”

Howard also made extensive photographic records of the caves, developing techniques of “setting a camera on a tripod, opening the shutter, and carrying a lighted magnesium flare to illuminate the cave.” His photographs provide the first extensive documentation of the caves, as well as of Petroglyph Point.

Howard also had the goal of managing the area for the government. He wrote to George W. Lyons, Modoc National Forest supervisor, on August 1, 1924, saying “in case there happens to be a chance to take charge of the Cave, Chimney and Craters, and to make that place a Beauty Spot, I will be glad to see what I could do.” While Howard used fanciful spelling in his diary, he was careful to spell correctly in his formal letters. He was disappointed he never got that job. According to his friend Bob Rock, “he felt like they gave him the shaft.”

Howard's letters suggest that he would have been ill-suited to the life of a bureaucrat. He treasured his independence. His letters to George W. Lyons of the Forest Service indicated that he either lacked tact or that he had little knowledge of the difference between the Forest Service and the Park Service. In his August 1, 1924, letter to Lyons, Howard said he hoped the Lava Beds would be “the greatest of all U.S. National Parks.” He again wrote Lyons in 1928 that he was willing to “offer all the spare time I have this year to the Park Service under your domain.”

Howard seemed particularly hurt when Don Fisher got the position as the first “temporary custodian” of the monument when it came under the Park Service in 1934. He wrote a friend, “I don’t see anything at the Lava Beds anymore, as Fisher is Governor General, and has had the Federal scientist all over the place…” Despite his desire to manage the Lava Beds, it is hard to imagine that this man who so treasured his independence and carefully avoided regular work would have made a successful monument administrator. Don Fisher, by contrast, seemed a natural choice, as someone familiar with the Park Service through his work as a seasonal ranger at Crater Lake National Park and familiar with local history through his teaching work in Klamath Falls.

62 Letter from J. D. Howard to “Friend Sig” December 31, 1957 (copy of letter in possession of Lee Juillerat).
63 Juillerat, “J. D. Howard,” 54.
64 J. D. Howard Papers, Shaw Historical Library.
65 Interview of Bob Rock by Bob Freeland, November 11, 1999, [cassette tape], LBNM Library.
66 Quoted in Juillerat, “J. D. Howard,” 51.
67 J. D. Howard to Lyons, August 1, 1924, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.
68 J. D. Howard to Lyons, April 2, 1928, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.
69 J. D. Howard to John Kelly, February 20, 1939, quoted in Juillerat, “J. D. Howard.”
Beyond the natural features of the monument, Howard also took an interest in its cultural features. He especially took notice of the petroglyphs. He corresponded with Sceva Bright Laughlin of Willamette University. He, along with his friends and correspondents, William Brown of the Modoc National Forest and John W. Kelly of the Oregonian, elaborated a number of fanciful theories, ascribing the work to non-Indians. In various versions, the images were the work of Druids, Scandinavians, Spanish explorers, or Irish trappers. These theories were all based on the notion that somehow these petroglyphs differed radically from most Indian carvings. Rock art scholar Helen Crotty notes, in contrast, that “[t]he design elements […] are extremely simple and widespread, and the relative proportion of circles, segmented elements, and zigzag and wavy lines is generally typical of the rock art of the Modoc area.”

More than any other man, J. D. Howard developed a detailed knowledge of the Lava Beds and helped local residents discover this wonderful landscape. He helped transform the image of the place in the stories non-Indians told from one solely focused on the Modoc War to one that included the area’s amazing geological wonders.

2) Horse-Raising and Wild Horses
At the same time that automobile travel was intensifying in the Lava Beds, the wild horses of the Lava Beds became important as well. World War I increased the need for horses and led to a series of roundups in the Lava Beds, in which, according to one account, “Indian youth and transient vaqueros” would try to steal some of the horses from the larger operations. Many creatures that once calmly grazed on bunchgrass between lava flows would die carrying French and British soldiers into battle in hails of mortar and machine-gun fire on the battlefields of Europe—an example of how the Lava Beds were becoming ever more linked into world economics and politics. When wild horses first entered the Lava Beds is unclear. Jeff Riddle, who was a boy during the Modoc War, recalled that the Modocs had many horses but that none ran wild in the Lava Beds.

70 Laughlin to J. D. Howard, June 18, 1938, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.
72 Crotty, “Petroglyph Point Revisited—A Modoc County Site,” 166.
73 Modoc County Schools Office of the Superintendent, Modoc County: Past and Present (Alturas, CA, 1946), 16.
74 Brainerd, “Past Wildlife,” 8.
Wild horses or “fuzztails,” were already a problem in the Modoc country generally by the 1880s. By one account, enough wild horses roamed the Lava Beds by the end of the nineteenth century to be the target of roundups organized to provide cavalry horses in the Spanish-American War of 1898.

J. Frank Adams’s Horse Operation in the Lava Beds

J. Frank Adams is the local man most associated with ranging his own horses in the Lava Beds and with rounding up wild horses. Indeed, many of the horses that roamed wild on public lands bore the brand of Adams or other ranchers. Adams was born in Placerville, California, in 1855. He worked for the Doten and Fairchild ranches, helping break the horses used by U.S. soldiers in the Modoc War. He then settled in Klamath County, acquiring a ranch called the Poplars north of Tule Lake—the ranch where Finley and Bohlman stayed on their photography tour of Tule Lake. Adams married Fannie Steele in 1888, with whom he had three sons: J. Frank, Jr., Robert S., and William W. Robert S. Adams would later own an inholding within Lava Beds National Monument. After Fannie’s death, J. Frank Adams remarried to Martha Caldwell, with whom he had one son, J. Martin.

Adams devoted himself especially to two endeavors: irrigation and horse-raising. He helped promote some of the earliest irrigation canals, which transformed the landscape of the Klamath and Tule Lake basins. He discovered that Lower Klamath Lake was twenty-eight feet higher than Tule Lake and planned to use that information. The Van Bremers and he quietly bought up land and began construction in 1882, angering many farmers with their deceptive practices.

Adams also had an abiding love of horses, bringing in Percheron mares from France and soon amassing large herds of horses, as well as cattle. In 1900, Klamath County records reported he had 102 horses and 20 cattle; in 1910, 200 horses and 200 cattle; in 1920, 50 horses and 125 cattle. There is no indication he ranged his cattle into the Lava Beds; but his horses often made use of that area.

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75 Brown, “History of the Modoc National Forest,” 51; Modoc County Schools Office of the Superintendent, Modoc County, 16.
76 Brainerd, “Past Wildlife.”
77 Ibid.
78 Goode, 222.
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

This was especially true late in his life, when the Lava Beds represented some of the only public range in the area. One writer commented on the ironic results of his efforts to encourage irrigation and settlement: “In his declining years, the very conditions which he had helped to bring about forced him to move his still large bands of horses into the Lava Beds.” After his wife died, Adams was able to indulge his love for horses even more fully, establishing a horse camp near Doublehead and spending much of his time there. Visitors to the Lava Beds could note the influence of his horses. J. D. Howard saw six of Adams’s horses (and a foot of manure) in one cave in 1917 and dubbed it “Horse Grotto” based on that observation.

This lover of horses helped send many of them to their deaths in Europe during World War I. In one sale, for example, two French military officers visited the Adams ranch in April 1915 to inspect horses and selected about a hundred horses for shipment to New Jersey and thence to the battlefields of Europe. Adams and his crew (which included Guy Merrill) rounded up these horses in the Lava Beds and elsewhere, then brought them to a corral Adams had built just north of the current monument. After the war, the Forest Service continued to operate a number of round-ups to get the “fuzztails” off the range. The Forest Service removed most of the wild horses from the Lava Beds around 1925. According to the Forest Supervisor, a series of roundups had “very beneficial results in reducing the number of worthless fuzz-tail type of animals.”

Adams carried an affection for horses and the Lava Beds to his grave. Even as cars and tractors proliferated, he continued to prefer horses. Whenever he could, he rode a horse, rather than taking a motorcar. He died, almost literally, in the saddle. He fell from his horse while riding near his cabin by Doublehead Mountain, some fifteen miles east of the current monument. He remounted and returned to his cabin, thinking he was not badly hurt; but died soon after at age 77, in September 1929.

79 Anna Fisher provided this summary of his horse operation: “In 1905–1907 J. Frank Adams also grazed stock in the lava beds. He was one of the chief suppliers of horses for the United States Army. He brought in wild horses from the Wagon Tire country in eastern Oregon and grazed as many as one thousand in the lava beds at one time. They were broken to ride and then sold to the army.” History of the Lava Beds National Monument, 1957 (LBNM Library PAM 979.4 FIS).
80 Undated, unsourced newspaper article by Isabelle Barry, file #184, Klamath County Museum.
82 Dorris Times, January 15, 1915, 1; January 22, 1915, 1; March 12, 1915, 1; April 16, 1915, 2.
85 Lyons, Annual Grazing Report, 1927.
Automobiles, Livestock, and the Forest Service, 1910s–1934

Like Adams, many Americans had an enduring love for horses and the seemingly romantic life of the men who rounded up wild horses. As one Lava Beds ranger put it in 1941, “Although the capturing of wild horses is one of the most exciting occupations it is usually a very unprofitable enterprise.”86 This Park Service ranger seemed taken with the romance of wild horses himself, when he suggested “a controlled reintroduction of mustangs” to reduce fire hazards and to “preserve an otherwise vanishing landmark of the west.”87

Zane Grey and the Romance of Wild Horses

Another man taken with the romance of wild horses was author Zane Grey. Born in Zanesville, Ohio, in 1875, Grey practiced for a time as a dentist but soon turned his hands to writing novels, for which he gathered information while traveling in the West. He gained enormous popularity with his 1912 novel Riders of the Purple Sage.88 When he came through the area around the Lava Beds in the 1920s to research his next book, he visited the Lost River area, spent time talking with locals, and reportedly camped near the ice caves in the Lava Beds and elsewhere.89 His efforts show the selective nature of the stories told about the Lava Beds. While in the Lava Beds, he likely saw thousands or tens of thousands of sheep roaming the area and may have seen a few of the last mustangs of the Lava Beds. Yet, like many Americans, he saw more romance in horses than in sheep. This is one of many Zane Grey novels where horses were central to the plot.90 The great novel of sheep-herding in the Tule Lake basin has yet to be written; Grey, however, created a stirring tale of chasing mustangs in and around the Lava Beds.

Initially serialized in the Ladies' Home Journal, Grey's 1926 novel Forlorn River depicted the Tule Lake basin, with the Lost River as “Forlorn River,” with Merrill as “Hammell,” and large stock operations reminiscent of the Adams and Carr outfits.91 In the novel, Ben Ide has to prove himself worthy of the love of Ina Blaine, the daughter of a local rancher. His choice of the disreputable profession

86 Brainerd, “Past Wildlife.”
of chasing wild horses and false accusations of cattle rustling are two strikes against him in this quest. As in many Grey novels, the landscape is a vital character in this novel. He describes the Lava Beds as a sinister, forbidding place that tests men’s characters. At two key points the story, which ranges throughout the Tule Lake basin, Grey takes the reader to the Lava Beds. First, Ben uses the knowledge of his partner, an Indian known simply as “Modoc,” about wild horses and the local landscape to corral a fine herd of mustangs as they descend into an ice cave to drink. As Ben and Modoc, along with their third partner, Nevada, approach the area, Grey provides the following description of the terrain—a place that Grey, unlike many of the authors of Modoc War–based novels, had seen.

93 Grey, Forlorn River, 104–22.
At length Ben reached a point where he could see down out of the forest to a vast belt of lava beds below. Miles and miles of ghastly ragged lava rolled away toward the grey expanse of sage. In color it was blue, black, red, like rusty iron, seamed and fissured, caked and broken, a rough file-surfaced place over which travel was impossible.

Modoc soon led into the region of the ice caves. Huge holes gaped abruptly; black vacant apertures stared from under ledges; windows of mysterious depths showed right out of the gray pumice. Each and every cavern was a blow-hole that had formed in the cooling lava. It was an uncanny region where riding a horse did not feel safe. Some of the holes were fifty feet deep and twice as long, black and jagged-walled, brush-filled, with dark doors of caves somewhere at the bottom. Every one of them led into a cave. And down in these caves there was always supposed to be ice, from which cold crystal water flowed.

The trio captures dozens of horses in one of those caves—a trap Modoc describes as one long known to his people. The men camp near the cave and hear the horses enter at night, then they slam shut a gate they have made and capture about 150 horses. Although this provides an existing climax to the story, it seems unlikely that any Lava Beds caves that horses could walk into would have room for dozens of them.

In a climactic scene toward the end of the novel, the Lava Beds reappear. Ben captures the real group of cattle rustlers in one of the lava caves. Once again they make use of Modoc’s knowledge of the terrain to capture their prey. Grey describes their Indian partner in the following terms:

Silently Ben and Nevada watched the short squat Indian glide through the forest. He was as much at home here as the wild creatures. He made no more noise than a bird, and always he appeared to be screened by tree trunk or shrub or pine thicket.

Following Modoc, the two men soon come again to the Lava Beds.

Thus they slowly climbed the white green-patched pine-barred ridges of gray pumice, until they reached a point where Modoc turned downhill. Soon Ben saw the

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94 Ibid., 106.
95 Ibid., 103.
96 Ibid., 119.
97 Ibid., 249.
black-and-red edges of lava, marring the soft beauty of forest and revealing its sinister nature. Small pits, full of pine cones and needles, became common, and soon dark apertures showed under outcropping ledges of lava. They had reached the edge of the caves.  

They eventually trail the rustlers to a cave where they—like the horses before—have descended to drink. Knowing the rustlers must eventually emerge, they wait by the entrance. Modoc’s detailed knowledge of the caves allows them to seal the trap: “Here the Indian made signs that the other entrance or end of this cavern was some hundred yards off in the woods, at the edge of that level bench.” The party plugs up the other entrance so “[t]he rustlers were trapped in a place that one wide-awake guard could hold indefinitely.” When the men’s call of “Hands up!” as the rustlers emerge provokes a firefight, they simply have to starve the men out from their superior position. They wait two weeks, but they get their men.

As the novel ends, Ben turns from riding the range and chasing wild horses to marriage and a more settled life, while Modoc slowly fades into the sunset. Grey places whites in the present and future, and Indians—however much they may be admired for their knowledge of the country—into the past. A final scene pairs the “last flight of wild geese toward the south” before the coming “big winter” and the disappearance from Ben’s life of Modoc with “his inscrutable mystic gleam of eye, and his slow majestic gesture toward the horizon.”

Zane Grey’s novels and the Modoc War dime novels had much in common. They sought to entertain readers with stories of adventure. They offered variations on themes of western history and western myth that they felt would enthrall their readers. Seth Hardinge’s Modoc Jack sought to embellish a story of white treachery—and placed it in the sentimental context of a son’s promise to his mother to seek vengeance—in order to justify the actions of Captain Jack. It played to the sense of regret among whites about the unfair treatment of native peoples, regret that led to modifications of expansionist policy, such as Grant’s peace policy, but to no abandonment of western expansion. Charles Howard’s The Squaw Spy invented scenes of Modoc-on-Modoc violence and threats to white womanhood to build on readers’ views of Indians as savages. Zane Grey also built on existing notions of the mythic West, which by his time other

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98 Ibid., 249–50.
99 Ibid., 251.
100 On Indians in Grey’s novels, see Kimball, 210–21.
101 Grey, Forlorn River, 332.
mediums such as film and radio were working to create as well. He placed Indians in an honored role, but one that belonged to the past. He fully embraced the romance of the horse and avoided the less romantic lives of the sheep-herders.

The novels differed in important ways as well. Zane Grey’s book, while not high art, is much better written and durable than the two largely forgotten dime novels. The survival rate of these books reflects many factors, but the quality of the prose is surely one of them. Over two thousand libraries around the country have Grey’s *Forlorn River*, while only twenty-four own Howard’s *The Squaw Spy* and only four own Hardinge’s *Modoc Jack*. Second, the dime novels sought to capitalize on the notoriety of the Modoc War and the Lava Beds. They assumed a basic familiarity with the war from newspaper coverage. Grey relied more on his own name and the inherent romance of wild horses for his story. While locals could clearly see their landscape portrayed in *Forlorn River*, for a national audience the events happened in the more generalized space of the mythic West. Although the character named “Modoc” set up a series of connections for many readers, Grey made no specific mention of the Modoc War.

In their own way, all three authors worked to create images of the mythic West. As historian Richard White has argued, it is often difficult to separate the historic West from the mythic West. In the Lava Beds, as in other western sites rich with history, stories and history have shaped how people see the landscape and even the physical form of the landscape. For instance, people have retold stories of the Modoc War and marked its key sites. While Modocs had long known the caves and the craggy flows throughout the region, it took promoters such as J. D. Howard to make a broad non-Indian public aware of these features—to include them in their stories of the Lava Beds. Story-tellers about the Lava Beds have been many: Modoc elders, newspaper reporters, travelers to the sites of the Modoc War, and novelists. As we will see later in this history, historical commemorators, local history enthusiasts, and Forest Service and Park Service employees have also created the stories through which people have understood the landscape. The increased travel to the Lava Beds made possible by the automobile brought more and more people in touch with this landscape. It gave more and more people the opportunity to contemplate the events of the Modoc War and to find the story that most helped them make sense of the landscape and its history.

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101 OCLC database [accessed September 2006].
3) The Boom in the Sheep Business

Because sheepmen used the Lava Beds even more intensively than horse-raisers had, sheep likely had more to do with ecological changes, outcompeting bighorns and changing vegetation. These creatures linked to worldwide networks of immigration and commerce brought important changes to the Lava Beds. Once again, water was key. Although the portions of the Lava Beds away from Tule Lake had no substantial sources of water, in winter water lay across the landscape in a form that could quench sheep’s thirst: snow. Substantial flocks had first come to the Tule Lake basin with the settlers who moved onto Modoc land north of Tule Lake in the 1860s. The exact date when sheepherders began to use the Lava Beds is unknown. Scattered evidence indicates that sheepherders were using the Lava Beds during the nineteenth century. During the Modoc War, one article noted that “[t]he [lava] beds are also well stocked with cattle and sheep.”104 A Park Service report from 1942 noted, “In 1885 [Ivan?] Applegate, [Jerome] Whitney, and [Claude?] Brown brought the first sheep into the area now included in the Lava Beds National Monument.”105 With the founding of Merrill in the 1890s, even more people moved to the area and sheep operations increased. The sheep business increased markedly in the Tule Lake basin in the early twentieth century business increased markedly in the Tule Lake basin in the early twentieth century, with World War I especially bringing a boom in the price of wool, mutton, and lambs.106 For instance, the Modoc National Forest from 1910 to 1915 allowed grazing rights on average to 63,605 sheep; from 1916 to 1924, it allowed 83,882 sheep, with similar increases in cattle grazing.107 Fisher said cattle and sheep operations reached their peak in 1916 to 1918, with 32,000 sheep and 15,000 cattle in an area of 108 square miles including the future monument.108

Few records exist to say exactly how these stockmen used the land that would become Lava Beds National Monument, especially in the era before the Modoc National Forest took control in 1920. However, maps of the area tell part of the story of sheepherding, since many of the sheepmen active in the area have given their names to features of the monument. Their sheep camps were scattered throughout the Lava Beds—often centered near ice caves. The Merrills kept their sheep camp at Bearpaw Cave (renamed Merrill Cave in the 1940s). Jerome

105 Memorandum by Fisher dated November 27, 1942, file: 207 reports, box 315, Western Region, NPS, RG 79.
106 Klamath Falls Herald and News, February 28, 1968; Modoc County Schools, Modoc County, 35.
107 Modoc County Schools, Modoc County, 35.
Whitney kept his sheep near Whitney Butte. The Duffy brothers—likely sheepherders as well—used Duffy's Well as a source for water. The Cox brothers used Cox Ice Cave for water. Ernest Heppe ran sheep (and perhaps cattle) from a base at Heppe Cave. A consideration of operations of the families that made use of the Lava Beds during the 1910s boom and left their names on the landscape will give some sense of the people and animals that shaped the Lava Beds and linked them to world markets.

**Cox Family**

The Cox family arrived in the Tule Lake basin in 1901 with their three youngest sons, Henry, John, and Charles. Within a few years, they started a sheep business using the Lava Beds. Sheepmen found the bunchgrass between lava flows particularly useful for winter grazing, since the Medicine Lake highlands shielded the area from the deep snowfalls that prevented grazing in other areas. According to Charlie’s daughter, Ardina Cox Crawford, the Coxes worked out a deal with a man named Brown (possibly Claude Brown), where the Coxes would tend...
Brown’s sheep for five years, after which the Coxes would get the old sheep and Brown would get the increase. In their Lava Beds camp in a juniper grove south of Schonchin Butte, they kept warm, even in winter, sleeping in a tent with a wooden floor. While they were in the Lava Beds, they also took time to explore, many times with J. D. Howard. For instance, Henry and John Cox explored an ice cave that Howard had recently discovered in September 1918.

While they profited by turning the bunchgrass of the Lava Beds into mutton and wool, they relied on their connections to nearby towns and rail links for supplies and markets. Their brother, John, worked hauling freight from Lairds Landing to Merrill, and would use the same wagon and team to bring supplies to his brothers’ sheep camp. At shearing time, they would bring the sheep to Perez (about eight miles southeast of the current monument). From there, Bill Griffith and Charlie Cox would truck the wool to Klamath Falls for sale. In the late 1910s, the Coxes sold their business to John D. and Dan O’Connor.

113 Claude Brown was prominent in the Modoc County Wool Growers Association. Alturas Plaindealer, October 30, 1925, 1.
115 Howard reported staying or exploring with the Coxes on January 3, 1917, January 9, 1917, January 20, 1917, January 24, 1917, and September 22, 1918 (“Field Notes”).
Heppe Family
From the 1910s until the early 1920s, Ernest Max Heppe also ran a sheep operation in the Lava Beds. J. D. Howard described Heppe as a “herder” who maintained a “sheep camp” near Heppe Cave and who at one time “[p]lanned to run cattle.” Howard said that in 1916 Heppe was living in a tent near Heppe Chimney Bridge. In other places, Howard said that Heppe had a “house” or a “cabin” near there. Heppe typically maintained a residence in Merrill or Midland, Oregon, and Klamath County personal property records revealed the marginal and shifting nature of Heppe’s ranching efforts, although they made no mention of sheep ownership. For most of the years he lived in the area, he did not make it onto the property rolls, perhaps indicating he owned so little that the county did not think it worth recording, or that he successfully hid his livestock from the county. In 1916, the property rolls said Heppe owned just two horses (or mules) and one dog. In 1917, he owned four horses (or mules), eighteen cattle, and one dog. He did not appear in the rolls again until 1921, when he had again shifted his operation and owned twenty hogs. There is no reason to doubt Howard’s account that Heppe kept sheep in Siskiyou County’s Lava Beds; however, these legal records reveal that Heppe like many others did not have a fixed strategy focusing on only one species of livestock.

Although Heppe gave varying accounts of himself in public records, it appears that Heppe was born around 1875 in German-occupied Lorraine (part of France until the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71) and immigrated to the United States around 1895. He told J. D. Howard that he was descended from nobility, saying his proper name was Count Earnest Maximilien Heppe Van Heipenheimer. On April 25, 1916, he married Bertha Edith Farnsworth, born in Iowa around 1890, with whom he would have three children. The limited evidence available, almost entirely from Howard, suggests that Heppe was a generous man, curious to explore the Lava Beds, but that he had a very hard-scrabble existence.

Howard reported that he found Heppe starving at his campsite near Heppe Cave in 1916. Despite having only “two potatoes and one onion,” Heppe invited

118 Hathaway, “Field Notes.”
119 Murray, “Digest,” 1, 8.
120 Census records, 1910, 1920, 1930 (accessed via HeritageQuest); World War I draft registration, accessed through Ancestry.com; death certificate for Ernest Max Heppe (date of death: January 22, 1923), Siskiyou County Courthouse.
Howard to dinner. After that, “J. D. Howard, Guy Merrill, and Ed Martin and others chipped in and bought food for Heppe.” 122 Howard met Heppe again on January 5, 1917. The two men explored together a cave that Howard called Silver Cave. 123 On January 23, 1917, Heppe and Howard visited several caves and at Heppe’s request Howard named Bertha’s Cupboard after Heppe’s wife. 124 On January 24, Heppe, Howard, and Henry Cox visited an ice cave together. 125 Through the late teens and early 1920s, Heppe apparently tried to eke out a living in and near his camp at Heppe Cave. Records indicate he never formally filed a homestead claim on that land.

Heppe’s livestock operations around Heppe Cave apparently never succeeded. In the last years of his life, he lived on a barge in Tule Lake anchored west of Captain Jacks Stronghold—a barge he used to haul cinder from the Peninsula to Merrill. It was on this barge that he died of pneumonia in 1923. 126 By 1930, Bertha was living in Iowa, the state of her birth, with her three children, working as a schoolteacher in Davenport. The Heppes are unusual as perhaps the only family to have tried to settle in the Lava Beds. Charles Caldwell built a cabin near Caldwell Cave. This, however, seems always to have been a horse camp, an outpost in an operation that had substantial land holdings closer to town. The Merrills, likewise, had a sheep camp and horse camp at Bearpaw Cave, yet they also had a home in town. There is no evidence that Heppe moved his family to his cabin at Heppe Cave; they maintained a home in Merrill or Midland. 127 He did, however, live with his family in the barge at Captain Jacks Stronghold—a place a newspaper article termed his “homestead.” 128

The Merrills, Coxes, and Heppes were only three of many families that ran sheep in the Lava Beds. The names of many of those sheep-herders may be lost to history. The Dorris Times in 1916 reported that sixty thousand sheep had been grazing the Lava Beds—unregulated open range until it became part of Modoc National Forest in 1920—and were removed in February and moved to the area “in and around Merrill and Tule Lake.” 129 By 1920, according to one account,

122 Hathaway, “Field Notes.”
123 Ibid., January 5, 1917.
124 Hathaway, “Field Notes.”
125 Ibid.
126 Death certificate for Ernest Max Heppe (date of death: January 22, 1923), Siskiyou County Courthouse; Merrill Centennial, 73.
127 Klamath County Personal Property Rolls, Klamath County Museum.
128 Klamath Falls Herald and News, August 18, 1921, 1.

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there were 125,000 sheep on the 323,000-acre Lava Beds section (a broad area more than seven times larger than the current 46,560-acre monument).  

In the 1910s, more and more of these sheepmen were Irish immigrants. Irish sheepmen first established themselves in Lake County and very soon moved into the Klamath and Lost River basins. The census for Klamath County reveals some of this transformation. In 1910, the Tule Lake precinct of Klamath County had hardly any sheep-herders or Irish immigrants. By 1920, many were engaged in shepherding in the area, and many of these were Irish. Many of these Irish immigrants would soon take an interest in the Lava Beds. Michael Barry was born in Ireland and became a U.S. citizen in 1899. Ned O’Connor immigrated from Ireland in 1905; Jerry O’Connor in 1907; and James O’Keeffe in 1910. We know these men all took an interest in the Lava Beds because they all (and twenty-seven others) applied for permits to trail sheep there in 1934. These men were part of a trend toward a greater role for Irish Americans in shepherding in the lakes country.

4) The Forest Service: An Increasing Federal Role

In 1920, the Forest Service took on the role of managing the two important trends that were shaping the Lava Beds. It gradually assumed the work of building roads, placing signs, and promoting the Lava Beds—jobs first undertaken by county governments and private individuals, such as J. D. Howard, in the 1910s. The Forest Service also sought to regulate the sheepmen who had come to the area in great numbers during that same decade.

Grazing Under Forest Service

The success of sheepmen and the increasing numbers of sheep on the range led to efforts to add the Lava Beds section to Modoc National Forest. Through this process, the federal government and the conservation ideal came to influence the Lava Beds even more strongly. In this process, the Lava Beds were shaped by a broader trend throughout the West of more direct federal management of public lands. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, policy had focused on extinguishing Indian rights to land and distributing land to white settlers, as exemplified by the creation of the Klamath Reservation and the waging of the Modoc War.  

In the early twentieth century, however, the process of distribution slowed and federal government took on a role in managing lands as...
permanent federal holdings and in conserving resources. Land frauds perpetrated using the Timber and Stone Act and the efforts of foresters such as Franklin B. Hough and Nathaniel H. Egleston eventually helped prod Congress to transform land policies. In 1891, Congress passed the Forest Reserve Act and in 1897 the Forest Management Act, establishing the framework for the federal government to set aside forest reserves, managed initially by the Department of the Interior.

President Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot were key to continuing efforts to rework federal land policy—Roosevelt as the first president actively involved in the promotion of the conservation ideal and Pinchot as the head of the Forest Service. These two men assured the transfer of the forest reserves to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) in 1905. In that year, the USDA’s small Bureau of Forestry, first established in 1896, became the Forest Service and took on the role of managing these newly transferred forest reserves. Roosevelt and Pinchot also set about establishing a great number of additional forest reserves, changing their names from forest reserves to national forests in 1907. Inspired by Progressive-Era ideals of efficient management and conservation for use and a strong belief that government action could effect “the greatest good for the greatest number,” foresters took on the task of managing grazing and logging on these federal lands. Their goal, in the words of historian Samuel P. Hayes, was “rational planning to promote efficient development and use of all natural resources.” As part of this trend, Theodore Roosevelt created the Modoc Forest Reserve with 288,188 acres in 1904. He combined this with the Warner Mountains Forest Reserve in 1908 to create the Modoc National Forest. With additional lands, the Modoc National Forest reached 1,471,817 acres in 1909. This entity did not yet, however, include the lands that would become Lava Beds National Monument.

Established cattlemen around the Lava Beds saw the increasingly active federal government as a resource in struggles over land. They were one of many interest groups in the American West that sought to turn land management policies to their own purposes. The Lava Beds were unorganized government land from

135 Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, 2
1870, when the Senate ratified the 1864 treaty with the Modocs relinquishing their claim to the land, until 1920 when it became part of the Modoc National Forest. In addition to the Heppes, Merrills, and Coxes, numerous other sheepmen, many of them Irish immigrants, used the area to graze their flocks during the winter and spring. Around 1915 “progressive stock men,” especially cattle and horse men, petitioned Congress through Congressman John E. Raker to add the area to the Modoc National Forest. Among those who lobbied for the Lava Beds section to be added to Modoc National Forest were John Davis and C. M. Duncan. Among those who lobbied for the Lava Beds section to be added to Modoc National Forest were John Davis and C. M. Duncan. According to one local history, “to John Davis almost alone goes the credit of securing the signature of almost every local range user and a resident” to a petition which he forwarded to John E. Raker. Looking with suspicion on the Irish immigrants who were using more and more of the area’s public land, Davis—secretary of the Modoc County Wool Growers Association—and other established stockmen felt they could gain better access to this land if it were part of the National Forest.

A contemporary account by William G. Durbin, Modoc National Forest supervisor, also reflected suspicions of the new Irish immigrants:

Up to about 1900, the area was used almost exclusively for the grazing of cattle and horses. Thousands of these animals grazed on the area almost continuously. Horses were seldom, if ever, fed hay at any time and the cattle only for short periods when the snow was very deep. Prior to 1900, but few sheep were grazed; about four or five bands at the most, and according to one of the sheep men, they were all fighting for room at that time. About the year 1900, the Irish sheep men from Southern Oregon began bringing their bands into this section to winter and lamb. In fact, they kept them on this range just as long as they could each season, especially after the National Forests were created, because they were, with but few exceptions, a migratory bunch, that lived at the expense of others and were not recognized by the Forest Service as having a preference in the use of the range.

138 Modoc County Schools, Modoc County, 2; Alturas New Era, October 1, 1920, 1.
139 Modoc County Schools, Modoc County, 2.
140 William S. Brown, “History of Modoc National Forest,” 1945 (LBNM Library 979.4 BRO); Alturas Plaindealer, October 30, 1925, 1.
On October 1, 1920, the federal government added this area of 323,000 acres to the forest, an addition that included what is now the main portion of Lava Beds National Monument (excluding the Petroglyph section).

When the Forest Service took over in 1920, according to one account, the local ranger Harry Garrison found he could not cope with the “wild Irishmen” who crowded too many sheep onto the range. However, ranger John C. Davis knew most of the Irish sheepherders. Within a few weeks, he was able to cajole and prod the so-called tramp flockmasters off the Forest Service land.\textsuperscript{142}

In the Forest Service policy of scientifically managing for use, a clear knowledge of the resources on the ground was important. The 1920 annual plan included an assessment of the new addition by Forest Supervisor Durbin.\textsuperscript{143} The report indicated that the whole new addition was once “covered with a dense stand of bunch grass and sufficient bitter brush and other browse to make it an ideal cattle range.” The lack of water was mitigated by the proximity to Tule Lake. Over the years, however, access to Tule Lake had become more and more difficult as farmers fenced it in, except on the south side, where the Lava Beds made access difficult.

Durbin reported these sheep herds were overgrazing the range. By 1920, almost no cattle were grazing on the range. Horses were still grazed because they could graze farther from water than any other stock. With the area’s addition to the forest, Durbin proposed tentatively that winter sheep grazing should be eliminated. He argued that this would eliminate grazing by the “nomadic outfits” and allow the area to return to its original “carrying capacity.” Durbin argued that cattle should be allowed a brief season, from March 15 to April 30, and that horses should be allowed to graze the area year round. He felt that horses had long grazed the area and had done little damage.

Even before the official addition, Forest Service rangers began dividing the new range into allotments, assigning permits, and monitoring the condition of the range. One letter from January 1920 called for a horizontal control surveying team to visit the Lava Beds country.\textsuperscript{144} A report dated February 1921 said, “It is planned

\textsuperscript{142} Brown, “History of the Modoc National Forest,” 53.
\textsuperscript{144} Letter dated January 22, 1920, box 9, 095-97-003, historical files, Pacific Southwest Region, RG 95, NARA–San Bruno.
to start [reconnaissance] work in the New addition in April. Grazing examiners Smith and Cronemiller with Ranger Garrison will lay out allotment boundaries. Grazing examiner Smith will spend about three weeks in this area..."145 In October and November of that year, the new lands were to receive a “careful Range inspection” and have forest and allotment boundaries posted.

The Forest Service sketched maps to understand and bring order to this new addition. A 1920 map revealed the following plans. The area within a mile or two of Tule Lake would be spring lambing range; the rest of the future monument would be winter sheep range. Another map from 1929 provided another glimpse of sheep in the Lava Beds. This map designated the entire Lava Beds National Monument (established in 1925) as winter sheep range, with lambing range near Clear Lake (see image 6-15). Exact grazing numbers for the future monument cannot be derived from these documents. However, a 1922 report listed the following livestock as having grazed district five (the New Addition): 997 horses and cattle, and 31,385 sheep under seventy-six different permittees. The report

Image 6-15. Modoc National Forest grazing map, 1929. Note that Lava Beds National Monument is indicated as winter sheep range. (Lee, Hyder, and Benson)
recommended a grazing level for 1923 of 6,130 horses and cattle, along with 30,000 sheep grazing.\footnote{Grazing Charter—Supervisor’s Annual Grazing Plan—1922, box 1, acc. no. 095-96-025, Forest Service, RG 95, NARA–San Bruno.} In 1924, stockmen grazing cattle in district five for eight months paid 96 cents a head and $1.20 for horses. Sheep owners trailing their sheep for three months paid ten cents a head.\footnote{Alturas Plaindealer, February 1, 1924, 1.}

Detailed records on permittees using what is now Lava Beds National Monument in this period do not exist. A 1923 report indicated that the “Lava Bed portion” was used by “Brown Bros., et al.,” although no map was included to indicate that portion’s exact location.\footnote{Leland S. Smith, Work Plan for Summer 1923, box 9, acc. no. 095-97-003, Historical Files, Pacific Southwest, Forest Service, RG 95, NARA–San Bruno.} According to later notes in Park Service records, in the 1920s and early 1930s, the Forest Service grazing unit around the national monument included both lands inside and outside the monument. Seven to eight sheepmen were given permits to graze 1,500 sheep in the unit for a period not exceeding two months. No definite boundaries were set up between the different men’s areas.\footnote{Letter from W. E. Robertson (acting superintendent, Crater Lake NP) to Director, NPS, November 26, 1934, Grazing Records, Crater Lake NP (copy in Administrative History binders, LBNM Archives).} The wide-open days of the 1910s were over: men who wanted to graze their sheep and cattle in the Lava Beds now had to obtain permits and pay a fee. These policies reduced the number of sheep grazing the Lava Beds; but still thousands of sheep fed there and contributed to the success of numerous sheep operations. Their meat and wool found their way from the Lava Beds to markets across the West Coast.

**Grazing under the Park Service**

In 1934, the Park Service took over management of Lava Beds National Monument, continuing the federal role in regulating grazing. Details on which men grazed their sheep in the Lava Beds before the Park Service assumed control in 1934 are lacking. Presumably, however, at least some of those who applied for permits under the Park Service had previously used the area under the Forest Service. A number of these families were part of the historic transformation of the business from native-born whites to Irish immigrants. The extent to which the Irish came to dominate the sheep business can be seen in the last names of those who applied to run sheep there in 1934: Barry, Curtin, Dolan, Flynn, three Haskins, Johnson, Kelleher, Lacy, McMurphy, Meyers, two Murphys, five O’Connors, five O’Keeffes, O’Westlin, Sagehorn, Staines, Sullivan, Tayler,
Most requested to graze 1,500 sheep, although a few requested as few as 450.\footnote{150}

Although the Park Service officially took control of the monument in 1933 and began actual management in 1934, the Forest Service continued to administer grazing permits until 1936. The Park Service worked to reduce the number of sheep on the monument, in line with its goal of conserving the area’s resources. According to one report, there were 30,000 sheep on monument in 1934.\footnote{152} In 1935, seven operations were given permits to graze 1,500 sheep each in the monument during January and February, 10,500 sheep in all: Tim T. Sullivan, Hugh O’Connor, the Ned O’Connor estate, Jerry and John O’Connor, Dennis O’Connor, Jerry C. Murphy, and Jack Kelleher (see images 6-20, 6-21).\footnote{153} Hugh and Dennis O’Connor, as well as the Ned O’Connor estate, grazed in the north-central part of the monument, Jerry Murphy in the northeast corner; Jack Kelleher used range around Whitney Butte; John and Jerry O’Connor grazed their sheep around Hardin Butte; and Tim Sullivan had range around Three Sisters. The area south of Schonchin Butte was reserved for deer range.\footnote{154}

Gradually, the permittees dropped out. Sullivan forfeited his permit in 1936; the Ned O’Connor estate in 1937; and Kelleher in 1938. Dennis and Hugh O’Connor gave up their permit in 1943. Due to war emergency, the Haskins brothers were permitted to graze the allotment for three years.\footnote{155} Early in 1950, Jerry Murphy died in an automobile accident.\footnote{156} His widow was granted an emergency permit

\footnote{150}The complete list of requestors is: Michael P. Barry, Merrill, OR; C. N. Curtin, Klamath Falls, OR; J. W. Dolan, Klamath Falls, OR; R. M. Flynn, Malin, OR; C. P. Haskins, Merrill, OR; J. L. Haskins, Merrill, OR; V. M. Haskins, Merrill, OR; French E. Johnson, Tule Lake, CA; Jack Kelleher, Tule Lake, CA; Dick Lacy, Merrill; Fred E. McMurphy, Tulelake, CA; G. W. Meyers, Malin, OR; Jerry C. Murphy, Malin, OR; Timothy D. Murphy, Tulelake, CA; Dennis O’Connor, Merrill, OR; Hugh O’Connor, Klamath Falls, OR; Jerry and John O’Connor, Malin, OR; Ned O’Connor Estate, Klamath Falls, OR; Philip O’Connor, Merrill, OR; C. N. O’Keeffe, Malin, OR; Dan O’Keeffe, Merrill, OR; J. G. O’Westlin, Malin, OR; James O’Keeffe, Merrill, OR; John J. O’Keeffe, Adel, OR; Morris O’Keeffe, Merrill, OR; Leo Sagehorn, Merrill, OR; J. E. Staines(?), Malin, OR; Tim T. Sullivan, Merrill, OR; E. H. Taylor, Malin, OR; H. O. Williams, Malin, OR; Joseph Zumpfe, Malin, OR (Letter from Don C. Fisher to William E. Robertson [acting superintendent, Crater Lake NP], December 6, 1934, Grazing Records, Crater Lake NP [copy in Administrative History binders, LBNM Archives]).

\footnote{151}Letter from Acting Forest Supervisor, Modoc National Forest, L. R. DeCamp to permittees, January 26, 1935, Grazing Records, Crater Lake NP (copy in Administrative History binders, LBNM Archives).


\footnote{153}Letter from Acting Forest Supervisor, Modoc National Forest, L. R. DeCamp to permittees, January 26, 1935, Grazing Records, Crater Lake NP (copy in Administrative History binders, LBNM Archives).

\footnote{154}File: L3019 John D. O’Connor, LBNM Archives.

\footnote{155}LBNM monthly report, March 1946.

\footnote{156}LBNM monthly report, February 1950.
in 1951. As the other permit holders dropped out, the Park Service spread the remaining permit holders over the areas vacated by the departing permit holders. Each remaining permit holder brought in about the same number of sheep he had before, but he spread them out over a broader area. From 1952 to 1955, when O'Connor was the sole permit holder, his sheep grazed the entire area that four men had held in the 1930s. After that time, however, they assigned him to various smaller areas within the monument.\footnote{157}

The longest-lived of the Lava Beds sheepmen was John D. O'Connor, who began grazing his sheep in the Lava Beds in the 1910s and continued into the 1970s—he was the sole permittee in the monument from 1952 on.\footnote{158} O'Connor left County Kerry in Ireland in 1911, recruited by Jackie Flynn, an established Irish sheepman in Lake County, Oregon. John's brother Jerry was in Oregon already; a third brother Matt later joined them. Earning $35 a month, he worked several years for Flynn, living on bacon and beans, herding flocks of up to 3,200 sheep, aided by Australian sheepdogs. In 1918, the O'Connors relocated to Klamath County, when Jerry bought land near Spring Lake.

Like the Modocs before them, sheepmen developed an annual round to take advantage of the local ecology. Topography and water distribution were key to these movements. The sheepmen, however, had much stronger ties to outside markets. The O'Connors first received grazing privileges in the Lava Beds through the Forest Service in the 1920s. At a time when restaurants in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago were a vast market for mutton, they expanded their flocks rapidly.\footnote{159} For instance, in 1925, the Klamath Falls Evening Herald reported that the O'Connor brothers, Murphy brothers, John Mathey, and other Merrill sheepmen sold 2,300 lambs to the California Lamb and Mutton Company of Oakland, as they trailed the sheep through Klamath Falls from Yamsay country to the Tule Lake district.\footnote{160} During peak years, O'Connor hired a crew of thirty-five men to watch his sheep, which totaled thirty-five thousand, only a few of which were in the Lava Beds. The herders were mostly single Irishmen, hard-drinking and hard-living, many of them not living past fifty.\footnote{161} They would bring about a thousand of the O'Connor sheep into the Lava Beds each winter for a few months.

\footnote{157}{John D. O'Connor file, LBNM Archives.}
\footnote{159}{Klamath Falls Herald and News, June 16, 2004, p. B1.}
\footnote{160}{Klamath Falls Evening Herald, October 6, 1925, 1.}
\footnote{161}{Interview of Jack O’Connor by Fred Brown, August 1, 2006.}
Image 6-16. Pat Brown cajoling Hugh and Dennis O’Connor’s sheep through a counting chute in the Lava Beds, 1941. (NARA–San Bruno)

Image 6-17. South sheep camp of Hugh and Dennis O’Connor, Lava Beds, 1941. (NARA–San Bruno)
Sleeping in tents, they used camps throughout the Lava Beds at various times, one near Captain Jacks Stronghold, one near the Big Crack, and elsewhere. Supply wagons would come out occasionally to bring goods such as meat, bacon, flour, tobacco, and eggs.\textsuperscript{162} Although no archeological sites have been clearly tied to sheepherding activities, rock walls and refuse deposits in the area of old sheep camps may relate to this activity.\textsuperscript{163} From the Lava Beds, the herders would take the ewes to lamb near Clear Lake and Doublehead. They found summer range near Chiloquin and Lenz. In the winter, they would load livestock on trains at Stukel, Merrill, and Chiloquin.

\textbf{Hugh O'Conner} 1250 sheep
\textbf{Tim T. Sullivan} 1250 Sheep
\textbf{Dennis D. O'Conner} 1250 sheep
\textbf{Jack Kelleher} 1250 sheep
\textbf{John & Jerry O'Conner} 1250 sheep
\textbf{Jerry C. Murphy} 1250 sheep
\textbf{Ned O'Conner Estate} 1250 sheep

The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

The sheepherders’ lives were often a lonely existence, with no one to talk to but a dog and some sheep for weeks at a time. Young men, who did not necessarily have much sheepherding experience, would take a boat from Ireland to New York, take a train to the West Coast, and a few weeks later find themselves walking alone through the sagebrush and bunchgrass of Oregon and California, guarding a flock of hundreds of sheep. A lonely existence, yet in many ways highly connected to the world. Links to rail lines and markets were crucial to the success of the operation. The lines of communication that linked the lakes country to Ireland and brought a regular stream of young men ready to take up the business kept the industry vital for several decades.

These links to distant markets shaped the local ecology. They brought a density of grazers never seen when bighorns and deer were the primary herbivores in the monument. Some blame sheep for pushing bighorns out of the monument through competition and disease. Sheepmen, by contrast, argue sheep played a beneficial role in reducing fuel for forest fires. What is clear is that the monument would be a very different place today if not for the tens of thousands of sheep that trod and grazed the landscape from the 1880s to the 1970s. Gradually, just as sheepherding dwindled in the Lava Beds due to Park Service policy, it dwindled nationally and locally due to changing tastes and changing markets. Sheep production in the United States declined from 56 million sheep in 1942 to 13 million in 1976. While a few sheep operations persist in the lakes country, stock men have turned more and more to cattle. Few cultural traces in the monument can be specifically tied to sheepherding; yet the landscape allows us to imagine this industry—the most enduring and economically important activity to shape the Lava Beds since white settlement.

Timber Management under the Forest Service
The southern extremity of the Lava Beds National Monument is timbered. However, the Lava Beds lay on the edge of logging operations, rather than at their center. Forest Service records reveal no evidence of major logging operations in the monument. In line with their philosophy of scientific management and conservation for use, the Forest Service did, however, engage in a number of surveys. Even before the area containing the current monument was added to the Modoc National Forest, the Forest Service managed parts of the Lava Beds outside the current monument. In 1910, forest assistant Belknap C. Goldsmith

Automobiles, Livestock, and the Forest Service, 1910s–1934

Image 6-20. NPS map, 1960s, showing sheep allotments 1934–38. (LBNM Archives)
Image 6-21. NPS map, 1960s, showing sheep allotments 1938–43. (LBNM Archives)
Automobiles, Livestock, and the Forest Service, 1910s–1934

created a report that described the development potential for the “Modoc Lava Bed Block” running from Glass Mountain northeast to Goose Lake. He reported one small sawmill located near Lookout, milling “from 100 M to 200 M feet” a year, which supplied a few scattered ranches in Big Valley. The juniper woodlands of this block provided about a thousand cords of wood to Alturas annually. The report predicted no large-scale logging until railroad access was improved.¹⁶⁵ As logging operations took place near Lava Beds National Monument, they skirted the monument but had little direct impact.

By the 1920s, Long Bell Lumber Company was planning to build a rail line running just south of the current monument (see images 6-23, 6-24). A 1934 map indicates that the railroad, built around 1927, just touches the Park Service land at the southwest corner of the monument.¹⁶⁶ This railroad hauled lumber to the Long Bell sawmill in Tennant, a company town built in 1920.¹⁶⁷ Forest Service surveys also just barely touched the monument. In 1924, the Forest Service undertook a “Lava Bed Project,” a timber survey that extended to within a few miles south of the southeast corner of the current monument.¹⁶⁸ A 1925 map indicated that the “Lava Bed unit” of timber extended very slightly into the current monument near Caldwell Cave.¹⁶⁹ The map with the 1926 Forest Service report on the “Modoc Lava Beds Region” indicated that the region included a few acres near Caldwell Cave, within the current monument (see images 6-23, 6-24). This Modoc Lava Beds Region had been cruised by “Evans and a timber survey crew during 1924 and 1925.”¹⁷⁰ These documents indicate that while the area was never logged, it was being carefully surveyed by the Forest Service for its potential. While the Forest Service was careful to assess the limited timber resources of what is now the monument, much more important to the Forest Service were grazing and the natural and cultural features that attracted travelers to the area.

¹⁶⁶ Map dated 1936, “Vegetation Type Maps, 1936,1963,” LBNM Administration Building files. (The underlying base map is from 1934.)
¹⁶⁸ Map dated 1924, file: Modoc Timber surveys, box 32, 095-97-004, RG 95, NARA–San Bruno.
¹⁶⁹ Map ca. 1925, box 26, Modoc National Forest, RG 95, NARA–San Bruno.
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

Monument Status
In 1925, the Lava Beds became a national monument. Starting in the 1910s, people had noted the potential of the area as a national monument. A 1910 letter from J. S. Diller of the Geological Survey to Oliver C. Applegate provides the first known reference to efforts at setting aside the Lava Beds:

*It is a pleasure to hear from you once again, especially concerning such a praiseworthy subject as a national park for the preservation of the game of the country in the Modoc Lava Beds. That very remarkable country is well suited for a game preserve if there is united with it the mountains about Medicine Lake. They will afford the necessary range in topographic features as well as forest.*

As discussed briefly above, C. J. Blanchard of the Reclamation Service had sought to prevent Charles H. Merrill’s timber claim in 1916, saying the area deserved to be a national monument; he felt that visitors should not “be held up by private parties every time they desire to see the caves.” Blanchard wrote the Secretary of the Interior on August 16, 1916, saying that he and several friends had visited the ice caves at Bearpaw on Sunday, August 13. He found the caves “remarkable and interesting” and felt the area had “a future value when opened by roads as a resort for lovers of Nature’s wonders.” Blanchard was convinced that Merrill wanted the land not for its timber, but to gain access to the caves.

The issue reached the highest levels of federal land agencies. Blanchard’s note was forwarded to Robert B. Marshall, Superintendent of National Parks. On October 9, 1916, Marshall requested that the General Land Office (GLO) conduct an examination of the area to see whether it warranted “reservation as a national monument.” On October 14, 1916, the GLO ordered an investigation of the “alleged phenomenon” of ice caves on the Merrill tract. Eight months later, on June 11, 1917, mineral examiner Leroy A. Palmer of the GLO visited the area, inspected the caves, and filed a four-page report with two photographs of the cave entrance. In his letter, he referred to the cave south of the natural bridge as “Bearfoot Cave” (today’s Bearpaw Cave) and the one north of it as “Ice Cave” (today’s Merrill Cave). In Ice Cave, he noted an ice floor on the second (lowest) level, broken up by a fifteen-foot pit. North of the pit was an ice floor seventy-five feet long; south of the pit was a two-hundred-foot floor. Palmer argued that the caves had no extraordinary features that would preclude issuing a patent to

171 Letter dated December 23, 1910, Applegate Papers, University of Oregon.
Merrill, since larger caves existed to the south and since Bearfoot Cave and Ice Cave presented no “formations of beauty such as are characteristic of caves which occur in the limestone formation.” Acting Director F. W. Griffith of the newly organized National Park Service wrote the GLO on August 8, 1917, to say it had no objection to Merrill’s application and Charles H. Merrill received his patent on October 1, 1917.\footnote{172}

California Congressman John E. Raker may have been referring to these or to other efforts when he said that around 1914 there were unsuccessful attempts to establish a “national park.”\footnote{173} In 1918, Raker pledged his willingness to work with Oliver C. Applegate and others interested in efforts to establish the area as a “national park.” Sometime before 1920, Applegate wrote that the Lava Beds “should perhaps be placed under government control and improved as a national park so regulated as that those areas which are available for winter pasture for domestic stock can be made available”—a nuanced proposal that suggests motorists and stockmen had already discussed how to balance conservation and use.\footnote{174} In a 1923 letter to Frank Durkee of the California Highway Commission and the \textit{Sacramento Bee}, J. D. Howard urged that the area be “held as Park Timber until the section be made a National Monument.”\footnote{175} In the few years before the area became a national monument, Durkee sent the Park Service numerous suggestions that the area be a monument.\footnote{176}

These efforts to have the area set aside as a monument were part of a larger project to increase tourism in northern California. Congressman Raker called for northern California to get its fair share of highway dollars and for the development of the “great empire” of northern California with its wonderful resources and scenery.\footnote{177} Locals lobbied for a road linking the Lava Beds to the Klamath River highway, hoping thereby to capture the tourist traffic coming west from Yellowstone.\footnote{178} Local papers also touted the scenic wonders that justified these investments. In an article headlined “Modoc Lava Beds Seen As Wonderland,” the \textit{Siskiyou News} said, “The formation is one that will compel the attention and wonder of those who seek the strange and forceful things that

\footnote{172}{Charles H. Merrill land entry file, patent number 602422, HE number, General Land Office records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.}
\footnote{173}{Letter from Raker to Applegate, March 23, 1918, LBNM Archives; on efforts to establish national park, see also \textit{Alturas Plaindealer}, April 10, 1925; \textit{Klamath Falls Evening Herald}, May 17, 1920.}
\footnote{174}{\textit{Klamath Record}, May 14, 1920, 5.}
\footnote{175}{Letter dated August 28, 1923, quoted in Juillerat, “J. D. Howard,” 50.}
\footnote{176}{\textit{Adin Recorder}, December 4, 1925 (copy in LBNM Archives).}
\footnote{177}{\textit{Siskiyou News}, June 28, 1923, 1.}
\footnote{178}{\textit{Siskiyou News}, July 19, 1923, 1; July 26, 1923, 1.}
nature offers, and its individual history appeals to all." The Klamath Record headlined an article about it, saying, “Lava Beds Drawing Students of Science: Exceptional Field for Research Officials in Great Area of Early Volcanic Eruptions—Should Be Park.” While volcanic landscapes had been dismissed as useless in the nineteenth century, the growing interest in the Lava Beds fit into a broader pattern throughout the West of boosters and scientists taking an interest in these oddities of nature. Around this same time, Craters of the Moon in Idaho was also declared a national monument.

In 1925, a number of organizations—including the Alturas chapter of the Native Daughters of the Golden West—undertook efforts to support what the Alturas Plaindealer characterized as “the indefatigueable [sic] efforts of the Forest Service as well as many other individuals and organizations of Northern-California and Southern Oregon.” Newspaper articles indicated that vandalism of Canby Cross and the petroglyphs was one of the concerns leading to the establishment of the monument. Local pride in the area’s history and geology, as well as opportunities to promote tourism, were important as well. Congressman Raker took a prominent role, sponsoring the bill to create the monument and soliciting input from constituents with an article in the Alturas Plaindealer. The Sacramento Bee published articles in April and October 1925 that many credited with giving the effort a boost. These efforts culminated in a decision by the Forest Service to recommend the area be set aside as a monument, both for its historic interest and for the unusual cave features.

Given the Forest Service recommendation, and in the absence of objections by the Park Service, President Calvin Coolidge proclaimed the area a national monument on November 21, 1925. In doing so, he acted under the authority of the Antiquities Act of 1906, whereby the president could establish national monuments by executive order to preserve “historic landmarks, historic and
prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic and scientific interest."187 The Forest Service was responsible for managing those national monuments carved out of national forest land, while the Interior Department and War Department managed other national monuments.188

**Canby Monument and War Commemoration**

Even as efforts were under way to have the Lava Beds made a national monument, several local history groups came together to build a stone monument to General Canby near the existing Canby Cross to create a permanent structure recording one version of the Modoc War story.189 The Lava Beds was one of many sites in the American West where Americans commemorated the Indian-white wars. Other battlefields, however, received attention much earlier. Soon after the Battle of Little Bighorn in 1876, veteran groups erected gravestones for the fallen U.S. soldiers. In 1879, Little Bighorn was declared a national cemetery. In 1883, the War Department erected a six-ton granite monument at Big Hole, the site of a battle between Nez Perce and the U.S. army in 1877.190 In the nineteenth century,

189 *Klamath Falls Evening Herald*, May 29, 1926, 1; June 10, 1926, 1; June 11, 1926, 1; June 12, 1926, 1; June 14, 1926, 1; *Alturas Plaindealer*, June 18, 1926, 1; February 20, 1925, 1; March 6, 1925, 1; March 13, 1925, 1; April 3, 1925, 1; April 10, 1925, 1; May 1, 1925, 1; July 17, 1925, 1; September 4, 1925, 1.
Image 6-23. Forest Service timber map, dated 1926 (composite image created to include legend). Note that a small portion of one of the survey timber blocks (marked with dotted red lines) is within LBNM near Caldwell Butte. Note also that the map shows a major road running through the southern portion of the monument. This might be Tichnor Road, which other maps portray as south of the monument. (NARA–San Bruno)
Image 6-24. Detail from previous image. Note the three inholdings marked in purple. The Spicer tract is in the southeast corner of the monument, and the Merrill tract is just above the “al” in National. A third tract is indicated between the words “Lava” and “Beds.” No further information exists about this possible inholding, which may represent an error on this map.
by contrast, only the wooden Canby Cross was erected in the Lava Beds. By the 1920s, however, local history groups were bringing renewed attention to the Modoc War—a conflict briefly prominent in the national press, but without the prominence in national memory of “Custer’s Last Stand” or the desperate struggle of Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce to reach Canada.

The local history groups called their proposed stone structure the “Lava Beds Monument,” a name that led to considerable confusion with the simultaneous efforts to acquire national monument designation. The structure later came to be known as the Canby Monument, or Golden Bear Monument. The Alturas chapter of the Native Daughters of the Golden West took the lead in raising money and commissioning the monument. Carl Johnson of Alturas reportedly began work on the shaft of lava rock on Saturday, June 6, 1926. A June 13, 1926, photograph of the dedication showed two aging participants in the war: O. C. Applegate and


191 Alturas Plaindealer, April 30, 1926, 1.
Peter Schonchin. It also showed J. Frank Adams and George W. Lyons, and the representatives of the Native Daughters of the Golden West, the Native Sons of the Golden West, and the Chamber of Commerce. Representatives of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Masons, and the Helping Hand Society also attended. The event may well have brought the largest congregation of people the Lava Beds had seen since the Modoc War. More than a thousand visitors in 175 cars made their way to the monument from the surrounding towns, many staying near Bearpaw Cave (perhaps at the resort) and elsewhere. Singing the “Star Spangled Banner” and “I Love You California,” they celebrated the Modoc War as an event that “helped pass on to future generations the spirit of progress and advancement.” The “ladies of Malin” sold ice cream, sandwiches, and coffee. The papers reported that many Indians, including Peter Schonchin, attended the ceremonies. The monument, which featured a golden bear wounded

192 A newspaper article said that the Alturas contingent to the dedication would “probably enter the Lava Beds by the Cave road and remain over night at Bear’s pass cave [presumably Bearpaw Cave] and arrive at Canby’s cross where the monument is to be dedicated.” Klamath Falls Evening Herald, June 31, 1926, 1.
193 Alturas Plaindealer, June 18, 1926, 1.
194 Alturas Plaindealer, June 11, 1926, 1.
by Indian arrows and a plaque honoring General Canby, would stand on that spot at least until 1965.\textsuperscript{195} The inscription read:

\begin{quote}
TO COMMEMORATE THE HEROISM OF GENERAL EDWARD R. S. CANBY OTHER OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS AND PIONEER SETTLERS WHO SACRIFICED THEIR LIVES ON THIS BATTLEFIELD DURING THE MODOC WAR THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED AND DEDICATED BY ALTURAS PARLOR 159 N.D.G.W. ASSISTED BY GRAND CHAPTER ROYAL ARCH MASON'S OTHER FRATERNAL AND CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS AND CITIZENS 1926 A.D. \textsuperscript{196}
\end{quote}

Like novelists and newspaper reporters, these monument builders were creating a certain story about the meaning of the Lava Beds and the Modoc War, and like many other such stories, not all parties could agree. One of the most notable problems with the monument was that it portrayed a bear—the symbol of California—injured by Indian arrows. Oregon residents, who were not involved in the planning, felt this was an inappropriate symbol of a war that began in Oregon and that Oregonians supported more wholeheartedly. The Modoc Indians who attended may well have noted the absence of any memorial for the Modoc dead and the Modoc people whose lives were transformed by the war. Not until much later would the park have a memorial telling the events from a Modoc perspective.

\textit{Roads and Road Signs}

In many ways, roads made the Lava Beds a monument. Without improved roads, 175 cars could not have made their way to the Canby monument dedication. New roads, along with sign and maps, helped create a new story of the Lava Beds: it became an area of interesting historical and geological features, whose mysteries could be relatively easily deciphered without a local guide. Roads connected the four historic sites along the North Boundary (Gillems Camp, Canby Cross, Captain Jacks Stronghold, and Hospital Rock) with the caves in the southern portions of the monument, and thereby helped visitors think of the monument as one place. The signs also made the monument into a more orderly and understandable landscape. Without signs, visitors lacking in-depth local knowledge would see only a confusing set of lava flows and collapses. Roads, signs, and maps made it easy for visitors to quickly orient themselves and to

\textsuperscript{195} LBNM monthly reports, April 1964, June 1965, and September 1965.
visit a few of the most prominent features. They made the landscape seem comprehensible, not only to those for whom it was the center of the world, but to visitors for whom it lay outside their everyday world.

Like many activities in the Lava Beds, road-building followed a trajectory from informal projects organized by individuals to more closely regulated activities sponsored by the Forest Service. Early road-building within the monument seems was an ad hoc affair. After the first road in 1915, built by the Merrills and county officials, J. D. Howard made numerous efforts at road-building, sometimes to the dismay of Forest Service officials. Others engaged in road-building as well. Howard said that two brothers who were sheep-herders built the road from Lyons Road to Juniper Butte.\(^{197}\) In 1919, Howard and fellow miller Carey Rambsey built a road from the Coxes’ sheep camp to Indian Well.\(^{198}\) Howard “moulded, painted and varnished” signs for the area; by 1923, they were all gone. The Sunset Grocery and an auto club also erected signs in the area.\(^{199}\) For instance, a sign at the intersection of the main road and the Heppe Cave road read “Alturas 66 mi. Medicine Lake 15 mi. Merrill 25 mi. Skull Cave 1 mi. Merrill 35 mi.”\(^{200}\) In 1925, Howard wrote L. A. Barrett of the Forest Service to say he had made changes to the Indian Well Road and planned to extend the Catacombs Road.\(^{201}\)

\(^{197}\) Murray, “Digest,” 3.

\(^{198}\) Juillerat, “J. D. Howard,” 54.

\(^{199}\) Letter from J. D. Howard to William Brown, September 16, 1923, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.


\(^{201}\) J. D. Howard to Barrett, March 27, 1925, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.
wrote back saying he appreciated Howard’s work, although there is no indication Howard had cleared his plans with the Forest Service ahead of time. On November 11, 1926, Howard was with early Lava Beds explorer E. L. Hopkins as Hopkins drove the first car on the Cave Loop Road—a road built by Howard and others.

The Forest Service gradually took more direct control of road-building and signage in the monument. In May 1927, Lyons suggested that Howard coordinate his road-building with the Forest Service. In August 1927, William Brown noted that “points of interest have been designated by neat, metal enamel signs, so that the visitor to the battlefield can readily visualize the struggle.” By 1929, the Forest Service was working on the route that would be known as Lyons Road. Indeed, George W. Lyons was inspecting road-building there near Juniper Butte, when a gasoline lamp exploded in camp, burning him severely and leading to his death several weeks later on April 18, 1929. In order to facilitate access to the Modoc War sites and the caves, the Forest Service also constructed a “primary

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202 Barrett to J. D. Howard, March 30, 1925, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.
203 Hathaway, “Field Notes.”
204 Letter from Lyons to J. D. Howard, May 23, 1927, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.
205 Brown, “In the Land of Burned Out Fires,” Touring Topics, August 1927; Alturas Plaindealer, September 4, 1925.
206 Alturas Plaindealer, April 12, 1929, 1; April 19, 1929, 1; Fisher, “Road Report, 1945,” box 324, West Region Files, NPS, RG 79, NARA-San Bruno.
Automobiles, Livestock, and the Forest Service, 1910s–1934

road” from Gillem’s Camp to the southeast corner of the monument, along with a number of minor roads and spur roads from 1931 to 1934, the last years of Forest Service management. By 1934, the Forest Service was improving the road from Gillem Bluff to the Bearpaw area into a “first class truck trail.” The Park Service listed thirteen minor roads in the park in 1945, saying that most of them were constructed by the Forest Service in 1931 and 1932.

A road was built at the north end of the monument during this era, although the builder is unclear. This new road transformed the experience of visiting the major sites of the Modoc War: Gillem’s Camp, Canby Cross, Captain Jack’s Stronghold, and Hospital Rock. For Modocs these were four sites among many well-known places in a landscape understood through years of living, hunting, and observing. For U.S. soldiers, these places were connected by bewildering, rocky paths and gaping lava flows. For motorists, however, the landscape became one easily traversed in the comfort of an automobile and readily interpreted through signs and maps. At first, the road may have just been lakebed exposed as Tule Lake was drained down. Ernest Heppe wrote from his “homestead” near Captain Jack’s Stronghold that the first automobile ever to reach the Stronghold drove up on Sunday, August 14, 1921. In September 1923, J. D. Howard noted that “untill [sic] lately the Lake cut off access” to the Canby Cross area. In March 1925, Howard noted that the area around Canby Cross had been almost inaccessible before the draining of the lake, but that now one could drive there. On March 27, 1929, Howard wrote that “the Hospital Rock road is open to traffic so we drove through.” With the draining of the lake, and perhaps some added efforts by locals to create roadbeds, automobiles could now drive to sites where Modocs had fought for their homeland fifty years earlier.

Maps from the era provide an overview of this rapidly growing road system. During the period of Forest Service administration (1920–34), the road infrastructure improved dramatically. In 1915, the only road in the monument led from Merrill, Oregon, to Bearpaw Cave and then by Indian Well and Caldwell Butte toward the town of Canby, California. A 1926 map of the newly created

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210 Klamath Record, August 18, 1921, 1.
211 Letter from J. D. Howard to William Brown, September 16, 1923, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.
212 Howard to W. DeC. Ravenel, March 9, 1925, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.
213 Hathaway, “Field Notes,” March 27, 1929.
national monument showed that main road (image 6-30). It also showed a side road leading southwest to Heppe Cave and Mammoth Crater; another side road led northeast to Skull Cave. Visitors could access Caldwell Ice Cave via a road from the south.\textsuperscript{214} Another road ran along the northern boundary of the monument east to west, turning northward near Canby Cross. It seems that most of these roads were built by private or local government efforts, since major Forest Service road-building did not begin until about 1929.

A 1934 map showed substantial additions from the intense period of Forest Service road-building from 1929 to 1934 (see image 6-33). By 1934, the Main Road traveled through the monument from the southeast corner to Indian Well, past Schonchin Butte, along the east side of Gillem Bluff to Gillems Camp, following roughly the route it traces today.\textsuperscript{215} A number of side roads led off this Main Road to lead visitors to sites of interest. A loop road led out to Caldwell Cave. A side road traveled what is now the Bunchgrass Trail, a route that had been the Main Road until about 1932. A road had been built to the Catacombs Cave, although the complete loop road that now exists had not been built yet. Another road led to the southwest going by Heppe Cave. Lyons Road connected the Main Road to Skull Cave, Juniper Butte, and Hospital Rock. Lyons Road, along with the Main Road, were the only two roads indicated as primary roads on the 1934 map.

The road from the town of Merrill to Bearpaw Cave had become a side road by 1934. It led from the Main Road to Bearpaw Cave, then to the north, with a branch leading off to Whitney Butte. Another road branched off to go to Fleener Chimneys. From the Main Road, a trail went off to the right to go to the Thomas-Wright Battlefield. Near the Devil’s Homestead, a short road connected the old road built by Merrill and the new Forest Service road. The Main Road continued to Gillems Camp, where a secondary road led along the north boundary of the monument. About a half mile east of Canby Cross, Sheepherder’s Road left the North Boundary Road toward the south. Along Lyons Road, the Forest Service had built a number of side roads as well. A road led northward to Big Painted Cave and Schonchin Butte. Near Juniper Butter, a road led to the east and out of the monument.

\textsuperscript{214} Alturas Plaindealer, August 20, 1926; Fisher, “Road Report, 1945,” box 324, West Region Files, NPS, RG 79, NARA-San Bruno.

\textsuperscript{215} Lint, “Project Report Topographical Survey Modoc National Forest, Lava Beds National Monument, 1933.”
Automobiles, Livestock, and the Forest Service, 1910s–1934

These roads brought J. D. Howard and other travelers to the area. The automobile not only shaped the landscape by placing people in it and by creating a need for improved roadways to facilitate travel; the automobile and roads also shaped impressions of the park by controlling what visitors saw and did not see. In the nineteenth century, visitors focused their interest on the few sites most easily reached on horseback and on foot. During the brief period of boat travel—roughly the first twenty years of the twentieth century—the sites on the south shore were again the primary focus. With the arrival of the automobile, however, visitors could much more easily gain access to the ice caves well back from the lake. The natural features of the area began to compete more strongly with its historical associations for the interest of visitors. The automobile was key to all these transformations.

Cave Improvements

Like road-building, cave improvements gradually shifted from individual efforts to Forest Service projects. Through these efforts, the Lava Beds and their caves gradually acquired trails, ladders, and signs to guide visitors on their journeys. J. D. Howard explored and opened many caves. For instance, in April 1918, Howard installed a ladder in Silver Cavern. Inside dozens of caves, he painted the names he had given the features. By the mid-1920s, however, the Forest Service was moving to better develop the caves for visitors. In 1926, George W. Lyons wrote a memorandum to the district supervisor, laying out plans he hoped to implement for the monument. He suggested the caves needed work to make them safer. They needed ladders, trail improvements, and visitor registers with “suitable protectors (wooden desks).” He said boardwalks were not an immediate priority. Lyons suggested he would need $100 for these improvements. Scribbled notes on this letter indicate that $150 may have been appropriated in 1927 for these improvements, possibly including painting arrows.

In the winter of 1928–29, a small crew of Forest Service workers established a camp in the Lava Beds National Monument to clear trails to caves and inside caves. After 1928–29, trail work continued each winter. The most ambitious

218 Letter from George W. Lyons, Forest Supervisor, to District Forester, file: O-Supervision Modoc, box 21, Selected Historical Files, Pacific Southwest Region, USFS, RG 95, NARA–San Bruno.
220 Ibid., 14.
Forest Service work in cave improvement occurred from 1932 to 1934, with increased Depression-era funding for public works. As it built in the caves, the Forest Service debated what balance to strike between improvement and wildness. On February 2, 1933, Fred P. Cronemiller wrote J. D. Howard, saying, “I know you will feel as I do that the improvement work we are doing takes away some of the features of wildness to the caves but I do know you would enjoy the new cave and visiting other places in your old stamping ground.”221

As his men were building trails in the caves near Indian Well in 1933, Cronemiller described the cave work in the following terms: “We are constructing trails the full length of the main passages of the Labyrinth and through Sentinel, Juniper, Hercules Leg and the Maze.”222 This party discovered Valentine Cave (see next chapter). In 1933–34, relief crews funded by the National Industrial Recovery Act worked under the Forest Service building structures in thirty-two different caves in all. David Canfield of the Park Service apparently found the quality of these Forest Service improvements lacking. He wrote on February 15, 1934, “In numerous caves there are at present trails of a sort, and in several stairways and ladders. Almost without exception these are far below park standards for grade or safety.”223 Yet, the Park Service concentrated its efforts elsewhere and only undertook limited efforts to improve cave trails.

Throughout most of the caves commonly visited today, Depression-era relief workers left a legacy of extensive, naturalistic trail work. These trails shape visitors’ experience to this day, providing in many places a relatively smooth path or an ordered set of steps, rather than a difficult trek over jumbles of rocks. These trails demonstrated the rustic ideal of providing useful, functional structures in natural settings, employing native materials and blending as much as possible with the environment. The application of rustic design to the cave setting resulted in a trail design uniquely appropriate to this environment. In clearing rocks from the trail route and carefully stacking them along the edge of the trail, workers created trails in many caves that appear sunken up to a foot into the rubble-strewn cave floors. These trails represent one of the most extensive examples of the rustic style as applied to cave trails and steps in a national park in California.

221 Cronemiller, quoted in Juillerat, “J. D. Howard,” 51.
In the early 1930s, the Forest Service had plans for even more extensive changes by creating new underground links between caves. Canfield commented, "Present Forest Service plans include joining together some of the cave systems by knocking holes thru obstructing walls or rock piles. I feel sure that would be a mistake generally speaking, in that by doing so they will change the natural conditions. It would create air drafts and currents, which in the ice caves, for instance would be disastrous for the ice bodies." These projects were not put into effect.

The Forest Service also installed extensive signage throughout the monument. In 1934, the last year of Forest Service management, the government undertook a cadastral survey of the Lava Beds. The survey included a list (not necessarily exhaustive) of "natural monuments" within the area, where the Forest Service had placed signs. Not only does this give us an idea of signage at the time, but it also points to the most likely location of Forest Service trail work. The survey indicated there were "signs posted adjacent to the entrance or portal of [the following] caves and bridges" listed in table 6.1. We also know of signs at Hospital Rock and

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225 Cadastral Survey of T 45 N, R 4 E, 1934, General Land Office records, Bureau of Land Management, California.
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

Canby Cross. The hundreds of visitors to the weird landscape of lava tubes and lava flows had plenty of indicators to guide them on their journeys.

Publicity and Maps

As it was developing the roads, signs, and caves, the Forest Service also did a great deal to publicize the Lava Beds with articles, brochures, and maps—this at a time when the Forest Service nationally was placing greater emphasis on recreation. As with roads and cave development, publicity gradually shifted from J. D. Howard and other private citizens to the Forest Service. A Klamath Record article titled “Lava Beds Drawing Students of Science [...] Should Be Park,” published on May 14, 1920, before the area was added to Modoc National Forest, quoted Howard and Oliver C. Applegate as experts on the area. It cited Howard as “one who has made an actual study of the Lava bed country” and quoted him at length on the area’s geological history. It quoted Applegate at length on the history of the Modoc War. Even after the area was added to Modoc National Forest, newspapers turned to Howard. When Frank Durkee of the Sacramento Bee contacted William Brown of the Forest Service in 1923 about the Lava Beds, Brown forwarded the request to Howard.

Table 6.1. Cave and bridges in Lava Beds with Forest Service signs, 1934. This list may not be exhaustive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Devils Mushpot Cave</th>
<th>Labyrinth Cave (main entrance and upper entrance)</th>
<th>Catacomb Cave</th>
<th>Ovis Cave</th>
<th>Paradise Alley Cave</th>
<th>Sunshade Cave</th>
<th>Natural Bridge</th>
<th>Hercules Cave</th>
<th>Ship Cavern</th>
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<td>Lava Brook Cavern</td>
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<td>Golden Dome Cavern</td>
<td>Garden Bridges</td>
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Around the mid-1920s, forest rangers started acquainting themselves with the area and publicizing its attractions themselves. Ranger Ivan Cuff planned to do “considerable exploring” of the Lava Beds in 1923–24. Around 1923, the Forest Service wrote a six-page guide to the area to encourage automobile tourism titled “A Trip Through the Land of the Modocs and the Modoc National Forest” (see Appendix A14). The section on the Modoc Lava Beds began with the important issue of roads, saying that good roads connected the Lava Beds to Klamath Falls and to Alturas. The write-up briefly noted the “private summer resort” at Bearpaw Cave. Apparently assuming visitors would use Bearpaw Cave and perhaps the resort as their home base, the guide devoted a long paragraph to describing the caves accessible by auto “within a radius of three or four miles of Bear Paw Caves,” and another paragraph to the Modoc War sites, without any reference to roads available in that area.

The Forest Service also prepared maps and articles to publicize the area. In December 1923, the Forest Service was working on “a revised map of the Lava Bed section of the Modoc Forest.” By January 31, 1924, the map was completed, based on actual surveys on the ground in 1923. Ranger Ivan Cuff created a map of the monument printed in the Alturas Plaindealer in 1926 (see image 6-30). On October 7, 1925, the Sacramento Bee featured an article on the Lava Beds by William S. Brown, deputy supervisor of Modoc National Forest. Among Brown’s many other articles was one published in the national magazine Touring Topics in 1927, featuring a map of the area to allow readers around the country to study the geography of the new national monument (see image 6-31).

By 1931, the Forest Service had a brochure devoted exclusively to the monument. The cover showed a group of four women and one man sitting in the entrance of Skull Cave. Other photos depicted Canby Cross, a Modoc War-era photo of soldiers and Warm Springs Indians, the interior of Catacomb Cave, crystals in Crystal Cave, and a broad view of the landscape. The text had sections on the volcanic features, caves, history (focused primarily on the Modoc War), Indian writing, and plant and animal life. In addition, it offered practical

228 Letter from Lyons to J. D. Howard, December 14, 1923, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.
229 Files in possession of Lee Juillerat.
230 Letter from George W. Lyons to J. D. Howard, December 14, 1923, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.
231 Letter from Lyons to J. D. Howard, January 31, 1924, J. D. Howard Letters, Shaw Historical Library.
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

Points of Interest
In
Lava Beds National Monument

Image 6-31. 1927 map of Lava Beds National Monument. The Bearfoot Resort (also known as Bearpaw Resort) is indicated near Bearpaw Butte. Note also that Lyons Road and the Main Road from the Bearpaw area to Gillems Camp had not yet been constructed. (Touring Topics, 1927)
Image 6-32. Forest Service map of LBNM, 1931. (Butte Valley Fair Museum, Lava Beds file)
Automobiles, Livestock, and the Forest Service, 1910s–1934

information on reaching the monument and “rules for visitors.” By creating written guides to the Lava Beds, monument managers helped manage what stories visitors learned about this place.

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During the 1920s, the federal government in the form of the U.S. Forest Service took on a greater role in regulating and developing the Lava Beds. The Forest Service did not seek to end economic activity in the monument, as the Park Service would, but to manage it more closely within their conservation ideals. In so doing, the Forest Service sought to shape and control two major activities that had come to the Lava Beds before it came under federal jurisdiction: sheepherding and road-building. The Forest Service instituted a permit system greatly reducing sheep-grazing within the Lava Beds. It sought to encourage and support the growing tourism to the area, which had increased greatly with the rise of automobile travel and especially with the first road through the Lava Beds in 1915. New roads would create an entirely new experience of the area’s topography by allowing visitors to drive between park sites with ease. Similarly, trails through caves eased visitors’ passage through these jumbled environments. The rugged landscape still shaped understandings of the area and provided the region’s attraction. Yet the experience became more one of curiosity than of hardship.

The federal government also helped shape the stories people told about the Lava Beds. Many of these stories came from local tour guides, such as J. D. Howard, and local history enthusiasts like those who erected the Canby Monument in 1926; one popular story came from novelist Zane Grey. But the Forest Service gradually assumed the role of erecting the signs and writing the promotional literature that shaped how visitors interpreted the meaning of the Lava Beds landscape. The federal role in the Lava Beds would only increase through the 1930s.
Chapter 7
Camp Life:
Lava Beds in Depression and War

Throughout the Great Depression and World War II, the federal government assumed an ever-growing role in the lives of ordinary Americans. Voters, unhappy with Herbert Hoover's response to the Great Depression, chose Franklin D. Roosevelt in a landslide in the 1932 election. When he took office in March 1933, FDR set out to implement his New Deal—an ideologically mixed set of programs to bring the country out of depression, an initiative unified mainly by its attachment to “bold persistent experimentation.” The New Deal built on reforms of the Progressive Era and on the state-centered economic activity of World War I to create a much larger role for government generally and specifically for the federal government in shaping the economic and social life of Americans. It also built on the limited but nevertheless unprecedented increases in public works projects that Hoover had approved. U.S. entry into World War II in 1941 brought an end to the New Deal but occasioned an even greater role for government action.

In the Lava Beds and the Tule Lake basin generally, this federal role manifested itself with a series of government-sponsored camps: work-relief camps for the unemployed under the Public Works Administration (PWA), work-relief camps for young men under the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), relocation centers for Japanese and Japanese Americans under the War Relocation Authority (WRA), and prisoner of war (POW) camps. While these camps served very different purposes, they had a few things in common. They all demonstrated the growing role of the federal government. They all found the Tule Lake basin attractive for its location: relatively isolated from major cities and military facilities, yet easily accessible by rail. During the 1930s and 1940s, the Lava Beds National Monument would have PWA and CCC camps within its boundaries, while WRA and POW camps lay nearby. Although the WRA camp lay outside the monument, the singular historic importance of this facility requires a close examination of its links to Lava Beds National Monument.

The New Deal also brought another important change to the Lava Beds. Soon after FDR took the presidency, he transferred all national monuments to the National Park Service. In 1933, the Park Service officially had jurisdiction over the Lava Beds; it would not take effective control until 1934, however, when it assigned Don Fisher as a temporary ranger for the monument. While the Forest Service had a mandate to conserve resources for future use, the Park Service was charged to preserve resources “unimpaired for future generations.” This transfer did not radically change management of the area in the short term: the Park Service continued with a program of road-building, cave improvement, and

2 On national-level disputes between the Forest Service and the National Park Service over this transfer, see Hal Rothman, Olympic National Park: An Administrative History (Seattle: National Park Service, 1990), 52–53.
recreation promotion. It also continued to allow sheep grazing in the monument. In the long term, however, the Park Service philosophy gradually moved the area’s management away from a focus on use and toward a focus on preservation. While the role of the federal government in establishing camps in this landscape was largely restricted to the Great Depression and World War II, the Park Service role in the area continues to the present.

Relief Programs Under Hoover

The increased role of the federal government in Lava Beds National Monument did not begin with the transfer of actual management from the Forest Service to the Park Service in 1934. Surprisingly, it did not even begin with FDR’s inauguration in March 1933 and his New Deal. Even in 1932, while Herbert Hoover still occupied the White House, relief workers were toiling in Lava Beds National Monument. The Great Depression had hit the United States in 1929 with a stock market crash contributing to plummeting demand for goods and services, and to rising unemployment. While Hoover did more than any previous president had done in similar straits, still he resisted efforts at massive federal intervention, feeling the economy was essentially sound and that a return of business confidence would soon pull the country out of economic peril. Nevertheless, under pressure from Congress, he signed legislation establishing public works programs on an unprecedented scale in June 1932 with the Emergency Relief and Construction Act (ERCA). Workers funded through one of the federal relief programs, perhaps the ERCA, began to arrive in the Lava Beds in the fall of 1932.4

The Forest Service managed this relief program and set the crew to building roads and constructing trails within the caves. The crew established a tent camp at

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4 George Brown Tindall with David E. Shi, *America: A Narrative History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), 2:1090–96. A newspaper article said “[t]he men in the present crew are working on an unemployment relief basis of 30 hours per week” (*Alturas Plaindealer*, January 11, 1933). The fact that the work was on Forest Service land makes it likely it was federally funded. In addition, one worker, Ross Musselman, later said in reference to the project, “Mr. Hoover’s administration had allocated money for various relief jobs to alleviate the pinch there, and this happened to be one of those projects” (interview with Ross R. Musselman, Sr., September 13, 1961, transcript, LBNM Library, 910 MUS). It seems likely the relief project was part of the $322 million appropriated in June 1932 under the Emergency Relief and Construction Act (Tindall, 2:1096). However, no administrative records about this project have been found to tie it to a specific funding source. Another crew member, Don Robinson, has also recorded his reminiscences of the project, although he did not call it relief work (Don Robinson, “Lava Beds in 1932-33,” *Underground Express* 8, no. 4 [1988], LBNM Library, 979.42 ROB). In his interview, Musselman also named the following members of the crew: Roscoe McCready (foreman), Rule Methven, Ray Rowen, Roy Chester, Gilbert Bush, Ron Sherman, Brad Schaefer, Dan Davis, and Joe Layton. See also, R. L. Deering, “Camps for the Unemployed in the Forests of California” *Journal of Forestry* 30 (May 1932): 554–56.
Indian Well in the fall of 1932. As one worker, Don Robinson, described it, the men slept two to a tent with a five-gallon oil-keg stove for warmth. The tents were boarded up about thirty inches on the side, with tenting covering the rest of the sides and the top. This crew, ranging from about eight to twenty-five men at various times, worked building fire roads and access roads for the caves in warm weather. In the winter months, they built ladders and trails in caves, including Catacombs and Labyrinth, and possibly Sentinel Cave and Symbol Bridge. In this effort, they were continuing work the Forest Service had undertaken for several years previous to develop the Lava Beds for tourism. In the caves, they used lumber to build ladders and carried pumice into the caves to establish trails. Robinson noted that they merely poured the pumice on the surface, rather than channeling it with two-by-fours, because “they wanted things to stay as nearly natural as they could possibly be.”

It was this relief crew that discovered Valentine Cave—not a CCC crew, as some sources suggest—in the waning days of the Hoover administration. On February 12, 1933, the crew foreman saw steam rising in a place where he knew of no cave. When the foreman went to Malin for a few days, he told the cook, Ross Musselman, to keep his eye out for any steam. On the morning of February 14, a day when it was twelve degrees below zero, he saw the steam again and rushed to the spot. Given the opportunity to name the cave, Musselman decided to name it after the day of discovery, rather than his own name. The crew left the Lava Beds in May 1933, having added to the park’s infrastructure and also having discovered, in addition to Valentine Cave, Golden Dome, and one other cave. While most of the monument’s best-known caves had been known to the Modocs for centuries, or were discovered by J. D. Howard in the 1910s and 1920s, Valentine and Golden Dome are among the few well-known caves discovered in the 1930s.

Transfer from U.S. Forest Service to National Park Service

The handover of administration from the Forest Service to the Park Service took place gradually from 1933 to 1934. This move represented the culmination of a

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5Robinson stated that they worked on these two caves. The Alturas Plaindealer also said the crew worked on Labyrinth, while saying that work was planned for Sentinel Cave and Symbol Bridge (January 11, 1933).
3In his summary of conversations with J. D. Howard, Keith A. Murray asserts incorrectly that Valentine Cave “was discovered by the CCC on Valentine’s Day.” Keith A. Murray, “Notes on Conversation with J. D. Howard,” (1958) [LBNM Library, 979.421 MUR], p. 1.

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Image 7-2. Map from National Park Service brochure, 1936. This map was created by CCC artist L. Howard Crawford. (Butte Valley Museum, Lava Beds file)
struggle between the Forest Service and the Park Service dating back to the 1920s. Although the Forest Service placed less emphasis on recreation and historic preservation than did the Park Service, it jealously guarded control of the national monuments under its jurisdiction. The election of FDR provided the boost needed to make the transfer. The National Park Service had a powerful advocate in Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes. It benefited as well from the trust that Ickes placed in his subordinate, Horace Albright, director of the National Park Service. As Roosevelt set about reorganizing the federal government in the early days of his administration, he listened to arguments that management of national monuments and historic preservation generally should be consolidated under the Park Service. By executive order on June 10, 1933, Roosevelt placed all national monuments under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service.

Although no staff had been assigned specifically to the monument, David H. Canfield, chief ranger at Crater Lake submitted a report about the monument on February 15, 1934. The Forest Service was still actively involved with the monument as well, building the road from the Bearpaw area to Gillem Camp. This work continued into April. By June 1934, the Park Service finally had a man on the ground: Don Fisher was working at Lava Beds as a “temporary ranger” and the Park Service, administering the monument through Crater Lake National Park, was fully in charge.

New Deal Agencies in the Lava Beds
The New Deal had brought the transfer of the monument to the Park Service. In his first hundred days in office, FDR also pushed through a variety of legislative acts to address the Great Depression. Two of these would have an important impact on the history of Lava Beds National Monument: the National Industrial...
Recovery Act and the CCC. While PWA provided relief work for unemployed men generally, the CCC focused on providing work and life training for young men in remote, natural settings.

**CCC Spike Camp**

The New Deal agency that would have the greatest impact on Lava Beds National Monument was the Civilian Conservation Corps. In 1933, Roosevelt created the CCC, one of the alphabet soup of agencies the new president established within the first hundred days of his administration to counter unemployment. The agency sought to conserve natural resources, to provide employment for young men, and to improve their character and bodies with hard work in a natural setting.\(^1^3\) Important in Roosevelt’s thinking was the long-standing idea that American men could achieve true manhood in struggling against nature. Just as prominent historian Frederick Jackson Turner saw the frontier as the place where American identity was formed, just as Franklin’s distant cousin Theodore advocated that men adopt the strenuous life, FDR felt that young men working vigorously in a natural setting would not only improve the land, but improve their own spirits. In speaking to Congress on March 21, 1933, just seventeen days after his inauguration, Roosevelt said, “I propose to create a Civilian Conservation Corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with normal employment, and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control and similar projects. More important, however, than the material gains will be the moral and spiritual value of such work. […] We can take a vast army of these unemployed out into healthful surroundings.”\(^1^4\) Ten days later, Congress approved the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) Act. Although the agency was officially known as the ECW, Roosevelt had termed it the “Civilian Conservation Corps” in his March 21 message to Congress. People quickly took to referring to it as the CCC, which became the official name in 1937.\(^1^5\) Much more than a simple program to reduce unemployment, Roosevelt sought through the CCC to

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strengthen young men in body and spirit. Between 1933 and 1942 throughout the United States, more than 3 million young men enrolled in the CCC and headed to work camps, most of which were racially segregated, accepting either whites, African Americans, or American Indians.

Their labor transformed landscapes across the country. The program relied on coordination between four government departments. The Labor Department recruited the young men. The Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture organized the work the men engaged in. Within the Department of the Interior, the National Park Service employed the most CCCs; however, other DOI agencies such as the Bureau of Reclamation and the General Land Office also set up camps. Within the Department of Agriculture, the Forest Service established the most camps, while the Biological Survey employed CCCs as well. The government quickly realized that only the military possessed the resources and experience needed to transport, house, and feed thousands of young men. Therefore, the War Department was responsible for the boys during their off hours. Each CCC camp had a project superintendent—a representative of one of the technical agencies from the Departments of Agriculture or Interior—as well as a commander, who was a military officer.

Within a few months of the CCC’s creation, by July 1933, CCC boys were working in Lava Beds National Monument. Two Forest Service–managed topographic survey crews worked out of a camp northeast of Bearpaw Butte, near the current Merrill Cave parking area. The site served as a spike camp (or spur camp) for CCC enrollees attached to the Long Bell Camp No. 1 and Hackamore Camp F-3.16 The system of spike camps had been set up to give CCC managers more flexibility in moving enrollees to nearby worksites without the formal approval needed for a full-fledged CCC camp. At Bearpaw, CCC or PWA crews erected several buildings for the work camp, including a three-car garage.17 It is not known whether they made use of the existing Bearpaw Resort buildings, which were still standing.

Headed by Forest Service topographers, these crews employed CCC boys to survey the area to prepare plans for establishing a permanent CCC camp in the monument. Unlike in the regular camps, no military officers managed the spike camps; rather, the technical agencies took full responsibility for the enrollees, both

on and off the job. The topographic project also served as an experiment in the feasibility of employing CCC enrollees on survey crews. C. A. Davidson headed a crew that surveyed the Dome Mountain area west of the monument. L. B. Lint, Forest Service topographer, headed a crew surveying Lava Beds National Monument itself. Both crews worked from July to December 1933.

As the Forest Service worked on the Lava Beds and nearby Dome Mountain topographical projects, a total of fifty CCC boys worked with them, although some of these boys stayed only a day. L. B. Lint apparently had a low opinion of both the work ethic and eyesight of the CCC boys under his charge:

Various excuses were set forth by those not wanting to work on the Survey crews—fallen arches, bad teeth, defective eyesight, backache, too much walking, long rides to the job and back to camp and various other things. A conservative estimate is that at least 60% of the boys I came in contact with had defective eyesight and made very poor rodmen. Each time a new man had to be used, practically one day was necessary to break him in so that the work could go on in the usual manner. It was not until the last month of field work that a smooth working crew—one that would stick, was finally obtained.18

In July and August, the boys had to commute from the Long Bell Camp No. 1, twenty-two miles southeast of the monument and from Hackamore Camp F-3. The survey crews lived at the Bearpaw Spike Camp from August to November 1933, hauling their water in from twenty-five miles away. On November 13, the crews moved to Gillems Camp, where they finished their work by December. Although no full-fledged CCC camp existed in the Lava Beds yet, within months of Roosevelt’s election, his idea that young men should do conservation work to build their spirits and relieve unemployment had already had an impact on the Lava Beds. It allowed the Forest Service to carefully map the terrain in preparation for future road-building.

**PWA Camps**

When the Forest Service topographers and the CCC boys moved to Gillems Camp in November 1933, they were relocating to a camp already established by a PWA crew. On June 16, 1933, Congress approved the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), which established both the Public Works Administration (PWA) and the

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Image 7-3. Detail from 1934 map of LBNM showing the Bearpaw area. The three buildings indicated likely denote those constructed for the CCC camp, although they may represent buildings from the Bearpaw Resort. The solid line designates the 160 acres of Charles H. Merrill’s timber claim. (LBNM Administration Building files, Veg Type Map file)

Image 7-4. NIRA camp at Gillems, 1933. NIRA crews used this camp from October 1933 to April 1934. A CCC spike camp also used this camp in November and December 1933. (NARA–San Bruno, Davidson report)
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Image 7-5. Topographers' tent at Gillems NIRA camp, 1933. CCC boys also stayed at the camp. The man in the doorway may be L. B. Lint or C. A. Davidson, the topographers in charge of the CCC spur camp that first brought CCC boys to LBNM to work on two topographic surveys. The skull above the doorway has the inscription "TOPOG / RAPH / ER / S." (Lint)

National Recovery Administration (NRA). The NRA sought to regulate the economy and keep wages and prices up by pressuring both labor and industry to agree on wages and prices. This controversial program raised substantial opposition and the Supreme Court would rule it unconstitutional in 1935. However, the public works efforts—the aspect of NIRA that would influence the Lava Beds—created much less opposition. Indeed the two agencies were squeezed into the same bill with the goal of allowing the popular public works efforts to help with the passage of the economic restructuring, which was more controversial and also closer to FDR's heart. The PWA would shape the Lava Beds, as workers set up a camp at Gillems Camp and created a new road from the Bearpaw area to Gillems Camp.

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The Forest Service had established the PWA camp at Gillems Camp in October 1933.\textsuperscript{20} PWA workers may also have made use of the Bearpaw Camp, originally set up as the CCC spike camp. Photographs reveal that the Gillems PWA camp was substantial, with a large mess house, one smaller building, ten bunk tents, and seven vehicles visible in one photograph. These camps operated until about April 1934. At least twenty-five, and possibly fifty workers, set at building a road from the Bearpaw Butte area to Gillems Camp and improving trails and ladders in the caves.\textsuperscript{21} A Park Service official reported that the road they were building was “of the truck trail type” and “not suited to tourist travel”—a road completed in 1934.\textsuperscript{22} Although the CCC would do considerable work to widen and improve roads throughout the monument, by 1934 the principal roadways of the monument had been established: the Main Road from Gillems Camp through Indian Well to the southeast entrance, the North Boundary Road, Lyons Road, and the road from Crescent Butte to Heppe Cave. These roads would be upgraded and realigned in the decades to come; yet the basic road system was in place by 1934.

The PWA crews also undertook extensive work in the caves in the winter of 1933-34. They worked on the monument’s water system.\textsuperscript{23} A report detailed work that winter (presumably by PWA) on trails and ladders in thirty-two different caves, along with trails to Mammoth Crater and Thomas-Wright Battlefield.\textsuperscript{24} Although direct comparisons are difficult, it seems that the fifty men in the PWA...
crews did substantially more cave work that year than CCC crews did in their entire nine years in the park. The existing records may not be complete. But, they reveal that the CCC worked in only one cave in 1936, four in 1937, four in 1938, and none thereafter (see Appendix C). While the CCC undertook many other substantial projects, this evidence suggests that most of the early cave improvements should be attributed to the Forest Service crews, especially the PWA crew in 1933–34, rather than to CCC crews under the Park Service.

Regular CCC Camp
While the PWA crew spent only a short time in the Lava Beds, CCC enrollees would remain there until 1942. From 1933 to 1942, the Lava Beds was a place of comings and goings (see Appendix C). Over a thousand young men passed through the Lava Beds CCC camp, spending six months to a year there in groups of about 130. Young men belonging to at least six different CCC companies cycled through the park during these years—men hailing from Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, Texas, Ohio, Wyoming, and Colorado. The Lava Beds CCC Camp represented the largest encampment within the monument since soldiers and Modoc Indians faced off in the 1870s. The lonely landscape of the late nineteenth century and the tourists’ and revelers’ resort of the 1920s gave way to permanent encampments, with continued tourism.

The first CCC’s in the monument had been part of a spike camp. In the summer of 1934, the Crater Lake CCC Camp may have set up another spike camp of about ten men at Indian Well to help survey the monument (although the evidence on this is not definitive). However, from May to October 1935, the 130 men of caves, where ladders, stairways and trails have been constructed, making the caves more easily accessible to the visitors. Funds for the work accomplished from these two camps has been provided under the NIRA administration.” (Solinsky). At the end of a listing of work under the “Ice Cave Project Winter 1933,” Don Fisher says, “The total value of work done by N.I.R.A. and C.C.C. crews within the Lava Beds National Monument will approximate a total of $50,000.00 including the time of C.C.C. enrollees.” This reference to CCC enrollees likely refers to their work on survey crews discussed above. It is possible, however, that it refers to CCC participation in trail and ladder work that winter. Don Fisher, “Fishers Report on the Lava Beds National Monument, 1934” (LBNM Library).

One document provides detailed planning for a spike camp from Crater Lake to the Lava Beds for the third enrollment of the CCC (April to September 1934). The plan called for a spike camp of ten to twelve men in a camp with three tent platforms. They would engage in surveying and in geology studies of 200 caves. It is unclear, however, if this plan was implemented (600 Third Enrollment ECW, box 9, Crater Lake NP, RG 79, NARA-Seattle). It is possible, however, that this CCC spike camp was involved in working on the GLO cadastral survey of the Lava Beds National Monument completed in August 1934 (GLO survey of T45N R4E, 1934, available from California Bureau of Land Management). The GLO survey, including a survey of routes between major features in the monument seems to match closely the work laid out in the CCC planning document, which said the group would “survey road locations throughout the Monument that will connect important features found in the Monument with a suitable road system.” This GLO crew had its base near Indian Well (section 27, T45N, R4E). Other documents make no reference to this spike camp.
Image 7-6. CCC Camp at Gillem's Camp, 1936. (LBNM Archives)

Image 7-7. CCC Camp at Gillem's Camp, sometime between 1937 and 1942. (LBNM Archives)
Camp Life: Lava Beds in Depression and War

Company 1989 did work in the Lava Beds as part of the first regular CCC camp—a camp based in the Lava Beds, and not operating as a spur from elsewhere. From January to March 1936, a spike camp of some fifty men from the Tule Lake CCC Camp (about ten miles north of the Lava Beds) worked in the camp during trail work and fire hazard suppression. From May to October 1936, about 130 men from company 544 labored in the Lava Beds. From February to April 1937, boys worked in the monument as a spike camp out of a Bureau of Reclamation CCC camp. From April 1937 until 1942, companies were assigned to the Lava Beds year round (see Appendix C for details). In July 1942, the last CCC boys left the monument, as Company 3890 headed back to Texas.

After 1933, the Lava Beds CCC boys made their home at Gillems Camp. Initially, it was a tent camp that operated only in warmer months. A 1936 photograph reveals about forty tents, one large mess hall, and four smaller buildings (see image 7-6). In 1937, inspectors reported that morale was low, as the boys were forced to live in tents even in winter. Inspector M. J. Bowman wrote, “[T]hey are living under the poorest conditions, that I have seen in the CCC, and that is saying a lot.”

As snow was falling in November 1937, construction on barracks had yet to begin. A later photograph, taken after the year-round camp was established, showed the mess hall, six long buildings that likely served as barracks, and six smaller buildings (see image 7-7). In addition to barracks and a mess hall, records indicate the camp included a headquarters building for the army commander and technical offices for the National Park Service project superintendent, an infirmary, recreation hall, bathhouse, equipment shed, powder house, lumber shed, and supply house.

In addition to the CCC camp itself, the program left a substantial infrastructure to the monument. Most apparent to park visitors today are several excellent examples of rustic architecture. While the young men may have had little construction experience, Park Service architects and experienced construction workers helped them build an impressive legacy of structures that blend naturalistically into the landscape and perform their functions admirably. Architects from the San Francisco Branch of Plans and Designs prepared plans

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26 Letter from M. J. Bowen to Robert Fechner, November 11, 1937, Lava Beds inspection reports, Crater Lake NP archives.
27 LBNM annual reports; LBNM CCC monthly reports; Modoc Lava Flow, September 1937.
28 On these structures, see Gordon Chappell, “Historical Survey of Developments at Lava Beds National Monument” (San Francisco: NPS, 1980).
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Image 7-8. Fire school for CCC boys, 1941. Fire suppression efforts and fire training were two of the major activities of the CCC in the Lava Beds. (1941 Annual Forestry Report, NARA-San Bruno)

for park buildings and landscape features. Francis G. Lange, Resident Landscape Architect at Crater Lake National Park, visited the Lava Beds regularly to provide advice and check on the status of projects. These plans fit into the general park philosophy of rustic design laid out by Albert H. Good in 1938, calling for architectural forms with "self-restraint," in harmony with the natural surroundings, and employing native materials.29 The CCC boys learned carpentry and masonry from local men with experience in the building trades. Called LEMs (locally experienced men), these workers served as foremen and surveyed the quality of CCC boys' work.30

In 1937, CCC enrollees built six picnic tables with benches at Fleener Chimneys, using native stone from the monument and cedar logs from Oregon Caves.31 Two of these tables have masonry bases made of smaller stones. Four of these tables had a base of six large stones, two stones to support each bench and two more stones to support the table top. Comparing the two types of stone, the CCC coordinator in the monument felt the large stones were "a much better job than

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Image 7-9. Schonchin parking lot, 1940. (LBNM Library, 1940 Annual Report)

Image 7-10. Trail to Schonchin Butte Lookout, 1940. This photograph shows the characteristic Depression-era trail work still visible in remote portions of the monument. While the Forest Service established most of the cave trails, the CCC established the Schonchin Butte trail, Thomas-Wright Battlefield trail, and greatly expanded the Captain Jacks Stronghold trail. (LBNM Library, 1940 Annual Report)
the use of small rock cemented together.” The CCC later built twelve similar tables with benches for the use of campers at the Indian Well campground in June and July 1938 (see image 7-12). None of these employed masonry walls of small stones, favoring instead the use of six large stones to support the tables. One table, in fact, used only two massive stones at either end supporting both benches and the tabletop. While these stones were gathered locally and an early picnic table plan called for (locally obtainable) juniper benches and tabletops, the Park Service harvested the timber for the benches and tabletops at Oregon Caves National Monument. Thus, although the tables give the appearance of using local materials, the cedar was trucked in from 150 miles away.

The CCC also constructed the impressive Ranger’s Residence (later called the Superintendent’s Residence), starting in August 1937 and completing it with the construction of its stone terrace in September 1938 (see image 7-13). Careful masonry work with large native stones marked the base of the exterior wall, the porch column, and two interior fireplaces. Once they finished the Ranger’s Residence, workers began clearing the site for a new Utility Building (later referred to as the Garage and Shop Building, the Fire Cache Operations Building, or the Operations Building) in the Indian Well area. The building has a concrete foundation with stone veneer and a chimney made of native lava rock. The walls are frame construction with horizontal wood siding. Work was completed by March 1939 on this building still standing on the north side of the maintenance yard.

The CCC constructed the Gas and Oil House at Indian Well in 1939 and 1940 with “local lava rock,” which now sits next to the headquarters building (see image 7-14). The building had a porch roof supported by two massive columns, a door and two windows on the front side, as well as a window on the side for bringing oil barrels into the building. Detailed instructions on the construction of this building survive that call for “native weathered stone, selected for firmness and for variation in color, texture and size.” A 1940 inspection report emphasized the careful attention to naturalistic design in this building: “This building has an exterior masonry facing of local lava rock and appeared to the writer to blend in very nicely and appropriately with the natural

32 LBNM CCC monthly report, August 1937.
33 Inspection of Crater Lake National Park and Lava Beds National Monument by Assistant Regional Director, June 12, 1940, Crater Lake, box 9, RG 79, NARA-Seattle; LBNM monthly reports, 1939, 1940.
34 “Oil and Gas House,” drawing dated June 7, 1937, PWRO-Oakland files.
surroundings.”35 Park Service historian Gordon Chappell described this building as “the best and least-altered example of rustic architecture applied to an automotive service station in all the parks in the Western Region of the National Park Service [California, Nevada, Arizona, and Hawaii].”36

35 Inspection of Crater Lake National Park and Lava Beds National Monument by Assistant Regional Director, June 12, 1940, Crater Lake, box 9, RG 79, NARA-Seattle; LBNM monthly reports, 1939, 1940.
Image 7-12. One of six picnic table/benches at Fleener Chimneys, constructed 1937. Twelve similar tables were constructed at Indian Well in 1938. (photo: Frederick L. Brown, 2005)


Image 7-17. Schonchin Butte Lookout, constructed 1940 and 1941. (1940 Annual Report, NARA–San Bruno)
In 1938, $27,000 in PWA money was allocated for the construction of a water system in the Indian Well area. The project involved drilling a well and laying pipe for the distribution system and continued into 1940. From September to November 1940, the CCC constructed the stone-veneer pumphouse that sat atop the well. Enrollees spent considerable time gathering rocks for the wall. The building used large native lava rocks ranging from red to tan to black, and including one massive stone that sits above the door (see image 7-15). That same year, the CCC built a stone-veneer pumphouse at Gillems Camp, which has since been demolished.

The CCC built the Schonchin Butte Lookout in 1940 and 1941. Efforts began with the construction of “motorway” to the base of the butte and a “horse trail” to the top. Workers prefabricated “special iron work” and lumber in camp and then began construction of the lookout on the lava outcropping atop the butte. They created extensive rockwork for the foundation and steps up to the lookout. The lookout itself was a wood-frame structure with a basement containing a water tank, a wooden walkway surrounding it, glass windows in all directions, and extensive cabinetry. It provides a fine example of rustic design blended with the environment, displaying characteristic rustic placement, dwarfed as it is by the vast spatter cone in which it’s nestled, accenting rather than intruding on the natural feature. One of the few remaining rustic lookouts in a national park in California, the building also tells the story of firefighting in the monument—the activity that consumed the greatest part of CCC enrollees’ time without generally leaving the type of architectural structures most commonly associated with the CCC today.

Still used by visitors and staff daily, these rustic structures are the most visible reminders of the CCC era. A comparison of these structures with recommended architectural styles in the 1938 National Park Service publication, Good’s *Parks and Recreation Structures*, show how these structures evoke the rustic style of park architecture. These structures made use of native stone and seek to harmonize with their surroundings. The stone and log picnic tables in settings near other volcanic rock and trees exemplify this approach, as does the lookout carefully nested into the basaltic volcanic plug atop Schonchin Butte. However, the naturalness is sometimes deceptive, as the cedar for the picnic tables was trucked in from Oregon Caves.

The CCC also added to the cave work the Forest Service had undertaken with their own crews, with Hoover-era relief funds, and with PWA relief workers. Records reveal that the CCC worked on access trails, cave trails, ladders, and other improvements for several caves—Skull, Fern, Valentine, Catacombs, and Indian Well—as well as a fence at Fern Cave. Records also describe general work repairing stone steps and handrails without reference to the specific caves involved. Beyond cave work, CCC men undertook a variety of other projects. They created improved parking areas and access roads to Catacombs, Frozen River, Fleener Chimneys, Valentine, Schonchin Butte, and Petroglyph Point; dug pit latrines at Captain Jacks Stronghold, Indian Well ranger station, Fleener Chimneys, and Valentine Cave; built a fence around Petroglyph Point in 1936; worked on trails in Captain Jacks Stronghold and up Schonchin Butte. Finally, they constructed the Indian Well campground. While the most important project of the CCC was firefighting, these other projects left a substantial legacy of recreational and administrative facilities at Lava Beds.

The CCC boys also did a great deal to contribute to the basic infrastructure of the park. They added to the road infrastructure of the park. CCC enrollees under National Park Service supervision took up where the PWA workers left off in constructing the Main Road from Gillems Camp to Indian Well. They devoted a great deal of effort to improving the road, widening it from twelve to twenty-two feet, and from 1935 to 1942 making slight changes in alignment. They used pumice dust as a filler, cinder from the cinder pit on Caldwell Butte as a packer and surface binder, and treated the road surface with oil. The CCC also began improving the North Boundary Road and realigning it so that it lay within the monument. Prior to CCC work, the North Boundary Road lay entirely outside the monument following the old Tule Lake shoreline, except for a secondary shortcut between Canby Cross and Captain Jacks Stronghold. In 1939, the CCC built a twelve-foot-wide dirt road within the monument from Gillems Camp to Canby Cross. They surveyed the road from Captain Jacks Stronghold to Hospital Rock and improved the road eastward from Captain Jacks Stronghold; all of this work east of Captain Jacks Stronghold was on the existing road outside the monument boundaries. The new CCC road from Gillems Camp to Canby Cross

38 See Appendix C for details on CCC work.
39 LBNM CCC monthly reports, September 1937, May 1938, and August 1938.
began the process of moving the road inside the monument boundaries—a project that would be completed in the 1960s.40

In addition, CCC boys helped install telephone lines, power lines, and water systems. A great deal of the work by the CCC boys left little or no clear physical trace, as they engaged in firefighting, fire fuel abatement, surveying, and various road and trail maintenance projects. Finally, they operated a very popular guide service conducting visitors to the monument’s most interesting features and interpreting their importance. The monument was forced to eliminate this service in October 1939, apparently because the CCC was meant to develop the parks but not to take on normal ranger functions.41 Finally, some of the CCC’s most important work left no clear traces. As the name of the corps suggests, conservation was key to its mission. The many hours devoted to firefighting show the power of the conservation ideal to shape the local environment.

**Education**

Beyond the work the young men engaged in, the CCC hoped to give them opportunities for education. During its first year of operation, in November 1933, the national CCC had added an educational component to its existing work program.42 The military had initially resisted this aspect of CCC life, fearing it would be the venue for radical and leftist politics. However, once they saw that administration officials were embracing the idea, the army sought to steer the program away from any topics deemed subversive—in one case, banning all sociology books because an officer felt “all writers on sociology were somewhat radical.”43 At Camp Lava Beds, articles in the camp newspapers encouraged the young men to take advantage of all the educational opportunities the CCC had to offer, telling the young men, “The C’s, though not a college or high school, has many of the characteristics of both.”44 One September 1935 newspaper listed a number of classes, which met one or two nights a week: current events, history, algebra, first aid, typing, bookkeeping, psychology, music, history and citizenship, arithmetic, motor transportation, slide rule, spelling, and reading.45 In addition

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41 Letter dated September 1, 1939, CCC records, Administrative History notebooks, LBNM Archives.


43 Ibid., 52.


to on-site classes, men enrolled in correspondence courses. In 1938, the most popular correspondence course was mechanics.\textsuperscript{46} Finally, the camp established a library with books and magazines, and praised the young men who took advantage of it.\textsuperscript{47} Many of the young men took advantage of these opportunities and got more out of their 3-Cs experiences than room and board and walking-around money.

\textit{Life Skills}

Even outside of the formal education classes, the camp managers strove to impart good life skills to the men, as revealed in editorials in the camp newspapers. The CCC produced monthly newspapers under the supervision of the project managers.\textsuperscript{48} Some of these columns were written by the project superintendent or the company commander. Other anonymous editorials also bear the stamp of sage advice from above. The men were advised that “[s]portsmanship is not something that is used only in sports.”\textsuperscript{49} They were told, “You must have a good time meeting people if you expect them to have a good time meeting you.”\textsuperscript{50} They were encouraged to “[a]lways see yourself in other’s mistakes.”\textsuperscript{51} With this advice the camp managers hoped not only to create a harmonious camp life, but also to provide the men skills that would help them after their enrollment period ended.

The managers’ admonitions especially directed the young men how to conduct themselves in getting and keeping a job. The men were, of course, enrolled in the CCC due to the difficulty of finding jobs, so this was a matter of particular concern. For instance, in October 1938, the educational adviser gave the men a detailed three-page primer on securing employment. Payne M. Brewer advised the men to plan where they wanted to be in one year and in five years, to learn to...
sell themselves through self-knowledge, knowledge about employers, and persistence, to investigate the various sources of job listings, and to prepare a “neat, perfectly typed” application letter. In the interview, they were advised to be courteous and self-confident: “Meet the perspective employer man to man, speak distinctly, sit or stand erect.”

The next issue of the paper admonished that once on the job, if they wanted “to be someone,” “to be a man,” they needed always to be learning and seeing how to correct their difficulties. Through these efforts, the CCC hoped to build up young men not only in body, but also in spirit.

**Daily Life**

The enrollees may have listened to some of the homey advice their managers gave them. They clearly worked hard at building the monument’s infrastructure. They also seem to have had a grand time in their off hours, if the camp newspapers are any guide. Only a few of these articles showed the young men’s interest in the particular place they spent their CCC days. Collecting arrowheads seems to have been a favorite activity, as was searching for relics of the Modoc War (see image 7-19). Although the enrollees had received some training in the National Park Service philosophy of protecting natural and cultural resources, these stories indicate the boys paid little attention. As indicated by the regular donations through the 1940s and 1950s of items that visitors had earlier collected in the Lava Beds, it was not until much later that the Park Service was able to slow these practices. A few articles in the paper talked of the boys visiting caves or helping out with cave studies. One such story showed the boys reluctance to range too far in their exploring. Several boys decided to spend the night in the stronghold but returned to camp quickly when one of them awoke screaming from a nightmare, having dreamed that Captain Jack was trying to scalp him.

Articles that bear the particular stamp of the Lava Beds, however, were rare. While the Lava Beds had been vital to the particular way of life of the Modocs who lived, hunted, gathered, and sought spiritual power there, one gets the impression that the CCC boys might have had a largely similar experience had they boarded a train instead to Vermont or Nebraska. What strikes the reader most in considering these newspapers is how little they tell us about the Lava Beds. Most of the concerns and interests and insights chronicled in the papers would have emerged

52 Lava Beds News, October 1938, 10–12.
53 Lava Beds News, November 1938, 10.
54 Lava Beds News, September 1935, 1; Lava Flows, September 27, 1935, 6.
56 Lava Beds News, April 1938, 3.
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Image 7-18. As this cartoon from the camp newspaper reveals, the Lava Beds CCC Camp saw many comings and goings, as most enrollees stayed for just six months or a year. (Lava Flows, October 11, 1935, 2)

Image 7-19. Searching for arrowheads was a favorite pastime for CCC men, as shown in this cartoon from the camp newspaper. (Lava Beds News, September 1935, 1)
from almost any camp, anywhere in the United States. The men took a great interest in sports. The papers detailed the Lava Beds CCC team’s baseball competitions against the Tulelake and Merrill town teams, and against the Wineglass CCC team.\textsuperscript{57} The camp even established a “Lava Beds Baseball Diamond” at an unknown location, presumably close to Gillems Camp.\textsuperscript{58} The men also participated in basketball and boxing.\textsuperscript{59} The paper reported that “[a] new set of gloves has been purchased and the boys are really pounding each other.”\textsuperscript{60} In 1938, the enrollees held basketball practice sessions every Tuesday and Thursday.\textsuperscript{61} They organized horseshoe and ping pong competitions.\textsuperscript{62} These efforts not only fit into the young men’s interest but also helped fulfill the CCC goal of creating strong young men.

They also seem to have had a special interest in photography.\textsuperscript{63} In September 1938, the boys formed a photo club, and the paper chronicled the boys’ work building and improving their darkroom. The canteen sold film, chemicals, and printing paper.\textsuperscript{64}

The young men were especially interested in meeting young women. The boys would go to dances in Merrill or Tulelake, or to a roller skating party in Malin.\textsuperscript{65} They also hosted dances at the Lava Beds camp itself.\textsuperscript{66} Their romantic successes and failures produced plenty of gentle ribbing in the papers. Maybe a young man was suffering from “high blonde pressure,” the paper said, given his attraction to a woman in Tulelake.\textsuperscript{67} One cartoon poked fun at one of the enrollees for his efforts to offer “cave tours” to young women. The juicier details of these encounters, of course, never made it into the newspaper—a publication the program managers helped produce and that enrollees were encouraged to send home to their parents. As one article noted, “One hears stories of night life floating around camp the day after the night before—stories that are both amusing and that type that is better left unsaid.”\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{57} Lava Beds News, September 1935, 4.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{59} Lava Flows, September 27, 1935, 5; Lava Beds News, April 1938, 5.
\textsuperscript{60} Lava Beds News, April 1938, 5.
\textsuperscript{61} Lava Beds News, October 1938, 6.
\textsuperscript{62} Lava Beds News, September 1935, 4; Lava Flows, September 27, 1935, 6.
\textsuperscript{63} Lava Beds News, March 1938, 1.
\textsuperscript{64} Lava Beds News, October 1938, 5.
\textsuperscript{65} Lava Beds News, September 1935, 3.
\textsuperscript{66} Lava Flows, September 27, 1935, 6.
\textsuperscript{67} Lava Beds News, October 1938, 9.
\textsuperscript{68} Lava Beds News, November 1938, 8.
Women weren’t the only source of ribbing as these young men made their temporary home in the Lava Beds. They poked fun at one another for sleeping late, being obsessed with horseshoes, for sporting goatees. “Who are the guys that got woozy two weeks ago on two little milkshakes? They couldn’t be ‘Dribbles’ Huffman and ‘Big Stoop’ Ryan?” the paper asked at one point. The point of many of their jokes is quite obscure to readers not familiar with the players: “Is Strum willing to teach the art of flapping arms?” or “Does Washington still give them a ‘Shaser’ or service?” Yet they make clear the young men enjoyed a good joke at each other’s expense.

As the government geared up for war, it moved to shut down the CCC. The last CCC boys left the Lava Beds in July 1942. All told, over a thousand young men had the chance to work and learn and play in the Lava Beds thanks to FDR’s innovative program to conserve nature and conserve youth. The enrollees left several tangible legacies behind: the impressive examples of rustic architecture that dot the monument. The Depression-era programs generally (Hoover-era programs, PWA, and CCC) left a well-developed system of roads and cave trails. Their road work is visible in the general alignment of the Main Road from Indian Well to Gillems Camp, although the roadbed has been altered, widened, and improved since then. Their trail work is visible at many of the caves. All these efforts taken together allow the observant visitor to gain a sense of this era of intense government action that left a physical legacy in national parks across the country.

These programs also shaped the participants, although in ways that are more difficult to gauge. Men desperate to feed their families got work through ERCA and PWA. Young men uncertain of their future got a cot, three square meals a day, a small salary, and the chance to learn useful trades in the CCC. The CCC, generally, was one of the most popular programs of the New Deal. It soon became “too popular to criticize.” Many young men who participated in it looked back on it as a life-changing experience.
Tule Lake WRA Camp
In the spring of 1942, the area near Lava Beds National Monument became the site of a very different kind of camp where the U.S. government relocated Japanese and Japanese Americans forced out of their homes on the West Coast. Facing unfounded rumors of sabotage efforts by Japanese Americans and racist outcries against them, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 9066 allowing such incarcerations on February 19 of that year, two and a half months after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Government action shaped Americans’ lives in one of the most profound ways imaginable: by depriving them of their freedom and civil rights. Construction of the relocation center at Tule Lake began in April 1942, on land northeast of Petroglyph Point. Don Fisher noted its progress in his monthly reports and soon became hopeful the relocated Japanese Americans could fill the labor gap left by the impending departure of CCC men. The first group of 447 evacuees arrived May 25, 1942, from the Portland, Oregon, and Puyallup, Washington, assembly centers. By July 25, the WRA camp newspaper reported the camp population at almost fifteen thousand.

For the second time in seventy years, the southern end of Tule Lake became central to a drama of national importance. But while many of the most important events of the Modoc War took place within the current monument, all the most important events associated with the wartime internment of Japanese and Japanese Americans at Tule Lake took place outside the monument. There were, however, a number of important links between the monument and the internment camp. First, Japanese prisoners visited the Petroglyph section. Some inscribed their names on the rock there; others incised Japanese nationalist messages that attested to the tumultuous events surrounding the transformation of Tule Lake from a relocation camp to a segregation center for “disloyal” Japanese Americans. Second, Lava Beds administrators cooperated with officials of its much larger neighboring federal agency. Finally, internees learned the history of the area and noted the links between their history and that of the Modocs who had fought from their stronghold in the Lava Beds seventy years before. The stories internees told themselves about the Modoc War altered some of the facts of history in ways that deepened the links between the two peoples’ experiences.

75 Tidean Daily Dispatch, July 25, 1942. The following Tule Lake WRA Camp newspapers are available at the University of Washington Special Collections: Information Bulletin, May 27–June 11, 1942; Tidean Dispatch, June 15, 1942–January 20 1943; August 2 1943–November 13, 1943 (incomplete); Tule Lake WRA Center Information Bulletin, February 22, 1944; Newell Star, June 8, 1944–March 1, 1946 (incomplete).
Image 7-20. Construction of Tule Lake WRA Camp, 1942. The small butte in the center background is Petroglyph Point. The large butte partially visible on the right is the Peninsula. (Courtesy of The Bancroft Collection, University of California–Berkeley)

Image 7-21. Boundary signs at Tule Lake WRA Camp, 1943. (Courtesy of The Bancroft Collection, University of California–Berkeley)
In hopes that hiking privileges won't be abused, the internal security department has announced the following rules covering persons leaving the project during the hours of 6:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. Violations of these rules may cause a restriction of these privileges, it was warned.

1. Persons may not walk along either the highway or the railroad tracks. It is necessary to cross the tracks to get over to the mountain and vice versa, but this is the exception to the rule.

CASH ADVANCE
Employees of the Public Works division will receive their July cash advances tonight, Thurs. Sept. 24, at 7 p.m. from 7 to 8 p.m. unless pay is claimed tonight it will be several weeks before they can be processed, according to Mr. T. Butler.
In the early months of the camp, the evacuees enjoyed the freedom to explore the countryside beyond the camp itself. In July 1942, the camp newspaper reported that the recreation secretary could help groups arrange “a hike to the hills” on Sunday afternoons. Many visited the Petroglyph Point section three miles southwest of the central area of the camp. In September, Don Fisher noted in his monthly report, “The registration at the Petroglyphs this month was 807, and 417 persons registered at the Historical Area. A large number of the visitors were Japanese from the War Relocation Authority Camp near by.” Since registration at the Petroglyph Point in August was only 472, it seems that hundreds of Japanese internees registered at the Petroglyph Point during September 1942. Even more may have visited without registering. Registration at the “historic areas” along the north boundary and the museum at Indian Well did not increase significantly, indicating the internees did not venture that far.

A rumor seems to have circulated that evacuees could hike up to five miles away from the camp. While the petroglyphs were within easy walking distance of the camp, Captain Jacks Stronghold would have been a six- to seven-mile hike. According to one area resident, however, the internees “were allowed to go into the lava beds”—an ambiguous phrase that may refer to areas outside the monument. Don Fisher soon reciprocated the visits to the monument by giving a talk to a hundred evacuees on September 23.

This liberty soon diminished. The WRA managers laid down stricter rules that officially prevented internees from visiting the national monument, which was about one mile south of the project area. In mid-September, Harold S. Jacoby, chief of the Internal Security division, announced that the camp would be divided into a project center and a project area. The project center, which included the barracks east of the railroad track, would be surrounded by a barbed-wire fence.

76 Tulean Daily Dispatch, July 15, 1942.
77 LBNM monthly report, September 1942.
78 Tulean Daily Dispatch, September 19, 1942.
79 Robert L. Jones, interviewed August 25, 1973, Japanese American Relocation Digital Archive. The following quotes from interviews with local residents also show that internees roamed far from the project area: “I understand that it was a year or a year and a half before they had this camp fenced in, and those people roamed all over the area, but nothing was thought of it.” (Interview of Earl F. Ager, by Sherry Turner, August 27, 1973, OH 1348, The Japanese American Project of the Oral History Program at California State University–Fullerton); “Yes, they were allowed out. I don’t know whether they actually got into town or not, but I noticed them swimming in the drainage ditches and a few instances like that. I don’t know whether they were watched while they were doing it. I don’t believe so.” (Interview of William Schindler, p. 2, August 27, 1973, OH 1357, The Japanese American Project of the Oral History Program at California State University–Fullerton).
A larger project area, which included the farms worked by internees, would be marked by signs. The prisoners would be allowed in the project area only between 6:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. They would not be allowed outside of the project area except by special permission. The *Tulean Dispatch* for September 15, 1942, indicated that signs were posted to indicate the limits of the project area—the limits beyond which the inmates could not go (see image 7-22). Once these rules went into place, Lava Beds monthly reports make no further reference to Japanese and Japanese Americans visiting Petroglyph Point.

The Peninsula would take on much greater significance to camp residents than Petroglyph Point. This butte, which the internees quickly dubbed “Castle Rock,” was within the project area. Memoirs of internees refer often to hikes and picnics up the butte. The cragged outline of the hill became a symbol of the camp, appearing on the masthead of camp newspapers (see image 7-22). It loomed in the distance in many of the photographs of the camp. It was prominent in the poetry and paintings produced by internees.\(^80\)

It is clear, however, that a few prisoners continued to venture beyond Castle Rock to Petroglyph Point—about one mile beyond the project area—even after it was made off limits. Some carved their names in the rocks there, leaving visible traces of this historic episode within the monument itself. They generally wrote their names outside the fence built by the CCC in 1936 in an area added to the monument in 1954 (see image 7-23 and 7-24). Japanese and Japanese American prisoners visiting the area wrote their names in roman characters or kanji, sometimes including the date and their camp address. In roman characters, one person wrote “B. S. UMEZU / 1105-A / 2/11/45”; another wrote “43 Maxine”; another “CLARO O. YOKOTA / 1103-C.” In kanji, people wrote surnames such as “Oyama,” “Iwashita,” and “Inoue.” All of the carvings we can identify are by people from Loomis, California, which is located northeast of Sacramento.\(^81\) The presence of these carvings illustrates one aspect of the WRA camp: the largest group of internees from Sacramento county ended up at Tule Lake.

Other inscriptions by Japanese and Japanese Americans at Petroglyph Point attest to the unique nature of Tule Lake WRA Camp among all the relocation camps. In 1943, Tule Lake became a segregation camp where Japanese and Japanese

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Image 7-23. Despite rules against leaving the project area, many internees from Tule Lake WRA Camp continued to venture to Petroglyph Point, some of them inscribing their names or slogans in the stone. (Burton, *Confinement and Ethnicity*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inscriptions on main cliff face</th>
<th>Key to Figure 7-23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>&quot;dawn&quot; (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>&quot;August&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>&quot;Yamashiro&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>43 MAXINE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>B.S. UMEZU 1105-A 2/11/45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>BETTY YAMASHIRO&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>CLARO O. YOKOTA 1103-C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Image 7-24. Inscriptions at Petroglyph Point by Tule Lake WRA internees. While some internees merely wrote their names and camp address on rocks at Petroglyph Point, others inscribed slogans associated with the Japanese nationalist movement active in the camp. (Adapted from Burton, *Confinement and Ethnicity*)

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Americans deemed “disloyal” by U.S. authorities were concentrated. In order to test the loyalty of the citizens and aliens incarcerated in WRA camps, the government asked them to respond to a series of questions. The most controversial were the following:

**Question #27:** Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States, in combat duty, wherever ordered?

**Question #28:** Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any foreign government, power or organization?\(^{82}\)

Most internees signed these oaths and many Nisei (second-generation Japanese Americans) fought with valor in U.S. forces in Europe. However, for various reasons, some internees decided not to sign.

The story of the Takei family illustrates many of the reasons that pushed Japanese Americans incarcerated in relocation camps to answer “no-no” to the loyalty questions. Takekuma and Fukio Takei, along with their young children George, Henry, and Nancy, were forced to leave their home in Los Angeles, put on a train, and sent to a camp at Rohwer, Arkansas. Takekuma was born in Japan and by U.S. law could not become a U.S. citizen. Had Takekuma answered “yes” to the questions, he would have been a “man without a country.”\(^{83}\) According to their son, George, it was a matter of “simple dignity” for him to answer “no-no” to these insulting questions from a country that denied him the ability to gain citizenship and had incarcerated his family, because of their race. Fukio was a U.S. citizen, born in Florin, California. She also answered “no-no,” rather than choose loyalty to her country over loyalty to her husband and family.

A variety of other reasons pushed Japanese Americans to answer “no-no” as well. Some felt that by foreswearing allegiance to the emperor they were being tricked into admitting a prior allegiance. As it became known that Tule Lake would be the segregation center for the “disloyals”—who became known as the “no-no boys”—some refused to sign simply so they could stay at Tule Lake. Many Tule Lake


internees were Californians, as were the Takeis and most of those who inscribed
their names at Petroglyph Point. Some of them refused to sign merely so they
could remain or return to California.

The shift from relocation camp to segregation center brought reinforced security
at Tule Lake. George Takei was six years old when he and his family arrived at
Tule Lake from Rohwer in 1943. In his autobiography, Takei, who is perhaps the
most famous former prisoner at Tule Lake and would become known to millions
of Americans in the 1960s as Star Trek’s Lieutenant Sulu, provided the
following description:

The barbed wire fence and guard towers were here, too, but unlike Rohwer, the fence
was heavy wire mesh and “man-proof.” The guard towers were turrets equipped
with machine guns. The outer perimeter was patrolled by a half-dozen tanks and
armored jeeps. The guards were battle-ready troops at full battalion strength. All this
bristly armament was positioned to keep imprisoned a people who had been goaded
into outrage by a government blinded by hysteria. Half of the 18,000 internees in
Camp Tule Lake were children like me. 84

As the “disloyals” were concentrated at the Tule Lake segregation center,
pro-Japan sentiments grew among some of the detainees. As many evacuees
refused to submit the loyalty forms in March 1943, over a hundred were detained
in local jails and at the Tule Lake CCC Camp, about ten miles north of Gillems
Camp. 85 In the fall of 1943, some evacuees formed Saikakuri Seigan to encourage
the renunciation of American citizenship and efforts to repatriate to Japan. They
also sought segregation of those renouncing citizenship from other detainees. By
August 1944, pro-Japan evacuees were demonstrating their loyalties with early
morning exercises, military drillings, bugling, and uniforms. By December 1944,
six hundred internees had applied to renounce their citizenship.

Two evacuee deaths led to further tensions. The Tule Lake CCC Camp again
played a role in protests starting in October 1943 over the meager compensation—
less than $11—paid to the widow of a farm worker killed in a truck accident.
When evacuee farm workers went on strike, 234 Japanese Americans from other
camps were brought in as strike-breakers and were housed at Tule Lake CCC
Camp. More than 250 dissident leaders were incarcerated in the camp’s stockade,

84 Ibid., 46–47.
85 LBNM monthly report, May 1944; Burton, et al., Confinement and Ethnicity, chapter 15.
which was built to hold only a hundred, as demonstrations mounted and the army imposed martial law in the camp. The strike ended in January 1944, and administration of the camp (except for the stockade) reverted from the military to the WRA. Tensions again mounted in May 1944, when an evacuee was shot and killed in an altercation with a guard. In August 1944, all prisoners were finally released from the stockade.86

These tumultuous events of segregation and Japanese nationalism have left traces in the Petroglyph Point section of Lava Beds National Monument. On a detached boulder there, people inscribed messages relating to these conflicts. One inscription has Japanese characters for “Japanese Patriot” and “Japanese Empire”; another the word “patriotism”; and a third has the last syllable for the word “Japan.”87 The loyalty campaign, the segregation camp, and the strong Japanese nationalist campaign that grew out of it have left these reminders in the shadow of Petroglyph Point.

**Administrative Coordination**

With the disappearance of the CCC camp in July 1942, Don Fisher saw in the new camp an opportunity to fill the resulting labor gap with Japanese workers. Initially, the WRA seemed to have envisioned such labor arrangements as well. On April 29, 1942, Fisher made the following note in his diary, using a term for Japanese that was accepted by whites and common in press coverage, a term that Japanese Americans took as a biting insult: “Civilian mgr. of Jap camp seeking government projects on which to work Japs. Radioed EPL [E. P. Leavitt, Crater Lake superintendent] in regard to this plan.”88 On June 1, 1942, Don Fisher met with Beauford E. Hayden, superintendent of the Klamath Reclamation Project, regarding these efforts. The next day, he wrote to his supervisor Leavitt about having evacuees work on the Northeast Approach Road and the North Boundary Road. Fisher held several meetings at the WRA camp during this time, perhaps to discuss these labor plans. On June 10, he met with Elmer Shirrell, WRA project director. On July 15, George Fischer, perhaps a Modoc National Forest official, approved a plan for evacuees to get red rock for roadwork on Golddigger Road. While reference to George Fischer’s approval in Don Fisher’s diary raises the possibility that evacuees were doing road work in the monument, no other


88 Don Fisher diary, April 29, 1942, LBNM Archives; on Japanese Americans’ view of the word “Jap,” see Daily Tulean Dispatch, November 6, 1942.
documents refer to any such work. Notably, Fisher’s July monthly report refers to road work on the North Boundary Road, while making no reference to Japanese labor. The only reference to evacuees working inside the monument is the following entry in Don Fisher’s diary for September 10, 1942, referring the movement of supplies from the monument to the WRA camp: “Japs moving quartermaster supplies.”

Throughout the incarceration of Japanese and Japanese Americans at Tule Lake, Fisher made continued efforts to use them as laborers. On April 5, 1943, Fisher reported after a meeting at the WRA camp: “No Jap help secured.” In May 1944, he wrote in his monthly report, “The Tulelake WRA Camp now has over 20,000 Japanese. Inquiry has been made from several sources as to the availability of these prisoners for firefighting.” Yet, despite these repeated inquiries, it would seem these efforts yielded very little. While Japanese prisoners moved quartermaster supplies from the monument to the WRA camp in September 1942, no other such labor in the monument is clearly documented. Fisher did not succeed in his efforts to have internee labor replace CCC labor within the monument.

While evacuees visited the monument only rarely, it seems that the civilian and military employees of the camp came through more often. Military police from the WRA camp visited the national monument on August 18, 1942, and again in February 1944. On May 31, 1944, Fisher gave a tour to WRA employees. In August 1944, fifty military police from the WRA helped the monument in firefighting. On July 18, 1945, monument records noted that “Captain Taylor of the Military Police brought a group of 55 veterans of the European campaign to the area. They were conducted through the historic area by the Custodian.”

With the arrival of a new federal agency, meetings took place to foster interagency cooperation. Meetings were held to discuss sharing supplies and equipment, and fighting fires. On August 14, 1942, Fisher and WRA officials met about the transfer of supplies and typewriters, and the loan of trucks to the WRA camp.

89 Fisher diary, August 18, 1942; LBNM monthly report, February 1944.
89 LBNM monthly report, May 1944.
90 LBNM monthly report, August 1944.
91 LBNM monthly report, July 1945.
92 Fisher’s monthly reports and diaries make note of meeting with WRA officials on the following dates: June 10, 1942; August 5, 1942; August 18, 1942; January 1, 1943; April 5, 1943; January 1943; and July 1945.
93 Fisher diary, August 14, 1942.
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In his 1943 annual report, Fisher noted that the camp had taken all of the old CCC camp’s “quartermaster and company fund supplies and equipment.” In June 1944, the WRA camp took the CCC camp’s surplus coal.\(^95\) Because the WRA camp had a much larger infrastructure than the monument, the National Park Service used facilities at the WRA camp for meetings strictly amongst NPS officials.\(^96\) It also had a convenient location about fifteen miles closer to Crater Lake than Indian Well was. With the arrival of the WRA camp, Lava Beds National Monument had a sister agency nearby with a great deal more resources than the fledgling monument. The monument custodian did what he could to take advantage of those resources.

**Modoc Connections**

Although prisoners were officially forbidden from visiting the petroglyphs and no record exists of them visiting Captain Jacks Stronghold or the other park locations, they learned the history of the area. Some of them drew parallels between their plight and that of the Modoc Indians. They could have learned about this history by reading their camp newspaper or by hearing Fisher’s talk in the camp on September 23, 1942, or elsewhere. A booklet published by the staff of the camp newspaper, the *Tulean Dispatch*, in 1943 described the area in these terms: “To the south lay Abalone Mountain and to the west, the more picturesque Castle Rock. On the other side of Castle Rock was the mountain where Captain Jack and his band of Modoc Indians had made their last stand for freedom. On clear days, the white crest of Mount Shasta could be seen rising in the blue sky.”\(^97\)

In recalling his time at Tule Lake, Bert Nakano wrote:

*I remember the hours I spent by myself since I was no longer attending school. Roaming about the campgrounds, I found many arrowheads. I would sit on the barbed wire fence, in my own world, oblivious of the guard tower and imagine the days of the Native American as they went hunting and fishing in the area of the lake. It all seemed very nice. “But where were they?” I wondered. They too were kicked out of their homes and lands, and herded into reservations.*\(^98\)

A number of the internees seem to have confused the geography of the war in an interesting manner—a manner that made Castle Rock a symbol of Modoc

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\(^{95}\) LBNM monthly report, June 1944.  
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resistance, possibly confusing it with Captain Jacks Stronghold. They came to see Castle Rock as an important battleground of the Modoc War, when in fact it was merely the site of an army camp and temporary prison for the Modocs. Violet Kazue de Cristoforo wrote,

Castle Rock Mountain, the last battle ground of the Modoc Indians, was my inspiration during my Tule Lake days. [...] How I ached for my relatives caught in the web of man’s inhumanity to man! And always my vision and thoughts were drawn to Castle Rock, comparing our fate to the Modoc Indians’ last stand in their Lava Beds Campaign of 1872–73.

Noburu Shirai wrote in his memoir about entering the Tule Lake WRA camp and seeing the “1000 foot high rocky hill called Castle Rock. I found out later that the Americans and the Modocs had fought there long ago.” Misen Morimoto wrote the following haiku:

Summer mountain
cross on Castle Rock
pitiful last days of Indians

The poet Lawson Fusao Inada would state this link between Japanese Americans and Modocs even more forcefully. Although he was interned at Jerome, Arkansas, not at Tule Lake, he later visited the area and wrote hauntingly about the connections. Notably, he visited Captain Jacks Stronghold, a site few if any of the internees were able to visit:

[...]  
Captain Jack,  
I come to you  
In respect,  
Out of a need  
For communion.  
I will not dance and sing  
In your sacred cinders

Where even today
The trail
Is difficult to walk upon.

We, too,
Walked upon this ground,
And though our
Stronghold
Was made for us,
To hold us in,

We, too,
Heard the geese in the wind,
The wind in the tides

And dreamed
In our brown bodies

Of peace and the good land,
Of home.\textsuperscript{102}

[...]

The Modoc experience resembled that of the Japanese in many ways. Race was central to both stories. The government sought treaties that would place all Modocs on reservations regardless of their integration into the white economy and culture, regardless of their personal character or history. Likewise, the government interned all persons of Japanese descent that lived in the West Coast exclusion zone, regardless of their citizenship and despite the absence of evidence of subversion or sabotage. Both peoples were uprooted from their homes. In both cases, the federal government responded to demands from whites that the minority group be confined and controlled. Japanese boarded trains with blinds drawn that eventually brought them to Tule Lake. Modocs boarded trains headed east, not knowing their ultimate destination. Both incidents led to bitter conflicts among the oppressed. The Modoc resisters to reservation life fractured into factions, weighing surrender or war, assassination or negotiation. The Japanese and Japanese Americans debated signing loyalty oaths or not, relinquishing citizenship or not. Both groups ultimately accepted a loss of freedom, enforced by the military. There was, of course, a key difference between the two strongholds from which these two peoples looked out at Castle Rock. As Modocs heard the

\textsuperscript{102} Lawson Fusao Inada, \textit{Legends from Camp: Poems by Lawson Fusao Inada} (Minneapolis: Coffee House Press, 1993), 105.
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goose in the wind and walked the cinder soils of Tule Lake, they were at home. For Japanese and Japanese Americans, the landscape they saw and felt and heard each day told them they were in exile.

Comparing the Camps

The Great Depression and World War II provoked dramatic action on the part of government. The 1930s and 1940s produced the CCC, one of the most beloved government programs, and one of its most reviled, the internment of Japanese and Japanese Americans—a program for which the United States would later apologize as a “grave injustice [...] motivated largely by racial prejudice, wartime hysteria, and a failure of political leadership.”103 Both programs shaped the history of Lava Beds National Monument.

The CCC camp in the Lava Beds was not exceptional; it was one of hundreds such camps across the country. Its importance to the history of Lava Beds National Monument lies in understanding how this innovative government program that impacted national parks and national forests across the country influenced this particular monument. The Tule Lake WRA Camp, by contrast, was unique. While it was one of ten different WRA relocation centers across the country for incarcerated Japanese and Japanese Americans, it became the unique segregation center for internees deemed “disloyal.” Portions of the WRA camp were designated a national historic landmark in 2006 in recognition of its significance in U.S. history.

The CCC camp and WRA camp were vastly different in their purpose and nature. Importantly to this history of the Lava Beds, the CCC camp was within the monument, while the WRA camp project area lay a mile north of the Petroglyph section of the monument. Much separated the experiences of the CCC boys and the Japanese internees. The CCCs chose to join; the Japanese and Japanese Americans were incarcerated. The young men of the CCC took regular trips into the nearby towns, while the movements of the Japanese were carefully monitored. The CCCs were single men, by and large; the internees came as families. Many CCC boys looked back on their camp experience as the time of their life. Japanese internees often resisted talking about their camp experience in later years. Those incarcerated in Tule Lake were especially likely to keep mum for fear of being shunned even by other Japanese and Japanese Americans. When former CCC

boys and former Japanese internees share their experiences about the 1930s and 1940s, they have vastly different stories to tell.

Yet similarities do exist. Most broadly, both camps showed the power of the federal government to rework economic and social relations in profound ways during times of crisis. In depression and war, massive population movements organized by the military were accepted, while in ordinary times they might have been opposed as gross violations of civil rights, as communistic or fascistic. These extraordinary times brought other camps to the area as well. The Tule Lake CCC Camp was established about ten miles north of the Lava Beds. During the war, it became a prison for hard-core resisters from the Tule Lake WRA Camp and later a camp first for Italian, then for German POWs. For a time, there was talk of making the Lava Beds CCC Camp a camp for conscientious objectors to World War II. These plans never came to fruition, although the Lava Beds CCC Camp was used briefly for marines’ rest and relaxation.

The WRA and CCC camps shared other traits. Both built on existing systems of racial segregation and racial prejudice. The CCC camps did not foster increased prejudice, but they did accept existing attitudes and practices by creating separate white, “Colored,” and Indian CCC camps. On inspection reports, the companies posted to Lava Beds camp were designated “W JR,” indicating they were made up of whites, not “colored,” and of juniors (men eighteen to twenty-five years old) and not veterans. The Park Service saw an important similarity between the CCC and WRA camps: they were potential sources of labor. The CCC boys’ labor left an impressive legacy of work within the monument. Despite Don Fisher’s persistent efforts, however, he never managed to secure Japanese and Japanese American labor to develop the monument’s infrastructure.

Finally, both the CCC and WRA camps were inhabited by Americans. While it is true that many of the prisoners at Tule Lake WRA Camp were not U.S. citizens, this was due in large part to racist laws that prevented these Japanese immigrants from acquiring citizenship. These noncitizens like all the other inhabitants in the Tule Lake WRA Camp and the Lava Beds CCC Camp had joined their lives to the United States by choosing to live and work here. The newspapers of the CCC and

\[\text{Don Fisher diary, August 21, 1942, LBNM Archives.} \]
\[\text{LBNM monthly report, October 1944.} \]
\[\text{Lava Beds Camp Inspection Reports, 1933–1942, Crater Lake National Park archives. See, for example, inspection reports of November 11, 1937; December 12, 1938; September 11, 1941; and June 12, 1942.} \]
WRA camps showed that the residents of these camps shared a wide number of interests with most Americans. They revealed that members of both camps enjoyed hiking, dances, movies, sports, holidays, family, and romance. The prominent place of baseball in both camps' newspapers stands out especially. The extraordinary events of the 1930s and 1940s brought American boys and girls, men and women to the Tule Lake basin to live a portion of their lives in camps within sight of Petroglyph Point and Castle Rock.

The camp model of living demonstrated the power of the federal government to shape the lives of average Americans—a power that increased greatly during the Great Depression and World War II. This model would continue in the region after the war—and maintain its racial and ethnic character—as camps were established for migrant Latino farm workers. The government also developed plans, never implemented, to use the Tule Lake WRA Camp to incarcerate communists and others deemed subversive during the Cold War. However, in the Lava Beds themselves, camp life ended with the departure of the CCC boys in 1942. Since that time, only a few park employees and their families have lived in the monument. Never again would large groups of workers inhabit the Lava Beds.

Chapter 8: Balancing Preservation and Use: Lava Beds in the Postwar Period, 1945–1966

When the National Park Service took over management of Lava Beds National Monument in 1934, it brought to the area the dual Park Service philosophy of allowing Americans the “enjoyment” of their national parks, while also preserving these parks “unimpaired for future generations.”1 These goals were evident in the variety of projects the Park Service implemented in the monument using CCC and PWA labor. The major focus of CCC workers was the conservation of the landscape from the perceived dangers of fire; yet, the area also saw development for visitor and employee use, including picnic tables, campgrounds, maintenance facilities, and employee residences. In the postwar era as well, the twin goals of preservation and use were evident in a number of the broad categories of management efforts: visitor services, infrastructure development, game law enforcement, inholding acquisition, and wildlife reintroduction. In one important effort to preserve resources associated with the monument, the Park Service sought in the 1940s and 1950s to acquire private inholdings within the monument. In the 1950s and 1960s, Mission 66 planners presented another important response to the dilemma of balancing preservation and use, by arguing that development was needed to channel and minimize the impact of visitor use of national parks. The most visible traces on the landscape from the postwar era, in Lava Beds as in many other parks, are from this Mission 66 era, extending from 1956 to 1966.

This chapter considers in depth the effort to acquire inholdings and Mission 66 developments in Lava Beds. It is important, however, first to briefly survey the wide variety of park management efforts in the postwar era that transformed the landscape in more subtle ways and were integrated into the daily activities of monument staff. Conservation efforts were central to many of these activities. Park rangers struggled to keep local hunters from killing game within the monument. Monthly reports regularly noted patrols of monument boundaries during hunting season to warn hunters away, the posting of “No Hunting” signs,

and the apprehension of deer and duck hunters inside the monument, especially during the autumn hunting season. The monument also continued to manage hundreds of sheep grazing in the monument. It sought to honor the privileges granted sheepmen under lifetime permits, while monitoring these operations closely to minimize damage. John D. O’Connor continued to graze his sheep in the monument until about 1974 with a permit that typically allowed him to bring in about 1,250 sheep for one to three months in the winter. The exact timing and length of the grazing season varied from year to year, and provided O’Connor some flexibility as to when to use the monument. For instance, the 1949–50 permit allowed him to graze his animals for thirty days at some point between December 16 and January 31, the 1959–60 permit allowed him to graze his animals for sixty days at some point between December 1 and June 1. As wilderness was designated in the early 1970s, the monument eliminated grazing finally effecting a shift from economic exploitation of the area to a focus on preservation.

Fire management had always been an important component of Park Service efforts in the Lava Beds, although policies changed through the years. The CCC had focused much of its efforts on fire suppression and fire prevention. In the postwar era, the park continued to maintain a lookout staff on Schonchin Butte during the fire season. Park employees reported fires and worked with nearby agencies to combat fires within the monument and elsewhere. Fire policy began to change somewhat with the introduction of prescribed burns in the 1970s; total fire suppression, however, continued until the late 1980s. After that time, management recognized the importance of letting certain natural fires burn to prevent the buildup of fuel that might lead to massive, uncontrollable fires.

Research efforts to understand and catalog the cultural and natural resources of the park with historical studies, archeological investigations, plant and animal studies, and cave research were another necessary prelude to protecting these resources. Study of the monument’s history continued, building on efforts in the 1920s and 1930s by Don Fisher and others to interview Modoc War participants. In the postwar era, the monument supported the work of Keith A. Murray as he wrote *The Modocs and Their War* (1959) and of Erwin N. Thompson as he

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3 LBNM annual report, 1973; John D. O’Connor file, L3019, LBNM Archives.
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prepared *Modoc War: Its Military History and Topography* (1971). Knowledge of the area’s history allowed staff to better interpret the monument to the public, and also led to the placement of several sites within the monument on the National Register of Historic Places for their associations with the Modoc War: Captain Jack’s Stronghold and Hospital Rock in 1973, and the Thomas-Wright Battlefield in 1978.

Archeologists undertook a series of studies to describe and analyze the traces of millennia of native habitation of the monument and of more recent Euro-American uses, with major studies in 1929, 1935, 1936, 1940, 1952, 1961, 1988, and 1990. While the monument was managed by the Forest Service, Julian Steward of the Berkeley Anthropology Department visited and recorded petroglyph and pictograph sites in the monument in 1929. The first archeological survey after transfer to the National Park Service came in 1935, when David H. Canfield, Crater Lake superintendent, and J. Carlisle Crouch, Lava Beds chief ranger, dug test trenches in Fern Cave and surveyed archeological resources at Petroglyph Point and elsewhere. The first comprehensive study of archeological resources in the monument came in 1952, when University of California–Berkeley graduate students Robert J. Squier and Gordon L. Grosscup surveyed the archeology of the monument. Focusing especially on the former lakeshore, they recorded a total of 163 sites, including caves, rock shelters, petroglyph sites, burial and cremation sites, and described stone, shell, bone, and textile objects that

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attested to area’s long history. These and subsequent research projects allowed several sites with important archeological resources to be placed on the National Register of Historic Places: Fern Cave and Petroglyph Point in 1975, and the Modoc Lava Beds Archeological District (encompassing most of the monument) in 1991.

Scientists investigated the diverse plant and animal species that made the Lava Beds their home. These projects built on efforts from the 1930s, such as Elmer I. Applegate’s 1938 catalog of the plants in the monument. Every month, rangers noted the animals observed in the monument. On occasion, they engaged in more in-depth and focused research, or helped visiting scientists study the area. In 1960, for instance, seasonal ranger Jack Lahr conducted a study to identify vegetative zones and wildlife communities. In 1963, a new vegetation base map was prepared to compare with the existing 1936 map. The monthly report noted that “[c]onsiderable changes in vegetative cover, apparently due to fires and domestic sheep grazing, were revealed in the comparison.” In the 1970s, examples of wildlife research included a banding study of birds in the monument and a rattlesnake study based on employee and visitor sightings. These studies in the park led to a number of publications about the monument’s plants and animals in scientific journals. Knowledge of the monument’s wildlife and geology was critical to discussions that led to the designation of wilderness areas in 1972.

The cave labyrinths underlying the monument are among the defining features of the area. Early on, the monument undertook research to understand the geology of the caves, adding to knowledge of the structure of the cave labyrinths that underlie the monument and the plants, animals, and bacteria that made use of this

11 LBNM monthly reports, August 1960 and September 1960.
12 LBNM monthly report, July 1963.
environment. In 1936, Walter Glaeser, a volcanologist from University of California–Berkeley undertook an extensive project locating and mapping the monument’s lava tubes, caves, and other volcanic features. His efforts produced detailed maps of many of the monument’s caves, noting not only the geological features, but also signs of native uses, such as fire-blackened ceilings and evidence of burials and cremations. This survey served as the baseline for cave research in the monument and is still referenced today.

Balanced with these research projects were interpretation efforts that helped visitors understand the natural and cultural resources of the monument they visited. For millennia, people have told stories about Lava Beds, underlining the area’s importance in their lives. Park rangers’ efforts provided new examples of the rich set of stories the Lava Beds could inspire. Park staff fielded questions in the visitor center, greeted motorists as they entered the monument, led tours, and prepared interpretive panels to help the public understand the history and natural environment of the Lava Beds. Rangers left the monument to talk to local community groups such as the Native Daughters of the Golden West, the Merrill Garden Club, the Tulelake High School, and the Butte Valley Sportsmen. They welcomed groups to the monument, such as the Junior Nature Society of Klamath Falls, Future Farmers of America, the Tulelake Garden Club, local scout troops, and various groups of speleologists. Among the more famous visitors welcomed

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17 LBNM monthly reports, April 1946, August 1948, April 1948, September 1948, November 1949, and September 1955.
were Ansel Adams representing the Sierra Club in 1953 and bird naturalist Roger Tory Peterson in 1959.\textsuperscript{18}

While the content of these face-to-face encounters is hard to reconstruct, many published descriptions of the monument were produced as well, revealing the themes park staff emphasized. The monument created a new brochure in 1949, touting not only the historic and geological sites, but also the area’s wildlife. The map with the brochure included the major caves and Modoc War sites, but also drawings of animals. Next to a drawing of flying geese, for example, it noted “great flights of wild geese and ducks from the neighboring Tule Lake Refuge, may be seen daily during the spring and late autumn.”\textsuperscript{19} The park also worked to have stories about the monument in local and national media outlets. For instance, articles about the monument were published in \textit{National Geographic} in 1947, and in \textit{Sunset} magazine in 1952 and 1955.\textsuperscript{20} Images of the monument appeared on Klamath Falls’s KOTI-TV in 1959.\textsuperscript{21} The monument also received regular coverage in local papers such as the \textit{Tulelake Reporter} and \textit{Klamath Falls Herald and News}, as well as occasional coverage in papers such as the \textit{Los Angeles Times}, \textit{San Francisco Chronicle}, and Portland \textit{Oregonian}.\textsuperscript{22}

Finally, a set of administrative responsibilities underlay all these development and conservation efforts. Workers kept buildings repaired, equipment running, and park facilities clean. They planned budgets and projects, filed reports, and maintained financial records. Don Fisher and other park rangers traveled to meet with Park Service officials at Crater Lake and with nearby officials of the Forest Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, and Bureau of Reclamation. They completed myriad tasks necessary to preserve the monument’s resources and allow visitors to use the area. While all these efforts were crucial to the management of the monument, the two projects that had the greatest influence on cultural resources in the monument were inholding acquisition and Mission 66.

\textbf{Inholding Acquisitions}

By acquiring inholdings in the 1940s and 1950s, the monument obtained land more deeply associated with the history of white settlement of the area, since all these acquisitions had at one time been owned by private individuals. While these

\textsuperscript{20} LBNM monthly reports, June 1952 and September 1955; \textit{Tulelake Reporter}, June 26, 1947.
\textsuperscript{21} LBNM monthly report, April 1959.
\textsuperscript{22} LBNM monthly reports, May 1947, July 1947, June 1952, September 1955, and April 1959.
lands generally had very little material fabric left behind by their former owners, their presence in the monument links it to a richer, more complex recent history than do the lands that passed directly from Modoc management to the federal government. These lands expand the set of historic themes associated with the monument to include homesteading and prohibition-era resorts.

The Park Service had a long-standing policy of seeking to eliminate inholdings. In 1918, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane had laid out the first comprehensive “Statement of National Park Policy.” In this document, he noted that national parks had “many private holdings” which “seriously hamper[ed] the administration” of those parks and recommended that “[a]ll of them should be eliminated as far as it is practicable.”23 These efforts received renewed vigor in 1932, when the Park Service annual report noted that a “definite program for eliminating alienated lands within national parks and national monuments was worked out.”24 An early inspection report of the monument by landscape architect Armin M. Doerner reiterated this policy, saying, “Any private land […] should be acquired as soon as possible, and before the development of the Park has reached a point that will increase its value.”25 Soon after the Park Service took over control of Lava Beds National Monument, monument staff set about eliminating inholdings.

When the Lava Beds National Monument was established in 1925, it had two inholdings: the Merrill tract of 160 acres near Merrill Cave and a tract of two hundred acres owned by Albert Spicer near the southeast corner of the monument—land that Spicer had bought from Anna Lauer in 1921. While the Forest Service still managed the monument, Spicer divided his tract and sold it to two separate buyers (Pickering and Adams). The Forest Service made no efforts to acquire these inholdings. Thus, when the Park Service assumed control of the monument in 1934, it had three inholdings, and discussed plans for acquiring these lands within a few months of the transfer to the Park Service.26 By the early 1940s, Leavitt, the superintendent of Crater Lake, who also had responsibility for Lava Beds National Monument, apparently had instructions from Washington, D.C., to acquire the inholdings within the monument.27

23 National Park Service, annual report, 1918, 274.
24 National Park Service, annual report, 1932, 19.
26 Letter from David H. Canfield to Don Fisher, August 22, 1934, and letter from Don Fisher to David H. Canfield, October 11, 1934, box 331, Western Region, NPS, RG 79, NARA–San Bruno.
27 Fisher diary, March 2, 1942, LBNM Archives.
Merrill Estate
On the 160 acres owned by Charles Henry Merrill, his son Guy Merrill ran his prohibition-era resort from about 1923 to 1927 (see image 7-3). Importantly, the tract included an ice cave (now known as Merrill Cave), an attraction for sheepmen as a water source and to tourists for ice-skating and exploration.

Starting in 1933, the area was also used as a camp for CCC and NIRA workers. The Park Service began efforts to acquire the land soon after it took over management of the monument. David Canfield expressed great concern that this land might be especially attractive to a private concession, saying, “I am really worried that some sharper might take a whiz at that.” Although the Merrills seem to have been amenable to conveying the land to the government, the complex legal status of the land made acquisition of it a twelve-year process. In February 1934, Charles Henry Merrill died without a will, leaving two heirs—his sons, Guy and Purl Rice Merrill—to the land on which he had never paid taxes. Park Service officials hoped they could acquire the land easily for unpaid taxes; however, complications developed. Guy Merrill signed a grant deed conveying the land to the government on December 10, 1934. This was not satisfactory, however, because he had not acquired legal title to his father’s land yet.

Various technicalities dragged out the effort for years. As David Canfield put it, “We have done everything possible from this end, but our lack of training in the Governmental legal technicalities regarding land makes it a job that no one but a trained person could handle and even he would have to put in some mighty hard licks.” A Depression-era moratorium on foreclosure on tax delinquent land also delayed efforts, until that law expired on June 30, 1940. In December 1941, Purl Rice Merrill signed a quitclaim deed and in January 1942, Guy Merrill signed one as well. However, a more thorough investigation into property records led the NPS Property Acquisitions Division to conclude that the Merrill brothers had no right to convey the property since it had been conveyed to the State of California for nonpayment of taxes in 1929. Finally on September 30, 1946, the District Court of the United States in and for the Northern District of California ruled that the Merrill brothers did indeed have title, condemned the property, and conveyed it to the federal government for the sum of $1. Through persistent efforts, the

28 Letter from David H. Canfield to Don Fisher, June 5, 1936, box 331, Western Region, NPS, RG 79, NARA–San Bruno.
29 Letter from David M. Canfield to Don Fisher, June 5, 1936, box 331, Western Region, NPS, RG 79, NARA–San Bruno.
30 Merrill Estate file, LBNM Archives; Fisher diary, January 2, 1942, and March 17, 1942; LBNM monthly reports, May 1946 and October 1946.

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National Park Service had finally gained title to these important features, associated with the prohibition-era Bearpaw Resort.

Pickering/Shaw Tract

The most heavily timbered areas of Lava Beds National Monument lie along its southern boundary. Not surprisingly, the only land within the monument to have been owned by a timber company is here as well. In December 1926, Albert Spicer and his new wife, Hazzie Spicer, transferred the 120-acre western tract of their land to Pickering Lumber Company (see image 4-5). The Pickering Company invested heavily in an Alturas sawmill in the 1920s. However, the death of W. R. Pickering in 1929 caused the expansion effort to flounder and the mill never opened. The National Park Service seems not to have moved as quickly to acquire this land as it had the Merrill tract, perhaps because the site had no important cave features and was not being used for work camps. While the Park Service discussed this land as early as 1934, it did not begin efforts to acquire this land until 1941. Meantime, in July 1939, Pickering Lumber Company transferred the Lava Beds tract along with other property to Shaw Lumber Company, which had opened a large sawmill west of Timber Mountain (about eight miles southeast of the monument) in the early 1930s. Once the Park Service began working with Shaw to acquire the land, there were a few questions as to the proper form of the transfer, but little actual controversy. The representatives of the Shaw Lumber Company did, however, express some annoyance at the delay in accepting the transfer. On July 14, 1942, Shaw Lumber Company conveyed the property to the United States for $10. The transfer was made in the presence of J. R. Shaw, president of Shaw Lumber Company, L. L. Shaw, secretary, and E. P. Leavitt, the superintendent of Crater Lake.

Adams Tract

The efforts to acquire the eighty-acre Adams tract, adjacent to the Pickering/Shaw tract, proved much more contentious (see image 4-5). Spicer had sold these eighty

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31 Siskiyou County Book of Deeds, Book 117, p. 355, December 3, 1926. This land was the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter, the northern half of the southwest quarter of Section 36, of T 45 N, R 4 E.
32 Modoc County Schools Office of the Superintendent, Modoc County: Past and Present (Alturas, CA, 1946), 11–12.
33 Letter from David H. Canfield to Don Fisher, August 22, 1934, box 331, Western Region, NPS, RG 79, NARA–San Bruno.
34 Siskiyou County Book of Deeds, Book 110, p. 94, July 22, 1939; Modoc County Schools, Modoc County, 12.
35 Siskiyou County Book of Deeds, Book 144, p. 375.

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acres to Robert S. Adams in December 1929.  
Adams was the son of J. Frank Adams, who had died a few months earlier in his nearby cabin at Doublehead Mountain. Adams, thirty-six, worked as a stockman and lived in Tule Lake precinct, Klamath County, with his wife, Evea Adams, thirty-three, their two children Robert and Fannie, and Evea's father, Isaac B. Fleenor. A letter to Evea Adams in 1936 indicated that the Adamses either were grazing livestock on the Lava Beds tract or had plans to. They were also drilling a well there. The well drillers left various evidence of their work later noted by Park Service employees, including shacks, a rock wall, scrap metal, tin cans, and drilling equipment. Don Fisher discussed acquiring this land as early as 1936, saying, "It seems to me that if there is any way possible for us to secure the Adams property, we should do so, not that it has any features but to keep out some person or company from securing a place for a concession." Acquisition efforts apparently began in 1941. In April of that year, Leavitt wrote W. T. Mann, the Adamses' associate, offering to purchase the eighty acres for $200 in all. Leavitt indicated to Mann that if the government could not acquire the land through "friendly negotiations," it could acquire it through condemnation. His letter also noted that efforts to realign the road through the area had contributed to the Park Service’s desire to acquire the land. In June 1941, Maurice Thede of the Regional Forest Office visited the monument to appraise the Adams lands. As negotiations continued in 1942, Don Fisher’s work diary indicated that Evea Adams deeply resented Park Service efforts to acquire the land, while her husband, Robert, seems to have played little part in the negotiations. Mann claimed the Park Service was trying to steal the Adamses’ well, since the Park Service did not have a good well in the monument. In April 1943, Leavitt offered the Adamses and Mann “an amount somewhere between $400 and $450” for the property, but was refused. The condemnation suit was scheduled to come to trial on May 4, 1943. Leavitt was worried that the Adamses would try to impress the judge with the value of the land by suggesting it

36 Siskiyou County Recorders Office, document no. 310005100, OR no. 8, p. 173.
38 The Lava Beds National Monument Archives have photographs of the Adams Estate, taken around the time when it was transferred to the Park Service. These photographs show machinery that is likely drilling equipment.
39 Letter from Don Fisher to David H. Canfield (superintendent, Crater Lake NP), June 1, 1936, box 331, Western Region, NPS, RG 79, NARA-San Bruno; see also Letter from J. Carlisle Crouch (acting for David H. Canfield, superintendent, Crater Lake NP) to Evea Adams, February 6, 1935, “Adams Estate” file, LBNM Archives.
40 Letter from E. P. Leavitt to W. T. Mann, April 5, 1941, “Adams Estate” file, LBNM Archives.
41 LBNM monthly report, June 1941.
42 Fisher diary, March 2, 1942, LBNM Archives.
43 Memorandum for the Regional Director from E. P. Leavitt, April 22, 1943, “Adams Estate” file, LBNM Archives.
could be an auto camp, summer home, or base for a sheep or cattle operation. He also mentioned that the land had a well that had never been completed. By court order in October 1943, the land was granted to the U.S. government upon the payment of five hundred dollars to the owners (W. T. Mann, Robert S. Adams, and Evea Adams). By forcing the government to condemn the lands, the Adamses were able to receive five hundred dollars, rather than the two hundred that the Park Service had originally offered. Once the Park Service had acquired the land, it set about removing “all evidence and remains of well drilling efforts.”

By acquiring the Shaw tract in 1942, the Adams tract in 1943, and the Merrill tract in 1946, the Park Service had, in accordance with long-standing agency policy, succeeded in eliminating all inholdings within the monument.

Monument Expansion Efforts
The Park Service also looked into expanding the area of Lava Beds National Monument so as to include important nearby lands. Like the effort to eliminate inholdings, this project fit into larger Park Service policy. In his 1918 statement of policy, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane directed that existing parks should be studied “with the idea of improving them by the addition of adjacent areas which will complete their scenic purposes or facilitate administration.” At Lava Beds, these efforts focused on four areas: Petroglyph Point, the North Boundary area, the Mammoth Crater area, and Glass Mountain south of the monument. The Petroglyph Point and Mammoth Crater efforts eventually led to expanded boundaries. The North Boundary investigation led to a land swap with the Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) that assured the entire North Boundary Road lay within the monument. The Glass Mountain survey did not lead to any expansion of the monument.

Petroglyph Point Area
The Lava Beds National Monument as established in 1925 included only a small area of twenty acres at Petroglyph Point. The section did not even include all of the butte, just the most important petroglyphs on the west side. Very soon after the Park Service took over management of the monument, officials began to discuss ways to expand the monument around Petroglyph Point. In a letter dated December 20, 1934, Crater Lake superintendent David Canfield referred to the desirability of acquiring these lands. In 1936, after a visit to the monument,

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44 “Adams Estate” file, LBNM Archives.
45 Memorandum for the Director, January 9, 1945, “Adams Estate” file, LBNM Archives.
46 National Park Service, annual report, 1918, 276.
Image 8-1. This annotated photograph from 1946 portrays proposed additions in the Petroglyph Point area. The boundaries at the time are indicated with a dotted white line, while the proposed boundaries are represented with a white line. Ultimately, the area added to the Petroglyph Point would include the lands indicated around Petroglyph Point itself (labeled “Island” on the photo) but none of the lands around the Peninsula. (Sumner)

Richard M. Bond, NPS wildlife technician, promoted the benefits of expanding the monument around Petroglyph Point “from both the wildlife and anthropological points of view.” Based on a 1936 survey of the area, apparently by CCC enrollees, Joseph S. Dixon and Richard M. Bond, recommended that 1,700 acres be added to the section. They noted that most of the land was administered by the Bureau of Reclamation, which had little need for this land of limited use for agriculture or irrigation.47

Park Service opinion was not, however, unified. David Canfield, superintendent at Crater Lake, expressed doubt that some of the lands around the Peninsula (the hill north of Petroglyph Point) had enough wildlife and petroglyph features to merit inclusion, while he enthusiastically endorsed expansion around Petroglyph Point itself. Bond countered that the area represented a geological and biological whole. These efforts to acquire land in the area apparently never got beyond the planning stage in the 1930s.

47 “Petroglyph Point Land Acquisition” file, LBNM Archives.
The Park Service turned its attention to this expansion again in the late 1940s. At this time, NPS officials also came to see the area around Petroglyph Point as a potential place for a headquarters. In 1942, the regional director, O. A. Tomlinson, wrote that the Region Four Branch of Plans and Design felt that the headquarters should be established at the Petroglyphs. A 1947 map proposed to acquire much less than 1,700 acres, but it still included some lands from the Peninsula butte north of the Petroglyph Point butte. A 1947 sketch envisioned an interpretive station, residence, and parking lot there. However, the monument did not have funds for development in the 1940s. By the time planning for Mission 66 began in the mid-1950s, attention had shifted to the Indian Well area.

Discussions began with Clifford Shuck in May 1947 about acquiring some three hundred acres of his land to add onto the Petroglyph section. By the 1940s, Shuck owned all the privately held land within the area that interested the National Park Service. This included the 34.52 acres of land immediately north of the butte, originally purchased by Jesse D. Carr in 1874. The Klamath Lake Land and Livestock Company managed this land for Carr’s heirs after his death. Shuck’s holdings also included the 42.15 acres originally homesteaded by James Rich in 1903. Rich conveyed the land to his stepson, Milo F. Coppock in 1908, who sold it to Hubert O. Williams in 1923. Williams, in turn, sold both the Carr parcel and the Rich parcel to Clifford Shuck in 1941 and together these lands became known as the Shuck/O’Keeffe parcel in National Park Service records.

The monument’s monthly reports noted periodic discussions with Shuck on his land in July 1947, April 1948, December 1949, March 1950, and June 1952. Early in 1949, Don Fisher reported to the regional director that the homesteaders who were moving to the Tule Lake basin in great numbers after the war were “on our side in all our endeavors and went so far as to pass resolutions asking Congress to grant us the entire peninsula.” In October 1949, Assistant Director of the National Park Service Conrad L. Wirth visited along with Raymond E. Hoyt, Regional Chief of Lands, to inspect the Petroglyph Point area, as well as the

49 Map dated 6-18-47, “Petroglyph Land Acquisition” file, LBNM Archives; see also image 8-1.
51 LBNM monthly report, May 1947; Memorandum from Max E. Walliser, landscape architect, to Regional Director, Region Four, May 23, 1947, file: 207 Reports, box 315, Western Region, NPS, RG 79, NARA–San Bruno.
52 Lots 1 and 2 of Township 46 North, Range 5 East, Section 10 (34.52 acres).
53 Letter from Don Fisher to O. A. Tomlinson (Regional Director, Region Four), received March 1, 1949. file: 201 Administration, box 315, Western Region, NPS, RG 79, NARA–San Bruno.
Mammoth Crater area. In June 1951, the park received word that President Harry S. Truman had signed a proclamation adding 114 acres at Petroglyph Point and twenty acres at Mammoth Crater to the monument. The Petroglyph Point acquisition had been scaled back substantially from initial proposals for 1,700 new acres, including all of the Peninsula.

The proclamation itself transferred the Bureau of Reclamation lands to the Park Service. It still remained, however, for the Park Service to gain title to the privately held lands—Shuck’s seventy-seven acres—within this new addition. The bankruptcy of the Shuck brothers around 1952 complicated this effort. The land was condemned by the United States on March 26, 1953, and on June 30, 1953, it was conveyed from Shuck to Dan and Lana O’Keeffe through bankruptcy court, with John H. Martin working as Shuck’s trustee. Title, finally, went to the United States effective in January 1954. With this, the monument acquired land that tied into the rich and varied history of this area—both land owned by the cattle baron Jesse Carr and land owned by the struggling homesteaders James Rich and Milo Coppock.

**North Boundary Realignment**

The CCC had begun the work of realigning the North Boundary Road so that it lay within the monument boundaries. During the Mission 66 era, the Park Service undertook efforts both to realign the road and to negotiate with neighboring agencies to swap land that would place the entire road within the Park Service lands. Discussions about readjusting the north boundary were held with the Bureau of Reclamation and the FWS in April 1956. In September of that year, representatives of the three agencies met and inspected the north boundary area and located the original boundary markers. Lava Beds Superintendent Robert Budlong and Tom Horn of the FWS spent two days tramping along the border area to establish the line. On December 3, 1956, they spent a third day in the field and had a mutually agreeable boundary. Associated with these efforts was the construction of a new alignment for the North Boundary Road fully within the monument from Captain Jacks Stronghold to the eastern boundary accomplished in 1964 to 1965. During this construction in 1965, the Golden Bear monument was moved to a parking island near Canby Cross. It was subsequently removed from the area entirely.\(^\text{54}\) Congress finally adjusted the north boundary in 1974 so

\(^{54}\) Letter dated July 2, 1965, from State Chairman, California History and Landmarks, Natives Daughters of the Golden West, to Katie G. Jewett, Grand President, N.D.G.W., LBNM Archives; LBNM monthly reports, April 1964 and June 1965.
Image 8-2. Negotiations to swap land with the Fish and Wildlife Service along the North Boundary area extended from 1956 to 1974. The goal of the trade was to preserve archeological sites and to assure the NPS road lay entirely within the monument. This 1973 map shows the lands traded. (LBNM Map Cabinet).
that the entire North Boundary Road lay within the monument. These efforts meant that by the end of the 1960s, the entire length of the North Boundary Road lay within the Park Service boundaries. This exchange added lands to the monument in an area of the monument especially rich in archeological resources.

*Mammoth Crater Area*

The monument as established in 1925 contained only part of Mammoth Crater. The Long Bell Lumber Company, which logged in the region hauling its timber over a company railroad to its sawmill town of Tennant for milling, owned the southern portion of the crater. As early as 1934, the Park Service had determined that the lumber company was “willing to donate the land necessary to place all of the crater within the monument.” However, the Park Service seems not to have actively pursued this possibility until discussions resumed with the company in 1947. In June 1951, these twenty acres were added so that all of Mammoth Crater lay within Lava Beds National Monument. Through all these efforts, the monument both consolidated its holdings to eliminate the possibility of unwelcome concessionaires within its boundaries and acquired areas with valuable cultural and natural features.

**Mission 66**

As at other parks, managers of Lava Beds National Monument struggled to accommodate soaring numbers of visitors without increased budgets during the years immediately following World War II. The monument was only able to undertake a few projects in these years. For instance, steps and ladders were built to several caves. The road to Merrill Cave was widened and surfaced. In 1954, Ranger Knox developed a theater in Mushpot Cave. Monument managers described in their monthly reports the difficulty of making do with small budgets. For instance, in 1949, Don Fisher complained that poor roads kept visitors away from the area. In 1955, Superintendent Robert Budlong complained of the lack of clerical staff in the following terms: “The Superintendent continued to burn the official candle at both ends during the month, and the midnight oil until two and three a.m. on many occasions, as he has done quite consistently since coming here last July.”

56 Modoc County Schools, *Modoc County*, 12.
58 LBNM monthly report, February 1949; see also August 1956.
Lava Beds in the Postwar Period, 1945–1966

Parks throughout the country were facing similar budget problems. In the years following World War II, Americans had jumped back into their cars and traveled to national parks in unprecedented numbers. With constrained budgets, the Park Service struggled to accommodate increasing numbers of visitors. In the mid-1950s, the Park Service sought to address these problems comprehensively with an ambitious national program, aided by the end of the Korean War in 1953, which helped create a climate more favorable to spending on public works. Proposed by Park Service Director Conrad L. Wirth in 1955, “MISSION 66” (often written in all capital letters) sought to finish a large-scale capital improvement program before the 1966 fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Park Service. In 1956, Congress approved a budget of over $700 million for the ten years of the program. Ultimately Congress would spent about $1 billion on new construction (notably visitor centers), new staff and training, new park units, and general operations over the next ten years.60

This program was notable not only for the boost it gave to park development, but also for its firm embrace of what came to be known as the NPS modern style of architecture. This style “made full use of modern materials, such as steel, concrete, prefabricated elements, unusual fenestration, climate control, and other aspects of contemporary architecture.”61 This soon became one source of controversy, as critics decried the departure from the rustic style that had characterized Park Service structures in the 1920s and 1930s. Absent the large workforce the CCC and PWA programs had provided the Park Service during the New Deal, however, planners had little choice but to embrace labor- and budget-saving techniques associated with postwar architecture more generally. As historian Ethan Carr argues, “No builder could afford to ignore labor-saving techniques such as the prefabrication of structural elements, innovative uses of steel and concrete, curtain wall construction, and extensive application of glass.”62 In fact, the characteristic modern style of Mission 66 was taken as a given by Park Service planners. No extensive policy statement laid out modernism as the new Park Service idiom, in marked contrast to the publications that described the rustic style in the 1930s. Wirth did, however, give a brief statement after a 1957 planning conference detailing some of his thinking about the modern style: “Structures should be designed to reflect the character of the area while at the same time following up-to-date design standards. Park structures are to conform, to some

62 Ibid., 137.
extent, with the trend toward contemporary design and the use of materials and equipment accepted as standard by the building industry. However, restraint must be exercised in the design so that the structures will not be out of character with the area and so that the structures will be subordinated to their surroundings.”

As the environmental movement developed in the 1960s, Mission 66 also received criticism for its focus on developing rather than preserving national parks. Wirth felt, in contrast, that parks had to face the challenge of both preserving these resources and, as the founding act of the Park Service mandated, allowing for “the benefit and enjoyment of the people.” The effort to fulfill these twin mandates of preservation and use resulted in what Carr has termed “the last major period of intense activity and profoundly new ideas to find expression in a systemwide program of national park development.” This period of intense development has left a legacy of residential structures at Lava Beds, as well as improved roadways and various roadside appurtenances.

The Park Service laid out the goals of the program in a January 1956 document, saying that the National Park Service’s Organic Act of 1916 “at once embraces and indistinguishably combines both preservation and use.” These efforts to balance preservation and use shaped the program both nationally and in the Lava Beds. As the Park Service geared up to seek funding for Mission 66, various NPS officials from the Washington and regional offices visited Lava Beds National Monument. In November 1954, Thomas Vint, chief landscape architect from Washington, D.C, visited the monument. In November 1955, Superintendent Budlong traveled to San Francisco as part of the Mission 66 planning process. In April 1956, the superintendent reported that the Mission 66 Final Report had been prepared and submitted. In December of that year, the monument submitted a revised Mission 66 report.

A later “Mission 66 Prospectus” from August 29, 1958, detailed Mission 66 proposals for Lava Beds specifically. Citing directly the “enjoyment-without-impairment” mandate, it noted that “outmoded and inadequate facilities will be replaced with physical improvements adequate for expected demands but so

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63 Ibid., 141.
64 Ibid., 14.
65 Ibid., 15.
67 LBNM monthly report, November 1954.
designed and located as to reduce the impact of public use on valuable and destructible features.” The report estimated Mission 66 costs at about $1.2 million for roads and trails, $452,000 for “campgrounds, picnic areas, wayside exhibits, utility developments, restoration of historic sites, etc.,” and $535,000 for a “visitor center, employee housing, maintenance buildings, minor building activities,” for a total of $2.2 million. It proposed building a new visitor center at Indian Well, including administrative offices, information desk, and museum. The report laid out plans to clear buildings away from the Gillem’s Camp site and to restore the area more to its Modoc War-era appearance. The report also noted that “Old unimproved roads leading to caves and features of minor importance will be closed and obliterated.”

These plans would only be realized in part (see Appendix D). The most substantial legacies of Mission 66 are the residences for park employees constructed from 1961 to 1965. These fit in with an important Mission 66 goal as established in national planning documents: “Adequate and modern living quarters for National Park Service employees should be provided when required for effective protection and management. Living quarters for government and for concessioner employees, when located within the park, shall be concentrated in a planned


69 Ibid., 13.
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residential community out of public view.”

The monument realigned roads through the Indian Well area in 1959 to ensure the residences would be removed from public areas. While the old Main Road passed directly in front of the Superintendent’s Residence, a rerouted road passed to the west of the Superintendent’s Residence and the new houses and apartments, and a new loop road was created for the residences. In 1961, the monument built a first apartment building, a four-unit structure of approximately 2,250 square feet. This was a wood-frame structure with wood siding and wood shingles, with four two-bedroom units, constructed by G. Ballantyne of Klamath Falls. That same year, G. Ballantyne constructed four three-bedroom residences as well. These were wood-frame structures with concrete foundations, wood shingles over wood siding (see image 8-3). They were all residences with three bedrooms, one and a half baths, a utility room, and attached garage that closely matched standard floor plans used throughout the Park Service at this time. A second apartment building, very similar to the first, was constructed in 1965. These structures generally retain their appearance from the 1960s, although all have lost their wood siding and have new synthetic siding. While Lava Beds did not receive a visitor center—the hallmark of Mission 66 architecture—it has a characteristic housing development that displays the NPS modern style.

One of the thrusts of Mission 66 was to remove development from the significant features of national parks and to preserve historic sites. The 1956 national planning document recommended: “Operating and public-use facilities of both government and concessioners which encroach upon the important park features should be eliminated or relocated to sites of lesser importance, either within or outside the park.” The Lava Beds implemented these recommendations at Gillem’s Camp. The site had been substantially altered through the construction of the CCC camp directly on top of the old military camp. As early as 1939, park officials had expressed regret that about the location of the CCC camp. But, administrative functions continued at Gillem’s Camp. In the late 1950s, the Gillem’s Camp area was still being used for housing, a carpenter shop, and garage. Planners in the 1950s gave little consideration to preserving traces of CCC activity; however, they did hope to better convey the Modoc War-era landscape. Monthly

72 Current building files, LBNM Administrative Building; Carr, Mission 66, 170.
73 Carr, Mission 66, 193.
75 LBNM monthly report, November 1939.
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reports note the demolition of buildings at Gillem’s Camp in March 1956, May 1958, and December 1965. Park employees also engaged in extensive efforts in early 1966 to remove a gasoline pump, a storage tank, and a concrete slab, while also planting bunchgrass.76

The Gillem’s Camp area also diverged from its historic appearance, albeit temporarily, with the arrival of Van Bremer’s fort, a structure associated with the Modoc War, but not with Gillem’s Camp. This cabin had been a refuge for whites during the war on the Van Bremer ranch some fifteen miles west of the Lava Beds. In October 1949, Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Hammond donated the building to the Park Service and the cabin was installed at Gillem’s Camp. By May 1963, park officials were considering placing the cabin near the headquarters building. However, in 1975, the building was removed and placed on the front lawn of the Klamath County Museum in Klamath Falls, where it still stands.77

Image 8-4. From 1949 to 1975, the Van Bremer fort was located at Gillem’s Camp. The fort had played a role in the Modoc War, when it was located fifteen miles to the west when white settlers sought refuge there. In the background is the pump house built by the CCC, which was demolished around 1976. (LBNM files)

76 LBNM monthly reports.
77 Report dated January 21, 1975, LBNM Archives.
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While Mission 66 sought to preserve cultural and natural resources, it also sought to accommodate more park visitors. In Lava Beds, Mission 66 involved the improvement of roads and trails and infrastructure work throughout the monument. The water supply system was rehabilitated from 1956 to 1958. In 1958 and 1959, workers constructed trails to Thomas-Wright Battlefield, near Canby Cross, within Captain Jacks Stronghold, and to a number of caves. In the early 1960s, workers made numerous improvements to trails and ladders in and around caves, including Mushpot, Catacombs, Sunshine, Blue Grotto, and several others. Crews improved trails at other features as well, such as Black Crater, Mammoth Crater, Captain Jacks Stronghold, and Schonchin Butte. In 1961, the monument installed eight new picnic tables in the campground.

Mission 66 generally sought to improve roads rather than build new roads. The 1956 planning document noted that Mission 66 would not involve “extensive additional road mileage,” but rather would “complete the remaining mileage needed to the same standard as the new and modern park roads now constructed in the Park System.” In 1959 and 1960, the parking lots at Black Crater and Mammoth Crater were paved, as were portions of the roads to Fleener Chimneys, Merrill Cave, Schonchin Butte, and Skull Cave. The most substantial work during this period was the reconstruction and realignment of the North Boundary Road described above.

Cave trails and ladders received regular maintenance during the period as well, including repairs to steps and ladders. Some maintenance likely involved restacking stones fallen from steps or sidewalls. Other projects affected the trails more profoundly. During Mission 66, some of the approach trails to caves were paved with asphalt and wooden ladders and walkways were replaced with metal ones. For instance, a project in 1958 and 1959 involved improvements to several caves including Catacombs, Hercules Leg, Caldwell, Juniper, Balcony, Frozen River, Valentine, Merrill, Skull, White Lace, and Labyrinth. The work involved resurfacing parking areas and trails leading to caves, resurfacing interior trails, building new wooden ladders, rails, and platforms, and installing new metal ladders and railings. Annual reports reveal another burst of activity in 1960, when ladders were built and installed in several caves including Mushpot, Golden Dome, Sunshine, Indian Well, Catacombs, and Skull. These projects explain


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the varied appearance of the caves today. Some continue to evoke the rustic workmanship of PWA and CCC workers using local materials to create trails and steps in caves. Others caves have asphalt walkways or steps, or prominent metal railings that alter the experience of visiting the caves.

Conclusion
With the end of Mission 66, the last period of intensive development at Lava Beds came to an end, yet the area's history continued to be shaped by the trends that had shaped it in the decades and centuries before, notably the conservation ideal and government action. Although a detailed treatment of recent decades is beyond the scope of this report, it will be useful to describe briefly how these trends continue to the present. With the growth of environmentalism in the 1960s and the passage of the Wilderness Act in 1964, park officials began planning for the creation of wilderness areas. Plans in 1967 and 1968 called for a small wilderness area of about 8300 acres in the Black Lava Flow area, while Lyons Road would be developed into a “Motor Nature Trail.” Prodded by the Sierra
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Club and others, the park ultimately established a much more extensive wilderness area and turned the Lyons Road into Lyons Trail. On October 13, 1972, by act of Congress, 28,460 acres of the monument were declared wilderness.81

A second conservation effort was less successful. Park managers in collaboration with several other agencies attempted to reintroduce bighorns to the park in the 1980s. Planning for the program had begun in 1966. From 1971 to 1980, bighorns lived in an enclosure in the Gillem Bluff area. Despite early setbacks, such as the killing of some sheep by poachers, a large enough herd was established by 1980 to allow officials to transfer some to the Warner Mountains to attempt to reintroduce them in that area. The large role of federal and state government in the area is seen in that fact that about forty men from five different agencies participated in the transfer: National Park Service, California Fish and Game Department, U.S. Forest Service, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and U.S. Bureau of Land Management.82

The stress of efforts to transfer the bighorns killed five of them, while authorities did manage to transplant five sheep to the Warner Mountain Wilderness Area. In July 1980, however, bighorns began to die off. The California Department of Fish and Game diagnosed the cause as bacterial pneumonia. By mid-August all thirty-three bighorns were dead. Officials raised several possible causes for the epidemic: some felt that living in the fenced enclosures made the animals less vigorous; others felt the infection came from domestic sheep grazing close to the enclosure.83

The Modoc connection to the Lava Beds had been abruptly transformed with their defeat in the Modoc War and the exile of Modoc combatants and their families to Oklahoma. That connection, however, was never severed. The Modocs who did not participate in the Modoc War and who remained at the Klamath Reservation continued their connection to the Lava Beds with occasional visits. After the Modoc War, they returned to hunt and gather plants and visit this culturally important landscape. Yet, for many Modocs, the tragic events of the Modoc War and disruption of their traditional life were memories they did not want to resurrect by visiting the Lava Beds. In the 1980s and 1990s, Modocs

participated in several public events that marked their ancient connection to this place. In 1988, the Park Service sponsored a conference on the Modoc War.

Gerald Jackson, a descendant of Captain Jack and Toby Riddle, participated in the conference, saying, "This land. We belong to it. We’re the keepers of the land, we’re the keepers of the waters and what’s on it, and that’s all we are." In August 1990, a gathering of Modocs and other native peoples at Lava Beds was planned, which has since turned into an annual event. Gary Hathaway, chief interpreter in the monument, set the process in motion for such a gathering. Modoc organizers of the event described their hopes for the event in the following terms: "It is time for us to pick up this heritage and birthright, to set the record straight, to let the world know that Modocs are not dead. That we are a proud people, proud of our ancestors and their struggles to preserve their homeland and their way of life." At the event people came together to sing, dance, pray, camp, feast, renew old friendships, and make new ones. Although many Modocs had kept their connection with this place in private ways, this was a public celebration of those ongoing connections.

Modocs saw the Lava Beds as sacred because they lay at the center of their world. Many non-Modocs later came to see this landscape as lying at the edge of their world. At first, it was a frightening forbidding place to newcomers: for the fur trappers and emigrants who avoided its rugged lava flows that slowed travel by horseback; and for the U.S. soldiers who struggled to fight in unfamiliar terrain in the Modoc War. But many newcomers ultimately came to see it as useful and wonderful for those very unusual qualities that placed it at the edge of their everyday world of cities, towns, and fields. Horse breeders appreciated its lava soils that toughened horses' feet; sheep men appreciate the relative absence of snow that made it possible to graze there in winter. Conservationists appreciated it for its abundant birdlife and later for its delicate cave environments. The Forest Service and then the Park Service continued the legacy of conservation in line with their separate agency philosophies. Whether it lay at the center or the edge of their world, people have recognized the Lava Beds as a wondrous place rich with stories and worthy of preservation and respect.

Appendix A:
Lava Beds Excerpts:
A Selection of Writings about the Lava Beds and the Modoc War

These excerpts are included to allow readers to supplement the interpretation of Lava Beds history presented in this historic resource study with extended readings from some of the relevant historical documents.

A1. Peter Skene Ogden, 1826

Wednesday 28th [actually December 27th, 1826]: Again this morning we were visited by a number of Indians who traded some Roots they assist to keep us alive. At day light all the hunters started in quest of Deer but returned in the evening without success, the cold severe in the night but mild during the day. At 9 A.M. we started taking nearly a South West Course following a chain of Lakes or more correctly one continued Lake until we reached the Mountains, here the Lakes in this direction appear to terminate, here we encamped. I was rather surprised to see our Guide follow us, but know not his intentions, I shall endeavour to act as independent of him as I can or my unpleasant [sic] situation will admit of, tho I am still of opinion his knowledge of the Country does not extend far still he could render us service—in the fore part of the day and latter part we had a stony road the remainder fine and level—we saw a Camp of Indians in all Men and Women containing 60—the Clammites are far more numerous than I expected from the information I received at the Lake (Dog) they had all Blankets made of Feathers and from a distance had rather a strange appearance, they are certainly entitled to some credit in devising such warm Coverings. We obtained but a few Roots from them, they did not appear to have a large stock on hand—five of our hunters did not return and the six who did corroberate the account the Indians give us of the advance Country in a South direction being one continued Mountain and cut Rocks, they attempted advancing but found it impossible with onely a Horse each they then attempted on foot and found it impracticable their object was in quest of Deer and the impediments must certainly be great hungry as they now are that prevented them from advancing—this is a blow altho I was prepared to expect still I had hopes would not prove correct and must examine it ere we abandon, if impossible and equally so to cross the Mountains at this season we must seek food and winter quarters, there certainly cannot be a more unfavourable season for discovery than at present, we shall however have the Spring and Summer when
Appendix A

our Horses will be enabled to undergo privations which at present they cannot and altho our march is slow and has been so for some time many of them are very low. Dist. this day 12 miles.

Thursday 29th [December 28th, 1826]: Cold severe Lake froze. At an early hour this morning Mr. McKay being ill I sent Payette on discovery in a Southern and two men in a South West Course to ascertain if we can pass and shall wait their arrival here—the Hunters who remd. at our encamp. of the 25th [24th] rejoined us with 6 Deer a most exceptable sight to all concerned unfortunately I am not one of the number. From the natives who came to our Camp this day traded a Beaver skin kill’d in Summer I lost no time in making strict inquiries where they had taken it and they replied in one of the Small Lakes, but they would not own it was in a River and they still persist in saying they know of no River in this quarter and altho we persist in making it appear we intend taking a Southern Course they warn us from the Cut Rocks Mountains and want of Water we cannot, being now as far advanced as we can go, but I must wait the return of my men ere I decide. Our five absent Hunters arrived but without success, they saw upwards of 20 Goats but did not fire being too shy to approach. In the quarter they have been in report they were obliged to leave their Horses it being impossible to pass owing to the cut Rocks. The men I sent on discovery also made their appearance one reports that following (Course) South with some difficulty but without endangering the lives of our Horses we may reach the end of the chain of Rocks, this is so far satisfactory and tomorrow we shall make the attempt, the others report most unfavourable of the quarter they visited and this is exactly contrary to the accounts I received this morning from the Natives and it appears self evident to me from what we have seen they must have motives for deceiving us as they have done for some time past, it is certainly their intent to keep us amongst them as it enables them to collect a few trifles for their Roots, and again they may know where there are Beaver and wish to keep it a secret from us but this we shall soon discover.

Friday 30th [December 29, 1826]: This morning at an early hour our twelve Hunters started in quest of food and at nine A.M. we followed them leaving Indians and Guides, they still persisted in warning us we would starve and find no Beaver be it so we must give it a trial, we advanced ten miles road stony but not so bad as I expected altho to the right of us it was certainly one continued chain of cut Rocks as far as the eye could reach nor does it appear to me we have done with them as we are now surrounded on all sides by high hills and mountains well covered with timber both Pine and Juniper. On the return of our Hunters they will
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give us some information. Our Course South. The Indians inform’d us we should
not find Water we were however fortunate to find a Small Lake froze over but
containing abundance of Water. […]

Tuesday 3rd [January 2, 1827]: We took the liberty of demolishing their Huts for
fire wood at least the men I have warn’d them if the Natives should complain of
this burglary rather than it should be a cause of quarrel that they should pay for
the theft so far all shall be fair on our side—I should certainly regret that our side
should cause a quarrel with these Indians, for so far their conduct towards us has
been certainly most correct and orderly and worthy of imitation by all […]

—Peter Skene Ogden, Peter Skene Ogden’s Snake Country Journal, 1826–27

A2. John C. Frémont, Writing in 1887 about Events in 1846
On the first of May I encamped on the southeastern end of a lake, which
afterwards I named Lake Rhett in friendly remembrance of Mr. Barnwell Rhett, of
South Carolina, who is connected with one of the events of my life which brought
with it an abiding satisfaction. I obtained observations here which placed this end
of the lake in longitude 121° 15’ 24”, and latitude 41° 48’ 49”.

This camp was some twenty-five or thirty miles from the lava beds, near which
Major-General Canby was killed by the Modocs, twenty-seven years later; and
when there was some of the hardest fighting known in Indian history between
them and our troops.

This Indian fighting is always close, incurring more certain risk of life and far
more sanguinary, than in the ordinary contests between civilized troops. Every
Indian fights with intention, and for all that is in him; he waits for no orders, but
has every effort concentrated on his intention to kill. And, singularly, this Indian
fighting, which calls for the utmost skill and courage on the part of men, is not
appreciated by the Government, or held worthy of the notice given to the milder
civilized warfare. […]

Since leaving the California Mountains we had seen no Indians, though frequently
we came upon their tracks and other sign. All through this country there were
traces of them. Doubtless our camp-fires had discovered us to them, but they
hovered around out of our way and out of sight. The second day passed and still no trace of Archambeau had been found, and the greater part of the third was passed in scouring the country. There would have been little difficulty in a prairie region, but in a broken or hill country much ground cannot be covered and the search is restricted to a small area. We had now been in camp three days and I began to be seriously disturbed by his absence. Game had been found scarce in the immediate neighborhood. He had nothing with him but a little dried meat, when he turned off from the party, expecting to rejoin us before night, and the Indians in the region through which we were traveling were known to be hostile and treacherous, with a fixed character for daring. […]

Usually, on leaving the frontier, I provided the men with tents or lodges, but by the time we had been a month or two on the road, they would come to me to say that it was hard on them to have to put up their lodges at night when they were tired, and that they made a delay in the morning when starting. So usually their shelters were gladly left behind and they took the weather as it came.

Meantime the days while we had been waiting here were not lost. Our animals had been resting on good grass, and when in the morning the welcome order was given to move camp, they made the lively scene which Mr. Kern gives in the picture. [see image 2-3] This was an order which the animals were always prone to resist promptly, and their three days’ rest made them do it now with unusual vigor. But the men, too, refreshed by rest and cheered by the recovery of their companion, entered with equal spirit into the fray, and soon we were again on the trail, the animals settled down to their orderly work.

—John C. Frémont, Memoirs of My Life, Including the Narrative Five Journeys of Western Explorations (Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Company, 1887), 483.

A3. Lindsay Applegate, Writing in 1877 about Events in 1846
[July 4, 1846] we came into the main valley of the Lower Klamath Lake. We could see columns of smoke rising in every direction, for our presence was already known to the Modocs and the signal fire telegraph was in active operation. Moving southward along the shore we came to a little stream coming in from the southward, and there found pieces of newspapers and other unmistakable evidences of civilized people having camped there a short time before. We found a place where the turf had been cut away, also the willows, near the bank of the
creek and horses had been repeatedly driven over the place. As there were many places where animals could get water without trouble, some of the party were of the opinion that some persons had been buried there and that horses had been driven over the place to obliterate all marks and thus prevent the Indians from disturbing the dead. The immense excitement among the Indians on our arrival there strengthened this opinion. Col. Fremont only a few days before, had reached this point on this way northward when he was overtaken by Lieut. Gillispie of the United States army with important dispatches and returned to Lower California. The Mexican war had just begun and the “pathfinder” was needed elsewhere. On the very night he was overtaken by Lieut. Gillispie, the Modocs surprised his camp, killed three of his Delaware Indians and it is said that, had it not been for the vigilance and presence of mind of Kit Carson, he would probably have suffered a complete rout. At this place we arranged our camp on open ground so that the Indians could not possibly approach us without discovery. It is likely that the excitement among the Modocs was caused, more than anything else, by the apprehension that ours was a party sent to chastise them for their attack on Fremont. We were but a handful of men surrounded by hundreds of Indians armed with their poisoned arrows, but by dint of great care and vigilance we were able to pass through their country safely. On every line of travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific, there has been great loss of life from a failure to exercise a proper degree of caution, and too often have reckless and foolhardy men who have, through the want of proper care, become embroiled in difficulties, with the Indians, gained the reputation of being Indian fighters and heroes, while the men who were able to conduct parties in safety through the country of warlike savages, escaped the world’s notice.

FROM TULE LAKE TO THE SPRINGS IN THE DESERT

On the morning of July 5th we left our camp on the little creek (now called Hot Creek), and continued our course along the shore of Lower Klamath Lake. This threw us off our course considerably, as the lake extended some miles to the southward of our last camp, and we did not reach the eastern shore until the day was far spent. We camped on the lake shore, and the next morning, July 6th, we ascended a high rocky ridge to the eastward for the purpose of making observations. Near the base of the ridge, on the east, was a large lake, perhaps twenty miles in length. Beyond it, to the eastward, we could see a timbered butte, apparently thirty miles distant, at the base of which there appeared to be a low pass through the mountain range which seemed to encircle the lake basin. It appearing practicable to reach this pass by passing around the south end of the lake, we decided to adopt that route and began the descent of the ridge, but we
soon found ourselves in the midst of an extremely rugged country. Short lava ridges ran in every conceivable direction, while between them were caves and crevices into which it seemed our animals were in danger of falling headlong. The farther we advanced the worse became the route, so that at length we decided to retrace our steps to the smooth country. This was difficult, as our horses had become separated among the rocks, and it was some time before we could get them together and return to the open ground. Then we discovered that one of our party, David Goff, was missing. While in the lava field he had discovered a band of mountain sheep, and in pursuing them had lost his way. Some of the party went quite a distance into the rocks, but could hear nothing of him. We decided to proceed to the meadow country, at the head of the lake, by encircling the lava beds to the northward, and encamp until we could find our comrade. While we were proceeding to carry out this program, we discovered a great number of canoes leaving the lake shore, under the bluffs, and making for what appeared to be an island four or five miles distant. We could also see a lone horseman riding leisurely along the lake shore, approaching us. This soon proved to be our lost friend. The Modocs had discovered him in the lava fields, and probably supposing that the whole party was about to assail them from the rocks, then took to their canoes. He said that, seeing the Indians retreating, he concluded he would leave the rocks and ride along the lakeshore, where the going was good. We nooned in a beautiful meadow, containing about two sections, near the head of the lake.


A4. Joaquin Miller, 1874
As I write these opening lines here to-day in the Old World, a war of extermination is declared against the Modoc Indians in the New. I know these people. I know every foot of their once vast possessions, stretching away to the north and east of Mount Shasta. I know their rights and their wrongs. I have known them for nearly twenty years.

Peace commissioners have been killed by the Modocs, and the civilized world condemns them. I am not prepared to defend their conduct. This narrative is not in their defence, or for the defence of the Indian, or any one; but I could, by a ten-line paragraph, throw a bombshell into the camp of the civilized world at this
moment, and change the whole drift of public opinion. But it would be too late to be of any particular use to this one doomed tribe.

Years and years ago, when Captain Jack was but a boy, the Modocs were at war with the whites, who were then scouring the country in search of gold. A company took the field under the command of a brave and reckless ruffian named Ben Wright. The Indians were not so well armed and equipped as their enemies. The necessities of the case, to say nothing of their nature, compelled them to fight from behind the cover of the rocks and trees. They were hard to reach, and generally came out best in the few little battles that were fought.

In this emergency Captain Wright proposed to meet the chiefs in council for the purpose of making a lasting and permanent treaty. The Indians consented, and the leaders came in. “Go back,” said Wright, “and bring in all your people; we will have council, and celebrate our peace with a feast.”

The Indians came in in great numbers, laid down their arms, and then at a sign Wright and his men fell upon them, and murdered them without mercy. Captain Wright boasted on his return that he had made a permanent treaty with at least a thousand Indians.

Captain Jack was but a boy then, but he was a true Indian. He was not a chief then. I believe he was not even of the blood which entitles him to that place by inheritance, but he was a bold, shrewd Indian, and won the confidence of the tribe. He united himself to a band of the Modocs, worked his way to their head, and bided his time for revenge. For nearly half a lifetime he and his warriors waited their chance, and when it came they were not unequal to the occasion.

They have murdered, perhaps, one white man to one hundred Indians that were butchered in the same way, and not so very far from the same spot. I deplore the conduct of the Modocs. It will contribute to the misfortune of nearly every Indian in America, however well some of the rulers of the land may feel towards the race.

With these facts before you, considering our superiority in understanding right and wrong, and all that, you may not be so much surprised at the faithful following in this case of the example we set the Modoc Indians, which resulted in the massacre, and the universal condemnation of Captain Jack and his clan.
To return to my reason for publishing this sketch at this time. You will see that treating chiefly of the Indians, as it does, it may render them a service, that by-and-by would be of little use, by instructing good men who have to deal with this peculiar people.

I know full well how many men there are on the border who are ready to rise up and contradict everything that looks like clemency or an apology for the Indian, and have therefore given only a brief account of the Ben Wright treachery and tragedy, and any such an account as I believe the fiercest enemy of the Indians living in that region admits to be true, or, at least, such an account as Ben Wright gave and was accustomed to boast of.

The Indian account of the affair, however, which I have heard a hundred times around their camp fires, and over which they seemed to never tire of brooding and mourning, is quite another story. It is dark and dreadful. The day is even yet with them, a sort of St. Bartholomew’s Eve, and their mournful narration of all the bloody and brutal events would fill a volume.

They waited for revenge, a very bad thing for Indians to do, I find; though a Christian king can wait a lifetime, and a Christian nation wait a century. They saw their tribe wasting away every year; every year hordes of white settlers were eating into the heart of their hunting grounds, still they lay in their lava beds or moved like shadows through the stormy forests and silently waited, and then when the whites came into their camp to talk for peace, as they had gone into the camp of the whites, they showed themselves but too apt scholars in the bloody lesson of long ago.

—Joaquin Miller, Life Amongst the Modocs: Unwritten History (Eugene, OR: Urion Press, 1982).

A5. Jesse Applegate, ca. 1873

[...] these lava beds present a strange appearance. If one could imagine a smooth, solid sheet of granite ten miles square and five hundred feet thick covering resistless mines of gunpowder scattered at irregular intervals under it—that these mines are exploded simultaneously, rending the whole field into rectangular masses from the size of a match-box to that of a church, heaping the masses high in some places and leaving deep chasms in others. Following the explosion, the whole thing is placed in one of Vulcan’s crucibles and heated up to a point where
the whole begins to fuse and run together, and then suffered to cool. The roughness of the upper surface remains as the explosion left it, while all below is honey-combed by the crevices caused by the cooling of the melted rock.

—quoted in Zion’s Herald, April 24, 1873.

A6. Capt. Seth Hardinge, *Modoc Jack; or the Lion of the Lava Beds*, by Capt. Seth Hardinge, 1873

Most of these caves are connected with each other and with the larger basin by subterraneous passages, so that one can go for half a mile in the bed without coming to the surface at all.

This is of incalculable benefit in defending the stronghold, for one man can keep one hundred at bay almost anywhere in it without fear of being smoked out or having retreat cut off.

—Capt. Seth Hardinge, *Modoc Jack; or the Lion of the Lava Beds* (New York: Champion Books, 1873), 56.

A7. *The Squaw Spy; or, the Rangers of the Lava-Beds*, by Captain Charles Howard, 1873

Below the surface of the Lava-Beds, as I have said, a perfect honeycomb of dark passages exists. Therefore the savage can retreat from one stronghold to another—miles distant—without once showing his face above earth. Against such disadvantages our troops were compelled to fight the Indians, and the considering reader has long since ceased to wonder at the prolongation of the war.

—T. C. Harbaugh (under the penname Captain Charles Howard), *The Squaw Spy; or, the Rangers of the Lava-Beds* (New York: Beadle and Adams, 1873).
Appendix A

A8. Mark Twain, 1873
A great and glorious land ... a land which has developed a Washington, a Franklin, a William M. Tweed, a Longfellow, a Motley, a Jay Gould, a Samuel C. Pomeroy, a recent Congress which has never had it equal—(in some respects) and a United States Army which conquered sixty Indians in eight months by tiring them out—which is much better than uncivilized slaughter, God Knows.


A9. John Muir, 1874

MODOC MEMORIES.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]
a Visit to the Lava Beds By Muir the Geologist and Explorer—The Spot where Gen. Canby Fell—Sad Relics of the War.

VISIT TO THE MODOC LAVA BEDS.
"The Lava Beds," rendered famous by the Modoc war, lie on the southern shore of Rhett or Tule lake, at an elevation above sea-level of about 4,500 feet. They are a portion of an ancient flood of dense black lava, dipping north-eastward at a low angle. They are about as destitute of soil as a glacial pavement, and though the surface is generally level, it is dotted with hillocks and rough crater-like pits and traversed in every direction by a net-work of yawning fissures, forming a combination of topographical conditions of a very rare and striking character.

While hunting the wild sheep around Mount Bremer, our camp was enlivened with visits from the hunters and trappers, and roving vaqueros of the region. Some of these were as nomadic as Modocs, and had fought in the lava beds, and because the events of the war were still fresh in their minds we were presented with many lively scraps of history and picturesque sketches of the character and personal appearance of Captain Jack, Boston Charley, and Black Jim, most of which had the strangely crevassed and caverned Lava Beds for a background. Our whole party became so eagerly interested that a visit to the war grounds was at once planned, with the eldest Van Bremer, who had fought the Modocs, and was familiar with the whole region, as guide. Our route lay down the Bremer meadows, past many a smooth grassy knoll and jutting cliff, and along the shore of Lower Klamath Lake,
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thence across a few rough, gray miles of sage plain, making a journey some six or seven hours in length. We got into camp in the middle of the afternoon, on top of a lava bluff 450 feet high.

Toward sunset I sauntered down to the edge of the bluff, which commands a fine map-like view both of the lava beds and the picturesque region adjacent to them. Here you are looking south-eastward, and the grand Modoc landscape, which at once fills and takes possession of you, lies revealed in front. It is composed of three principal parts. There on your left lies a calm lake; on your right a calm forest, and the black lava beds in the middle.

**THE LAKE—THE LAVA-PLAIN.**

The lake is fairly blooming in purple light, and is so responsive to the sky, both in calmness and color, that it seems itself a sky. No mountain shores hide its loveliness. It lies wide open for many a mile, vailed in no other mystery than the mystery of light. The forest also is flooded with sun-purple, and white Shasta rises above it, rejoicing in the ineffable beauty of the alpen glow. But neither the glorified woods on the one hand, nor the lake on the other, can at first hold the eye; it is that dark, mysterious lava-plain between them. Here you trace yawning fissures, there clusters of sombre pits; now you mark where the lava is bent and corrugated into swelling ridges—here again where it breaks in a foam of bowlders.

Tufts of grass grow here and there, and bushes of the hardy sage, but they have a singed appearance and do not hide the blackness. Deserts are charming, all kinds of bogs, barrens, and heathy moors, but the Modoc lava beds have an uncanny look, that only an eager desire to learn their geology could overcome. The sun-purple slowly deepened over all the landscape, then darkness fell like a death, and I crept back to the blaze of the camp-fire.

**A TRAGIC SPOT—THE Modoc STRONGHOLD.**

Next morning the Modoc plains and mountains were born again, and Van Bremer led us down the bluff. Just at the foot you come to a square, enclosed by a rough stone wall. It is a graveyard, where some thirty soldiers lie, most of whom met their fate on the 26th of April, surprised by the Modocs while eating lunch, scattered in the lava beds, and shot down like bewildered sheep. Picking our way over the strange ridges and hollows of the “beds,” we come, in a few minutes, to a circular flat a score of yards or so in diameter, where the comparative smoothness of the lava and a few handfuls of soil have caused the grass tufts to grow taller.
Appendix A

This is where General Canby met his fate. From here our guide led us around the shore of the lake to the main Modoc stronghold, a distance of about two and a half miles. The true strongholds of Indians are chiefly fields of tall grass, brushy woods, and shadowy swamps, where they can crouch like panthers and make themselves invisible, but the Modoc castle is in the rock. When the Yosemite Indians made raids upon the early settlers of the lower Merced they withdrew with their spoils into Yosemite valley, and the Modocs are said to have boasted that in case of war they possessed a stone house into which no white man could come. Notwithstanding the height and sheerness of Yosemite walls, the Indians were unable to hold it against the soldiers for a single day, but the Modoc castle was held defiantly for months. It consists of numerous redoubts, formed by the unequal subsidence of portions of the lava flow, and of a complicated network of redans abundantly supplied with salient and re-entering angles, and these redans are united with one another and with the redoubts by a labyrinth of open and covered corridors, some of which expand at intervals into spacious caves, forming altogether the strongest and most complete natural Gibraltar I ever beheld.

Other lava castles, scarcely less strong, are connected with this by subterranean passages known only to the Indians. While the unnatural blackness of the rock out of which nature has constructed these defenses and the weird inhuman physiognomy of the whole region are well calculated to inspire terror of themselves. Before coming to the battle-ground we frequently hear it remarked that our soldiers merited the fate that befel them. “They were unplucky,” “too incautious,” “too drunk,” etc. But here we could only pity the poor fellows called to so deadly a task.

THE MODOC CAPTURE.

In the capture of this Modoc castle there was no scope for what is known as “brilliancy and knightliness.” The strategy of a Von Moltke, or impetuous valor of a Hotspur were alike inapplicable, nor was it possible to achieve here any of that class of bulky victories styled “glorious” which fill newspapers and are followed in due course of time by clerical hallelujahs. On the contrary it was all cat-crouching and gliding—every soldier for himself—while the flinty jaggedness of the ground was such that individual soldiers could scarce keep themselves together as units; one limb straddled here, another there; and while thus sprawling to the assault, unseen rifles were leveled upon them with deadly aim. On the other hand, the Modocs were at home. They had hunted the wild sheep and the bear in these lava beds; now they were hunting men in the very same way. Their guns were thrust
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through chinks while they lay safely concealed. If they wished to peer above their breast-works they tied bunches of sage-brush around their heads. They were familiar with by-ways both over and under ground, and could at any time sink out of sight like squirrels among bowlders. Our bewildered soldiers heard and felt them shooting, now before them, now behind them, as they glided from place to place along fissures and subterranean passes, all the while maintaining a more perfect invisibility than that of modern ghosts. Modocs, like most other Indians, are about as unknighthly as possible. The quantity of the moral sentiment developed in them seems infinitely small, and though in battle they appear incapable of feeling any distinction between men and beasts, even their savageness lacks fullness and cordiality. The few that have come under my own observation had something repellant in their aspects, even when their features were in sunshine and settled in the calm of peace; when, therefore, they were crawling stealthily in these gloomy caves, in and out on all fours, unkempt and begrimed, and with the glare of war in their eyes, they must have looked very devilish. Our guide led us through the mazes of the castle, pointing out its complicated lines of redoubts and redans, and our astonishment at the wild strength of the place was augmented at every turn.

CAPTAIN JACK'S CAVE—GEOLOGICAL PHENOMENA.

Captain Jack's cave is one of the many sombre mansions of the castle. It measures about 25 or 30 feet in diameter at the opening, and extends but a short distance in a horizontal direction. The floor is littered with bones and horns of the animals slaughtered for food during the war—a good specimen of a human home of the Stone Age. The sun shines freely into its mouth, and graceful bunches of grasses and eriognae and sage grow around it, redeeming it from all its degrading associations, and making it lovable notwithstanding its unfinished roughness and blackness. One of our party was a relic-seeker and we were unremitting in our endeavors to satisfy his cravings. Captain Jack's drinking-cup, fragments of his clothing, buttons, etc., were freely offered, but only gold watches or pistols said to have been plundered from the dead and hidden in some of these endless caves were sufficiently curious for his refined tastes.

The lava beds are replete with phenomena of great geological interest. Here are true fissures from a few inches to 8 or 10 feet in width, abrupt and sheer-walled as the crevasses of glaciers, and extending continuously for miles. Miniature hills and dales also and lake basins and mountain ranges, whose formation is due neither to direct upheaval nor to erosion. Where the lava meets the lake there are
Appendix A

some fine curving bays beautifully embroidered with rushes and polygonums, a favorite resort of waterfowl. Riding homeward we created a noisy plashing and beating of wings among the cranges and geese, but the ducks were more trustful and kept their places, merely swimming in and out through openings in the rushes, and rippling the glassy water on which the sun was beaming. The countenance of the lava beds became beautiful. Tufts of pale grasses, relieved on the jet-rocks, looked like bouquets on a mantel; besides, gray and orange lichens, cushions of green mosses appeared, and one tuft of tiny rock-fern. Bountiful Nature gives all this "beauty for ashes" in this sombre region of volcanic fire.


A10. John Whetham Boddam-Whetham

To return to our expedition to the Lava Beds; we descended the steep trail of the bluff, wending our way towards the lake, with the hope of finding water fit to drink; but to our disgust it was perfectly poisonous, and the air was tainted with the odour of myriads of dead fish which were floating on the lake, having been killed by the great heat.

Hundreds of pelicans and wild fowl of various descriptions rose up as we approached, and my Indian guide gave me a sample of his skill, by firing at a string of pelicans as they flew over his head, and missing them all; much to his dismay, as he had tried to make me understand that he was wonderfully expert with his carbine.

After tying up our horses we visited the Lava Beds on foot, passing on our way a small enclosure filled with the graves of many poor fellows who had fallen in the late conflict. Captain Jack’s cave and headquarters and other curious hollows and natural fortifications were next inspected; but as it was getting dark, and we had a tedious journey to make, I could not devote much time to the examination of the different points of interest in these strangely desolate regions.

The country round was full of rattle-snakes. I managed to kill two, and was afterwards very careful where I put my foot when walking on the sage-brush.

Long before we reached the camp the deep rose-purple of the eastern hills had faded away, and so dark a night set in that even the Indian gave up the attempt to
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follow the trail. But, fortunately, the unerring instinct of our horses enabled them to find their way in the darkness as well as in the light.


A11. John S. Parke, Undated Document Referring to Events in 1880 and 1882

Such is the country toward which all eyes were turned during the spring and summer of 1873. I first visited it in June 1880 in company with Mr. John A. Fairchild who was an active spectator of all that occurred throughout that eventful period. He was a frequent visitor to the Indians during the war as a mediator and a bearer of messages from one party to the other, until negotiations ceased, after which he commanded a company of volunteers.

On this visit to the Lava Beds I rode a little mustang that was captured when Captain Jack surrendered. Although getting old, “Ya-muck-o-nee,” as the Indians called him, was a sure footed little beast, as tough as a pine knot, and so gentle that the children could go under him, between his legs and pull his long tail with perfect safety. Fairchild lives about twenty-two miles from the Lava Beds. Although the road is not good all the way, it is possible to go in a wagon to the bluff overlooking them, but the descent to them must be made on foot or very carefully on horseback. We made it on horseback and followed what Mr. Fairchild called a blind trail—and it certainly was a blind trail to me. About a mile from the foot of the bluff we halted and a few paces to the left of the trail we found a board about a foot and a half wide and four or five feet high, marking the post where the council-tent stood and several of the tent pins scattered about. Passing this point we went on two or three miles further and came to a more elevated expanse of ground scattered over which were heaps of stones, with loop-holes through them, large enough to shelter two or three men. They were arranged in an irregular curve around us at varying intervals from each other and connects in some places by a regularly built stone wall. It was in the midst of these rocks that Captain Jack’s stronghold was situated; and although Fairchild had been there often, it was with difficulty that we found the entrance to it—so similar are all the features of this rocky region—and then not until we had wandered for fifteen minutes all around within a few paces of it. On entering the cave we found Jack’s bed of tules (bullrushes) just as he had left it with the bones of cattle he had eaten lying

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around. This cave could easily hold fifty warriors. Leaving it we returned along the lake shore to where the council-tent stood, passing enroute the bleached bones of a horse whose rider was going to the assistance of the wounded, when Modoc bullets cut the thread of life for both. Arriving where the tent stood, we dismounted and renewed the inscription on the board which marked the site of the council-tent, and which was almost obliterated by time and the elements. It was with a feeling of awe that I stood on this spot so still and quiet then, which now is seldom disturbed by human footsteps, and on which few eyes ever rest save those of some wild bird as he wings his flight over its blood-stained rocks. [...]

My second visit to the Lava Beds was prompted by a desire to see that the exact locality of these stirring events, and especially the place where the Council tent stood, should be so marked that when this historic place comes to be visited by the interested or the curious, it may not be of such uncertain location as to be a matter of speculation and discussion, but that the visitor may say when he stands on the spot, “this is where General Canby and Dr. Thomas were murdered by the Modocs.” Accordingly on being ordered to Fort Klamath in September 1882 on some temporary duty, I took advantage of the opportunity and asked permission of the Department Commander, General Miles, to go a little out of my way on my return to Headquarters for this purpose. As it involved no serious loss of time, nor expense to the government, my request was granted.

I stopped at Fairchild’s on my way, hoping he would accompany me as he had done on my former visit, but he was on the eve of departure for Yreka and could not go. He gave me every assistance however, and had his carpenter make me a cross for the monument I was to erect. I had it made of lumber about six inches square, twelve feet high with arms of four feet.

We conveyed this in two pieces, on the back-board, [buck-board?] to the top of the bluff overlooking the Lava Beds. Arriving there late in the afternoon, we gave the cross a priming with some paint we had taken along, and the next morning took it to the base of the bluff on our shoulders. I put up the cross, applied another coat of paint, piled the loose lava rock around it to one half its height, put the following inscription on it and left it:

General Canby, U.S.A. was murdered here by the Modocs,
April 11, 1873

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[...] the Modoc Indians, living near Klamath Lake, in southern Oregon, were ordered by the government to go to another reservation; but they refused to go, and killed the peace commissioners sent to them. Their country, the “lava-beds,” was a region of old volcanoes, with underground passages miles in length; and it was not until 1873, after nearly a year’s fighting, that the troops could drive them out of their hiding places.[]


A13. Zane Grey, Forlorn River, 1925

At length Ben reached a point where he could see down out of the forest to a vast belt of lava beds below. Miles and miles of ghastly ragged lava rolled away toward the grey expanse of sage. In color it was blue, black, red, like rusty iron, seamed and fissured, caked and broken, a rough file-surfaced place over which travel was impossible.

Modoc soon led into the region of the ice caves. Huge holes gaped abruptly; black vacant apertures stared from under ledges; windows of mysterious depths showed right out of the gray pumice. Each and every cavern was a blow-hole that had formed in the cooling lava. It was an uncanny region where riding a horse did not feel safe. Some of the holes were fifty feet deep and twice as long, black and jagged-walled, brush-filled, with dark doors of caves somewhere at the bottom. Every one of them led into a cave. And down in these caves there was always supposed to be ice, from which cold crystal water flowed (p. 106).

Thus they slowly climbed the white green-patched pine-barred ridges of gray pumice, until they reached a point where Modoc turned downhill. Soon Ben saw the black-and-red edges of lava, marring the soft beauty of forest and revealing its sinister nature. Small pits, full of pine cones and needles, became common, and soon dark apertures showed under outcropping ledges of lava. They had reached the edge of the caves (pp. 249–50).


One can search the West over to find a more interesting region, and a section containing more natural wonders, than the Modoc Lava Beds. This section of the Forest is traversed by a fairly good auto road from Klamath Falls, Oregon, which connects with roads leading into Alturas. The center of the Lava Beds is approximately 75 miles from Alturas and 45 miles from Klamath Falls, a good part of the distance each way being over excellent macadamized State highway.

The approximate geological center of the Lava Beds is Bear Paw Caves, where a private summer resort is maintained. The road at this point crosses a deep chasm on a natural rock bridge. At each end of the cavern are large ice caves, one of them of several stories, in which Nature holds in storage hundreds of tons of ice the year around. Within a radius of three or four miles of Bear Paw Caves, and accessible by auto, are many interesting places. Indian Wells, Antelope Wells, Cox Caves, the Catacombs,—all are large ice caves with many interesting features. Skull Cave, so named because of the numerous skulls of wild animals found therein, has a domed roof 100 feet high, is 800 feet long, and has several stories. The Sentinel Cave is 1800 feet long and derives its name from the obelisk-like formations found therein. Painted Cave and Symbol Cave are named on account of the Indian Hieroglyphics adorning their walls. The Labyrinth Cave, which has never been fully explored, has many entrances and chimney-like openings. One of the main tunnels of this cave has been measured for a distance of almost two miles. At one of the entrances to this cavern is a formation known as the “Devil’s Mush Bowl”, inspection of which proves the name [sic] very appropriate. “Fumaroles” or “Chimneys”, apparently bottomless, mammoth craters, and flows of lava twisted into every conceivable shape, make an exploration trip in the Lava Beds one of most absorbing interest.

An additional interest lends itself to the Modoc Lava Beds on account of the extreme north end being the scene of the Modoc War. Half a century ago, Captain Jack, with his band of renegade Indians, after murdering the white settlers in the surrounding country, established himself in what is now known as Captain Jack’s Stronghold. Here, within a comparatively small area, was fought one of the bloodiest Indian campaigns in the history of the West, over 400 officers and men, regular soldiers and volunteers, bravely sacrificing [sic] their lives. A large wooden cross erected by the soldiers of his command, marks the spot where the brave General Canby was treacherously murdered under a flag of truce. The lettering on
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this cross is almost obliterated by the action of the elements, but steps are now being taken to build a fitting monument here to those who lost their lives in the service of their country 50 years ago. The Indian forts still stand intact and bleached bones of horses and bits of leather still mark the scene of the historical struggle to drive the Indians from their natural fortresses.

—Forest Service brochure, J. D. Howard papers, Shaw Historical Library.

A15. Forest Service Brochure, 1931

The West abounds in interesting geological, archaeological, and historical regions. One of the most remarkable of these is the Lava Beds National Monument, an area of approximately 45,000 acres, located within Modoc National Forest in Siskiyou and Modoc Counties in northeastern California. On the recommendation of the United States Forest Service this area was set aside as a national monument by presidential proclamation on November 21, 1925. […]

Centuries ago, flaming volcanoes in northeastern California belched their masses of molten lava, which, spreading over the more level land below, seethed in rivers of liquid fire, and in the cooling off process formed one of the most curious regions in California. […]

The Lava Beds region was the home of Indian races long since vanished. Signs and markings in many of the caves and bleached human bones are evidence of their occupancy by tribes whose history was unknown to their successors. In the early days of the West this region was known as the “Dark and Bloody Ground of the Pacific.” […]

The country included in the Lava Beds National Monument was the central scene of the Modoc War of 1872–3, the only Indian war of consequence ever waged on California soil. This conflict was one of the most unique and costly Indian campaigns engaged in by the United States.

In the fall of 1872 a small band of Modoc Indians under a leader name Keintpoos, commonly known to history as “Captain Jack,” dissatisfied with their assignment to a reservation shared with their hereditary foes, the Klamaths, clashed with a body of United States cavalry sent out to arrest them. […]

—Brochure, LBNM Map Cabinet.
A16. Park Service Brochure, 1949

The Lava Beds National Monument is a region of comparatively recent lava flows, with their attendant lava tubes, or caves, and related volcanic features. It was the principal scene of the Modoc Indian War of 1872–73, the only important war of its kind fought in what is now the State of California.

The area, embracing approximately 46,000 acres in the extreme northeastern part of California, was set aside as a national monument by Presidential proclamation in 1925 under the jurisdiction of the Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, and was transferred to the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, by Executive order in 1933.

Volcanic Features

Centuries ago, flaming volcanoes in northeastern California belched their masses of molten lava, which spread over the more level land below in rivers of liquid fire. In cooling off they formed one of the most curious regions in California.

From a distance, Lava Beds National Monument appears as a fairly level terrain. Lying between 4,000 and 5,000 feet above sea level, it slopes to the north and is interspersed with symmetrical cinder cones pitted with craters. From these cones extend dark winding trenches that mark the collapsed roofs of the main distributing lava tubes. In the distance, to the northeast, on the Tule Lake peninsula, are three cliffs of Columbia River basalt, one of which rises 1,000 feet as an almost sheer precipice. […]

The Caves

The visitor to the Lava Beds National Monument will usually drive to Indian Well and first visit the nearby cave of that name in which is found a large body of ice and water. The main entrance to the Labyrinth is also there.

On the auto road leading south from Indian Well to Catacombs Cave is found a series of wonderful caves—Sunshine, Juniper, and Sentinel—the last named so called because of the guardian figures which adorn its passageways. Catacombs Cave is one of the most striking caves in the whole region and derives its name from the peculiar niches in the wall, resembling the Christian burial places of ancient Rome. The floors of this cavern, the numerous passages of which total nearly 1 ½ miles in length, are for the most part very smooth. […]
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

The Modoc War

The Modoc War of 1872–73 was one of the most costly Indian campaigns engaged in by the United States. In the fall of 1872, a small band of Modoc Indians under a leader commonly known as Captain Jack, dissatisfied with their banishment to a reservation which they were forced to share with their hereditary foes, the Klamaths, clashed with a body of United States cavalry near Lost River just north of the California-Oregon line. Several soldiers and citizens, and the victorious Indians escaped. Renegades from other Indian tribes joined the band, and after raiding the adjoining settlements they retreated to the natural lava bed fortress now known as Captain Jack’s Stronghold. Here this ragged band of Indians, numbering only 71 fighting men at their greatest strength, fought two battles with a white force of soldiers and volunteers many times superior in numbers. [...]
Appendix B:
Landownership History

The Rich Parcel (see image 5-2)
In 1903, James Rich moved onto his homestead, which included Section 3, Lots 9 and 10 of Township 46 North, Range 5 East (32.66 and 9.49 acres, respectively). These two lots would become part of LBNM in 1954. Rich filed on the land in 1903 under the Homestead Act. He proved it up in 1910. Two years earlier, in 1908, he had conveyed the land to his stepson, Milo F. Coppock. Coppock, in turn, sold it to Hubert O. Williams in 1923. In 1941, Williams sold it to Clifford J. Shuck. (see Shuck/O’Keeffe Parcel below)

The Carr Parcel (see image 5-2)
The Carr tract also became part of the Lava Beds National Monument in 1954. In 1874, Carr filed on school land in lots 1 and 2 of Township 46 North, Range 5 East, Section 10 (34.52 acres). He paid it up in full in 1883. However, this tract (along with most of the other Carr holdings) was presumably based to his daughter, Jesse Searle Carr, on Jesse Carr’s death in 1903. Jesse Carr Seale incorporated the Tule Lake Land and Livestock Company in 1906 to manage this property. This company eventually became the Klamath Lake Land and Livestock Company (KLLLC), incorporated by Jesse Carr’s nephew, William C. Dalton, in 1920. Modoc County records from 1938 show the KLLLC owned the property, and it remained with the KLLLC until 1940, when it was conveyed to Hubert O. Williams. In 1941, Williams conveyed it to Clifford Shuck. In 1948, there was a quitclaim deed from W. C. Dalton to Shuck on this property (meaning unclear).
(see Shuck/O’Keeffe parcel below)

Shuck/O’Keeffe Parcel
The Rich parcel and the Carr parcel together became known as the Shuck/O’Keeffe parcel in National Park Service records. The United States condemned the land on March 26, 1953. On June 30, 1953, it was conveyed from Shuck to Dan and Lana O’Keeffe through bankruptcy court, with John H. Martin working as Shuck’s trustee. The United States acquired the land as part of LBNM in 1954.

1 Official Recordings and Record of Deeds, Modoc County Courthouse.
**Other Petroglyph Point Land**
The other lands added to LBNM in 1954 to increase the size of the Petroglyph Point section were from the Bureau of Reclamation.

**North Boundary Road Realignment**
Discussions about readjusting the North Boundary began with the Bureau of Reclamation and the Fish and Wildlife Service in 1956. The North Boundary Road was realigned and rebuilt from 1964 to 1965. The North Boundary was finally adjusted in 1974 so that the entire North Boundary road is within LBNM.²

**Merrill Estate (see image 7-3)**
Charles H. Merrill filed a Timber and Stone Act on 160 acres near Merrill Cave in 1916 and received the patent in 1917. The Park Service acquired the land from the Merrills in 1945.

**Mammoth Crater Area**
Discussion of this land began with the Long Bell Lumber Co. in 1947. In June 1951, these twenty acres were added to LBNM so that all of Mammoth Crater is within LBNM.

**The Lauer Land (Later the Adams and Shaw Tracts) (see image 4-5)**
Anna Lauer filed a homestead claim of 160 acres in Section 35 of Township 45 North, Range 4 East, on January 23, 1904. She never proved it up and the claim was cancelled on October 30, 1912.

Lauer filed a patent on two hundred acres in the neighboring section 36 as school land from the state of California on September 22, 1904. Final action was taken on the patent on September 14, 1911. Lauer sold these two hundred acres to Albert Spicer in 1921.³

**Shaw tract.** In December 1926, Spicer and his new wife, Hazzie Spicer, transferred the western tract of 120 acres (the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter and the north half of the southwest quarter of Section 36) to Pickering Lumber Company. In July 1939, Pickering Lumber Company transferred the tract, along with other property, to Shaw Lumber Company.⁴ On July 14, 1942, the Shaw Lumber


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Company conveyed the property to the United States for ten dollars. The transfer was made in the presence of J. R. Shaw, president of Shaw Lumber Company, L. L. Shaw, secretary, and E. P. Leavitt, the superintendent of Crater Lake.\(^5\)

*Adams tract.* In December 1929, the Spicers transferred the eastern tract of eighty acres to Robert S. Adams, the thirty-five-year-old son of J. Frank Adams, who worked as a stockman.\(^6\) In 1944 by condemnation, the federal government acquired the eighty acres of the Adams tract (the east half of the southeast quarter of Section 36).\(^7\) The condemnation was against Robert S. Adams, Evea Adams, and W. T. Mann.

\(^5\) Siskiyou County Book of Deeds, Book 144, p. 375.
\(^7\) Siskiyou County Book of Deeds, Book 160, p. 184, February 12, 1944.
Appendix C: Summary of Depression-Era Relief Work in Lava Beds National Monument: Hoover-Era Relief Programs, PWA, and CCC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Enrollee information</th>
<th>Projects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| First period: Fall of 1932 to May 1933 | Federally funded Hoover-era relief programs (exact program unknown, likely Emergency Relief and Construction Act of June 1932), managed by Forest Service employing eight to twenty-five men with a camp at Indian Well. | • Building fire roads and access roads to caves  
• Building trails and ladders in caves at Catacombs and Labyrinth (also possibly at Sentinel Cave, Symbol Bridge, and elsewhere)  
• This crew discovered Valentine Cave on February 14, 1933. |
| Second period: July to December 1933 | CCC spur camp near Bearpaw Butte from July to November; this camp moved to Gillems Camps for November and December. This was a spur camp from Long Bell and Hackamore camps. A total of about fifty different men cycled through the two crews, each of which had four to five men. | • Surveying of Dome Mountain area and Lava Beds National Monument, under the supervision of Forest Service topographers |
| October 1933 to April 1934 | Work by PWA (Public Works Administration) crews, typically referred to as NIRA (National Industrial Recovery Act) crews; one crew of twenty-five based at Bearpaw Cave and a second crew of twenty-five based at Gillems Camp. | Trail building in and to caves: Labyrinth, Maze, Hercules, Sentinel and Juniper Caves; also Symbol, Big Painted, White Lace, Ship Cavern, Kirk Whites, Chocolate Cave, Golden Dome, Hercules Leg, Valentine, Caldwell, Upper Ice, Ovis, Paradise Alleys, Sunshine, Guano Bridge, Flat Arch, Fossil, Balcony, Boulevard, Mahogany, Frozen River, Fossil, Heppe, and Fern |

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Appendix C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third period:</th>
<th>There was a proposal for CCC “Bearfoot Cave Camp, NM-1,”[^10] a proposal for Lava Beds 1A CCC Spike Camp out of Crater Lake,[^11] and a counterproposal to study area before establishing camp.[^12]</th>
<th>No record of any enrollees in monument.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bearfoot Camp</td>
<td>Custodian Don Fisher presented an extensive proposal for a CCC spike camp.[^13]</td>
<td>No record of any enrollees in monument.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Designation: NM-6</th>
<th>General work: surveying; road maintenance; cleanup; fire presuppression</th>
<th>Specific projects:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fifth period: May 1935 to October 1935</td>
<td>Companies: 1989</td>
<td>- improvements to Indian Well ranger station (a Forest Service building)</td>
<td>- telephone line from North entrance to Indian well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commander: Elmer E. Fearn, Captain, signal reserve, NCASC, (May to September 1935); Chas. K. Cutright, Capt., 6th C. A. (Res), (starting September 1935)</td>
<td>Companies: 544</td>
<td>- Mammoth Crater road fire hazard reduction</td>
<td>- CCC Camp equipment shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movements:</td>
<td>Movement:</td>
<td>- Main Road north and south of Indian Well; fire hazard reduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• May 15: first group arrived</td>
<td>States: unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• June 17: last group arrived</td>
<td>Min.: 128</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States: unknown</td>
<td>Peak: 130</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• NM-6 has a “Wineglass Spike Camp” at Crater Lake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Camp located near Gillems Camp</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• No winter camp, 1935–36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sixth period: January–March 11: work crew of some 50 men from Tule Lake CCC Camp (Reclamation Service).¹⁴

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sixth period: January–March 11</th>
<th>General work: fire hazard reduction; trail work in caves; road maintenance</th>
<th>Specific projects:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Companies: 544</td>
<td>Movement:</td>
<td>- Mammoth Crater road fire hazard reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company commander: John R. Murray</td>
<td>States: unknown</td>
<td>- Main Road north and south of Indian Well; fire hazard reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECW superintendent: H. Ticknor</td>
<td>Min.: 130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry camp superintendent: Edward M. Kilroy</td>
<td>Peak: 130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movements:</td>
<td>Note: No winter camp, 1936–37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• May 1: company moved in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• October 29: last day of occupancy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seventh period: May 1936 to October 1936

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seventh period: May 1936 to October 1936</th>
<th>General work: road maintenance; painting telephone poles; firefighting; surveying; guide services</th>
<th>Specific projects:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Companies: 1989</td>
<td>Movement:</td>
<td>- Petroglyph Point fence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company commander: John R. Murray</td>
<td>States: unknown</td>
<td>- Fern Cave fence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECW superintendent: H. Ticknor</td>
<td>Min.: 130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry camp superintendent: Edward M. Kilroy</td>
<td>Peak: 130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movements:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• May 1: company moved in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>October 29: last day of occupancy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed projects:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Skull Cave ladder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Appendix C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Designation: NM-6</th>
<th>General work: surveying; fire presuppression; firefighting; guide services; cave trail maintenance; roadwork</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Companies: 3879</td>
<td>Specific projects:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company Commander: L. S. Cronkhite</td>
<td>- North Boundary Road maintenance&lt;br&gt;- Main Road (Indian Well to CCC camp) construction and maintenance&lt;br&gt;- Lyons Road maintenance&lt;br&gt;- Fleener Chimneys parking area, picnic area, and pit latrine&lt;br&gt;- Skull Cave parking area enlargement and foot trails&lt;br&gt;- Catacombs Cave parking area improvement, foot trails, stone walls, and stone steps&lt;br&gt;- Frozen River Cave parking area enlargement&lt;br&gt;- Valentine Cave parking area enlargement, stone steps, foot trails, and pit latrine&lt;br&gt;- Ranger's Residence (now called Superintendent's Residence) (started August)&lt;br&gt;- Captain Jacks Stronghold pit latrine&lt;br&gt;- Petroglyph Point checking booth&lt;br&gt;- Indian Well Ranger Station pit latrine&lt;br&gt;- Indian Well Museum painted&lt;br&gt;- Petroglyph Point fence improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Project Superintendent: Harold Haynes</td>
<td>Completed work:&lt;br&gt;- Ranger Station flagpole replaced (February)&lt;br&gt;- CCC Camp office building (July)&lt;br&gt;- Fleener Chimneys, 6 table/benches (July–September)&lt;br&gt;- Captain Jacks Stronghold trail (August)&lt;br&gt;- Powder house (at CCC Camp?) (September)&lt;br&gt;* CCC Camp, 4 barracks (November/December)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Movement Details
- **February–April:** Some work completed by boys from BR-20 camp
- **April 19:** CCC camp moved in from Coos Bay, OR, with 70 boys; an additional 111 new enrollees came
- **May:** Some discontented boys returned to TX
- **December 14:** Boys went back to TX
- **December 22:** Company arrived from OH

### States
- TX, OH

### Min./Peak
- Min.: 164
- Peak: 181

### Note
- Camp all-year round 1937–42
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Designation: NM-6</th>
<th>General work: Guide service, road maintenance, pit toilets, surveying; auto care; trails within caves; tables and benches; firefighting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td><strong>Companies:</strong> 3507</td>
<td><strong>Specific projects:</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|      | **Company Commander:** C. S. Raymond, Capt., CA-Res (transferred November 1938 to Camp Klamath) Samuel J. Hutcherson, 1st Lt., 326th Inf.-Res. (assumed command November 1938) | - Main Road (CCC to IW) construction and maintenance  
- North Boundary Road improvements  
- Indian Well campground roads, tables (June, July), stoves, and comfort stations  
- Medicine Lake Road maintenance  
- Road Indian Well to NW entrance  
- Petroglyph Point parking area enlargement  
- Skull Cave trail maintenance  
- Catacombs Cave stone steps  
- Captain Jacks Stronghold trail  
- Fleener Chimneys camp stoves  
- Indian Well Cave stone steps  
- Indian Well water storage tank  
- Indian Well utility building  
- Indian Well oil tank  
- Desolation Point parking overlook (at Devil’s Homestead) |
|      | **Movements:** | **Completed projects:** |
|      |  - April: 96 arrive from KY  
- May: 38 boys arrive from KY  
- June: 4 boys dishonorably discharged  
- October 7: 65 boys arrive from KY  
- December 11: 57 boys leave on completion of term of enrollment | - CCC Camp garage (January)  
- Ranger’s (Superintendent’s) Residence (stone terrace built September)  
- Captain Jacks Stronghold trail (May)  
- Ranger’s (Superintendent’s) Residence telephone line (June)  
- Indian Well campground (Sept)  
- CCC Camp fire trail  
- CCC Camp lumber shed |
<p>|      | <strong>States:</strong> OH, KY | <strong>Spike camp set up at Medicine Lake for firefighting.</strong> |
|      | <strong>Min.: 126</strong> | <strong>Peak: 202</strong> |
|      | <strong>Note:</strong> Spike camp set up at Medicine Lake for firefighting. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Designation: NP-32</th>
<th>General work: Guide services; road construction and maintenance; surveying; firefighting; pit toilets; grasshopper control; steps and handrails in caves; auto care; signs and markers; fire presuppression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Companies: 3507</td>
<td>Specific projects:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company Commander: William Bailey</td>
<td>- Utility Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Project Superintendent: Frank S. Wadak</td>
<td>- North Boundary road, surveying and building (surveying road from Captain Jacks Stronghold to Hospital Rock; improving road east from Captain Jacks Stronghold; improving road CCC Camp to Canby Cross)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Movements:</td>
<td>- Road NW Entrance to Indian Well (improving road near Crescent Butte)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- January 14: 74 recruits arrive from OH</td>
<td>- Desolation Point parking overlook (at Devil’s Homestead)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- June 22: 76 members of #3507 left for KY</td>
<td>- Power Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- September 18: 26 members of #3507 left on troop train</td>
<td>- Indian Well well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- October 13: 56 recruits arrive</td>
<td>- Indian Well Water System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>States: KY, OH</td>
<td>- Ranger Station, landscaping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Min.: 158</td>
<td>- Utility area, grading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peak: 215</td>
<td>- Schonchin Butte surveying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Gas and Oil House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Checking Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Ranger’s Residence improvements (now called Superintendent’s Residence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- CCC Camp well deepened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Projects completed:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Utility Building at Indian Wells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Companies: 3507, 6411</td>
<td>General work: surveying; road maintenance; guide service; fire presuppression; firefighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company Commander: William Bailey</td>
<td>Specific projects:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Project Superintendent: Frank S. Wadak; Chester A. Failing</td>
<td>- Main Road from NW entrance to Indian Well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Movements:</td>
<td>- North Boundary Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- January 26: 109 enrollees arrive</td>
<td>- Catacombs Cave Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- March 17: 23 enrollees leave for KY on troop train</td>
<td>- Schonchin Butte motorway</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Center of the World, The Edge of the World

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Events</th>
<th>Projects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 12</td>
<td>74 enrollees left for Fort Knox; 58 transferred to other companies; 16 discharged</td>
<td>Power line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 9–10</td>
<td>company 3507 disbanded (in service since May 25, 1937); 63 remaining enrollees transferred to Camp Wick, Redmond, OR</td>
<td>Water system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 9–12</td>
<td>company 6411 arrives from GA with 195 enrollees</td>
<td>Telephone line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>5 boys enlist in Marines</td>
<td>Ranger Station maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>95 boys leave States: OH, GA Min.: 112 Peak: 212</td>
<td>Schonchin Butte Lookout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Designation: NP-32 Companies: 6411 Commander: George C. Morton Project Superintendent: Chester A. Failing</td>
<td>Pump House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movements</td>
<td>January 24: 113 recruits arrive</td>
<td>Captain Jacks Stronghold signs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>March 23: 28 leave for GA</td>
<td>Petroglyph Point archeological research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>April: 14 arrive</td>
<td>Completed projects:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June 10: 26 leave for home</td>
<td>telephone line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June 12: 64 leave for home</td>
<td>Gas and Oil House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June 30: 26 arrive from Camp Baird, Redding, CA</td>
<td>Schonchin Butte trail (May)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>August 15: 10 enrollees arrive from Camp Klamath</td>
<td>Crescent Butte reservoir (July)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>November 23: 90 arrive</td>
<td>CCC Camp drinking fountain (July)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States: GA</td>
<td>Min: 30 (November) Peak: 210 (January)</td>
<td>General work: road maintenance; surveying; building maintenance; signs and markers; guide service; fire presuppression; fire fighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specific projects:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NW Entrance to Indian Well Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>North Boundary Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gas and Oil House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Water system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Schonchin Butte telephone line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Schonchin Butte Lookout repairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pump House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Finishing doors on Utility Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Schonchin Butte retaining wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Schonchin Butte pit toilets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ranger Station remodeling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Completed projects:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Schonchin Butte Lookout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Schonchin Butte Lookout firefinder stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Designation: NP-32</td>
<td>Company commander:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Companies: 6411; 3890</td>
<td>• George Clyde Morton (relieved on February 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Lt. Herbert R. Bachrach (assumed command February 1; relieved on May 11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Wm. Hudgins (assumed command May 11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Charles R. Ace (assumed command June 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Project superintendent: Chester A. Failing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Movements:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• April 19: 51 men leave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• June: Company 3890 replaces company 6411</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• July 30: Company 3890 departs for TX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>States: FL, GA, AL, WY, CO, TX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Min: 15 (June)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peak: 105 (January)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>General work: guide projects; directional signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Specific projects:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Constructing North Boundary road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Grading Main Road from HQ to CCC Camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Grading utility yard at HQ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Constructing Schonchin Butte pit toilets [done by rangers]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unless otherwise noted, information for this table comes from the following sources: LBNM Annual Reports, file 101, pt. III, box 314, RG 79, NARA-San Bruno; LBNM Monthly Narrative Reports, 1936–42, LBNM Library; LBNM CCC Monthly Narratives, 1937–41, LBNM Library; Lava Beds Camp Inspection Records, 1933–42, Crater Lake National Park archives; CCC correspondence, San Bruno Archives (photocopies in Administrative History folders, LBNM Archives); and Lava Beds CCC Camp newspapers. This list captures information from all these sources and the additional sources footnoted in the table. However, this is not a complete list of projects and personnel movements.
## Appendix D:
### Mission 66 Work in Lava Beds National Monument

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 1956</td>
<td>Demolition of grease rack, “bull pen,” and carpenter shop at Gillem's Camp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1956</td>
<td>CCC flagpole at Gillem's Camp removed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1956 to January 1959</td>
<td>Work on trails and ladders at Skull Cave, Merrill Cave, Blue Grotto, Catacombs, Sentinel Cave, and Fleener Chimneys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1956 to April 1958</td>
<td>Reconstruction of Thomas-Wright Battlefield trail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1956 to Jan 1958</td>
<td>Water supply system rehabilitation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February to April 1958</td>
<td>Ladders and railing installed in Skull Cave, Merrill Cave, Blue Grotto Cave, Catacombs Cave, and Sentinel Cave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1958</td>
<td>CCC building at Gillem's Camp demolished.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November to December 1958</td>
<td>Cave trails reconstructed and resurfaced in Skull Cave, Merrill Cave, Indian Well Cave, Catacombs Cave, Valentine Cave, Labyrinth Cave, Thunderbolt Cave, Sentinel Cave, and Hercules Leg Cave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1958 to May 1959</td>
<td>Trail construction to Thomas-Wright Battlefield, Black Crater, Canby Cross, Captain Jacks Stronghold, Skull Cave, other caves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1958</td>
<td>Removal of Building No. 53 (barracks) from Gillem's Camp; improvements to Captain Jacks Stronghold parking lot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1959</td>
<td>Paving of portions of roads to Fleener Chimneys, Merrill Cave, Schonchin Butte, and Skull Cave; Black Crater parking area paved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1959</td>
<td>Safety rail installed around Fleener Chimneys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Construction of residential and bypass roads in headquarters area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1959</td>
<td>Mammoth Crater parking lot constructed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1959</td>
<td>Remodeling of superintendent’s house; quarters no. 5 remodeled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1960</td>
<td>Work on Valentine Cave road.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1960</td>
<td>Handrail installed around Mushpot Cave; trail work at Mammoth Crater.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1960</td>
<td>Handrail and rock added at Mammoth crater; new toilet at Fleener Chimneys.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 1960</td>
<td>Built and installed ladders in Mush Pot, Lava Brook, Thunder Bolt, Golden Dome, Blue Grotto, and Sunshine; four new picnic tables for campground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1960 to January 1961</td>
<td>Four-unit apartment building constructed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1960 to January 1961</td>
<td>Four family residences constructed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1960</td>
<td>Built and installed ladders in Indian Well Cave, Catacombs Cave, and Skull Cave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1960</td>
<td>Work on roads and parking areas; improvements to sewer, water, power, and telephone systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1961</td>
<td>New roofing for Schonchin Butte Lookout.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1961</td>
<td>Eight picnic tables placed in campground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1961</td>
<td>Repairs to cave ladders; repair work to the trails in Skull and Indian Well caves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1961</td>
<td>Replaced electric lights in Mushpot Cave; completed campfire circle in campground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1961</td>
<td>New roof to Superintendent’s Residence; new ladder in Merrill Ice Cave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1963</td>
<td>Construction of Indian Well amphitheater and comfort station.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1964 to January 1965</td>
<td>Indian Well campground work: roads, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1964 to December 1965</td>
<td>North Boundary road realignment and construction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1965 to December 1965</td>
<td>Four-unit apartment building constructed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1965 to August 1966</td>
<td>Improvements to parking areas, walks improvement, and roads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1965</td>
<td>Two buildings removed from Gillems Camp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1966 to April 1966</td>
<td>Work at Gillems Camp to restore area to Modoc War-era appearance; gasoline pump, storage tank, and concrete slab removed; bunchgrass planted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1966 to August 1966</td>
<td>Work on Main Road from Valentine Cave to southeast entrance.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: monthly reports, NARA-Seattle inventory of completion reports; and completion reports (box 4, Columbia Cascade System Support Office Records, NPS, RG 79, NARA-Seattle).
Appendix E:
Management Summary for Lava Beds National Monument

Timeline

- October 1, 1920: Area including all of what is now Lava Beds National Monument (except the Petroglyph Section) is added to Modoc National Forest.
- November 21, 1925: Lava Beds National Monument is designated through presidential proclamation by Calvin Coolidge.
- June 10, 1933: Lava Beds National Monument (along with all other formerly non–Park Service monuments) is officially transferred from Forest Service to Park Service. The Forest Service, however, actually continues to manage it.
- February 1934: National Park Service actively takes on management of LBNM.
- June 1934: First National Park Service employee assigned to LBNM (Don Fisher, serving as “temporary ranger”).
- 1942: NPS acquires the Shaw estate (120 acres).
- 1944: NPS acquires the Adams estate (80 acres).
- 1945: NPS acquires the Merrill estate (160 acres).
- June 1951: Petroglyph Section is expanded by 114 acres through presidential proclamation by Harry S. Truman.
- 1951: Mammoth Crater land (20 acres) transferred from Long Bell Lumber Co. to NPS.
- 1954: NPS acquires the Shuck/O’Keeffe lands within Petroglyph Section.
- 1972: Wilderness areas designated.
- 1974: North Boundary of LBNM adjusted through a property swap with Fish and Wildlife Service and Bureau of Reclamation.

Forest Service Managers

- George W. Lyons, supervisor, Modoc National Forest, May 1923–April 1929.
- Fred P. Cronemiller, supervisor, Modoc National Forest, May 1929–May 1935.

Park Service Superintendents

- Don Fisher, June 1934–November 1953 (his early official titles included “temporary ranger,” “acting custodian,” and “custodian”; he did not receive the title of superintendent until 1948).
Appendix E

Appendix F:
National Register Recommendations

1. New Deal-era resources: Lava Beds National Monument has an assemblage of New Deal-era cultural resources, including buildings, picnic tables, cave trails and steps, and roads, which appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register with a local level of significance under Criterion A and Criterion C for their ability to evoke the history of New Deal work in national parks and the associated rustic style.

2. Mission 66 resources: Lava Beds National Monument has a group of Mission 66 buildings, including four residences and two apartment buildings that may be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A and Criterion C for their ability to evoke the Mission 66 project and its associated NPS modern style of architecture.

3. Canby Cross: Canby Cross represents the most important place in the monument associated with commemoration of the Modoc War. It contains a wooden cross dating to the 1950s and a rock pedestal that existed in some form back to the 1920s. This site may on further investigation prove to be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A for its association with the Modoc War and with Modoc War commemoration.

4. Gillems Camp: a National Register nomination was made for Gillems Camp in 1973. The National Register returned the form with comments, especially saying the nomination had inadequate description of changes to the historic scene and that SHPO concurrence was needed for inclusion of Toby Riddle’s cave, which lies outside the monument boundaries. Since 1973, many of the features that did not contribute associations with the Modoc War have been removed. This site may be eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion A for its association with the Modoc War.

5. Japanese writing. The writings at Petroglyph Point by Japanese prisoners from Tule Lake WRA Camp are associated with historic trends of national significance, as described in the National Park Service report Confinement and Ethnicity.
Appendix G:
Research Recommendations

As the monument develops its research program, it should consider the following topics as potentially useful areas of further research.

1) The county courthouse in Alturas and the Klamath County Museum in Klamath Falls have county personal property records about livestock operations associated with the Lava Beds. The records do not specifically state the number of livestock grazed in Lava Beds; they do, however, state the total number of livestock owned by people known to be associated with Lava Beds. This report makes some use of these detailed records. However, it would be useful to visit these archives and get a year-by-year tally of the livestock operations of key individuals, such as Charles Caldwell, Anna Lauer, Ernest Heppe, Jerry and John D. O'Connor, Henry, John, and Charles Cox, Charles H. and Charles “Guy” Merrill, Tim T. Sullivan, Hugh O'Connor, Ned O'Connor, Dennis O'Connor, Jerry C. Murphy, Jack Kelleher, and so forth. This information would provide more detail on the changing size of operations in response to economic conditions and government regulatory changes and potential influences on the Lava Beds environment.

2) It would be useful to obtain a complete set of the photographs taken in the Lava Beds by Eadweard Muybridge and Louis Herman Heller during the Modoc War. This could be done by first compiling a list of those photographs that exist in the Lava Beds archives and then contacting other repositories to see if they have additional photographs. Palmquist provides a list of repositories of Modoc War photographs: Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley, University of Oregon Library, California Historical Society, Siskiyou County Museum, Oregon Historical Society, Modoc County Museum, California State Library, Library of Congress, New York Public Library, Klamath County Museum, Arizona State Museum, Southwest Museum, and the Smithsonian Institution.15

3) Several readers commented that they would have liked more detail on ecological transformations. While the HRS provides a context for understanding ecological transformations, the monument could undertake a much more detailed

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study of these changes with a greater focus on the ecological transformations themselves, rather than the historical context. This study could make use of historic photographs, descriptions of plant and wildlife communities in monthly reports and other monument reports, and notes from the 1925 and 1934 cadastral surveys within the monument. The most rapid ecological transformation in recent decades has been the draining of Tule Lake. A researcher could visit Bureau of Reclamation in Klamath Falls, the Fish and Wildlife Service office in Tulelake, and local irrigation districts to get documents that tell more fully the story of draining the lake and homesteading.

4) Local newspapers have a wealth of information on Lava Beds in the early twentieth century. Siskiyou County Public Library in Yreka has the *Tulelake Reporter* on microfilm, the Klamath County Public Library in Klamath Falls has the *Klamath Fall Heralds and News*, and the Modoc County Public Library in Alturas has the *Alturas Plain-Dealer*. However, none of these newspapers has been indexed. In the context of writing this report, I was able to copy many of the relevant articles in the *Tulelake Reporter*. However, I only examined the other newspapers briefly. It would be useful for a researcher to look through the complete run of these newspapers and copy all relevant articles. These articles might be bound and indexed for future researchers’ reference.
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Sacramento
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  California Lands Commissioner Office

Tulelake
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Yreka
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  Siskiyou County Museum
  Siskiyou County Public Library

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Washington, D.C.
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Humans have inhabited the Lava Beds country of northern California for thousands of years. The Modoc War unfolded there in 1872 and 1873, when the United States sought to remove the area’s ancient inhabitants in favor of white settlers. That war ended with the forced removal of Modocs from their homeland. No other event in the area’s history matches the drama and tragedy of that war. Yet the Lava Beds have also been the site of many other important stories. Among the jumbled lava flows, the sagebrush, and juniper trees, people have built homes and a roadside dancehall, set fires and suppressed them, hunted deer and sought solitude. They have brewed moonshine liquor, grazed cattle, sheep, and horses, explored caves and the battlefields of the Modoc War. In 1925, President Calvin Coolidge proclaimed the area a national monument. In the Great Depression, hundreds of young men enrolled in the Civilian Conservation Corps lived in the monument building roads, trails, and buildings. Administered by the National Park Service, Lava Beds National Monument is preserved to this day for its Modoc War battle sites and the dense network of lava tube caves, fumaroles, lava flows, and other natural features that define this remarkable place.

Frederick L. Brown has been an historian with the National Park Service in the Pacific West Regional Office in Seattle since 2003.