

HISTORY
BASIC DATA

REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK



SEPTEMBER 1, 1969
(REVISED MARCH 1982)

History
Basic Data

Redwood National Park

Del Norte and Humboldt Counties, California

BY

EDWIN C. BEARSS



DIVISION OF HISTORY
OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION



SEPTEMBER 1, 1969
(REPRINTED MARCH 1982)



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

H I S T O R Y
B A S I C D A T A

REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK
DEL NORTE AND HUMBOLDT COUNTIES, CALIFORNIA

September 1, 1969
(reprinted March 1982)

Prepared by:

Edwin C. Bearss

Approved by:

Regional Director, WRO

PREFACE

This report was originally printed in 1969. It has been reprinted in 1982 with the exception of the National Register Nomination Forms (pages 267 through 431).

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John A. Sacklin, Environmental Specialist
Redwood National Park
March 1982

FOREWORD

This report has been prepared to satisfy the research needs as enumerated in Historical Resource Study Proposal RED-H-1, Basic Data Study, Redwood National Park. The area's historic sites have been identified, evaluated, and plotted on Historical Base Maps. Structures that are to appear on the list of Classified Structures have been identified, as well as the lands and resources to be designated Class VI in the Land Classification Plan. National Register Forms have been prepared for structures and historic districts nominated for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. As suggested by the Office of Resource Planning, San Francisco Planning and Service Center, suggestions have been made for the possible inclusion within the Park of sites possessing historic significance adjacent to, but outside, the proposed boundaries.

A number of persons have assisted with the preparation of this report. Particular thanks are due Superintendent Nelson Murdock and the following members of his staff: Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management Lowell White and Maintenceman Charles Stull. Richard Childs of Crescent City, besides providing valuable information on lumbering in Del Norte County, permitted me to make copies of a number of photographs in his extensive collection. Mathew Davis of Crescent City provided information regarding rafting in the 1920s and 1930s on the Klamath, while Ray Chaffee of the Hunter Creek Community gave details of life in and around Requa in the 1920s and 1930s. The superintendents and the staffs of Jed Smith, Del Norte Coast, and the Prairie Creek Redwoods State Parks were cooperative and helpful, and made their historical files available for research. Historian Allen Welts of the California State Parks made important contributions. Allen Oattley and his staff of the California State Library, California Section, were helpful in pinpointing little known sources on their shelves, and *The Del Norte Triplicate's* Nate Bull guided me to local sources.

My colleagues Dr. John Hussey of the Western Regional Office and F. Ross Holland of the Office of Archeology & Historic Preservation were helpful in suggesting sources. Park Planner Bruce Black of the Western Planning & Service Center and Arthur C. Allen of the Division of Interpretation have read preliminary drafts of the report and have made valuable suggestions. Elmer Parker, Esau Jackson, and Robert Kvasnicka of the National Archives, were helpful in suggesting and locating unpublished documents.

To Frank Sarles I wish to extend thanks for proof-reading the final draft, and to Roy Appleman for reviewing my recommendations. Finally I wish to thank Mrs. Lucy Wheeler for the many hours she spent typing the manuscript, for her keen interest in its success, and for her editorial suggestions.

E. C. B.

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I. THE INDIANS OF THE REDWOODS

Indians belonging to three different cultures have dwelt during the historic period in the sections of Del Norte and Humboldt counties included in Redwood National Park. Because of the environment, these Indians, although belonging to different linguistic groups, developed closely related cultures. Living in villages, they relied on the rivers and forests for their livelihood.

A. THE YUOK

1. The Villages

The most numerous tribe living in the area was the Yurok. An Algonkin people, the Yurok built their villages on the Klamath and near the Pacific beaches. The hinterland served the Yurok as an area for hunting deer, gathering acorns, beating in seeds, and collecting firewood or sweathouse kindling. There were about 55 villages. A few may have been inhabited from time to time, during the lifetime of a single individual or a group of relatives. Most of the Klamath villages were located on ancient river terraces, which decreased in elevation as one approached the mouth of the Klamath River. Wahsekw was 200 feet above the river, Kenek 100, Kepel 75, Ko`otep 35, Turip 25, and Wohkel 20. Coastal villages were either on a lagoon or at the mouth of a river. Although the Yurok did not hesitate to paddle their canoes out to sea, their "habits were formed on the river or still water." Their canoes were designed for rivers rather than to be launched through the surf. Fishing was done at the mouths of the watercourses, or by men standing in the edge of the surf, in preference to deep sea fishing.

The important villages were clustered. At the confluence of the Klamath and Trinity was the uppermost group, which in the 1850s had a population of about 200. Within or adjacent to the National Park, at the mouth of the Klamath, were Rekwoi and Wetkwau, with Tsekwetl, Pegwolau, and Keskitsa as quarters, and Tmeri and Otwego "somewhat doubtful as separate villages." According to one estimate, there were living in these villages in 1850 about 200 Yurok. The great fixed ceremonies were all held at populous clusters: Weitspus, Kepel, Sa`a, Pekwan, Rekwoi, Wetkwau, Orckw, and Opyuweg. Each had a sacred sweathouse.¹

1. A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington, 1925), pp. 8-10.

2. Population

A trader in 1852 took a census of the Klamath River towns from the salmon dam at Kepel to the mouth. He reported 17 villages with a population of 1,052, residing in 141 houses. Rekwoi had 22 houses with 116 inhabitants, Ho`pau six houses with 72 inhabitants, and Wohkel two houses and 15 people. A. L. Kroeber utilizing this census, along with Colonel McKee's count at the Yurok villages, has estimated that there were about 2,500 Yurok in 1852.

A count made at the 17 lower Yurok villages in 1895 revealed 151 houses, or ten more than in 1852. But whereas there had been 1,052 Indians in 1851, there were only 384 living in 1895, and a number of these were mixed bloods. There were 141 men, 136 women, 55 boys, and 52 girls, or only about two and one-half persons per house--one-third of the ratio found 44 years before.

The majority of these 151 dwellings were built after the fashion of the white man. It was now customary for the Indians to have two kinds of houses--one American and one native. Several of the villages had all but disappeared. Ko`otep and Turip, which had been engulfed with mud in the great flood of 1861-62, had suffered the worst in this respect. Rekwoi, favored by the development of a trading post at³ Wohtekw-Wohkero, had increased from 22 to 30 houses by 1895.

3. Customs

a. Blood Money

An American at Rekwoi hired several Yurok to transport stores from Crescent City. A canoe loaded with supplies foundered in the breakers at the mouth of the Klamath, and four of the Indians were drowned. Compensation was demanded. When it was not forthcoming, the American was ambushed and killed by the brother of one of the deceased. According to

2. Ibid., p. 16.

3. Ibid., p. 19.

one version, the goods were government property, and the trader responsible only for their transportation. The Indians' claims are said to have been forwarded to Washington, but while the officials debated what to do, the Yurok, losing hope of a settlement, took revenge.⁴

b. Ownership of Fishing and Hunting Grounds

If several men jointly owned a fishing place, which was common, they used it in rotation for one or more days according to their share, relieving each other about the middle of the afternoon for 24-hour periods. If a man allowed another to fish at his place, he received the bulk of the catch. If only one salmon were taken, the "tenant" kept the tail.

It was forbidden to establish a new fishing place or to fish below a recognized one. This provision guaranteed the maintenance of the value of those in existence, and must have closely restricted the total number to those established by tradition and inheritance.⁵

Up to a mile or more from the river, all land of any value for hunting was privately owned. Farther inland, there were no claims, nor was there much hunting.⁶ Free ferriage must be provided. The Yurok and their neighbors extended this right to Americans living among them, charging ferriage only to transients.⁷

c. War and Peace

No distinction of principle existed in the Yurok mind between murder and war. All wars were merely feuds that involved large groups of kinsmen, several such groups, or only unrelated fellow villagers. Whoever was not drawn into the war was careful to remain aloof as in a private quarrel. When peace came it was made on the only basis known: all damages were compensated. Every man slain or hurt was paid for according to his value, all captive women and children restored,

4. Ibid., p. 28.

5. Ibid., pp. 33-34.

6. Ibid., p. 34.

7. Ibid., p. 35.

burned property paid for, and seized property returned. It appears that payments for the aggregate amounts due were made by each side, instead of the lesser value being deducted from the greater and the net difference paid. This practice may have been dictated by the fact that Yurok money was not standardized, no two strings of dentalia were of exactly the same value. In any case, the greater financial drain bore on the victor.

The Yurok took no scalps. They did not bother to decapitate a fallen foe unless it was to make certain that he was dead. They held no scalp dance or formal victory celebration. They did have a war dance, however. Their chief weapon was the bow. In hand-to-hand fighting, a short club, spatula-shaped and blunt edged, was used for cracking heads. Spears were known, but seldom used. They had no shield, but had two types of body armor.⁸

During the war between the Yurok and Hupa in the 1830s, a war party of Hupa went out to attack Rekwoi in reprisal for a raid made by the Rekwoi and the Tolowa on the village of Takimitlding. They were joined by their kinsmen from the south fork of the Trinity and the Chilula. The warriors, 100 strong, descended the Klamath in boats, traveling at night and drawing their canoes up into the brush during the day. Rekwoi was attacked and burned, as Takimitlding had been. Those who were not slain had difficulty surviving through the winter, because their stores of food had been destroyed.

The Hupa and their allies returned as they had come. This illustrates the private nature of the quarrel. The canoes had to be laboriously poled and in some places dragged upstream. Had the Yurok possessed any national sentiment, they could have rallied several hundred fightingmen and overwhelmed the Hupa, while they were struggling with the river. As a matter of fact, the Yurok recalled, the villages along the Klamath made no effort to stop the war party. Scores now having been evened, a settlement was made. The Hupa sent to ask for a settlement, and when this took place, large amounts were paid as compensation by both belligerents.⁹

8. Ibid., pp. 49-50.

9. Ibid., pp. 50-51.

d. Ceremonies

Yurok ceremonies were aimed at renewing or maintaining the established world. There was a recitation of a "long formula, narrating, mostly in dialogue, the establishment of the ceremony by spirits of prehuman race" and its immediate beneficial effect. After the recitation a dance began, and went on every afternoon, or morning and afternoon, for five, ten, or more days. The dances were of two kinds, known to the Americans as the White Deerskin and Jumping Dances. There was a marked localism in the ceremonies, and the dances were conducted with a distinct attempt at climactic effect.¹⁰

The Deerskin dancers wore aprons of civet cat or deerskin about the waist, masses of dentalium necklaces, and forehead bands of wolf fur that shaded the eyes. From the head rose a stick on which was fastened two or four black and white eagle or condor feathers--so put together as to resemble a single feather of enormous length, its quill covered with woodpecker scalps--or three slender rods of sinew, scarlet, with attached bits of scalp, elevated from the stick. The dancers brandished poles on which were white, light gray, black, or mottled deerskins, the heads stuffed, the ears, mouths, throats, and false tongues decorated with woodpecker scalps, the hide of the body and legs hanging loose.¹¹

The principal ornament work in the Jumping Dance was a buckskin band, tied over the forehead with the ends flapping. Its central portion was covered with 50 large woodpecker scalps, and bordered with lines of other feathers and strips of white fur from a deer's belly.¹²

Many years after he was stationed on the Klamath, Maj. Gen. George Crook recalled that the Yurok had a yearly ceremony on placing a weir in the river at Kepel, to catch salmon. It was one of the occasions when all the wealth was paraded. All of those who were present at the ceremony would have all past blood feuds erased.¹³

10. Ibid., pp. 53-55.

11. Ibid., pp. 55-56.

12. Ibid., p. 56.

13. George Crook, *General George Crook: His Autobiography*, Martin R. Schmidt, ed. (Norman, 1946), p. 70.

The weir was built in ten named sections by as many companies of men. Each group left an entrance, behind which was an enclosure. When salmon had run into these, the gates were shut, and the fish netted.¹⁴

A Jumping Dance was held annually in the autumn at Rekwoi. The climax was a dance made in two large canoes, which approached across the broad lagoon abreast. At Wetlkwau there was a sacred house and sweathouse. Each year, in April, the formulist and his assistant paraded to the mouth of the Klamath and speared a salmon. This was cooked on the beach, and the assistant attempted to eat the entire fish. If he succeeded, it was believed he would become very wealthy.

Wetlkwau also had a Deerskin Dance. It was an aftermath to the salmon rite. In this the competing villages were Turip, Rekwoi, and Wetlkwau. On the last day, they danced across the lagoon in boats and finished on the hill above Rekwoi. No one was allowed to witness the boat dance whose father's payment for his mother had not included either a canoe or one of the large Hudson's Bay Co. knives, which before 1850 were extremely valuable.¹⁵

The ghost dance craze reached the Yurok about 1872 via the Shasta, Karok, and Tolowa, but it lasted only a few years, and vanished with scarcely any effect.¹⁶

e. Superstitions.

The Yurok were superstitious. As General Crook recalled, everything that occurred could be blamed on a shaman. If a Yurok went hunting and failed to see any game, or if they saw some and failed to kill it, or if it rained while they were out, or if they lost something, they would declare that they had been bewitched, and they usually claimed to be able to identify the culprit. Crook, when he sought to reason with them and explained that the deer were not where they hunted, they would answer that "they saw so many deer there before, and they were there now, but someone had turned them into brush or rocks."¹⁷

14. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, 59.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

17. Crook, *Autobiography*, pp. 70-71.

4. Houses and Sweathouses

General Crook recalled in his *Autobiography* that the houses of the Yurok were built from large puncheon boards of redwood, which they had split with their rude implements. To build their dwellings, the Yurok excavated the earth to a depth of three to four feet, and positioned the puncheons on end, thus forming the walls of a hut. Their dwellings were either square or rectangular. The boards were battened to be quite tight. Roofs were made of the same material, and were in the fashion of a frontiersman's cabin. One side of the roof projected over the other, with a space between large enough to permit the smoke to escape. Doors were frequently cut into one large upright in the gable end of the structure, but more frequently were cut from the adjacent sides of two boards. The shape of the doorway could be either round or oval. The fire was built on the ground, and in the center of the house. Some of the dwellings had boulders of a green stone, which through long usage were polished smooth from being used as chairs.¹⁸

The sweathouse was smaller than the dwelling and dug out over its entire length. The frontage was about 12 feet, the breadth nine to 11 feet, and the greatest height six or seven. The excavation was at least four feet deep. The longer sides were lined, but there were no walls above ground. The interiors were neat, the floor being paved either with well-adzed planks, or carefully selected and fitted slabs of stone. Except for a few block pillows, cut flatfaced from redwood with concave tops, there was no furniture. Somewhat toward one end from the middle was the sacred post, toward the other end the fireplace, a cubical hole of a foot and one-half, lined with flagstone. The door was in the middle of one of the long sides, and faced the water of the river or ocean. It was roundish, provided with a cover, and inside had a ladder with a few notched steps leading downward. A second door, used only as an exit, was at one of the small ends.¹⁹

5. Canoes

Both the Yurok and Tolowa had canoes which were similar to each other. They were dugouts, fashioned from redwood. While clumsy, they were symmetrical and carefully finished. They were seagoing, but the design was better calculated to navigate a rushing river full of boulders. The paddle was also for

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

19. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, pp. 80-81.

river use. It was a combination of a pushing and a sweeping instrument, a stout pole six to eight feet long, spreading below to a narrow, heavy blade, and used by standing men. Only the seated helmsman used a true canoe paddle. The canoes varied in breadth and beam, the largest having three times the capacity of the smallest, but the length was standardized at about 18 feet. A longer craft would be disadvantageous among the rocks.²⁰

6. Food from the Land, Rivers, and Ocean

The Yurok and their neighbors "ate very largely of the acorn," the staple food of most California Indians; but fish, principally salmon, constituted a greater proportion of their food than was usual elsewhere. Small game was scarce in their territory, and while deer were abundant and their flesh esteemed, they "seem hardly to have formed part of the daily food supply." Nevertheless, General Crook considered the Yurok excellent hunters. Bulbs were dug in early summer; seed were gathered on the ridge top prairies. Salt was secured from seaweed. The people of the coast secured large ocean mussels. The stranding of a whale was always a significant occasion, sometimes causing quarrels. The Yurok prized its flesh above all other food, and carried dried slabs of the meat inland, but they never hunted the huge mammals.²¹

Salmon runs occurred on the Klamath in the spring and fall. These were the periods of the great ceremonies, whether or not they referred directly to the fish. Because of its great flow, there were few weeks when some variety of salmon were not running. Fish were taken with dip nets, seines, set gill nets, and harpoons. The dip net, or lifting net, was let down from a scaffold built out over the water, nearly always at an eddy or backwater. Here the fishermen sat on a block or small stool, holding the bone button of the string which closed the entrance to the cone-shaped net stretched out in the current. This net was hung from the bottom of a long A-shaped frame with a bottom crossbar. The whole was hauled out as soon as a pull on the cord had enclosed a salmon, which was then hit on the head with a club. A single night's operation sometimes produced a hundred salmon. At other times, a man would sit for half a day without netting one.

20. Ibid., pp. 82-83.

21. Ibid., p. 84; Crook, *Autobiography*, p. 70.

Lampreys were much prized by the Yurok for their grease. They, as well as sturgeon, were taken in the same manner, but with a net of a different mesh.

Both salmon and lampreys were split for drying. Most of the fish were smoked and packed in old baskets as strips or slabs. Surf fish were sun dried whole and hung from poles in rows.

A long net was sometimes set for sturgeon. One that was measured had a six-inch mesh, a width of three feet, and a length of 85 feet, but in use was doubled over, making it to appear half that length and width. The nets were made of two-ply cordage, rolled without tools from fibers of the *Iris macrosiphon* leaf. The salmon harpoon had a slender shaft, sometimes in excess of 20 feet in length. To this were then attached two slightly diverging foreshafts, one a few inches longer, on which were set loose barbs of pitched and wrapped bone or horn.

Sea lion hunters took station on rocks, disguised in bear- or deerskins. When the mammals clambered into view, the hunters barked and twisted their bodies, attracting the animals' attention as they approached, then leaping up they harpooned them. The toggle head had two barbs in a row; the line was fastened to the shaft. No attempt was made to hold the powerful beast, but it was followed by a boat, the shaft regained, and at the first opportunity the animal was speared again.²²

7. Crook Describes the Indians at the Mouth of the Klamath

General Crook has described better than any other writer, the scene at the mouth of the Klamath and some of the activities of the Yurok. The distance from bluff to bluff at the mouth of the Klamath is over a mile. Heavy breakers from the ocean striking the current of the river have thrown up a sandbar the full distance between bluffs. The channel of the Klamath cuts its way through the bar and discharges into the ocean. Sometimes a violent storm would close the pass, and the river would cut a new one, which was from one-fourth to one-half mile wide. Consequently the channel meandered backwards and forwards.

On these bluffs were two villages. The one on the left bank was Wetlkwau and the one on the opposite bluff Rekwoi. From

22. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, pp. 85-86.

their villages the Yurok had a commanding view of the beaches. Crook, then a lieutenant, frequently took position on the rocks and shot sea lions as the tide was flooding. The surf was usually heavy, so Crook had to shoot the beasts in the head or neck to kill them.

The Indians from both villages would keep a sharp watch, and as soon as one of the animals appeared, they would break for the beach. The men were armed with saw blades, with a handle about one-third of the distance from one of the ends. The women carried their baskets supported by headstraps, and the children came along to see the fun. While the women and children looked on, the men hacked and sawed away with their knives, and when a piece was cut loose, they would toss it over their heads to be caught by one of the women. Into the basket it would go. Pandemonium ruled. All were shouting, quarreling, jostling, and trying to crowd one another away from the carcass. After the animal had been cut up, they would quiet down, and talk and joke about the good time they had had. Some of them had serious gashes on their hands and arms, but they seemed to take it all as a good joke. At first Crook believed they were fighting, but when he understood what was happening, he "enjoyed the joke as much as they did."²³

8. Government and Wealth

The Yurok had a patriarchal form of government. There were no chiefs beyond the heads of families. Influence was dependent on wealth, which "consisted of . . . large woodpecker scalps with the upper mandible attached, and these would be sewn on a nice piece of buckskin dressed white." They likewise valued a long, conical shell found in Queen Charlotte Sound, which they called Ali-cachuck. These shells were similar to the wam-pum of the eastern woodland Indians. Obsidian in large, knife-shaped pieces was valuable, but "a white deer-skin would take all an Indian had. He would sell his own soul for one," Crook recorded.²⁴

23. Crook, *Autobiography*, pp. 75-76.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

B. THE TOLOWA

1. The Villages

Ethnologically, the Tolowa were the people of Smith River and the adjacent ocean frontage. Tolowa, like so many California designations of pseudo-tribal nature, was alien to the people to whom it was applied. It was of Yurok origin. The names and locations of the Tolowa villages, as given by themselves, have not been recorded. Eight to ten villages are known under their Yurok designations, and as many under the names which the Rogue River Athabascans of Oregon applied to them.²⁵

To the north, the Tolowa territory extended almost to Oregon, while to the south it reached to within a short distance of the mouth of Wilson Creek, six miles north of the Klamath. There was a Yurok settlement on Wilson Creek, and they claimed whales that stranded on the beach as much as three miles beyond. Inland, Tolowa suzerainty was probably coextensive with the drainage of Smith River, the Siskiyou shutting them off from the Karok of the middle Klamath. Except for hunting, this interior tract was seldom frequented, for the Tolowa were essentially a coastal people.²⁶

In 1910 there were 120 Tolowa, one-third of whom were breeds. In the 1850s their number was estimated at well under 1,000.

2. Relations Between Villages and with Other Tribes

The Tolowa villagers engaged in wars among themselves as readily as with alien villages, though it is likely that in the former case each side was limited to kinsmen, while an

25. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, pp. 124-125. T. T. Waterman has identified the Tolowa villages as follows: on the right bank of Smith River, where it discharges into the ocean, at Siesta Peak was Hawinwet. At the mouth of Bucket Creek, on the Smith River, was Hatsahotontnc. Farther upstream, where Bear Creek comes in, was Melish-enten. South from the mouth of Smith River, at Yontucket, was Yontakit. To the south were Echulet (on a point projecting northward into Lake Earl); Tagiante at Point St. George; Tatintin, a short distance down the coast; Metetlting at Pebble Beach; Seninghat at Crescent City; and Shinyatlchi at Nickel Creek. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

expedition for revenge against a Yurok or Karok settlement might unite the nation. In the 1870s there was a blood feud between Seninghat and one or more of the Lake Earl villages. A number of years before, there had been war between Hawinwet and Rekwoi, the latter the Yurok village at the mouth of the Klamath. Blood relatives of the inhabitants--in other villages--participated, but the other Tolowa towns, though in intermediate positions, remained neutral. One engagement took the lives of six warriors, three on each side. In another, the Yurok were defeated, losing five. The conflict was precipitated by an old woman of Rekwoi, who had a reputation as a witch, employing her magic to stop the annual salmon run on Smith River.

Rekwoi, as well as O'men (the most northerly Yurok settlement), was populated by many persons with Tolowa blood, and reciprocally there were not a few Tolowa with Yurok wives, mothers, or grandmothers. In the war between Rekwoi and the Hupa village of Taki-mitlding, in the 1830s, the greatest war recalled by the Yurok, they were allied with the Tolowa of Hawinwet and Yontakit.²⁷

3. Customs, Institutions, and Implements

It appears that the customs, institutions, and implements of the Tolowa were similar to those of the Yurok and Hupa. The Tolowa served as middlemen to these nations as the principal purveyors of the dentalium shell that formed the standard currency of the region. The Yurok regarded the Tolowa as rich, a distinction they accorded to few others of the people known to them.²⁸

The Tolowa held the Deerskin Dance that was practiced by the wealthier and more populous tribes of the region.²⁹

C. THE CHILULA

1. Cultural Background

The Chilula were almost indistinguishable from the Hupa in speech, and were allied with them in hostility toward the coastal

27. Ibid., p. 126.

28. Ibid., pp. 126-127.

29. Ibid.

Yurok. Like all Indians of the region, they lacked a specific designation for themselves as a group. "Chilula" was English for the Yurok "Tsulu-la," people of Tsulu, the Bald Hills. Locally they were known as the Bald Hills Indians.³⁰

2. Location of Villages

Their villages were located on or adjacent to lower Redwood Creek, from near the inland edge of the heavy redwood belt to a few miles above Minor Creek. All but one of the village sites were on the east side of Redwood Creek, on which the hillsides received more sun and the timber was not so dense. A few were as much as a mile or more from the stream, but most were close to the watercourse. In summer the Chilula left their homes to camp on the highland prairies of the Bald Hills, where seeds and roots were plentiful and game abounded. Autumn found the Chilula either camping on the Bald Hills or crossing Redwood Creek to gather acorns on the western slopes.³¹

Eighteen village sites are known, of which two (Howunakut and Noieding) are within the boundary of Redwood National Park. On the sites of six of the identified settlements, house pits have been found and counted. Projecting the number found would give the Chilula 175 huts, or about 600 persons, or an average of about 30 to each settlement. The villages contained more pits than houses.³²

3. Conflict with the Whites

The trails from Trinidad and Humboldt Bay to the gold camps on the Klamath and Trinity crossed the Bald Hills, and the Chilula had seen but few whites, before they found themselves in conflict with the miners and packers. Fighting between California volunteers--supported by United States regulars--and the Indians continued sporadically until the 1860s. Rounded up, the Chilula were either placed on the Hoopa Reservation or sent

30. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, p. 137.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

to Fort Bragg. Blood feuds took their toll, so that by 1919 the Chilula had wasted away. Only two or three households remained in their old haunts, while the few families remaining on the Hoopa Reservation had been assimilated.³³

4. Dwellings and Sweathouses

The Chilula built typical plank houses and small square sweathouses in their villages. They were the most southerly Athabascan tribe to use this type of sweathouse. When the Chilula camped in the hills, they built square but unexcavated huts of bark slabs of the type used for permanent dwellings by the Whilkut.³⁴

D. COMMENTS and RECOMMENDATIONS

Located within the Redwood National Park are a number of Yurok, two Tolowa, and two Chilula village sites. These sites are located on the Historical Base Map. During the week of April 21-27, 1969, I visited several of the Yurok sites: Rekwoi, Wetlekwali, Otmekor, and Oreku. At Rekwoi there is a typical Yurok house that has been restored by the Del Norte Historical Society and a small Indian Cemetery, while at Otmekor a number of excavations for houses and sweathouses remain.³⁵ No remains were found at Wetlekwali and Oreku. At the latter site they have been obliterated by the sawmill. An archeological survey of the area should be undertaken as soon as possible in an effort to pinpoint on the ground the sites of other Yurok villages within the Park. These villages are: Espau, Osegen, Otwego, O`men, and O`menhipur. Because of the high visitor interest in the Redwood Creek area, an archeological survey should be undertaken to locate and mark on the ground the sites of the Chilula villages of Howunakut and Noieding, as well as the Tolowa sites of Nec-Kah and Chinyatlchi, in Del Norte County.

The story of the Yurok and their river-based economy can best be told at the mouth of the Klamath. Dad's Fishing Camp is located on the south bank of the Klamath, and twice a year, during the

33. Ibid., pp. 138-140.

34. Ibid.

35. Ira Dorrance, who has resided at Otmekor since 1912, informed me that when he moved there several of the houses were standing and inhabited.

salmon runs, the spit is overrun with fishermen. On the north side of the Klamath, at Requa, is the restored Yurok house and the Indian cemetery. Undoubtedly, Service archeologists could clear the area and locate and excavate additional house and sweat-house pits.

Exhibits describing the cultures of the Tolowa, Yurok, and Chilula should occupy space in the Park Visitor Center. The Indians of the Humboldt Coast were skilled in several crafts, especially basket making. It may be possible to interest the Indians of the nearby Hoopa Reservation in providing craft demonstrations and to fish for salmon, as they would have in the 19th century. This would be Living History at its best.

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II. COASTAL EXPLORATION

A. THE CABRILLO-FERRELO EXPEDITION

The first Europeans to reconnoiter the Humboldt Coast belonged to the expedition commanded by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, which cruised the coast of Alta California in 1542. Cabrillo, in June 1542, sailed from the port of Navidad, and in September his two ships anchored in San Diego Bay. Continuing up the coast, the explorers sighted or stopped at a number of points, including Catalina and San Clemente Islands, Santa Monica Bay, San Buenaventura, and the Channel Islands. After cruising Santa Barbara Channel, past Point Conception and northward beyond Point Reyes, the expedition turned back. A stop was made at one of the Channel Islands, where Cabrillo died on January 3, 1543.

Cabrillo's chief pilot, Bartolomé Ferrelo, succeeded to the command. Under his leadership, the exploration of the coast of Alta California was continued. A storm was encountered, and at dawn on February 25, the Spanish sailors sighted Cape Pinos. The ships then bore to the northwest. The coast was rugged and without shelter. A point which "looked like a cape where the land turned north-northwest" was observed. At midnight the wind shifted, and for the next two days the ships continued to run to the northwest, and Ferrelo changed course, and the ships sailed toward the south with few sails.

On the 28th the winds died, and a reading indicated that they were at 43^o north latitude. By nightfall a wind out of the south-southwest had freshened, and the ships beat a course to the west-northwest. The wind now veered into the southwest, and became a gale. The sea broke over the decks. Fears were voiced by all that the ships would founder, and the sailors "commended themselves to Our Lady of Guadalupe." While the storm was at its height, numerous signs that land was near were seen. As if in answer to the men's prayers a Norther bore in, and the ships were driven southward. On Monday, March 5, the Spaniards found themselves off the island where Cabrillo had died and been buried. The two ships now became separated, and *San Salvador* put into San Diego Bay. After waiting six days for *Victoria*, she sailed down the coast. The two ships rendezvoused at Cedros Island on March 26.¹

1. J. R. Moriarty and M. Keistman, *A New Translation of the Summary Log of the Cabrillo Voyage in 1542* (San Diego, 1963), pp. 39-41; Hubert H. Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, 38 vols. (New York, 1967), 28, 69-79; Chad L. Hoopes, *Lure of Humboldt Bay Region* (Dubuque, 1966), p. 3.

Hubert H. Bancroft, upon studying the Log of Cabrillo's Voyage, expressed the opinion that the Spaniards "did not pass far, if at all, beyond Cape Mendocino in 40° 21'." Herbert Bolton and Henry R. Wagner are of the opinion that the northernmost point reached by Ferrelo on February 28, 1543, was in the general area of the Rogue River in southern Oregon. My colleague, F. Ross Holland, who has made exhaustive studies of the Cabrillo voyage, agrees with Bolton and Wagner.² If Bolton, Wagner, and Holland are correct, the first Europeans to cruise the Humboldt Coast were the crews of *San Salvador* and *Victoria*, in the last week of February 1543. It is unlikely, however, that they made any landfalls north of Cape Mendocino.

B. FRANCIS DRAKE CRUISES the HUMBOLDT COAST

The first European explorer to sight the Humboldt Coast was probably Francis Drake in 1579. Drake, having entered the Pacific Ocean through the Straits of Magellan in 1578, cruised the coasts of Peru and Panama. After plundering several Spanish towns and capturing the Manila galleon, he sailed his ship, *Golden Hind*, northward. When off the coast of North America near 43°, the cold and adverse winds which accompany the Japanese Current forced *Golden Hind* toward the continent, and Drake anchored his ship in a "bad bay."³ This anchorage being exposed to "many extreme gusts and flaws," and at times enveloped in the "most vile, thicke, and stinking fogges," Drake determined to seek another bay farther south. Utilizing information found on Robert Dudley's manuscript chart, first published in 1630, George Davidson, who has made exhaustive studies of Drake's voyage to the Pacific, concluded:

Drake was twelve days, with presumably favorable winds and moderate weather, sailing along the coast by day, and laying to at night; full of anxiety, and keenly alert to find a convenient harbor where he could heave down his vessel and stop her leaks, as well as lay in a

2. Moriarty & Keistman, *A New Translation*, p. 44.

3. Owen C. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region, 1850-1875: A Study in the Colonization of California* (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 18; George Davidson, "Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America in the Year 1579," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Geographical Society of the Pacific* (San Francisco, 1908), 5, Series 2, 113-133, 219-226. Davidson has identified this bay as Chetko Cove, Oregon.

fresh store of provisions and water. The coast he traced is bold, compact, and nearly straight between controlling headlands; and to the southeastward of Crescent City Reef . . . is almost free from dangers except those close in shore. Drake could thus safely reconnoitre the shores at a distance of two or three miles, except at Blunt's Reef off Cape Mendocino. Under Trinidad Head . . . he would be attracted closer in shore by the prospect of a harbor, and by the low, sandy and retreating shore, with retreating hills to the eastward and southeastward. From the masthead he may have seen the extensive waters of Humboldt Bay. In the stretch between Trinidad Head and Cape Mendocino, the discolored waters passing through the clear ocean waters would indicate the existence of rivers or bays; but Mad River, north of the Bay, and Eel River, to the south of it, do not offer any well defined marks to betray their entrances to the navigator.⁴

C. THE MANILA GALLEONS off the HUMBOLDT COAST

It is possible that the crews of the Manila Galleons, after the discovery of the Japanese Current in 1565, on their return from the Philippines may have sighted the headlands of the Humboldt Coast before Drake and his seadogs. But as the captains turned south, as soon as the lookouts found seaweed or other indications that land was near, it is doubtful they secured more than an occasional glimpse of the fog-bound coast.⁵ A captain of the Manila Galleon, Francisco Gali, in 1584 was the first European to refer to a geographic feature of the Alta California coast by other than its native name. On returning from the Philippines, Captain Gali reported that he cruised the coast to Cape San Lucas, which "is the beginning of the lands of California . . . being fiue [five] hundred leagues distant from Cape Mendocino."⁶ There is no proof that Gali

4. Davidson, "Discovery of Homboldt Bay," *Transactions*, 2, No.1, 2-3.

5. William L. Schurz, "The Manila Galleon and California," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (1917), 21, 107-126.

6. Richard Hakluyt, *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1599-1600), p. 446.

was responsible for the name beyond giving us its first recorded use. There are two theories as to its origin: one is that the name was given by an earlier navigator of whom we have no record; and the other is that it may have been applied in New Spain to a headland discovered but not named by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo or Ferrello in 1542-43.⁷

D. SEBASTIÁN RODRÍGUEZ CERMEÑO RECONNOITERS the HUMBOLDT COAST

The loss of ships to the English Seadogs, such as Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish, made Spain cognizant of the need for a harbor on the California coast to serve as a port of refuge for the Manila Galleons. Until 1595 no captain in the employment of Spain attempted to locate such a harbor. The Spanish crown in that year charged Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño with such a mission. He left Manila in July and reached the California mainland at "Cape Mendocino" on November 4. Professor H. R. Wagner holds that Cermeño reached the coast north of "Rocky Point" or Trinidad Head, then sailed south, passing in and out of Trinidad Bay, but did not anchor for fear of rocks. Proceeding down the coast, Cermeño took his ship into Drake's Bay, where she went aground. Cermeño and his shipmates used a launch to reach Acapulco.⁸

Cermeño's voyage satisfied the authorities that a galleon could not effectively reconnoiter the coast. The Council of the Indies accordingly recommended that future expeditions be made in light-draft vessels. Determined to follow the suggestion of the Council, Viceroy Castillo of New Spain in 1603 sent out an expedition led by Sebastián Vizcaino.⁹

E. VOYAGE of VIZCAÍNO

Sebastian Vizcaino, in the spring of 1603, sailed from Acapulco with two ships, the frigate *Tres Reyes* and *San Diego*, to explore

7. Coy, *Humboldt Bay Region*, pp. 19-20. Cape Mendocino was named for Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain from 1535-1550.

8. H. R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America* (San Francisco, 1929), p. 157.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

the coast of Alta California. After leaving Monterey bay, the vessels separated. When on June 12 *San Diego* reached Cape Mendocino, most of her crew were sick and the weather foul. A decision to turn back was made, but a storm drove her northward as far as latitude 42°. The weather, however, prevented a detailed reconnaissance of the coast. Meanwhile, *Tres Reyes* had been driven even farther north to the vicinity of Cape Blanco. Here the weather, in conjunction with the death of Ensign Martin de Aguilar, the master, and his chief pilot, Antonio Flores, made impossible a close examination of the coast. The boatswain, who survived, reported that on the run northward from Drake's Bay

near Cape Mendocino, they found a large bay, into which entered a full flowing river which came in from the north with such force that they were not able to enter it more than two leagues, although they endeavored for a whole day with full sails and wind astern to force their way in. The river was then rising and carried many trees with it. The country is timbered with very large pine and oak forests. The coast runs from this place north and south to Cape Mendocino and thence it runs northeast and southwest as far as Cape Blanco in latitude 43°.

A number of Indians came out to the ship in canoes, made of pine and cedar, and invited the explorers to send a small boat expedition upstream. Taking cognizance of their numbers, the sailors declined to do so, although the redmen offered as inducements fish, game, hazelnuts, chestnuts, and acorns.¹⁰

Dr. Owen C. Coy feels that the river described by the boatswain may have been Eel River, which discharges into the Pacific in latitude 40° 39', about 14 miles north of Cape Mendocino. Following a cloudburst, the Eel overflows its banks, causing the lower valley to resemble a large bay, with sufficient depth to afford navigation for a considerable distance. The references to trees swept along by the powerful current, and the thick forests are in keeping with local conditions.¹¹

10. "Vizcaíno's Dairy," found in Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York, 1916), p. 102.

11. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, pp. 21-22.

F. HECETA and BODEGA and the EXPEDITION to TRINIDAD HEAD

For almost 175 years following Vizcaíno's voyage, the officials of New Spain were too preoccupied elsewhere to push the exploration of the Humboldt Coast. During the years immediately preceding the American Revolution, the activities of the Russians to the far north, along with the push of the Hudson's Bay Company to the northeast compelled the Spanish to take countermeasures. Monterey and San Francisco Bay were occupied. Expeditions were organized and dispatched up the coast to determine if the rumors of Russian and British encroachments were true, and to cement the claims of Spain to that region.

Bruno de Heceta in the summer of 1775 beat his way up the coast of Alta California with two vessels--his flagship, *Santiago*, and a schooner, *Sonora*, with "a keel of eighteen cubits and breadth of beam of six." The latter vessel was commanded by Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra. The expedition had sailed from San Blas on March 16, the schooner being towed by the ship. By May 21 the vessels were in the latitude of Monterey, but it was determined not to enter that port, as the principal goal of the expedition was exploration, and it was hoped to secure water at a river presumed to have been discovered by Aguilar in latitude 42° or 43°.

Adverse winds compelled the pilot, Francisco Mourelle, to hold a course well to the seaward. As the ships approached the latitude of Cape Mendocino, the color of the water told the pilot and crews that they were approaching shore. Bodega ordered Mourelle to steer a course toward land. Mourelle reported:

On the ninth [of June] . . . we saw, with greatest clearness, the plains, rocks, bays, headlands, breakers and trees. At the same time we sailed along the coast, and endeavored to find out a port, being at the distance only of a mile, and approaching to a high cape, which seemed to promise shelter, though we were obliged to proceed cautiously, as many small islands concealed from us some rocks, which scarcely appeared above the surface of the sea.

As we now perceived a land-locked harbor to the SW., we determined to enter it. The schooner cast anchor opposite a little village, which was situated at the bottom of a mountain.

As soon as we had anchored, some Indians in canoes came on board, who, without the least shyness, traded some skins for bugles.

On the 11th we had fixed everything with regard to our anchorage, and we determined to take possession of the country, upon the top of a high mountain, which lies at the entrance of the port. The crew marched in two bodies, who adored the holy cross upon disembarking, and when at the top of the mountain formed a square, the center of which became a chapel. Here the holy cross was again raised, the mass celebrated, with a sermon, and possession taken. We also fired both our musquetry and cannon which naturally made the Indians suppose we were irresistible. As we took thus possession on the day when [the] holy mother church celebrates the most holy Trinity, we named the port accordingly.¹²

What they saw of the country, satisfied the Spaniards of its fertility, and its capability of growing all the plants raised in Europe. They found strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, onions, and potatoes. The hillsides were "covered with very large, high, and straight pines, amongst which . . . [were] observed some of 120 feet high, and 4 feet in diameter towards the bottom." These trees, it was observed, would be excellent, for masts and shipbuilding.¹³ These trees were Redwoods.

Sonora remained anchored in Puerto de la Trinidad for nine days, during which the ship was careened, a new mast, sails and yards positioned, the harbor charted, the customs of the Indians observed, and a fresh supply of water taken aboard. A day was spent in reconnoitering either the Little or Mad rivers, to a distance of a league. On this river, the sailors saw "larger timber trees than we had before seen." Sighting a large flock of wild pigeons, the Spaniards named the river, Rio de los Tortolos.¹⁴

One sailor was lost by desertion, and on June 19 the sailors re-embarked and left the port of Trinidad. The ships beat a course to the northward. Heceta in *Santiago* kept on to latitude 49°, where on August 11 he resolved to return to his base,

12. Francisco Antonio Mourelle, *Journal of Voyage in 1775, to Explore the Coast of America Northwest of California . . .* (London, 1780), pp. 13-23.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*; Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, pp. 13-23

as many of his crew had been felled with scurvy. He held a course offshore and made observations down to 42° 30', but then the weather changed and the coast was fogbound. Cape Mendocino was passed on the night of the 25th, and four days later *Santiago* dropped anchor in Monterey Bay.

The schooner *Sonora*, after parting from *Santiago*, continued up the coast to about 58°, before she turned back. On October 7 she rendezvoused with *Santiago*. The return voyage from Monterey to San Blas took 20 days, from November 1 to 20, 1775.¹⁵

G. FATHER SERRA'S PLANS

Father Junipero Serra, president of the California missions, was understandably excited by the discovery of Trinidad Bay. He was anxious that the Spanish secure the area by making settlements and founding missions among the Indians. The Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio Bucareli, was emboldened by Father Serra's enthusiasm, and he declared his willingness to cooperate with the Franciscans by detailing the necessary troops, as soon as he could be assured that the missions would be self-sustaining. Before Father Serra could implement his plan, Bucareli's death deprived him of his powerful ally, and he was compelled to abandon the project.¹⁶

H. GEORGE VANCOUVER SAILS the PACIFIC

The first British navigator to cruise the Humboldt Coast in 200 years was George Vancouver. He was on a "grand exploring voyage round the world." In April 1792 Vancouver, having sailed eastward from the Sandwich Islands, touched the California coast south of Cape Mendocino. He then ran up the coast, holding a course about two leagues offshore. The Britisher observed that

the shores became strait and compact, not affording the smallest shelter; and although rising gradually from the water's edge to a moderate height only, yet the distant

15. Bancroft, *The Works of Bancroft*, 18, 242-243.

16. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, p. 25; Francisco Palou, *Relacion Historica de la Vida y Apostolicas Tareas de Venerable Padre Fray Junipero Serra* (Mexico City, 1787), pp. 170-172.

interior country was composed of mountains of great elevations; before which were presented a great variety of hills and dales, agreeably interspersed with woodlands and clear spots [Bald Hills], as if in a state of cultivation; but we could discern neither houses, huts, smokes, nor other signs of its being inhabited.

The coast was observed as far north as Rocky Point, probably Trinidad Head.¹⁷

In November, Vancouver again navigated the Humboldt Coast as he returned from Nootka Sound. No stops were made until the 14th, when *Discovery* entered San Francisco Bay and anchored off Yerba Buena. Following the arrival of *Chatham*, Vancouver proceeded to Monterey with his little fleet, where he remained for 50 days. On January 15, 1793, the British sailed for the Sandwich Islands.¹⁸

After refitting his ships, Vancouver again touched the shores of Alta California, or New Albion as he preferred to call it, in the spring of 1793. He again approached the continent near the "promontories of Cape Mendocino." The weather was foggy, and the explorers were unable to study the coast until they reached the latitude of Puerto de la Trinidad. Entering the bay, the ships anchored for three days, while fuel and water were taken aboard. Simultaneously, a chart of the harbor was prepared, and a patrol climbed the headland and found the cross erected by the Heceta-Bodega Expedition, 23 years before.

Vancouver put to sea on May 5, "without the least regret at quitting a station that I considered as a very unprotected and unsafe roadstead for shipping."¹⁹

17. George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World; in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794 and 1795* (London, 1795), 2, 200, 245. Vancouver had two ships--*Discovery* and *Chatham*.

18. Bancroft, *The Works of Bancroft*, 18, 510-513.

19. *Ibid.*, 2, 239-249.

I. AMERICAN SHIP CAPTAINS VISIT the AREA1. Captain William Shaler

The first American ship to land on the Humboldt Coast was *Lelia Byrd*, Capt. William Shaler master. She had sailed from Canton in February 1804 and arrived off the mouth of Columbia River on May 1. Unable to cross the bar, Shaler took his ship down the coast in search of a bay which could be entered. *Lelia Byrd* accordingly anchored in Trinidad Bay on the 11th. Steps were taken to secure water and fuel, while the ship's carpenter was sent ashore in search of spars. These were found in great numbers, and a large spruce was cut for a foremast. A trade with the Indians was commenced, but they soon became more numerous and trouble threatened. The distribution of gifts eased the situation. The arrival of additional Indians alarmed the Americans, and armed guards were posted to protect those detailed to shore duty. By May 18 the water casks had been filled, the spars positioned, and the ship weighed anchor.²⁰

2. Captain Jonathan Winship

In 1805 another American ship, *O'Cain*, visited the Humboldt Coast. Capt. Jonathan Winship in that year left Boston, took his vessel around Cape Horn, and on to the Sandwich Islands. From there he plotted a course to New Archangel, where he contacted Alexander Baranof of the Russian-American Company. Baranof agreed to furnish Winship a number of his Aleut Indians with their *bidarkas* to go to Alta California to hunt sea otter. The profits would be divided between Winship and the Russian-American Company.

O'Cain reached the Humboldt Coast in June, and on the 10th she anchored north of Trinidad Bay. A party led by Winship went ashore and found a sound which they named "Washington Inlet," today's Big Lagoon. A large number of Indians were camped upon its shores, while sea otter and seal were numerous. The next day, *O'Cain* hoisted her anchor and beat her way down the coast and entered Trinidad Bay. A vigorous trade with the Indians was inaugurated, the natives having a large surplus of fur. After about a week, the Indians, their number having increased to about 200, began to grow hostile. Trading was then conducted on the beach, under cover of *O'Cain's* guns. On June 22, rather than chance a fight, Captain Winship determined to abandon the

20. William Shaler, "Journal of a Voyage Between China and the Northwest Coast."

area. *O'Cain* accordingly put to sea, after first filling her water casks and laying in a good supply of fish.²¹

Winship returned to the Humboldt Coast in 1806, where he entered and charted Humboldt Bay. The Indians, having learned of the troubles of the previous year, were hostile to the Americans and their confederates--the Aleut hunters.²²

During the next several years, the Humboldt Coast was visited by other vessels engaged in the sea otter trade. *O'Cain*, herself, was on the coast again in 1809, 1810, and 1811, and other ships are known to have operated in the area. The crew of *O'Cain* in 1809 secured 2,782 sea otter pelts. No conclusive evidence has been found that any vessel anchored in Humboldt Bay from Winship's visit in 1806 until its rediscovery by the Americans in 1850.²³

J. THE RUSSIANS OFF the HUMBOLDT COAST

The Russians, in the years 1803-1805, had reconnoitered the Humboldt Coast. In 1805-1806 Nikolai Resanov, the Russian Imperial Chamberlain, visited New Archangel and the California coast. This led the Tsar's government to adopt a twofold course of action. On one hand steps were taken to develop trade with the Spanish settlements in California, and on the other an expedition would be fitted out to establish a Russian settlement, which could serve as a base of supplies for their Alaskan bases. A trusted official of the Russian-American Company, Ivan Kuskov, accordingly outfitted a ship. While the purpose of the expedition was said to be the hunting of sea otter, Kuskov was to pinpoint a site for the projected settlement. Sailing from New Archangel, in October 1808, Kuskov took his vessel down the coast, making his first landing on Trinidad Bay.

The Russians found the sea otter population decimated and the Indian villages deserted. Unimpressed with the area, Kuskov continued southward and anchored in Bodega Bay. For a number of years,

21. "Solid Men of Boston in the Northwest," MS, Bancroft Collection.

22. Davidson, "Discovery of Humboldt Bay," found in *Humboldt Times*, Feb. 23, 1898.

23. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, p. 29.

the Russians occupied Fort Ross and Bodega Bay, but the Humboldt Coast appears to have held no attraction. There is no record of any Russian visits to that region, after Kuskov's voyage in the vessel *Kodiak*.²⁴

K. THE SCHOONER COLUMBIA in TRINIDAD BAY

In 1817 the British schooner *Columbia* anchored in Trinidad Bay. On doing so, the sailors found the bay full of high rocks, which served as roosting places for thousands of birds. The Indians had returned to their villages, and hardly had the anchors been dropped before the vessel was surrounded by canoes. As a precautionary measure, boarding nets were triced up, all ports except one closed, and the canoes were swept to the starboard beam. Trading was then commenced, the British receiving a few furs in exchange for "pieces of iron-hoop, cut to six-inch lengths." The Indians also brought aboard "plenty of red deer and berries."

In the afternoon, several women made their appearance, and despite offers of blankets and axes, refused to come aboard. It was apparent to the British that the Indians had not "had much communications with Europeans, as they did not know the use of firearms; nor have they any iron among them." Their daggers were made of stone, and they were "clothed in dressed leather apparel, prettily ornamented with shells." The women wore a "finely dressed leather petticoat," which reached halfway down the leg, and "a square garment of the same thrown loosely over the shoulders." Their tongues and chins were tattooed.

Ashore the British found the cross erected by Bodega 37 years before. After having purchased all the pelts the Indians had for sale, the anchors were weighed on July 24. *Columbia* experienced considerable difficulty in beating her way out to sea. The crew was glad to leave the area, because the Indians were the most savage tribe on the coast.²⁵

24. W. W. Elliott, *History of Humboldt County California . . . Including Biographical Sketches* (San Francisco, 1881), p. 36.

25. Peter Corney, *Voyages in the Northern Pacific . . .* (Honolulu, 1896), pp. 78-81.

L. COMMENTS and RECOMMENDATIONS

Included within the Redwood National Park are miles of magnificent seacoast. This seacoast with its rocks, cliffs, beaches, driftwood, and surf constitutes a tremendously valuable resource. The Service must take advantage of this resource to interpret for the enjoyment of the visitor the early voyages of daring navigators and explorers to the Humboldt Coast, and the initial contact of Caucasians with the Indians of today's Del Norte and Humboldt counties. This interesting and vital story can be told at the Visitor Center, at field interpretive stations overlooking the Pacific Ocean, or in both areas.

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III. THE HINTERLAND IS PENETRATED

A. JED SMITH PENETRATES the REDWOODS

1. General Background to Smith's Visit

With the decline in the trade in sea otter pelts, the Russian-American Company curtailed its operations along the Humboldt Coast. It was replaced by British and American trappers, who generally operated in the interior valleys, but occasionally transient parties found their way to the coastal region. The first of these parties to penetrate the area was led by the well-known Mountain Man, Jedediah Smith.

Born on January 6, 1799, in Jericho, New York, Smith first ascended the Missouri as a member of the Missouri Fur Company led by William H. Ashley and Andrew Henry in the spring of 1822. Smith, because of his leadership and intelligence, was placed by Ashley in charge of the company which in 1823 marched from Fort Kiowa on the Missouri across the Bighorns to Wind River. In March 1824 he "made the effective discovery of South Pass," gateway to the American West. (The pass had been traversed a dozen years before by Robert Stuart, but the discovery had not been exploited.) After a year as Ashley's partner, Smith in 1826 formed a new partnership with David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette. Soon thereafter, he led to southern California the first expedition to reach that area from the Great Salt Lake Country. The next year, 1827, Smith became the first man to cross the Sierra Nevada and traverse the Great Basin from west to east. Smith and his company soon returned to California.

2. Smith and His Company Cross the Mountains and Descend Trinity

In the late winter of 1828 Jed Smith, who had spent the winter trapping in the High Sierras, determined to return East, via a northern route. When the company left San José Mission, it numbered 20. The first week in April found the trappers traveling up the east side of the Sacramento, with almost 300 horses and mules. The party was approaching the head of the Sacramento Valley. Although the Sierras appeared lower, with less snow on their slopes, the mighty range still presented a seemingly impassable barrier.

On April 10, 1828, the party forded the Sacramento just above the future site of Red Bluff. Off to the northwest there was a gap in the Trinity Alps, and on April 13 Smith turned his company in that direction. Traveling was difficult, and on the 15th the

Mountain Men were attacked by Indians. A barrage of arrows was aimed at the remuda. Jedediah Smith did not panic, and at his command his men took up arms. A dozen warriors were flushed from their places of concealment. Abandoning a horse and a mule wounded in the ambush, the trappers pushed on. The Indians followed, whooping from the high points, and as the trail was difficult, this harassment galled the Mountain Men.

After encamping on the 16th, Smith and several of his people tried to approach the redmen. Employing signs, they sought to satisfy the Indians as to their peaceable intentions. "But they had their bows strung," Smith recalled, "and their arrows in their hands, and by the violence of their gestures, their constant yelling and their refusal to come to me, left no doubt on my mind of their inclination to be hostile."

To intimidate them and prevent them from doing him further injury, Smith fired on them. "One fell at once, and another shortly after, and the Indians ran off, leaving some of their property on the ground."¹

The next day, April 17, the company got its pack train across the divide to the Hay Fork of Trinity River. Smith led his men down that stream. The trail was difficult, as it wound among steep hills, and the Indians were unfriendly. Once again, Smith went out with one of his men, Arthur Black, to parley. Seeing that the Indians were ready to receive them with arrows, Jedediah called for Black to shoot. After the whites had killed two of the braves, the Indians let them go in peace.

Smith and his trappers continued to press on, forcing their way down the Hay Fork and then the South Fork of the Trinity. The trip would have been bad enough had Jedediah possessed only pack animals, but the 300 head of half-wild horses and mules compounded the difficulties. Whenever a narrow defile was passed, the animals would attempt to charge through in a squirming mass. To advance one mile might require a day's labor on the part of the entire company, and the stock would be unfit for travel for several days. Where possible, the trappers advanced along the river bank, but often they had to detour up over rock, steep ridges, then down through the thickets and deep ravines. Though it was late April, the company at times had to fight its way through snow drifts, three to four feet deep.²

1. Dale L. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith: And the Opening of the West* (Indianapolis, 1953), pp. 260-261; Maurice S. Sullivan, *Jedediah Smith: Trader and Trail Breaker* (New York, 1936), pp. 166-167.

2. Sullivan, *Trader and Trail Breaker*, p. 168. The horses and mules

Smith, impressed by the size of the river followed, determined to name it after himself. Smith's River the Trinity became on the maps until Jedediah was forgotten in the pathfinding rush of the 1850s and '60s.³

As they struggled down the Trinity, the trappers observed a change in the appearance of the Indians. No longer were they the shorthaired type characteristic of the Sacramento Valley. The Indians of the Coast Range wore their hair long and were clad in deerskins. Their small lodges were ten or 12 feet square, three feet in height, had peaked roofs, and were built of split planks. They had axes, a sure sign that Smith and his people were approaching Hudson's Bay Company territory. These Indians were Hupas, a people whose language was a *lingua franca* for most of the northern California tribes.

The party pressed on down the Trinity to the Klamath. Some Indians now visited camp. They were light-colored, small, talkative, and afraid of the horses. Jedediah exchanged trade goods for the Indians' fish. He was unsuccessful when he endeavored to use sign language to ascertain the character of the country.

3. The Trappers Attempt to Cross the Bald Hills

Two men sent to reconnoiter to the west returned with news that the Pacific Ocean was not more than 20 miles away. Smith determined that as traveling along the river was "so bad to turn towards the coast." The party, however, was in poor physical condition. It was a day before the men had recovered their strength, and the three miles made on May 18 taxed their energy to the limit. The men were almost as weak as the animals, as "the poor venison of this country contained little nourishment." The weather was rainy and cloudy and "so thick with fogg" that it was difficult to keep track of the horses.

On May 19 a six-mile advance was made along a ridge covered with spruce, fir, and redwood--the latter the noblest trees the widely traveled Smith had ever seen. That night the company camped in sight of the Pacific. Harrison Rogers and Thomas Virgin were sent ahead to pinpoint a route to the ocean. They returned with a report that approaching the coast the hills were heavily timbered, choked with underbrush, and rose abruptly from a rockbound shore. They would have to retrace their route.

had been purchased in California, and Smith planned to drive them to Missouri for sale at a handsome profit.

3. Sullivan, *Trader and Trail Breaker*, p. 168.

Jedediah Smith rode out to see for himself, as Rogers prayed:

Oh! God, may it please thee in thy divine providence to still guide and protect us through this wilderness of doubt and fear, as thou hast done heretofore, and be with us in the hour of danger and difficulty; as all praise is due to thee and not to man. Oh! do not forsake us, Lord, but be with us and guide us through.⁴

When the fog lifted, Smith made another attempt to beat his way through to the Pacific but failed. On May 22 the company broke camp, and two days later was back on the Klamath, at the same point it had been on the 18th. With gifts of razors and beads, Smith induced some Yurok to bring their canoes and help the trappers to reach the river's east bank. There was difficulty with the horses and mules, but only one was drowned.

After passing the Klamath (near Kepel). Smith on the 26th moved downstream two miles. Then he struck eastward and gained a high ridge. The trappers were able to follow the ridge for some distance, but once again they had to descend to the river. On May 28 Smith wrote:

In consequence of the hills which came in close and precipitous to the river I was obliged to ascend on to the range of hills and follow along their summits which was vary difficult particularly as a dense fog rendered it almost impossible to select the best route. I encamped where there was vary little grass and near where the Mountain made a rapid descent to the north [,] rough and ragged with rocks. I went to the brink of the hill and when the fog cleared away for a moment I could see the country to the north extremely Mountainous [,] along the shore of the Ocean those Mountains somewhat lower. From all appearances I came to the conclusion that I must move in again towards the coast.⁵

4. Ibid., pp. 169-170; Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, pp. 262-263.

5. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, p. 263.

4. Jedediah Smith in Redwood National Park

Although the Mountain Men were within a few miles of the Pacific, it took them ten days to get there. The fog closed in; it poured rain, turning the bottoms into quagmires and the hillsides into sheets of mud. It was almost impossible to drive the horses and mules. Rogers noted in his journal on June 3:

We made an early start this morning directing our course N.W. up a steep point of Brushy Mou, and Travelled about 2 m. and enc.[amped] in the River Bottom, where there was but little for our horses to eat, all hands working hard to get the horses on, as they have become so worn out, that it is almost impossible to drive [them] through Brush --we have two men, every day that goes ahead with axes, to cut a road, and then it is with difficulty we we can get along.⁶

The next day, the 4th, Jedediah Smith wrote:

North 1 Mile. Whilst the party was preparing I went ahead looking [for] a route . . . and found one passible by the assistance of axe men to clear the way along a side hill. In passing a long [swamp] my horses were so much fatigued that they would not drive well and many of them turned down into the swamp [of Hunter Creek] from which we extricated the most of [them] with considerable difficulty. Where I encamped there was no grass for my horses. I was therefore obliged to build a pen for them to keep them from rolling off.⁷

On June 5 the company made an early start, Captain Smith sending men ahead to cut a road to where there was "a small bottom of grass" on a creek (Hunter) flowing into the Klamath. The distance traveled was about two miles in a northwest direction. Camp was pitched north of High Prairie Creek. Two horses and a mule gave out and had to be left. The trappers had been without meat since the morning of the 4th, while the men, during

6. Ibid., pp. 263-264. Camp on June 3 was made on Hoppaw Creek, one-half mile east of the site of the Douglas Memorial Bridge.

7. Ibid., p. 264. Smith's camp on June 4 was near where Mynot Creek discharged into Hunter Creek.

the past 48 hours, had been subsisted on one-half pint of flour per man, plus their last dog.⁸

At this point the exhausted and half-starved men and animals rested until June 8. Parties of hunters were sent to shoot game, but, although they saw plenty of elk and bear signs, they made no kills. On the 6th, eight Yurok visited the camp and brought with them a few lampreys and some raspberries, which Smith purchased of them for beads. To supplement the company's diet, a horse was also killed. The next day, the 7th, about a score of Yurok visited camp with "berrys, mussels and lamprey eels for sale." Once again, Smith was able to purchase the food with beads. On leaving camp, one of the red-men stole a small kitten belonging to one of the Mountain Men. One of the party recalled that the Indians "came without arms and appear friendly but inclined to steal."⁹

On the 8th the company broke up its camp on High Prairie Creek, and, moving to the northwest about three and one-half miles, reached the ocean at False Klamath Cove. Here, where there was a small grass-covered bottom to pasture the livestock, a camp was established. Rogers reported that the traveling was "ruff; as we had several thickets to go through; it made it bad on account of driving horses, as they can scarce be forced through brush any more." On the beach nearby was the Yurok village of O`men. From the Indians, the hungry Mountain Men got a few clams and some dried fish.¹⁰

"We were weary and very hungry," Captain Smith wrote, and the Yurok also brought with them, in addition to the dried fish and clams,

seagrass mixed with weeds and a few muscels. They were great speculators and never sold their things without dividing them into several small parcels [,] asking more for each than the whole were worth. They also brought us some Blubber not bad tasted but deer as gold dust. But all these things served but to

8. *The Quest for Qual-a-wa-loo* [Humboldt Bay], ed., Oscar Lewis (San Francisco, 1943), p. 53; Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, p. 264.

9. *The Quest for Qual-a-wa-loo*, pp. 53-54.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55; Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, pp. 264.

aggravate our hunger and having been long accustomed to living on meat and eating it in no moderate quantities nothing else would supply our appetites.¹¹

Captain Smith on June 9, 1828, killed three elk, "thanks to the great Benefactor." The mood of the camp was instantly changed from

the moody silence of hunger to the busy bustle of preparation for cooking and feasting. Men could be seen in ev'ry part of the camp with raw meat and half roasted in their hands devouring it with the greatest alacrity [,] while from their preparations and remarks you would suppose that nothing less than twenty-four hours constant eating would satisfy their appetites.¹²

The company remained in camp on the 10th, making salt and cutting and drying meat. An extra day's rest, where there was good grass and clover, benefited the horses. Indians again visited the camp with berries, but their market value had suffered a marked decline.¹³

Camp was broken on June 11, the Mountain Men directing their course to the northwest "up a steep point of mou. along the sea coast." After traveling about two miles, they again entered the redwood. "The travelling very bad on account of brush and fallen timber." Camp was pitched at a spring, on the ridge separating the headwaters of Damnation and Wilson Creeks, probably in Section 19, Township 15 North, Range 1 East.¹⁴

Traveling was bad and progress slow on the 12th. Camp was made on a mountain on the headwaters of Nickel Creek. Another early start was made the next day. Bearing to the northwest for about two miles, the party debouched from the redwoods and struck the beach. They went into camp for the night at Nec-Kah, an Indian village near the mouth of Cushing Creek. When he

11. *The Travels of Jedediah Smith . . .*, edited by Maurice S. Sullivan (Santa Ana, 1934), pp. 97-98.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

13. *The Quest for Qual-a-wa-loo*, pp. 55-56.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 56. The ridge followed by the company on the 11th was to the east of, and parallel to, U.S. 101.

made his entry in his journal for the 13th , Rogers reported:

Plenty of grass on the mountain for our horses, but very steep for them to climb after it. The travelling very mountainous; same brush as yesterday. Two mules left today that give out and could not travel; one young horse fell down a point of mou., and killed himself.¹⁵

5. Jed Smith Skirts Lake Earl and Crosses Smith River

On June 14 the company pushed up the beach until they struck a "low neck of land running into the sea where there was plenty of clover and grass for our horses" and camped. The trappers, during the day's march, had been compelled to take to the sea for several hundred yards at a time, "the swells some times would be as high as the horses backs." The company remained on the south bank of Elk Creek on the 15th, while several hunters went out. One of them killed a buck elk, "weighing 695 lbs., neat weight." A number of Tolowa came in, bringing fish, clams, strawberries, and camas roots, which were purchased.¹⁶

The company rode out early on the 16th. Striking to the north-northwest, they crossed a neck of land skirting the ocean. Considerable difficulty was encountered in getting the horses across Elk Creek, and they were compelled "to make a pen on the bank to force them across." The Mountain Men on the 16th camped on the wooded flats south of Lake Earl. Skirting the eastern margin of Lake Earl, the trappers camped three nights in Section 27, between the lake and Kings Valley. On June 20 the company struck eastward, crossed Howland Hill, and Jed Smith saw the river destined in later years to bear his name. After crossing the river, the company camped on its east bank. June 21 found the Mountain Men ascending the ridge separating the watersheds of Smith River and Myrtle Creek. The night was spent on a ridge overlooking the headwaters of Little Mill and Myrtle Creeks. Instead of pushing on to High Divide, Smith on the 22d, led his men westward out of the mountains, halting for the night near where Morrison Creek flows into Smith River. The little company on the 23d, unknowingly entered the Oregon Country, pitching camp on Windchuck Creek.

15. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

16. Ibid., pp. 57-58. The camp site of June 14-15 was on Elk Creek, one-fourth mile west of the junction of U.S.101 and the Elk Valley road.

As they rode northward up the Oregon coast, the Mountain Men advanced along the shore where possible, though a rocky bluff often forced them inland. To ford the numerous water-courses, Smith had to wait for ebb tide. Although less laborious than the passage through the mountains, progress was slow. The 12 miles made on June 25, Jedediah called the best march for a long time.

By the evening of July 13, the company had reached the Umpqua River. The next morning, as the men were cooking breakfast, they were attacked by 100 or more Indians. Within a few minutes, all the party except Jedediah Smith, Arthur Black, and John Turner were dead. Turner succeeded in escaping after killing four of his assailants. Fortunately for Smith, Turner in his flight accidentally encountered him as he was returning from a reconnaissance. He told Smith of the massacre. Supposing that only they had escaped, they started for the Willamette Valley. Meanwhile, Black, a man of great physical strength, had fought off three Indians who attempted to pull him down, and fled. The three survivors, after wandering through the mountains, existing on roots and berries, finally reached Fort Vancouver.

Thus the lives of 15 of the 18 whites that first penetrated the Redwood Empire of today's Del Norte and Humboldt Counties were snuffed out. Smith, through the kindness of the Hudson's Bay Company, succeeded in recovering a part of the furs stolen from his party by the Indians. But Dr. John McLoughlin extracted a promise from Smith that he and his partners of the Missouri Fur Company would hereafter avoid the Oregon Country.¹⁷

Smith in 1829 and 1830 operated in what is today Montana and Wyoming. In the latter year he and his partners, Jackson and Sublette, sold out to the newly organized Rocky Mountain Fur Co., transporting their furs to St. Louis in the first wagons brought to the northern Rockies. On May 27, 1831, Smith was killed by Comanche on the Cimarron River, while en route to Santa Fe. Thus died a great explorer of the American West who deserves to rank with Lewis and Clark.

17. Ibid., pp. 61-72; Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, pp. 264-279.

B. TRADERS from the HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ENTER the AREA

Alerted to the American encroachments by the attack on Smith's party, the Hudson's Bay Company took steps to secure the Indian trade of northern California.

In the period between the Smith expedition and 1833, two other groups are reported to have followed the route pioneered in 1828. Alexander R. McLoud, an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, in late 1828 entered the Sacramento Valley. After trapping the streams of the upper Sacramento, McLoud returned to Fort Vancouver through the Shasta Mountains. At the same time, a second party of Hudson's Bay people led by Peter Skene Ogden had moved down the east front of the Sierras to pinpoint Smith's trail to California and thus shortstop any American trappers who might be planning to tap the California trade, via this route.

Ogden passed through the mountains in the autumn of 1828, and spent several months trapping in the San Joaquin Valley. When Ogden and his people returned to Fort Vancouver, one report has them passing up the coast by "the route Smith had formerly traveled." This is contradicted by others, one of whom wrote, "he left the Valley upon the trail made by McLoud," which was through the Shasta Mountains.

There are also reports that another trapper, Michel La Frambois, who entered the valley in 1832, returned "over the usual route along the coast."¹⁸

C. EWING YOUNG on the HUMBOLDT COAST

Ewing Young was an important figure in the fur trade in the southwest during the period 1817-1829. In 1829-1830 Young led his first expedition to California. While on the San Joaquin, Young's company contacted Ogden's Hudson's Bay trappers. The two groups trapped together for several months, before Ogden's returned to Fort Vancouver. On this expedition, Young probably did not venture farther north than the Mission of San José, where he entered into agreement with J. B. Cooper. By this contract,

18. J. J. Warner, *Reminiscences of Early California*, MS, Bancroft Collection, pp. 29-33, 47-49; Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, pp. 32-33. *The Quest for Qual-a-wa-woo*, pp. 82-83.

Young was to return, after a hunt on the Colorado, and sell his furs to Cooper and with the proceeds purchase mules. Soon thereafter, there was a drunken brawl at Los Angeles in which a man was killed, and Young was compelled to flee the area. In April 1831 he was back in Taos.

In October of that year, Young left Taos for California, at the head of a company of trappers. The autumn of 1832 found Young's party hunting beaver on the San Joaquin. A few miles below the mouth of American Fork, they encountered a large company of Hudson's Bay trappers under La Frambois. These people had been trapping the area since the spring, so Young pushed up the Sacramento Valley, until he came to the mouth of Feather River. Skirting the southern and western shore of Clear Lake, the company crossed the Coast Range and struck the Pacific, 75 miles above Fort Ross.

Young now led his people up the coast, searching with little success for streams with a large beaver population. Several futile attempts were made to recross the mountains, until a point was reached, a few miles south of today's boundary between Mendocino and Humboldt counties. Here the trappers came out on the Warrior Trail, which they followed in a northwesterly direction, passing through Long Valley, crossing the mountains, and striking Eel River, near where it is joined by Middle Fork. They then crossed the mountains to Round Valley, and from there went over the mountains to the west side of the Sacramento Valley. They then turned into Smith's trail, near today's town of Tehama. The trappers followed the route pioneered by Smith into Oregon as far as Rogue River.¹⁹ They then struck eastward to Klamath Lake, turned southward, and re-entered California by way of the Sacramento Valley.²⁰

In the years between 1833 and the cession of California to the United States by Mexico in 1848, the Humboldt Coast was undoubtedly visited by other trappers. Eugene Duflot de Mofras, who visited California and Oregon in early 1840s, reported that the region north of Fort Ross was inhabited by Indians, "but traversed at times by the French-Canadians or American expeditions." In his atlas he shows two routes of travel--one via the Sacramento Valley and the other along the coast.²¹

19. *The Quest for Qual-a-wa-loo*, pp. 75-79.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Eugene D. de Mofras, *Exploration du Territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies et de la mer Vermeille, executee pendant les annees, 1840, 1841 et 1842*, 2 vols. with atlas (Paris, 1844), 2, 35.

A Hudson's Bay schooner, *Cadborough*, commanded by Captain Brothie in 1836 had carefully reconnoitered the mouth of the Klamath.²²

D. JOSIAH GREGG REACHES the COAST, via REDWOOD CREEK

The Trinity River was rediscovered by Maj. Pierson B. Redding in 1845, while he was trapping in that area. He called it the Trinity because he believed it discharged into Trinidad Bay. Three years later, after California had been ceded to the United States by Mexico, gold was found on the headwaters of the Trinity by Major Redding. As a result of two days' prospecting, Redding and his party found the river bars to be "rich in gold." These bars were worked with the aid of Indian labor. It was not long before news of the strike on the Trinity began to divert to this region, the "emigrants" who were flooding into California over the northern trails. By 1849 the population of the Trinity River district had "passed all bounds, with the result that when the rains caused the suspension of operations in the river beds, it seemed probable that the supply of provisions would prove inadequate to carry the men through the winter." It became imperative that somewhere on the north coast a harbor be found which could serve as a base of supplies for the district.²³

Dr. Josiah Gregg (scientist, traveler, and author) was one of those drawn to the Trinity diggings by the discovery of gold. He was a man somewhat above the level of the average gold seeker. He was ready to do scientific work if there were an opportunity. Men were attracted to him, and he became involved in organizing a party to reconnoiter the region west of the Trinity.

In the first week of November 1849, Gregg with seven men rode out with the goal of exploring the Coast Range to the west, and thereby opening a trail to the Pacific. As the Indians said it was only an eight-day journey, ten days' rations were carried. The Gregg party was doomed to disappointment, as it was four weeks before they heard the roar of the surf. The average number of miles logged daily, as the party felt its way through the Coast Range, was a meager seven miles.

22. *Ibid.*, 2, 38-39.

23. Elliott, *History of Humboldt County*, p. 3.

After entering the redwoods, they were barely able to make two miles per day. The slowness of the travel in the redwoods was due to fallen trees and thickets of huckleberry, salmonberry, and salal brush, intermingled with ferns. After crossing Elk Prairie the party continued northward through the redwood. Dr. Gregg, on shooting the sun, now determined that they were north of their goal--the Bay of Trinidad. Descending off the Bald Hills, the explorers forded Redwood Creek (perhaps via the trail crossing at The Tall Trees), and ascended the ridge separating the watersheds of Bridge and Devils Creeks. Beating their way southwestward, they rounded the ridge at the head of Maple Creek and turned to the west.

The redwoods had become more dense and difficult to penetrate. Dr. Gregg frequently expressed a desire to measure the circumference of some of these giants. He occasionally called on some of the men to help him. "Not being in the most amiable state of mind and feeling at this time and having neither ambition to gratify him nor desire to enlighten the curious world," one of the men recalled, "we not infrequently answered his calls with shameful abuse." Gregg's obstinacy paid off, however, on several occasions. One redwood was measured whose diameter was 22 feet, while it was not unusual to find trees reaching a height of 300 feet.²⁴

The account of the wanderings of the Gregg party are not as detailed as those found in the Smith and Rogers journals. We must therefore make certain assumptions as to the route. After leaving the Klamath, Gregg would have scaled the Bald Hills. As there are a number of almost continuous prairies on the crest of these hills, the Gregg party would have ridden toward the northwest, to take advantage of the easier traveling and to avoid the redwoods. The most northerly of these prairies is at Elk Camp. This prairie is also well to the north of the latitude of Trinidad Head, and here Gregg probably took his bearings, because if he continued up the Bald Hills his party would have to fight its way through the giant trees and underbrush.

Gregg and his companions would have then turned to the south and crossed Redwood Creek. We know that in the summer of 1850 a trail had been opened from Trinidad to the gold diggings, and that it crossed Redwood Creek at The Tall Trees. We may assume that the whites, when they opened this trail, took advantage of a trail used

24. *Quest for Qual-a-wa-loo*, pp. 113-128; Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, pp. 37-40.

by the Chilula. Gregg and his people would certainly have done likewise. After fording Redwood Creek, the explorers would have fought their way up the range separating the water sheds of Bridge and Redwood creeks, skirted the headwaters of Maple Creek, and reached the Pacific via the Maple Creek-Little River Divide.

On December 13, 1849, Gregg's party descended the ridge separating the watersheds of Little River and Maple Creek. Here they found plenty of grass for their starving animals. From their camp at the mouth of Little River, the explorers pushed northward about 11 miles, "when a small lake (Big Lagoon) arrested" their progress. Learning that the only way they could pass the lagoon was to re-enter the redwoods, the party turned southward, resolving to follow the coast to San Francisco, if such a course was possible. Traveling south about eight miles, they climbed Trinidad Head, which they called Gregg's Point.²⁵

Riding down the coast, Gregg and his companions on the evening of December 20 camped on Humboldt Bay. They then proceeded on to the Sonoma County settlements. Dr. Gregg, however, failed to reach civilization, as he died in the vicinity of Clear Lake, where, to borrow his own expression, he was "buried according to the custom of the prairies."²⁶

E. COMMENTS and RECOMMENDATIONS

The story of Jedidiah Smith and Josiah Gregg and their men should have an important role in the interpretation of man and the Redwoods. Jed Smith, explorer and Mountain Man, spent almost two weeks in June 1828 in the area of today's Redwood National Park. While there, he and his men drove a herd of horses and mules through the beautiful and rugged section of the Park, from False Klamath Cove in the south to the approaches to Crescent City in the north. They then skirted the Park, as they rode north and then east, forded Smith River, and ascended the ridge leading toward High Divide. The snail-like progress made by Smith's company, along with the shortage of game, illustrates the difficulties man encountered in penetrating the Redwoods. That they were successful shows the caliber of these men.

25. *Quest for Qual-a-wa-loo*, pp. 130-133.

26. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, pp. 41-44.

Smith's route is known, along with the approximate location of his camp sites, and these have been located on the Historical Base Map. The Smith story is one that should be interpreted at the sites, where the Visitor can see and appreciate the difficulties involved.

Josiah Gregg and his party likewise found the Redwood Creek area difficult. Gregg is also of interest, because he made the first recorded effort to measure the giant redwoods of Humboldt County. Perhaps the giants measured were on Redwood Creek, near The Tall Trees. Like Smith, Gregg should be interpreted on site. As he forded Redwood Creek, near The Tall Trees, perhaps the Service should take advantage of this to tell his story there.

Adequate exhibits space in the Visitor Center should also be allotted to the Jed Smith and Gregg stories.

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IV. THE HUMBOLDT COAST ATTRACTS THOUSANDS OF ADVENTURERS

A. THE VOYAGE of CAMEO

1. The First Voyage of Cameo

Even while Josiah Gregg and his companions were fighting their way across the Coast Range and through the redwoods, another expedition from the Trinity mines was endeavoring to reach the same goal, via the Pacific Ocean. These miners left the diggings in November 1849, crossed over to the Sacramento Valley, and traveling via Sutter's Mill reached San Francisco. There they chartered a brig, *Cameo*, and on December 9 sailed through the Golden Gate and up the coast. This attempt failed. Soon after the vessel returned to San Francisco with a report that Trinidad Bay was a myth, the survivors of the Gregg party arrived with news of their discovery.¹

2. The Second Voyage of Cameo

The San Francisco newspapers played up the bay's rediscovery and interest in the Humboldt Coast soared. In early February 1850 two vessels sailed from San Francisco in an unsuccessful effort to pinpoint from the sea the elusive bay. In the San Francisco *Alta California* for February 22 appeared this advertisement:

For Trinidad Bay . . . New Gold Diggins . . . The Brig *Cameo* will be dispatched on or about the 27th inst. for Trinity Bay. For particulars of freight or passengers, apply to A. J. Cost, head of Central Wharf, 2nd door from Montgomery Street.²

Cameo in March resumed the search, to be followed within the month by 11 other vessels. After a trying cruise up the coast, the brig hove to on March 16 near Trinidad Head, where she put ashore a four-man landing party. Because of foul weather she was compelled to beat her way up the coast, without those on board knowing that those put ashore had located Trinidad Bay. On rounding a point, the shore party sighted the bay, and near

1. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, p. 44; *Quest for Qual-a-wa-loo*, pp. 159-160.

2. *Alta California*, Feb. 22, 1850.

the headland they found an inscription carved into a tree:

Latitude 41 degrees 3 minutes 32 seconds
Barometer 29 degrees 86 minutes
Thermometer Fah. 48 degrees at 12 noon
December 7, 1849.

J. Gregg

This inscription confirmed the story told by the overland party on their arrival in San Francisco.³

Meanwhile, *Cameo* had continued to beat her way up the coast, as far as Point St. George. Ten men were landed at Rocky Point, and the brig returned to San Francisco.

B. THE REDISCOVERY of the KLAMATH

While *Cameo* stood by, the ten adventures separated into two equal squads, one under Herman Ehrenburg and the other led by Eugene du Bertrand. Both parties would try to reach the mouth of the Klamath, Ehrenburg's by land and Bertrand's by sea in the small boat. Ehrenburg and his people, at noon on April 10, climbed a ridge from where they sighted "a magnificent stream, three quarters of a mile wide, studded with islands, which, as well as the banks and mountains, were clothed in luxuriant foliage." Breakers at the mouth indicated the presence of a bar, but a patch of smooth water showed the location of a pass, 300 yards across. Hundreds of Yurok had gathered at the mouth of the Klamath to net and spear salmon and seal. "They played or caught fish, while the sea lions roared out in the breakers." On the banks were numerous huts, while swift canoes glided over the water.

The appearance of the whites caused the Yurok to take up arms. While the Indians and whites sought to converse, a number of squaws and children emerged from hiding places in the brush. Ehrenburg and his companions made presents of beads and trinkets to the newcomers. This served to pacify the Yurok, and they were induced to ferry the whites across the Klamath. On landing on the south bank, the explorers proceeded to take up claims upon the "site of the new seaport, each calling the other to witness that he laid claim to a

3. Frances T. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country* (Berkeley, 1950), pp. 12-13.

tract of one hundred and sixty acres, in accordance with the pre-emption laws of the United States."⁴

They then continued southward along the beach. On the 11th they discovered gold on the beach at Gold Bluffs, but agreed to keep their strike a secret until such time as they could exploit it. On the 13th they reached Trinidad to find the area occupied by whites, instead of Indians.⁵ While *Cameo* was still off Point St. George, another vessel, *California*, had sighted Trinidad Head. She was piloted into the bay by the four men landed from *Cameo* March 16. Not conditioned to living off the country, these men were nearly famished for lack of food. *California* soon returned to San Francisco to report that Trinidad Bay had been found. Other vessels now were fitted out. The most notable of these was the schooner *Laura Virginia*.⁶

C. THE CRUISES of LAURA VIRGINIA

Lt. Douglass Ottinger of the Revenue Marine captained *Laura Virginia* as she passed out the Golden Gate and headed northward. The coast was reconnoitered from Cape Mendocino to Point St. George. Near the latter headland, the lookouts sighted a brig at anchor and a schooner aground. The schooner was the Gloucester fishing boat *Paragon* of 125 tons. She had been purchased by a group of 42 adventurers in March and had sailed from San Francisco.

Captain Marsh had taken his ship in close to the shore as she beat her way toward the Humboldt Coast, while the lookouts kept a sharp watch for a harbor. *Paragon* sailed by Humboldt Bay without sighting it, because the entrance has a northwest slant, and a view into that body of water is cut off by "the overlapping south spit." She now encountered a squall, and she was driven out to sea. *Paragon* then was caught in front of a gale, which drove her back toward the coast. Captain Marsh now ran his vessel close into the point and anchored. That night a storm swept in, and although *Paragon* was anchored in lee of the island, her cables parted and she "plowed

4. John S. Hittell, "The Story of an Unfortunate City," *The Overland Monthly* (San Francisco, 1868), 7, 142. Ehernburg's companions were: J. T. Tyson, William Bullis, A. Heepe, and a Mr. Bunus.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

6. *Alta California*, April 1, 1850; *Quest for Qual-a-wa-loo*, pp. 159-160, 164.

her way to a berth she never left."⁷

No lives were lost in the stranding of *Paragon*, but the crew and passengers spent several uneasy nights ashore, as the *Tolowa* were not "overly friendly, as the occupants of a small boat, which had landed here several days before, had shot and killed an Indian."⁸ To *Paragon* belongs the distinction of being the first identified vessel to be lost on the Humboldt Coast.

Captain Ottinger, on contacting the vessels, learned of the mishap, and that *Cameo* had taken aboard the survivors. He was also told of another disaster. He was informed that Lts. R. Bache and R. Browning, U. S. Navy, and two others had been drowned, when their small boat from *Cameo* had capsized in making a landing through the booming surf. Bache's body had been recovered and buried on the beach. As Ottinger was a friend of the deceased's brother, A. D. Bache, Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey, he led a landing party which removed and reinterred the body on high ground near the beach. A letter was then addressed to the Superintendent, giving him the details of his brother's death.⁹

Ottinger then took *Laura Virginia* down the coast to Humboldt Bay. As the vessel coasted southward, the mouth of the Klamath was reconnoitered. Ottinger reported:

The Klamath is a river of considerable magnitude in latitude 41° 33' with but few little breakers on its bar, and not less than three fathoms, so far as I had an opportunity of sounding. This stream, I have no doubt, can be safely entered by vessels of 50 or 100 tons, and rafts of timber floated to ships outside where the anchorage is good, and the current strong from the river three-quarters mile from the beach.¹⁰

7. Charles A. Murdock. *A Backward Glance at Eighty: Recollections & Comment* (San Francisco, 1921), pp. 36-37; John Daggett, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer," MSS, California State Library. The wreckage of *Paragon* could be seen for many years on the beach near Point St. George, and for many years the roadstead was known as Paragon Bay.

8. Daggett, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer."

9. Elliot, *History of Humboldt County*, p. 97.

10. Ibid.

D. KLAMATH CITY IS ESTABLISHED

Ehrenburg and his companions did not waste much time at Trinidad, but after securing supplies prepared to return to the mouth of the Klamath. Not having heard anything from Bertrand's party and suspecting that it had been lost at sea, Ehrenburg told several others of their discoveries. When they headed north, one group traveled by land and another by boat. The two parties rendezvoused at the mouth of the Klamath on April 16, and three days later they sounded the pass through the bar and found 20 feet of water at ebb tide. Ehrenburg surveyed the individual claims and a city was platted, "making liberal reservations for schoolhouses, public buildings, and public squares." In accordance with the preemption law, gardens were planted, while some of the speculators built log cabins and others put up tents.¹¹

Du Bertrand straggled into Klamath City, as the boomtown was called, on April 24, and told of disaster. His boat had been swamped in effecting a landing near Battery Point, and his comrades, including Lieutenants Bache and Browning, had drowned. The next day, the 25th, John Winchester and a party of men arrived up the beach from Trinidad. In May, several days after *Laura Virginia* had reconnoitered the bar, Capt. L. B. Edwards arrived off the Klamath in the brig *Sierra Nevada*. Aboard were supplies and 20 passengers. Captain Edwards did not bother to sound the pass, but crossed the bar where breakers ran highest. *Sierra Nevada* came over the bar like a race horse, but she lost her deck boat, as there was a high sea. She thus became the first ship of record to enter the Klamath.¹²

On May 15 a party started up the Klamath in three canoes to explore the river. They returned in three days to report the loss of one man by drowning, along with their provisions and arms. They complained that the Indians were hostile and had upset their canoes. A land party was now sent to reconnoiter the river. They found the way very difficult, as the countryside near the mouth of the Klamath was a "dense jumble of rugged hills." It took the trailblazers eight days to reach the mouth of the Trinity, but they were able to make the run downstream in canoes in two days. An expedition was outfitted, sent up the river, and punished the Yurok who had plundered the first party.¹³

11. Hittel, "The Story of an Unfortunate City," *Overland Monthly*, 1, 143.

12. Ibid.; McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 15.

13. Hittell, "The Story of an Unfortunate City," *Overland Monthly*, 1, 143.

The citizens of Klamath City by the end of the summer of 1850 had erected 20 houses, laid out gardens, begun the cultivation of farms, made arrangements to have steamers on the San Francisco-Columbia River run make their town a port of call, secured specifications for a Klamath River steamboat, sent out parties which pinpointed new diggings along the Klamath and Trinity rivers, and had established contact with the camps about Weaverville.¹⁴ So certain of success were Ehrenburg and the other promoters that they had prevailed on *The Pacific Daily News* of San Francisco to announce on October 16, 1850, that Klamath City was on the "only direct and the cheapest route to the Klamath and Salmon river mines." The town as platted was about three miles from the mouth of the Klamath, and 250 miles from San Francisco. At all times, it was reported, the Klamath River afforded "a safe and excellent harbor," and it was navigable by steamers from the city to the mines, 50 to 75 miles upstream. The river abounded in salmon and the valleys with deer and elk, while the forest contained a noble growth of pine and redwood fit for piles.

For the merchant, miner, mechanic, and capitalist, Klamath City presented unsurpassed opportunities. Vessels were now running from San Francisco to the Klamath, and a line of steamboats would soon be plying the route.¹⁵

On January 7, 1851, *The Pacific Daily News* reported, "A fortune will be quickly realized by the first light draught steamboats that are put on the Klamath river." Because of the powerful current, sternwheelers would be necessary.¹⁶ But trouble was at hand. On January 17 a resident of Klamath City reported that *Tarquin* had grounded and had stranded in crossing the bar. Recent storms had thrown up another bar beyond the one screening the north shore. This had constricted the pass into "a long letter S," and it was now only 70 yards wide but very deep. On the 16th the outer bar had begun to wash at a favorable point, and it was hoped that within 72 hours there would again be a good entrance. Vessels, however should continue to be careful in navigating the bar and entering the river.¹⁷

14. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

15. *The Pacific Daily News*, Oct. 16, 1850.

16. *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1851.

17. *Ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1851. Before *Tarquin* broke up in the pounding surf, several Yurok waded out to assist those aboard. The survivors were able to send a line ashore, which the Indians made fast to the

At this time, an additional 20 to 30 houses and stores were under construction, while a prefabricated sheet-iron house had been shipped in and assembled. "Doctor G." had built a large boat capable of transporting at least 4,000 pounds of provisions, with which he planned to make a run up to the diggings on the Salmon River.¹⁸

The boom town now received a fatal blow. Although the January storm had closed the bar, hopes were voiced that the War Department might receive an appropriation of \$30,000 to improve the harbor. But the citizens could not wait for Congress to act. Klamath City was accordingly abandoned before it was a year old, having cost its promoters thousands of dollars and the lives of 29 whites, who were either killed by the Yurok or drowned. The iron house was dismantled and shipped back to San Francisco, and Klamath City became a memory.¹⁹

E. CRESCENT CITY IS LAID OUT

Crescent City was laid out in 1853, and soon large numbers of settlers arrived, attracted by the nearby mineral and agricultural resources. The mining region in the mountains to the east was then thought to be "among the best and richest in the State." Although the expectations of the miners in regard to the lasting qualities of the placer mines were not realized, yet the mines "panned out" and the deposits were of sufficient abundance to arouse considerable excitement.

The miners in the Myrtle Creek diggings did well in 1854. Each hand averaged from five to 15 dollars per day, and in June one prospector took out in two hours \$400 in gold.²⁰ New diggings were now

rocks, and the crew and passengers were landed through the breakers, just before the ship broke up. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 19.

18. *Pacific Daily News*, Jan. 17, 1851.

19. Hittell, "The Story of an Unfortunate City," *Overland Monthly*, 2, 144; D. L. Thornbury, *California Redwood Wonderland of Humboldt County* (San Francisco, 1923), p. 160; Anthony J. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County, California, with a Business Directory and Traveler's Guide* (Eureka, 1881), pp. 10-11.

20. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte*, p. 21.

V. THE GOLD BLUFFS

A. THEIR DISCOVERY

A settlement was made at Trinidad Head, a town platted, and on April 13, 1850, an election held for the purpose of organizing a government. At this election it is reported that over 140 votes were cast. During the summer, the population of Trinidad increased rapidly. By the last of June, the town fathers were able to boast that a trail had been opened to the gold diggings on the Trinity. Trinidad claimed a population of 300, with 100 dwellings, counting houses and tents. Speculation in real estate boomed.¹

J. K. Johnson and several companions in the spring of 1850 had headed north from Trinidad to look for the mouth of the Trinity. In passing up the beach, they saw glittering particles of sand, which on examination proved to be gold. Gathering some of the grains, they returned to Trinidad to purchase provisions. On their return, they found nothing but a bed of gravel, a change in the direction of the surf, having swept away or buried the glittering treasure.²

Not long afterwards, in May 1850, B. Nordheimer, J. H. Stinchfield, Charles D. Moore, and a number of other prospectors started up the seashore from Trinidad en route to the new town of Klamath City. As they pushed up the beach, they spotted grains of gold in the beach sand. They collected some of the flakes, but it was so intermixed with fine gray and black sand that "they could do nothing with it." They passed on, and no attempt was made to work the seashore diggings.³

That fall, J. W. Maxwell and _____ Richardson went to the bluffs and commenced operations. They soon found that the gold was only visible under favorable conditions. The bluff, subsequently named Gold Bluffs, was several miles long and several hundred feet high, with but a few feet of sea beach between it and the Pacific. During periods when the breakers came rolling in and the surf beat against the bluffs it eroded the quartz. The fine grains of gold that thus became mixed with the sand were occasionally brought to the surface by the wave action and sometimes buried. Maxwell and Richardson

1. *Alta California*, July 1, 3, 7, 1850; Harry L. Wells, *History of Siskiyou County, California* . . . (Oakland, 1881), p.57.

2. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte*, p. 137.

3. Wells, *History of Siskiyou County*, p. 62.

watched their chance, and when the glistening grains appeared on the surface, they filled their buckskin bags with the mixture of sand and gold, and carried it up onto the bluff to be separated at their leisure. The gold was so fine and the sand so heavy that they only saved a small percentage of what the mixture contained. Word of the wonderful beach of gold reached San Francisco, where it caused tremendous excitement.⁴

In December, the Pacific Mining Company was organized with capital of \$150,000 and the goal of developing the beach of gold. The Steamer *Chesapeake* was chartered to transport 30 adventurers to the gold region. She cleared San Francisco for the new El Dorado on December 21, 1850, and 48 hours later she hove to off Gold Bluffs. The next morning, a small boat was launched, but she was broken up as the crew took her through the surf. The occupants, however, reached the beach in safety. Not wishing to chance their lives in such a risky undertaking, the rest of the adventurers had the captain continue up the coast to the mouth of the Klamath. *Chesapeake*, unable to cross the bar, dropped down to Trinidad, where the prospectors were landed. They then went up the coast afoot with pack-mules rented from J. C. Campbell.⁵

Walker Van Dyke and his companions organized a second company for working the bluffs. He recalled that tons of the black sand, during storms, would slough off, tumble down the bluff, and into the breakers. When the tide had ebbed, men would gather the sand. "Our company," he recalled, "built buildings for amalgamating the ore and we made considerable money."⁶

Meanwhile, *Chesapeake* had returned to San Francisco, with five or six of the adventurers headed by General John Wilson and John C. Collins. A meeting of the stockholders was called to listen to their report of a new Golconda. The stockholders of the Pacific Mining Company were told that

twenty-seven miles beyond . . . [Trinidad], there is a beach several miles in extent and bounded by a high bluff. The sands of this beach are mixed with gold, to an extent almost beyond belief. The sands are of two kinds, a fine black sand and a gray sand. The gray sand

4. Ibid., pp. 62-63.

5. Ibid., p. 63; Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, p. 50.

6. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 22.

can be separated very easily from the black sand, and this seems to be a desirable object. The gold is mixed with the black sand in proportions from ten cents to ten dollars to the pound. At times when the surf is high, the gold is not easily discovered, but in the Spring of the year, after a succession of calms, the entire beach is covered with a bright and yellow gold.⁷

Collins, who was Secretary of the Company, stated that he had measured a "patch of gold and sand" and estimated "it will give to each member of the company the snug little sum of forty-three million dollars." At their arrival at Gold Bluffs, the adventurers had found 19 men at the diggings. These individuals were unwilling to dig, because, as they explained to Collins, "the gold was all ready for them whenever they felt disposed to take it." Moreover, the recently opened beach road to Trinidad was so bad that they could not carry away more than 75 to 100 pounds apiece--an amount too trifling for their consideration. They had built a comfortable log cabin and planned to watch their claim until Spring, when they would take off a shipload of gold and "travel to some country where the metal was not so abundant."

Collins told the eager stockholders of seeing a man who had "accumulated fifty thousand pounds, or fifty thousand tons" of the richest kind of black sand. In General Wilson's opinion thousands of men could not exhaust this gold in a thousand years.⁸

After listening to these glowing reports, the stockholders voted to send up 100 additional laborers, as rapidly as they could be recruited and embarked. Plans also were made to purchase a steamer and run her up to the Gold Bluffs.⁹

To support their stories, Collins and Wilson showed the stockholders numerous specimens of the sand and gold. Collins likewise published in the *Alta California* two affidavits he had secured testifying as to the richness of the strike. One was signed by M. C. Thompson and C. W. Kinsey and the other by Edwin Rowe. Both were attested by L. B. Gilkey, Justice of the Peace for Trinity County. They first described the nature and richness of the beach, while Rowe added:

I am now, however, confident that with the proper arrangements for amalgamating the gold, on a scale as extensive as your company is capable of doing.

7. *Alta California*, Jan. 9, 1851.

8. *Ibid.* 9. *Ibid.*

millions upon millions of dollars can be easily obtained every year for more than a century to come.¹⁰

This news had its anticipated effect. The next day, January 10, found the shares of the Pacific Mining Company selling at a premium. On the 18th, the steamers, *Chesapeake* and *General Warren*, cast off for the Gold Bluffs, to be followed within the week by the bark *Chester*. Other companies were organized and vessels chartered to take prospectors northward to the fabulous beach. By February 1851, the population of Trinidad had exploded. As hundreds of adventurers poured into Trinidad en route to Gold Bluffs, they were met with discouraging news that no process could be devised to separate the gold from the sand, and that it was a waste of time and money to attempt it. Still many eager prospectors had to be convinced by experience, and when so convinced they pushed on up the Klamath to the Salmon mines.

All efforts to work the beach on an extensive scale failed and were abandoned. As soon as this became known, Trinidad's brief period of preëminence was past, for her population declined as rapidly as it had grown. For several years Trinidad maintained its importance as a shipping point, because its proximity to the Klamath and Salmon River diggings was a marked advantage.¹¹

B. LIEUTENANT CROOK VISITS the GOLD BLUFFS

Lt. George Crook in 1853 was placed in charge of a detachment and detailed as an escort to the surveying party headed by Henry Washington. The patrol left Fort Humboldt and headed up the coast toward the mouth of the Klamath. As Crook recalled, "the mountains generally were not far back from the beach." In places, when the tide was flooding, the surf hammered against the cliffs, which rose several hundred feet above the foaming breakers. The little column would have to wait for the tide to ebb before passing the bluffs. Fifteen miles south of the mouth of the Klamath, the patrol camped at Gold Bluffs, "where the beach for several miles contained gold mixed in small quantities with the sand."

10. Ibid.

11. Wells, *History of Siskiyou County*, p. 63; Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, pp. 50-51. In the period December through March, 28 vessels cleared San Francisco bound for Trinidad or the Gold Bluffs. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, p. 121.

To work the beach, the miners at each low tide would traverse it with pack mules loaded with panniers, "so that when the waves had thrown up a streak of pay sand, it was shoveled into the panniers, and thence packed to the sluice boxes which separated the gold."

Crook was told by the miners that when the beach was located in 1850, it was estimated that it contained forty million dollars in gold, but that "their methods of catching the gold were then so primitive and slow (they at that time packed the gold-bearing sand to some point at low tide and there mixed it with quicksilver by oxen treading on it) that before much was saved a heavy sea came and washed it all out to sea."¹²

C. INTEREST in the GOLD BLUFFS IS REVIVED

The premium paid for gold during the Civil War years caused operations to be resumed at the Gold Bluffs, as well as other points between Trinidad and Port Orford, Oregon, where "auriferous sands" were found. In commenting on this development, the editors of the *Alta California* observed that these bluffs bore a resemblance to the "auriferous hills of Nevada, which are now being washed away by the hydraulic process. Along the beach a natural hydraulic washing has been in progress for thousands of years."

At Gold Bluffs a company posted a beach-watch, and whenever they discovered black spots on the seacoast, it was reported to the superintendent. Preparations were made to begin work. The mules were loaded with their saddlebags and led to the shore. Men and mules then waited for the surf to strike the bluffs and recede. As the sea tide ebbed, leaving the beach uncovered, the miners led their mules out at a fast trot. The men then filled the saddlebags and beat a hasty retreat in advance of the breakers.

They then deposited the sand at the washhouse, where it was washed in a wooden box, with a big hole in the bottom, positioned under a ten-foot waterfall. A large round stone was at times placed under the falls to divide its force. As the gold was very fine, it required great care in the adjustment of the water pressure.¹³

12. Crook, *Autobiography*, pp. 11-12.

13. *Alta California*, Oct. 20, 1864.

With the end of the Civil War and a fall in the price of gold, operations at the Gold Bluffs were shut down.

D. DREDGING IS TRIED and FAILS

In 1872 Captain Taylor of New York visited the Gold Bluffs to obtain the rich auriferous sands supposed to be deposited offshore there. Because of an accident to his diving bell, he was unable to achieve the anticipated results. Employing a "simpler process" he was able to secure sufficient auriferous sands to enable him to announce that they contained a great quantity of gold. He then informed the press that in six fathoms of water "immediately off the bluffs," he obtained specimens of black sand that assayed \$23,000 per ton. To reinforce his claim, he showed specimens that were "beyond question of exceeding richness."¹⁴

An official of the Gold Bluffs Submarine Mining Co., organized to exploit the Gold Bluffs, reached San Francisco in April 1873, bringing with him the "latest machinery for raising from the ocean floor" the gold bearing sands. He was accompanied by a number of skilled mechanics. The steamer *Monterey* was chartered and loaded with the mining machinery. Early in May, they sailed for the Gold Bluffs.

During the next three weeks, over 100 tons of sand were raised from an area from one-half mile to within 40 feet of the bluffs, and in depths of from eight to four fathoms of water. The testing officer, a well-known assayer from San Francisco, on examining the sands found scarcely any color, and no gold. The pump had brought up great quantities of gray sands, considerable black sands, coarse gravel, and shells. At each test site and at all depths tried, the pumping had continued until the rock-bed of the ocean had been reached. This operation by the Gold Bluffs Submarine Mining Co. appeared to discredit those who had claimed that "in the ocean, adjacent to the Gold Bluffs, and at the mouths of the Klamath, Rogue, and Umpqua" there were rich deposits of auriferous sands.¹⁵

Commenting on the expedition, the *Alta California* informed its readers the results seem to establish that the theory of rich deposits of sands in the ocean adjacent to the Gold Bluffs coast was

14. *Alta California*, June 2, 1873.

15. *Ibid.*

wrong. If this were true, then whatever financial losses the Gold Bluffs Submarine Mining Co. had suffered should not be lost on others planning similar ventures. This company, it was pointed out, had been organized to take advantage of the claims voiced by Captain Taylor.¹⁶

Where gold was involved such words of caution had little effect. Within several months, a party of Humboldt County residents led by Captain Buhme, Frank and Robert Duff, and Harry Rogers had visited Gold Bluffs. They soon returned with reports that the "beach deposits of gold" were very rich. When this information reached the New York office of the Gold Bluffs Submarine Mining Co., negotiations were commenced for its exploitation.

Capt. I. H. Avery of the company reached Eureka from San Francisco aboard *Pelican*, with a "large six-inch Andrew Centrifugal Pump and other machinery requisite for a thorough and complete search for auriferous deposits on the claims of Messrs. Buhme & Duff." The pump, it was said, was very powerful and was similar to the one used to dredge St. Johns Bar in Florida, and was capable of lifting from the ocean floor 70 tons of sand per hour.¹⁷

Before leaving Eureka for the Gold Bluffs, Captain Avery purchased the scow *Eagle*. After she had been decked over and the pump mounted, she was renamed *Gold Hunter*. Despite her name, no auriferous sands were found in the ocean off the bluffs. Another effort to make a profit in mining the sands had been tried and found wanting.

E. GEOLOGISTS REPLACE the PROMOTERS and ADVENTURERS

Efforts were now concentrated on discovering more efficient ways to exploit the gold found in the bluffs. A. W. Chase observed in a paper read before the California Academy of Science on January 5, 1874, that the gold came from the bluffs. After "caves" the gold obtained on the beaches was much coarser in character, and moreover it was only "after a continued succession of swells that cut the beach at an angle that the rich sands . . . [were] found." When the surf bore in head on, it merely loaded the beach with gravel. Finally, anyone who witnessed the power of the surf had to respect its immense grinding force. All that he had observed had satis-

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., Nov. 29, 1873.

fied him that "the gold follows the first two or three lines of breakers, and will never be found in paying quantities beyond."¹⁸

Some "experts", however, still contended, despite the failure of the Gold Bluffs Submarine Mining Co., and Buhme & Duff, that the beach gold came from the ocean floor, but most agreed with Professor Chase that the grains of gold came from the bluffs fronting on the ocean. These people had observed every winter that after the summer's heat had parched and cracked the earth, the heavy autumn and winter rains caused huge sections of earth and gravel to cave in and split off the perpendicular face of the bluffs. Falling into the ocean, these giant clods were ground to pieces, and cradled by the swirling motion of the waves. The gravel was carried out to sea, and the black sand which contained the gold, being heavier, was deposited in streaks along the shore. After the tide had ebbed, the black sand was collected and washed in ordinary and patented toms.

Persons familiar with the area always watched for a panning surf, one bearing in from the southwest, which struck the beach diagonally, washing away the gravel and leaving the black sand. If the surf struck the beach head-on, it merely piled up a gravel deposit several feet deep.¹⁹

Considerable attention was now focused on working out more effective methods of separating the gold from the sand with various machinery, and by chlorination and boiling. But in the end the companies working the bluffs always returned to sluicing. Only a moiety of gold was obtained by this process but it yielded a small profit. The auriferous sands also contained some platinum.²⁰

F. THE SITUATION in 1881

In 1881 John Chapman and one other party owned and operated the Gold Bluff mines. Chapman and his men watched the beaches closely, and when the "gray sands" began to go out, it constituted a signal to commence operations. The pack mules were rounded up from the range, the men put back on the payroll, and "the sand scraped to-

18. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte*, pp. 138-139.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 138; Thornbury, *California's Redwood Wonderland*, pp.129-30

20. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte*, p. 138. When the auriferous sands were washed with sluices, the gold caught in riffles sawed in a plank salted with mercury. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

gether upon the beach as fast as it appears." The auriferous sands were then packed up to the washing box, dumped in piles, and washed as time permitted.²¹

Meanwhile, a placer mine had been opened at Ossagon, on the upper edge of the Klamath Gravel and adjoining the upper Gold Bluff claim. This placer was owned by the Eureka Gold Mining Co., of Ossagon Creek. Unfortunately for the stockholders the dam and supporting facilities were erected "hastily, as is too frequently the case in such enterprises." When the winter rains came, the dam and sluiceway were washed away. The works were reconstructed, and a stronger dam, 250 feet long, 13 feet high, with a capacity of 80,000,000 cubic feet of water, constructed. A ditch one-half mile in length was dug, while the pressure box had an elevation of 150 feet. The sluice was composed of 60 boxes, each 12 feet long and three feet wide. There were six blocks or ripples to the box.²²

G. MINING OPERATIONS at GOLD BLUFFS ARE CLOSED

During the 1880s activities at the Gold Bluffs and the Ossagon placer slumped. By 1890 only two of the registered voters, John Eva and Michael Richardson in the Gold Bluffs District of Humboldt County, listed their occupation as miners. In addition, three other voters (James Brown, a machinist, and David Cuddihy and William Fairchild, laborers) may have been employed at the mines.²³

By 1920 mining operations at the Gold Bluffs had been closed down. When he visited the area in 1923, D. L. Thornbury reported that "oldtimers" told him that years before the beach had been narrow and steep, and that the breakers had washed the foot of the bluffs. But by the time of his visit this situation prevailed at only the south end. Along the northern part of Gold Bluffs for a distance of three miles, sand had accumulated. In addition, a wide sandbar had formed about a mile offshore, so that the force of the waves had greatly diminished and only on occasions did they reach the base of the bluffs.²⁴

It was now known that the gold deposits had never been too valuable. The gold was extremely fine, and, contrary to opinions voiced in the 19th century, nearly all had been recovered in sluice-

21. Elliott, *History of Humboldt County*, p. 150.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

23. *Great Register of Humboldt County, 1890* (Eureka, 1890).

24. Thornbury, *California's Redwood Wonderland*, p. 129-130.

ing. Moreover, the beach sands were expensive to work, and the gold was so fine that it would float on water when dry. Every pan would show color, but it took many pans to secure a penny's worth of gold. The largest amount of gold recovered in any one year was \$25,000, with one seven-day run producing \$1,600.²⁵

H. COMMENTS and RECOMMENDATIONS

In the years since 1923, the beach fronting the Gold Bluffs has continued to grow. It now parallels the bluffs for eight miles. The northern section of the beach, which was built-up first, is at least one-third of a mile in width. The beach then narrows and fronting the Lower Bluffs, it is several hundred yards across. As the beach at the Gold Bluffs is a valuable resource and will attract many visitors, the Service will have an opportunity of interpreting the story of how nature creates beaches.

A map on file in the Humboldt County Clerk's Office in Eureka for 1922 locates the mining operations at the Upper and Lower Gold Bluffs. At the Upper Bluffs, the camp and facilities are positioned on the bluff overlooking Home Creek from the north, while at the Lower Bluffs, they are located in the swampy area behind the pond. The Ossagon Placer is not located, an indication that little or no remains existed in that year.

On April 26, 1969, using this map as a guide and a photograph found at the Visitor Center of the Prairie Creek California State Park, I was able to pinpoint the Upper Bluffs camp. Remains of the sluiceway, ditch, and several buildings were identified. Assisted by a Ranger of the California State Parks, I searched in vain for any remains of the camp at the Lower Bluffs. Dense undergrowth and a swamp, however, made a thorough reconnaissance impossible. Lack of time and the thick underbrush made it impossible to locate any remains that may survive of the Ossagon Placer.

It is recommended that the story of mining operations at the Gold Bluffs be interpreted at the Upper Bluffs. Our reasons are: (a) here there are some historical remains; the operations here were the most profitable and therefore probably the most significant; there is a historic photograph of the camp; and as the camp was located adjacent to Fern Canyon, it will have high visitor interest. The camp site should be designated Class VI Land. Efforts should be continued to locate and identify historical remains at the Lower Bluffs and the Ossagon Placer.

25. Ibid., 130.; Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte*, pp. 137-138. The best strike was near the Upper Bluff.

VI. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KLAMATH RIVER RESERVATION

A. COLONEL MCKEE'S TREATIES

1. First Contacts Between the Whites and Indians

Initially, the prospectors and those who followed them met little opposition from the Indians. The newcomers had trade goods which, although of slight monetary value, were prized by the redman. Moreover, the white man's firearms made resistance not only futile but disastrous. The Indians at the same time did not realize the full meaning of this invasion of their lands.

Josiah Gregg and his companions in 1849 therefore encountered no opposition, and at times they were even able to prevail on the Indians for assistance.¹ Other early exploring parties were received in similar fashion. It was not until the redman saw that the whites were squatting on their village sites that they began to think of war. On the coast this hostility had no serious repercussions, but in the interior it soon resulted in bloodshed. Two men were killed by Indians in the late summer of 1850 in the redwoods, 18 miles from Union. There was also a clash on the forks of the Salmon, where in reprisal the whites burned three villages and killed a number of Indians.² Several others were to die before the year ended.

The situation got worse in 1851. In the spring of that year, a party of prospectors led by Capt. S. R. Tompkins left Trinidad, taking the trail across to the Bald Hills, and worked their way up the Klamath River.³ Halts were made at every bar showing any traces of gold. Guards had to be detailed to watch for Indians

1. Lewis K. Wood, *The Discovery of Humboldt Bay, A Narrative* (Eureka, 1872), p. 38. Wood shows that Gregg's party at the mouth of the South Fork of the Trinity encountered Indians, who appeared to have some hostile intentions. But the Indians were pacified, after taking note of the Americans' skill with their firearms. At Trinidad, the Indians were friendly.

2. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, p. 137; *Alta California*, Aug. 20, 22, 1850.

3. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 7. Other members of the Tompkins party were: Robert L. Williams, Capt. McDermott, Charles Moore, Thomas J. Roach, Charles Wilson, Charles Southard, the Swain brothers, ___ Taggart, George Wood, W. T. Stevens, Wm. Rumley, W. A. J. Moore, Jerry Lane, John Cox, S. S. Whipple, J. W. Bourke, James Buck, and several others.

While the party was camped on Wingate's and Wood's bars, three of the group (Barney Ray, Moore, and _____ Penney) pushed ahead. In doing so, they were undoubtedly influenced by several Indians, who had told the party that if they went "one-half a sleep" farther up the Klamath, they would find good camp grounds and diggings.

When they failed to return, several men from Wood's Bar went in search of them. As they ascended the river, they sighted a tent but could see or hear nothing of the occupants. A number of redmen were skulking about. Concluding that some misfortune must have overtaken their comrades, they returned to Wood's Bar. A volunteer force was turned out, and on returning to the tent, they found Penney and Ray. The former was terribly wounded and the latter dead. After burying Ray, they placed Penney on a litter and taken downstream to Wingate's Bar, where he died. Several weeks later, a badly decomposed body, presumed to be Moore's, was found floating in the Klamath.⁴

Vowing vengeance, a force was organized and started in pursuit of the Indians. The redmen's trail, leading up the river, was soon discovered. This brought the prospectors to the village. Biding their time, the miners sent back to their camps for reinforcements. Just as day was breaking and while most of the Indians were in their huts, the whites launched a vicious surprise attack, which routed the Indians.⁵

Several weeks later, the prospectors moved from Wingate's and Wood's bars and established a camp, which they called Happy Camp. This was the first permanent settlement on the middle reaches of the Klamath.⁶ The settlers of Happy Camp were compelled to be on guard against the Indians, while getting ready to face the approaching winter.

This nasty incident and others caused many of the hard-bitten miners and packers to regard the Indians as enemies to be shot on sight. The Indians, unable to discriminate between whites who were their enemies and those who were their friends, took revenge. Whites were slain, and unfortunately for all concerned, it was seldom the ones who had committed the wrong.⁷

4. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

5. Ibid., p. 9.

6. Ibid.

7. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, p. 138.

2. Colonel McKee Goes North

In an effort to put a stop to these murders and prevent a war Col. Redick McKee, a United States Indian Agent, was alerted to proceed to northwestern California and negotiate treaties with the tribes. Accompanied by a large escort, McKee left Sonoma on August 11, 1851. The expedition was accompanied by a company of soldiers led by Capt. H. W. Wessels.⁸ Taking the Sonoma Trail, McKee's party reached the Humboldt Coast via the South Fork of the Eel River. As the column pushed ahead, stops were made to distribute beef and presents to the Indians and effect a peaceful settlement of outstanding differences. In the lower Eel River Valley, McKee saw that the redmen were living under submarginal conditions. A reservation for these Indians was established on the left bank of the Eel. C. A. Robeson, a settler and squawman, was placed in charge of the projected reservation, and with him were left three yoke of oxen and farm implements for cultivating the land.⁹

McKee, after visiting the bay settlements at Humboldt City and Union, crossed over the Bald Hills to the Klamath River. While en route, he passed through the country of the Chilula, known locally as the Redwood or Bald Hills Indians. This tribe had an evil reputation among the packers, one of their camps being called "Bloody Camp," because two whites had been murdered there.

A grand council, attended by all the tribes of the area, was held in October at Durkee's Ferry, at the confluence of the Trinity and Klamath rivers. Gifts were distributed to the Indians and after McKee had told the redmen of the vast numbers of white men and their desire for peace, treaties were signed with representatives of the 24 assembled bands. Two tribes, the Chilula and Redwood Creek Indians, boycotted the council.¹⁰

McKee now traveled up the Klamath, distributing food and gifts at the villages and telling the Indians of his desire for peace. Simultaneously, the whites were asked to refrain from mistreating the Indians. As winter was approaching, Captain Wessels deter-

8. At its start the expedition consisted of 70 men, 140 mules and horses, and 160 head of cattle.

9. Department of the Interior, *Report*, March 17, 1953 (Serial 688), Doc. 4), pp. 134-155.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-162.

mined to return to Benicia with his detachment. Upon the departure of the military, McKee, accompanied by a small party, met with the Indians at Scott's Valley. Most of the redmen, either suspecting treachery or off hunting, avoided meeting with the agent. Finally, a treaty was effected, and McKee returned to San Francisco by way of Humboldt Bay.¹¹

McKee was understandably pleased with the results of his expedition and declared:

Considering the results which have happily followed, the expenses are trifling. Taken as a whole, I doubt whether ever, in the history of Indian negotiations in this or any other country, as much work has been done, as much positive good effected, and as many evils averted with such comparatively inadequate means at command.¹²

Not everyone attached the same importance to Colonel McKee's service. When the California legislature convened in 1852, the Indian treaties were debated. A Committee on Indian Reservations was named by the assembly, which presented resolutions denouncing a policy of Indian agents in granting lands to the Indians as reservations. Only the personal appeal of two of the agents prevented the senate from endorsing this report in the form of a joint-resolution to Congress.¹³ The opposition to the treaties was such that when they were submitted to the United States for ratification, they were rejected.¹⁴

Notwithstanding the controversy between the various officials and departments of the government following the negotiation of the treaties, the Indians seem to have accepted them in good faith, because, except for some thefts, there were no troubles instigated by the redmen for several years. There was at the same time considerable sentiment among the whites championing removal of the Indians from California. In April 1852 several north California senators notified Governor John Bigler that

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-169.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

13. *Assembly Journal, 3d Sess.* (1852), pp. 43, 45, 202-205, 396-397; *Dept. of the Interior, Report*, March 17, 1853 (Serial 688, Dec. 4), pp. 308, 310.

14. President, *Annual Message*, Dec. 6, 1852 (Series 673), pp. 10, 32.

during the past "few months" 130 white people had been killed and \$240,000 worth of property destroyed in their counties. Colonel McKee about the same time notified the Governor that the whites evinced an unjustifiable hostility toward the Indians, and urged that some action be taken to punish the offenders. In support of his position, he cited the murder of 15 to 20 Indians on Humboldt Bay in February, and a similar outrage in March, when nearly twice that number were killed on the Klamath.¹⁵

Pressure was brought to bear on Brig. Gen. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, the commander of the Department of the Pacific, by both sides. Each asked the aid of the military in settling the difficulties. Hitchcock accordingly determined to establish a military post on the Humboldt Coast. Two companies of the 4th United States Infantry, which had arrived in California in August, were designated to establish and garrison the post. In January 1853 Capt. Robert C. Buchanan and his two companies went ashore at Humboldt Bay and established a post destined to be called Fort Humboldt.¹⁶

B. BLOODSHED NEAR CRESCENT CITY

1. The First Killing

In the fall of 1854 there was trouble between the Indians and whites near Crescent City. About three miles north of Crescent City there lived a farmer, A. French. He and three other whites in late October went on a camping trip into the Bald Hills. On Thursday, French started for home, while his companions remained behind to continue hunting. When the others returned to Crescent City on Saturday evening, they were met by an anxious Mrs. French, who inquired as to her spouse's whereabouts.

A hasty check revealed that his hunting companions were the last to have seen him, and suspicions were aroused that the Tolowa living on the South Fork of Smith River had murdered him. A vigilante committee was organized to apprehend and question all

15. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, pp. 141-142.

16. *Alta California*, March 21, 1852: *Senate Journal*, 3d Sess. (1852), p. 711; Elliott, *Humboldt County*, p. 163.

the Indians in and about the town. Scant information was secured from them. This served to reinforce the suspicions of those suspecting foul play, and a party was sent to search for the body.¹⁷

On Mill Creek there was a rancheria, where the Tolowa gathered in the autumn to harvest acorns for the winter. At this camp, a team of vigilantes led by J. M. Rosborough stopped and closely questioned the Indians. Rosborough was told that in the latter part of October, an Indian from Chetco had proposed to Black Mow, a Yurok, that they kill a white man.¹⁸ Black Mow refused, stating that "he lived in peace with the whites, and had been for years in the habit of ferrying them across the Klamath." The Chetco then offered the Yurok a squaw, and Black Mow wavered and answered, "Soon."

Rosborough, having secured this information, had little difficulty in locating French's body. The vigilantes found it under a log and partially covered. Wild animals, however, had consumed much of the corpse. With the exception of the hat, none of the clothing was missing, and several of the men recognized French's gold ring. The remains was interred near the log, and the vigilantes rode back into Crescent City. There a warrant was sworn out for the arrest of three Indians--Black Mow, Jim, and Narpa--for the murder of French.¹⁹

Henry Kennedy, a lieutenant in the Company of Klamath Rangers, was deputized and given the mission of apprehending the guilty ones. Accompanied by a seven-man posse, Kennedy rode southward.²⁰ The Indians were captured at the mouth of the Klamath, and were escorted to Crescent City on November 17.

2. The Indians are Tried and Executed

On the 18th, the citizens of Crescent City assembled at the Eldorado Saloon on Front Street. E. Mason was called to the

17. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte*, p. 28.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 29. Chetco was in Oregon Territory, 24 miles up the coast.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30. Jim was Black Mow's son, while the Chetco's name was Narpa.

20. Included in the posse were: T. B. Thorp, Israel Deitrich, T. H. McGrew, J. R. Sloan, M. H. Ritchie, J. B. Rosborough, and Leaks.

chair, while S. G. Whipple was named secretary. Chairman Mason announced that the object of the group was to try the three Indians, and if the evidence warranted a conviction, the jury was to determine the punishment.²¹ After the evidence was presented, the jury retired to deliberate, and returned within the hour. The foreman announced the verdict, "Guilty!" The three Indians (Black Mow, Jim, and Narpa) were sentenced by Mason to be hanged on Monday, November 24, 1854, at 12 o'clock. On motion, J. R. Sloan, Richard Barnes, and Capt. John Boddeby were appointed a committee to see that the sentence was executed.²²

At the time appointed, Black Mow, Jim, and Narpa were escorted from the jail to Battery Point, where a large number of citizens had assembled. One end of the ropes was tied to the limb of a tree, and the other ends fastened around the necks of the doomed. The wagon on which they were standing was driven from under them, and within "a few seconds the case was transferred to a Higher Tribunal, and the souls of three guilty Indians sent to account before the Great Spirit who watches over all."²³

3. The Executions Beget War

Before 1854 ended, there were repercussions from the murder and executions. The residents of the Smith River Valley held a mass-meeting at Major Bradford's house to investigate threats voiced by Indians desiring revenge. A four-man committee was organized and visited the Tolowa rancheria at Yontocket.²⁴ Besides the usual residents, they found Rogue River, Chetco, and Yurok Indians. They also observed a number of little-used trails

21. Ibid., pp. 29-30. The jury consisted of: D. W. McComb, J. B. Taylor, J. F. Wendell, T. B. Thorp, Richard Barnes, Jacob Lance, M. G. Tucker, T. S. Sanford, T. S. Pomeroy, John Miller, J. R. Sloan, and Benjamin West.

22. Ibid., pp. 30-31. In the 1850s the Klamath County judicial system provided but few sittings of the court; consequently, prisoners lodged in jail awaiting trial were likely to escape. The Crescent City jail was a frame structure, which afforded but scant security against escapes by the inmates. Rather than risk losing the opportunity to punish criminals, the citizens preferred to take the law into their own hands.

23. Ibid., p. 31.

24. Committee members were: Dr. Meyers, John Leverton, John Vaughn, and W. Carman.

by which the Indians from the various rancherias communicated, and that provisions stockpiled for the winter had been removed. To the whites this looked suspicious, and steps were taken to keep the Indians under close surveillance.

About January 1, 1855, the difficulties between the whites and Indians ended in a fight on Lake Earl. Two companies of rangers (the Coast and Klamath), supported by the Smith River settlers, routed the Indians, killing 30.²⁵

C. THE EXECUTIVE ORDER of 1855

1. The Red Cap War

War broke out in the same month on the Klamath. On the Klamath and Trinity there had been much ill-feeling in 1853 and 1854, but there was no open rupture. There was some loss of life, as a killing usually was followed by retaliation. The miners on the Klamath in January 1855 began to desert their claims and rally on the camps for protection, while the Indians removed their women and children to the mountains. On January 6 a mass-meeting was held at Orleans Bar, and it was determined to disarm the Indians and to take vigorous action against whites suspected or found guilty of selling arms to the redmen. Persons hereafter detected selling firearms to Indians were to have their heads shaved, receive 25 lashes, and be banished from the camps.

Many of the Indians complied with the call to hand over their firearms, but a few, led by the Red Caps, refused and prepared to resist. The whites struck first, burning several rancherias and committing outrages on squaws. The Indians struck back. A steer belonging to Stephen Smith was slaughtered, and on January 12 the Red Caps swept down on the diggings near Weitchpec and killed six whites and wounded two others.²⁶

25. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

26. *Humboldt Times*, Jan. 13, 20, 27, 1855; Anthony J. Bledsoe, *Indian Wars of the Northwest* (San Francisco, 1885), pp. 163-165; Rosborough to Henley, Feb. 4, 1855, National Archives, Record Group 75, Letters Received by Office of Indian Affairs, California Superintendency. Among the whites killed in the attack were: C. Dunham, _____ Proctor, Thomas O'Neal, John Smith, and William Wheeler. The wounded were: William Lamb and James Johnson. Lamb failed to recover and died on February 3.

A call for help by the miners was forwarded to Captain Buchanan at Fort Humboldt. At Trinidad a volunteer company was organized and attacks made upon the Indians of the lower Klamath and Redwood Creek, who had heretofore lived in peace with the whites. Captain Buchanan ordered out a company of regulars under Capt. H. M. Judah. Reaching Weitchpec in the last week of January, Judah began negotiating with the redman. The local Yurok soon gave up and offered to assist the army in suppressing the Red Caps. The miners, however, refused to be a party to such an arrangement, but Judah held his ground and a settlement seemed at hand, when he was recalled by Captain Buchanan.²⁷

Meanwhile, A. M. Rosborough, a special Indian agent for the County of Siskiyou, had reached Weitchpec. Even before Judah's recall, he sensed that affairs were at a critical stage, and could take an unfortunate turn at any moment. Most of the Yurok were still on their rancherias and wished peace, but, if the Red Caps who had fled to the mountains killed any packers, it would be impossible to prevent the miners from attacking those Indians who had chosen peace, and from driving them into the mountains. The volunteers had made one patrol into the mountains, but the Red Caps had successfully avoided them.²⁸

Unless the Red Caps could be prevailed upon to come to terms with the United States, Rosborough informed his superior, Thomas J. Henley, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California, it would be necessary to "surrender this whole mining country to the Indians, which would be unthinkable." Currently, there were between 500 and 600 miners employed on the Klamath and Salmon rivers diggings, who received their supplies by pack trains from Trinidad and Union. As all supplies for these diggings had to pass through Weitchpec, it would have to be held if the miners were to remain.

To hold Weitchpec, he recommended that a company of regulars be permanently posted in the Hoopa Valley. The company of soldiers, along with an Indian agent appointed to reside on the lower Klamath, would guarantee the peace.²⁹

27. Wool to Thomas, Feb. 26, 1855, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt. Captain Buchanan reported that he had recalled Judah's company, because he could not supply it at this "season of the year." Lorenzo Thomas was acting Adjutant General of the Army at this time.

28. Rosborough to Henley, Feb. 4, 1855, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt.

29. Ibid.

Superintendent Henley was understandably distressed to learn of the outbreak of hostilities on the Klamath. Relaying this information to Commissioner of Indian Affairs G. W. Montgomery, he reported, "business of every kind is suspended, and unless peace is quickly restored, a serious check will be given to the prosperity of that part of the State." So belligerent were the miners and packers that he and his agent were hard pressed to prevent a massacre of the Indians. In hopes of achieving an amicable settlement, he had named S. G. Whipple as special agent for Klamath County. Whipple had resided in the area since 1850, and he was well acquainted with the miners and packers and with "the Indians' character."³⁰

The withdrawal of Captain Judah and his company had compounded Rosborough's problems. Even so, most of the Yurok remained on their rancherias, although a few more had slipped off to the mountains. Those still on the Klamath had requested protection, and the majority of the whites were anxious to grant this plea, but they lacked the manpower to guard the rancherias and at the same time pursue the hostiles and work the diggings.

Rosborough feared that it would be impossible for the law-abiding whites to maintain their leadership in the camps much longer. If the Red Caps should kill any more miners or packers, it would be impossible to prevent the fire-eaters from shooting up the rancherias of the peaceably inclined Yurok. If this occurred, Rosborough cautioned Superintendent Henley, there would be a general stampede for the mountains and "such Mts. & ever-green cañons are not to be found anywhere."

Up to the present, the vigilantes had been unable to pinpoint the 40 to 50 Red Caps who were at large. The Yurok, Rosborough warned, were not "such cowards as I had thought & I am satisfied that they refrain from an attack & killing the whites mainly on the grounds of saving the Indians remaining on the rancherias."³¹

Captain Judah, on returning to Fort Humboldt from the Klamath, had suggested to Captain Buchanan that they appeal to Brig. Gen. John E. Wool, the commander of the Department of the Pacific, to order a company of infantry to Weitchpec. To reinforce his plea, Judah pointed out that there was no law on the Klamath, not even

30. Henley to Montgomery, Feb. 23, 1855, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt.

31. Rosborough to Henley, Feb. 22, 1855, NA, RG75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt.

a constable or justice of the peace. Buchanan was a typical bureaucrat, and unwilling to act on his own initiative, so he ordered Judah to Oregon, while awaiting instructions from General Wool.

When Rosborough learned that it would be some time before help was forthcoming from the army, he complained to Henley that all that was needed was a company of soldiers and a deputy marshal. He believed knowledge that there was an officer of the law on the Klamath, with authority to arrest offenders and send them to San Francisco for trial in a United States court, would curb the lawlessness.³²

Already the peaceably inclined Yurok had offered to go into the mountains to locate the Red Caps, but they had been disarmed by the miners. If General Wool were unable to send a company of regulars to the Klamath, Rosborough wondered if Governor Bigler could not order out a battalion of militia. As urged by Rosborough, additional volunteer companies were organized to carry the war to the Red Caps. One of these units moved out with Indian guides to show the way. The Indians led the company into an ambush, but fortunately the whites escaped without loss. Drumhead court marshals condemned 26 of the treacherous Indians to death, while an equal number were captured and two villages burned.

As another appeal was being forwarded to Governor Bigler for additional troops, Whipple (having been named Special Indian Agent for Humboldt and Klamath Counties) arrived. He was accompanied by Captain Judah and his company of regulars.

Judah and his 50 regulars returned to the Klamath on March 22. The captain's orders were to assist Whipple "by all means in his power, and if the agent saw fit to select a site for an Indian Reservation, to examine it in reference to its suitability as a post."

Judah now found that most of the miners and packers were prepared to let him cope with the situation. There was considerable excitement, however, and the peacefully disposed Yurok were very frightened by two recent events. One of their leaders, Patora, had been murdered by a white, after he had surrendered his weapons and had induced others to do likewise. Judah, on making inquiries, found that the deceased "was universally respected

32. Ibid.

for his honesty and friendly attitude toward the whites.³³ The other atrocity had been perpetrated by two companies of volunteers commanded by Capt. C. and F. M. Underwood. They had ridden out with their companies to a rancharia, where they called out the Yurok, shook hands with them, and after each had picked a victim, opened fire. The volunteers had then carried off the squaws "under the name of prisoners." Judah had lost no time in telling Captain F. M. Underwood that his service and that of his men could be dispensed with.³⁴

Captain Judah, within the week, was satisfied that for the time being it would be impossible to locate the Red Caps in their mountain retreats. He would bide his time until the fears aroused by the cowardly deed perpetrated by the volunteers had been soothed.

Accompanied by an eight-man patrol, Judah on March 28 started down the Klamath in a canoe. The reaches of the river visited had never before been traveled by an officer of the United States army. He found the rancharias deserted, and no Yurok at Sregon where he had sent word for those desiring peace and protection to assemble. Two Indians, who had accompanied the patrol, were sent to the mouth of the Klamath. They returned on the evening of March 30 with 50 Yurok, all well-armed with knives, bows, and arrows. The leaders complained to Judah of the treatment they had received at the hands of the volunteers. Judah, although it was difficult, finally satisfied the Indians that his intentions were friendly. They promised to cooperate with him in punishing those Red Caps guilty of murder.³⁵

On April 3 a grand council was held, attended by deputations from most of the tribes living in the area. Captain Judah inspired confidence among the redmen, and it was agreed that a war party would meet at Young's Ferry on the 6th. They would be provided with ten rifles and food, along with the names of eight Red Caps that were to be executed. All other hostiles encountered would be urged to turn themselves in, and they

33. Wool to Davis, April 11, 1855, NA, RG 75, OIA, Calif. Supt. Jefferson Davis was Secretary of War in President Franklin Pierce's administration.

34. Ibid. Judah was incensed when subsequently he learned that the Underwoods and their men had made claims on the government for their pay while in service.

35. Ibid.

would be taken care of by the government, pending the establishment of a reservation.³⁶

2. Whipple Proposes a Reservation

By mid-June several of the Red Cap leaders were dead and most of their followers had availed themselves of the opportunity to surrender to Special Agent Whipple and the army. According to Whipple's informants only a score of Indians were still at large, and as their hands were stained with the blood of whites, they had no hope of escaping the gallows. As they were well-armed, they could be expected to form a hard core around which the disaffected, in event of future trouble, could rally. It might be good policy, Whipple reasoned, for the army to hunt them down.³⁷

Meanwhile, Whipple had reconnoitered the Klamath from its mouth to Weitchpec. The countryside was rugged, with the river flowing "with a bold, though not rapid current, through deep gorges and rugged cañons, which alternated with pleasant valleys and grassy flats." The Klamath was "abundantly supplied with Salmon, a fine large fish quite easily taken, and . . . which is very properly regarded by the Indian as his staff of life." Whipple asserted that the Klamath was the "best fishing grounds in North California, and thousands of Indians have stored away their annual supply of dried salmon upon these grounds for centuries." In addition, there were seals and sea lions, in large numbers, at the mouth of the river, while the rocks provided a rich harvest of mussels of which the Yurok were fond. As far up the River as Weitchpec, there were large banks of mussel shells, which demonstrated their popularity.

The flats bounding the river seemed well adapted to the practice of agriculture.

Whipple also noted that only one white was currently residing on the reaches of the Klamath between its mouth and Weitchpec. This individual claimed to have pre-empted 160 acres near the site of Klamath City. No pack trails paralleled these reaches of the Klamath, nor would it be feasible to open any, because of the rugged terrain. Intercourse between the villages was by canoe.

36. *Ibid.*; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1886*, pp. 302-303; Bledsoe, *Indian Wars of the Northwest*, pp. 166-176.

37. Whipple to Henley, June 19, 1855, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt.

After completing his reconnaissance and evaluating what he had seen, Whipple notified Superintendent Henley on June 19 that the lower 30 miles of the Klamath was a "most Eligible Site for an Indian Reservation." The proposed reservation should include within its bounds, "a strip of country five miles in width on each side of the river for the entire distance." Residing on the land in question were 1,200 to 1,600 Yurok, who "seemed attached to their land, regarding it as an honor to be known as residents of the Klamath." If the reservation were established, Whipple urged that all the 5,000 Indians living in Klamath County be segregated and settled thereon.³⁸

Apparently, Whipple was difficult to get along with. Captain Judah complained that the Indian Agent was uncommunicative, and there was "no concert" of action between them. Hoping to gain the agent's cooperation, Captain Buchanan recalled Judah and replaced him with Capt. DeLancey Floyd-Jones. But when relations failed to improve, General Wool brought the matter to the attention of Superintendent Henley. When he did, he pointed out that the troops would remain on the Klamath until the approach of the autumn rains, when they would be recalled to Fort Humboldt.³⁹

The army was not the only agency having difficulty with the strong-willed Whipple. Superintendent Henley was complaining to his superior that the agent had overstepped his instructions, for he had no authority to locate a reservation. His instructions had been to make an investigation "with reference to the fitness of the Klamath as a temporary place of rendezvous for the Indians," at the close of the Red Cap War. He was also to acquaint the redmen with the government's plan to locate them on reservations.

But in view of Whipple's promises, Henley felt it would be unwise for the United States to renege, because if the Indians were now removed from the Klamath, they would resume hostilities. Moreover, it was now incumbent on the Office of Indian Affairs to forward subsistence stores for the Yurok to the Klamath.⁴⁰

38. Ibid. Klamath County was established in February 1850. At this time it included all of present day Del Norte and parts of Humboldt and Siskiyou counties.

39. Wool to Henley, Aug. 10, 1855, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OLA, Calif. Supt.

40. Henley to Montgomery, July 16, 1855, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

Superintendent Henley in September visited the Klamath, and while there he was compelled to admit that he had underestimated Whipple's accomplishments. The area would indeed make an excellent home for the Indians. Scaling down the size of the reservation, Henley on October 4, 1855, recommended to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that a reservation be established on the Klamath, commencing at the coast, and enclosing a strip of territory, one mile in width, on each side of the river, for a distance of 20 miles. About 2,000 fertile acres, scattered in a number of small vales, could be cultivated. Admiring the redwoods, Henley reported that "the supply of timber of the best quality was unlimited." The rugged terrain bounding the river should prevent encroachments by whites.

He had been assured by Whipple that the Indians, living convenient to the proposed reservation, could be removed to it at a trifling expense. As his superiors and Congress were interested in economy, Henley assured them that "the Reservation can be established & sustained, and the Indians subsisted upon it, at much less expense than at any other location with which I am acquainted in the State."

To keep the peace, which Whipple and Captain Judah had been instrumental in establishing, Henley urged that the special agent be continued in his position and that funds be budgeted for a farm to feed the Indians.⁴¹

3. President Pierce's Executive Order

The Congress had already provided statutory authority for the establishment of the reservation. The appropriation act of date of March 3, 1855, to fund the Office of Indian Affairs had sanctioned the creation of two additional California reservations, besides the three authorized by the law of July 31, 1854. One hundred and fifty thousand dollars were appropriated by the act of March 3, "for collecting, removing and subsisting the Indians of California," on the proposed new reserves--which reserves had not yet been selected. An additional appropriation of \$125,000 was voted at the same time to cover the expenses of the three reserves provided for in the act of July 31, 1854.

⁴¹. Henley to Mix, Oct. 4, 1855, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt. C. E. Mix was Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Superintendent Henley on December 18, 1854, had called attention to the need for new reservations and had asked for their establishment. He had reiterated his proposal in a report dated April 30, 1855, and mentioned at the same time that it was "indispensable" that one of the two reserves should be in Klamath County. On June 22 Commissioner George W. Manypenny (who had replaced Montgomery) wrote Secretary of the Interior Robert McClelland recommending that the funds appropriated by the act of March 3, 1855, be employed for the establishment of two reserves--a recommendation which McClelland relayed to President Pierce on June 25. On August 8 McClelland wrote Manypenny, "The President has returned the papers with his approval of the recommendation of the Department, and they are, herewith, enclosed for the proper action of the Indian Office in the matter." This action was taken on August 15, when Acting Commissioner C. E. Mix wrote Henley, authorizing the latter to locate the new reservations in accordance with "the suggestions in your report of the 30th of April." The first of the new reserves to be located and established was that on the Klamath, while the other would be at Cape Mendocino.

Acting on Henley's recommendation of October 4, as to the boundaries of the Klamath Reservation, Commissioner Manypenny, on November 10 forwarded the correspondence to Secretary McClelland, and two days later the Secretary transmitted the papers to President Franklin Pierce. On November 16, 1855, President Pierce by Executive Order approved the Secretary's proposal that the Klamath River Reservation include "a strip of territory commencing at the Pacific Ocean and extending one mile in width on each side of the Klamath River, for a distance of 20 miles." If on survey the reservation were found to exceed the 25,000 acres provided by law, a sufficient quantity was to be cut off from the upper end to bring it within this limit.⁴²

D. THE ESTABLISHMENT of the AGENCY at WAU-KELL

While on the Klamath, Superintendent Henley had told Agent Whipple to begin constructing buildings for the agency. One house was erected at Kepel and a second at Wau-Kell. Both these structures were weatherboarded. A survey was made of the coast from the Klamath to Crescent City for the purpose of cutting a trail. The trail was to be given high priority, because travel

42. Alban W. Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and Their Administration With Special Reference to the Far West, 1849-1860* (Philadelphia, 1932), pp. 51-61.

by sea, in small boats, would be hazardous during the approaching winter months. Until the farm and gardens were under cultivation, foodstuffs, as well as other supplies, would have to be brought down from Crescent City.

To add to Agent Whipple's difficulties, the fall salmon run, on which the Yurok were dependent, had been poor. Most of the Indians had then gone into the mountains to gather acorns.⁴³

In view of the estimates that at least 5,000 Indians would be concentrated on the reservation, Whipple had urged Henley in September 1855 to have a company of soldiers permanently assigned to the Klamath. Past difficulties with hot-tempered Captain Buchanan had convinced Agent Whipple that these troops should not be subject to orders from Fort Humboldt.⁴⁴

When Henley brought this subject to General Wool's attention, the veteran campaigner explained that he had issued orders recalling Captain Floyd-Jones and his detachment from the Klamath, because there were no quarters on the Reservation. This explanation shocked Henley, as it would leave Whipple and a few men surrounded by "thousands of Indians, who had recently been hostile." To add to a dangerous situation, the Rogue River War was raging in Oregon Territory, and at any moment it could spread down the coast and engulf the Klamath. An outbreak there could result in many deaths and the extermination of the Indians.⁴⁵

Henley, in a successful effort to sway Wool, promised to permit Floyd-Jones and his regulars to occupy, at quarters, the log building erected by the Indian Bureau and Kepel. This building would be turned over to the War Department at cost, and Whipple's mechanics would construct, at a slight charge, any additional structures Wool deemed necessary. Wool thereupon agreed to permit Floyd-Jones' detachment of the 4th Infantry to winter at Kepel.⁴⁶

43. Whipple to Henley, Sept. 27, 1855, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt.

44. Ibid.

45. Henley to Wool, Oct. 16, and Henley to Manypenny, Oct. 20, 1855, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt.

46. Ibid.

Having won General Wool over, Henley saw that supplies were rushed to the Reservation. A shipment of Indian blankets and clothing was sent to Crescent City to be forwarded to the Reservation, while Whipple was directed to purchase flour from the mill ten miles above Kepel. The agent was also told to make preparations to have the Indians plant potatoes and gardens, the only crops to be raised on the Reservation in 1856.⁴⁷ Whipple accordingly purchased in Crescent City and had transported to Wau-Kell, for use by the Indians, agricultural implements, tools, seeds, and a supply of twine for fishing nets. H. B. Dickinson of Crescent City was hired "to instruct the Indians in the various activities and pursuits which their location on the reservation might necessitate."⁴⁸

In 1856 Whipple resigned and was replaced as agent by James A. Patterson. Whereas Whipple had possessed ability and a capacity for hard work, Patterson spent considerable time away from the Reservation, where he frequented Crescent City saloons. In 1855, while the Rogue River War raged, the residents of Crescent City had deemed it expedient to concentrate the Tolowa on a reservation near the town. There the Tolowa were subsisted and guarded. When the war ended, Whipple had prevailed upon the Tolowa to move to Wilson Creek. To get them to agree to this move, he had promised that the government would subsist them, until land could be cultivated and food grown. He also promised to reimburse them for their fisheries and land (900 square miles). The payment was to be made in their currency --Ali-cachuck. With these they could purchase fisheries and farms from the Yurok.

Patterson, after replacing Whipple, had repudiated this agreement. Whereupon, the Tolowa left Wilson Creek and returned to their rancherias on Smith River and the coast north of Crescent City. There on October 19, 1856, they were taken in charge by Lt. Hezekiah Garder of the 4th Infantry. He concentrated them on Smith Island, where he saw that they were issued rations and clothing at the government's expense.⁴⁹

47. Henley to Manypenny, Oct. 20, 1855, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt.

48. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 35.

49. Alexander Hamilton to President Pierce, Sept. 27, 1856, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt.; Heintzelman to Crook, Dec. 15, 1857, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific. In getting the Tolowa to remove to Wilson Creek, Whipple had been assisted by the military.

Superintendent Henley was instructed to investigate Patterson's conduct. On doing so, Henley found that Patterson on January 12, 1857, had been so drunk, while at Crescent City, that he slept in his clothes in the bar of the Oriental Hotel; the next day he was so full of rotgut whiskey that he passed out in a stall in the McClellan & Co. Stable, "subject to the gaze of all who chose to look." The local charges regarding Patterson's character were substantiated by Lt. Charles H. Rundell (who had replaced Floyd-Jones as commander at Kepel), A. Snyder and Maj. H. P. Heintzelman of Weaverville, and Commissary John Irvine of Crescent City.⁵⁰

After studying the documents bearing on the case, Commissioner of Indian Affairs James W. Denver on April 15, 1857, ordered Patterson removed. His replacement was to be V. E. Geiger. Geiger declined to accept the appointment, and Major Heintzelman was nominated as subagent and directed to take charge of the Klamath River Reservation. As he had spent the summer of 1856 on the Klamath, he was familiar with the Yurok and their problems.⁵¹

Superintendent Henley on May 19 directed Heintzelman to proceed from San Francisco to the Klamath, by way of Crescent City, and to relieve Patterson. He was to receive and take possession of all government property, papers, and money currently in Patterson's charge and sign receipts for same.

In conducting

the affairs of the Reservation . . . it was expected that rigid economy would be practiced, and that all persons connected with the service will be held to strict rules of industry and temperance. No intoxicating liquors will be permitted on the Reservation and all gambling will be prohibited.⁵²

Heintzelman was told of the government's desire to make the Klamath River Reservation self-sustaining as soon as practicable. Until such time as the reservation gardens and farm could feed the Yurok, "the fish in the River, the shells on the coast, the

50. Memo. received by Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 18, 1857, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt.

51. Henley to Denver, May 19, 1857, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt. Denver had been named Commissioner of Indian Affairs by President Buchanan in March 1857.

52. Henley to Heintzelman, May 19, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt.

grass seed, nuts, & berries of the Mts. must suffice for the subsistence of the Indians."⁵³

Heintzelman, unlike his immediate predecessor, was industrious and God-fearing. On reaching the agency at Wau-Kell, he issued orders forbidding his employees from drinking or bringing onto the Reservation spiritous liquors in any form, and co-habiting by them with Indian women. The penalty for violation of these rules would be immediate discharge.⁵⁴ To improve the moral climate of the Reservation and to help educate the Indian children, Heintzelman asked that a missionary be assigned to his staff. Henley was agreeable, and a missionary was provided with quarters and rations at the expense of the government.⁵⁵

53. Ibid.

54. Heintzelman to Henley, Aug. 3, 1857, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt.

55. Henley to Heintzelman, Aug. 10, 1857, NA, RG 75, Ltrs. Recd., OIA, Calif. Supt.

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VII. THE ARMY AND THE KLAMATH RIVER RESERVATION

A. THE ESTABLISHMENT of FORT TER-WAW

Major Heintzelman, upon replacing Patterson as Indian agent, had visited the Tolowa and talked a majority into removing to the Klamath River Reservation. This was a good example of Heintzelman's persuasive powers, because the Tolowa and several of the Yurok villages were traditional enemies. Some of the Tolowa, however, had fled to the mountains rather than go to the Klamath. For those removing to the Klamath, the agent had built at Wau-Kell 23 log houses (15 x 18-foot) and had made arrangements to provide them at regular intervals with rations and clothing.¹

When they learned of this, the citizens of Crescent City held a mass-meeting and addressed a petition to the commander of the Department of the Pacific, Col. Norman Clarke. He was informed that while the Tolowa, who had gone to the mountains, had not committed any depredations, many of the settlers were in terror that they might. The citizens therefore urged Clarke to "place a Military force at or near" the Reservation. Through this action the Tolowa would be deterred from joining their brothers in the mountains. If there were no troops, fears were voiced that the Tolowa --as soon as the fall salmon run had been concluded--would return to their old haunts on Smith River. In addition, the troops could be called on to police the Reservation and keep the Tolowa and Yurok from cutting each others throats.²

Colonel Clarke read the petition and was impressed with its logic. Calling for his adjutant, William W. Mackall, Clarke had him draft orders transferring a company of the 4th United States Infantry to the Reservation. Mackall suggested that Company D, currently posted at Fort Jones, would be a good unit to send, as it had completed its mission in Siskiyou County.

In mid-September, Lt. George Crook received orders, signed by Mackall, to march his company to the mouth of the Klamath, and establish a post to keep peace among the Indians. Acknowledging the communication, Crook on September 27 notified Adjutant Mackall that he planned to put his company in motion from Fort Jones for Crescent City within 48 hours. As the rainy season was imminent

1. Heintzelman to Crook, Dec. 15, 1857, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of Calif. The movement of the Tolowa, willing to emigrate, had been completed by August 5, 1857.

2. Citizens of Crescent City to Clarke, Sept. 8, 1857, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

he requested that Company D be provided with "all implements & materials necessary to erect a shelter," and instructions as to the type of quarters to be erected. As he did not want to become indebted to the Office of Indian Affairs, he would like instructions as to whether the Indians would assist with military construction, and if they did, was he to supply them with rations or allow them wages?³

Crook and his company moved out as scheduled, marching down Scotts River to its confluence with the Klamath. The regulars then followed the Klamath, until a trail was struck leading across the Coast Range to Crescent City. As the soldiers pushed down the Klamath, they had passed a number of mining camps. but after leaving the river they saw few habitations until they reached Crescent City on October 10, four days later than Crook had anticipated. Crook described Crescent City as "a small place of a few hundred inhabitants, kept alive by being the port for some mining districts in the interior. Its harbor extended clear to China, being a simple indentation in the coast."⁴

From Crescent City, the column took the trail opened by Whipple leading to the Klamath. This route led over "broken bluffs" to the mouth of the river, where the troops arrived on the 12th. Here they encountered the Tolowa, as they were starting back to Smith River. Crook, making a show of force, escorted them back to Waukell on the 13th. The passage of the Klamath was made in canoes, paddled by the Indians.⁵

Crook reconnoitered the area searching for a favorable site for his post, one that would provide protection, and simultaneously have the soldiers sufficiently removed from the agency so as not to cause any friction. He finally selected a "beautiful, grassy flat, diagonally across and up the river" from the agency. Here there was "a small strip of woods running nearly all around the flat immediately on the bank of the river, while a dense forest of redwood furnished the background." This flat contained about 100

3. Crook, *Autobiography*, p. 55; Crook to Mackall, Sept. 27, 1857, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

4. Crook, *Autobiography*, p. 55.

5. *Ibid.*; Crook to Mackall, Oct. 21, 1857, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

acres. Relaying this information to Captain Mackall at Benicia, Crook suggested that the post be designated Fort Ter-Waw, the Yurok name for the flat.⁶

B. THE FIGHT at WAU-KELL

As soon as the baggage, along with the tools and building materials forwarded from Benicia, arrived, Crook turned his people to erecting quarters. Crook, in the meantime, had familiarized himself with the Indians and their problems. He learned that the Indians indigenous to the river were Yurok, and that the Indians removed to the reservation from Smith River were the Tolowa. Although they were neighbors, the two groups had different habits and spoke different languages. The Tolowa wished to return to their homes, while the Yurok were anxious to see them go.⁷

Much of the disaffection on the part of the Tolowa, he blamed on ill-disposed whites, who wished them back on Smith River. Agent Heintzelman had told Crook that about 100 Tolowa had returned to their former homes prior to his arrival. The two officers were in agreement that they would never return to the Reservation unless force was employed. If they were allowed to continue to defy the authorities war would result, as the Tolowa remaining on the reservation had vowed that they would not stay unless the fugitives were returned.⁸

Crook's orders from headquarters, Department of the Pacific, were to provoke no incidents and not to fight the Indians unless they fired first. During the last ten days of October and the first two weeks of November, a number of Tolowa took advantage of the restrictions Colonel Clarke had placed on Crook to slip away in small parties. Encouraged by these successes and satisfied that the military's hands were tied, they boasted that they were not afraid of the soldiers, because a "whiteman" had told them that Crook would not dare to fire on them. Discovering that all could not escape in this manner, they organized a conspiracy. Crook soon learned from a Yurok that the Tolowa were plotting to murder

6. Ibid. The Klamath at this point was a quarter of a mile across, with a powerful current.

7. Crook, *Autobiography*, p. 56. Agent Heintzelman had been very cooperative in supplying the military with tools, especially as orders forwarded to Crescent City took two weeks to fill.

8. Crook to Mackall, Oct. 21, 1857, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

him, destroy the boats which had ferried his company up the river, then kill Agent Heintzelman and his employees, sack the agency, and return to their homes. They reasoned that with Crook dead, the soldiers would be helpless, and they would have little to fret about. Already, a number of warriors had returned from Smith River to join the conspiracy.

Crook by this time was already wise in the ways of the redman, and he knew that unless he seized the initiative, some of the troops would be murdered. He made his plans accordingly. The conspirators were to be surrounded at daylight, as soon as their plans jelled and their guilt could be established. A detachment was sent across the river to Wau-Kell.

Several Tolowa visited camp at this time, approached Crook's tent, felt its thickness, and conversed excitedly. They made certain as to Crook's sleeping habits. The enlisted men's tents were about 50 to 60 yards away, at the edge of the redwoods. Crook kept cool, and not for a moment did he permit the plotters to know that he was aware of their intentions. Nothing was said to the soldiers. When he prepared to retire for the night, Crook laid his rifle on one side and his shotgun on the other, with his pistol and bowie knife under his head. A box of brasses belonging to the soldiers' accoutrements were positioned so that if the Indians attempted to slip inside they would stumble over them and awaken Crook.

Crook was so confident of his superiority that he hoped the Tolowa would strike. He would be in the dark, while they would be between him and the skyline, which would give him the advantage. Instead, the Indians determined to first eliminate Agent Heintzelman.

On the morning of November 17, 1857, the Tolowa sent word for Heintzelman to come to their village to see a sick man. The agent went, accompanied by a surgeon. Upon their arrival, they were assailed from all sides by redmen armed with bows and arrows, and knives. The two whites were able to fend off the Tolowa for a few moments, which permitted the guard detachment to come up on the double. Two or three volleys sent the Indians scattering into the underbrush.

The first Crook knew of the attack was when a runner dashed up with a note from one of the agency employees, stating that the agent had been killed. The soldiers at this time were organized into fatigue details, collecting building materials. Crook had the "long roll" beaten. Within less than one-half hour, he had rounded up his company, except for two men, crossed the river, and moved against the Tolowa. The fight was soon over, as the men of Com-

pany D routed the Indians from Wau-Kell Flat, killing ten and wounding a number. When he mustered his company, Crook was delighted to learn that the army had suffered no casualties.

In the mopping up operations which ensued, 26 warriors and a number of women and children were captured and sworn that they would remain on the Reservation. The rest of the Tolowa, however, took advantage of the confusion to flee into the mountains. Those that reached Smith River sent word that if Crook wanted to fight, he knew where to find them. Forwarding this information, along with a report of the fight at Wau-Kell to his superiors in Benicia, Crook observed, "I feel that if they are allowed to remain on Smith River, war is inevitable & that there is but one way to bring them in."¹⁰

Agent Heintzelman agreed with Crook that the army would have to pursue the Tolowa "to their old haunts and severely punish them." Many of the young men had participated in the Rogue River War and were skilled in the use of firearms, besides having established close contact with a number of the Chetco, who had fled into the mountains rather than submit. According to reports reaching Wau-Kell, these sturdy warriors were biding their time, and in the spring they would resume hostilities against the Rogue River settlers. If they did, he believed the Tolowa would rally to their cause. Twice before, in 1856 and again in 1857, the Tolowa had been brought to the Reservation by "peaceable means," and both times they had refused to stay. Now he argued, they must be taught that "the Reserve is their home & that the agent is there to protect them & see to their wants, & what they are told by the squawmen are lies."¹¹

Meanwhile, Superintendent Henley had been studying the reports of the clash filed by Crook and Heintzelman and the stories carried by the newspapers. What he read convinced him that to "a very great degree," the outbreak could be attributed to "the injudicious management" of Heintzelman. In his opinion, the subagent's zeal for the interest of the Service exceeded his knowledge of Indians or his judgment in their management.¹²

9. Crook, *Autobiography*, 56-57; Crook to Mackall, Nov. 17, 1857, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept of the Pacific.

10. Crook to Mackall, Nov. 17, 1857, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

11. Heintzelman to Crook, Dec. 15, 1857, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

12. Henley to Denver, Dec. 19, 1857, NA, RG 75, OLA, Calif. Supt.

When he forwarded this critical evaluation of Heintzelman's capabilities to Commissioner Denver, he pointed out that the people of Crescent City had been constantly agitating for the removal of the Tolowa to the Reservation. Before agreeing to this, Heintzelman had consulted the superintendent. Henley had advised him not to proceed with removal unless the agency was "fully provided with provisions for their subsistence." Succumbing to pressure from Crescent City interests, Heintzelman had proceeded to remove most of the tribe, about 600 strong, to the Reservation. At the time of their arrival, food was scarce, as the crops had not been harvested. This, along with dissatisfaction with the housing at Waukell, had sparked the fight.¹³

Henley, learning that most of the Tolowa had fled into the mountains, gave them permission to return to their villages on Smith River. This was a great disappointment to Crook, because he believed that most of them would have returned to the Reservation on their own initiative. Before receipt of Henley's latest directive, certain whites at Crescent City had been apprised of it and had leaked the information to the Tolowa. Those Indians who had indicated a desire to stay on the Reservation were told that they would be harassed by the Yurok. This had the anticipated effect, and they quickly crossed the Klamath and headed northward up the trail to Crescent City and Smith River.¹⁴

Although he had been in the area less than three months, Crook had learned that there were a number of "low principled whites" in and about Crescent City, "who had been living with squaws & subsisting off the Indians, who with a few headmen" of the Tolowa were at the bottom of the trouble. Heintzelman had secured verbal evidence that several of these men had lain in ambush along the Crescent City-Klamath Trail for the purpose of assassinating him. Prior to Company D's arrival at Fort Ter-Waw, the squawmen had told the Tolowa that if they returned to Smith River, Crook would be compelled to subsist them as Lieutenant Garder had during the winter of 1856-57.¹⁵

13. Ibid.

14. Crook to Mackall, Dec. 25, 1857, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept of the Pacific.

15. Ibid. Crook likened these whites to the ones who had "commenced the Rogue River War by going to a settler's garden after night in their bare feet, destroying the vegetables, [and] firing his home. And then the next day, one of this same party, who was an officer in a Volunteer Company, helped massacre a Rancheria of innocent Indians for the alleged depredations." Another nasty incident in that war was participated in

Relaying this information to Department headquarters, Crook warned that if the Tolowa were allowed to remain on Smith River, the squawmen would cause a war, at the close of which, they would "bring in a large claim against the government for services never performed." Moreover, he warned, the Tolowa with their numerous moves had failed to lay in a winter's supply of food, and without such "they must either steal or starve." If he compelled the Tolowa to return and it led to war, he did not believe there would be any trouble on the Reservation, because the Yurok had assured him that they desired them back, and were even willing to assist in bringing them in. But if the worse came and there was war with the Tolowa, Crook was confident Company D, 4th U. S. Infantry, could cope with the situation.¹⁶

Superintendent Henley was backed by Commissioner Denver in his decision not to employ force in returning the Tolowa to the Klamath River Reservation. In view of this decision, the military found its hands tied. Crook for the next several months could concentrate on construction projects. The barracks were built first. By the time he was ordered to Fort Vancouver, in the last week of June 1858, to participate in a campaign against the Indians who had defeated Maj. Stephen Steptoe's command, Fort Ter-Waw was nearly completed.¹⁷

C. COMPANY B, 4TH UNITED STATES INFANTRY, GARRISONS the POST

Prior to the receipt of orders sending his unit up the coast, Crook was involved in a dispute with Capt. Gabriel Rains, who had replaced Captain Buchanan as commanding officer at Fort Humboldt. Rains had detained 2d Lt. T. E. Turner at his post, although the young officer was assigned to Company D. Crook accordingly protested to Adjutant Mackall that he had been the only officer with the company since he had joined in 1856. When he had only the company to be responsible for, he did not feel overly burdened by his tasks, but now that he also had the duties of post commander to reckon with, it was impossible to give the unit the attention it deserved.¹⁸

by two of the men of this company, "who slept with two Indian women and the next a.m. beat their brains out." He had evidence that these same men were behind the clash at Wau-Kell on November 17.

16. Ibid.

17. Crook, *Autobiography*, pp. 57-58.

18. Crook to Mackall, May 11, 1858, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept of Pacific.

Department headquarters called on Captain Rains to release Lieutenant Turner, and he reported to Crook before the company started for Fort Vancouver on June 28. Company B, Lt. Joseph Collins commanding, was to occupy Fort Ter-Waw during Company D's absence. Collins' people left Fort Humboldt on July 8 and reached the post on the Klamath 72 hours later. Evidently, the men were not overjoyed at their new assignment, because four deserted after tattoo on the 8th.

After reaching Fort Ter-Waw, Collins complained to Adjutant Mackall that he had left two men at Fort Humboldt, one a baker and the other a carpenter. As his people had inherited a number of unfinished structures, Collins wanted these men provided with transportation to the Klamath. If he were compelled to hire a carpenter, the salary demanded would be more than the army could afford.

When Captain Rains was asked to comment on Collins' complaint, he exploded that it was humbug about one of the men named being a good carpenter. The man, however, was a first-rate servant!¹⁹

Collins tried to be an "empire builder." In late July he complained to Mackall that as there was no post surgeon, one should be ordered to the Reservation. On August 1 Mackall was notified that there were no laundresses at Fort Ter-Waw, and as there were three assigned to Company B at Fort Humboldt, two should be sent to the Klamath.²⁰ Mackall viewed Collins' requests with a jaundiced eye and they were pigeonholed.

Lieutenant Crook expected to return to Fort Ter-Waw in the fall, so on July 29 from a camp, near the Dalles, he wrote Mackall, informing him that his company had left a "fine garden." A letter had been left, addressed to Lieutenant Collins, requesting him to reimburse Company D for the money expended. As yet, he had heard nothing from Collins, and he had reason "to believe that the company will . . . lose all." He therefore requested that Company D be reassigned to Fort Ter-Waw, as soon as the campaign was over, because his unit had been deprived of a "garden every season since I have been with it."²¹

19. Muster Rolls & Returns, Company B, 4th U. S. Infantry, NA.

20. Collins to Mackall, July 29, 1858, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

21. Crook to Mackall, July 29, 1858, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

Taking cognizance of Crook's request and good record, Mackall saw that orders were issued reassigning Company D, 4th U.S. Infantry, to Fort Ter-Waw at the close of the summer's campaign in Washington Territory. Crook and his unit were back on the Reservation in October. For the next several months, Fort Ter-Waw was garrisoned by two companies--Crook's and Collins'.²²

D. TWO and ONE-HALF ROUTINE YEARS at FORT TER-WAW

The Ordnance Department in the fall of 1858 shipped to Crescent City new firearms and accoutrements to replace those currently in use. At Crescent City, the ordnance stores were transferred from the steamer that had brought them up from Benicia to the schooner *Charlotte*. As *Charlotte* tried to beat her way into the Klamath, she was stranded and wrecked on the bar.

Crook turned out a fatigue party, and, assisted by the Yurok, he was able to salvage a number of weapons and cartridge-boxes. The firearms, however, were badly rusted by the saltwater, while the leather in the cartridge-boxes was worthless. The arms and accoutrements were accordingly returned to Benicia, and on December 10 Ordnance Officer Capt. Franklin D. Callender turned over to the Quartermaster's Department for transportation to Companies B and D "new model arms with accoutrements and ammunition." This time there were no shipwrecks, and the ordnance stores were received at Fort Ter-Waw and issued to the troops.²³

The high opinion his superiors held of Crook was again demonstrated in January 1859. In December 1858 Crook had complained to Adjutant Mackall that there was no medical officer at Fort Ter-Waw, and there were men on sick call who required medical attention. In addition, if one of his men met with a serious accident, he would be "at a loss to know what to do." Crook would also like to see Fort Ter-Waw placed on the list of posts entitled to double rations. The department commander acceded to Crook's request, whereas six months before he had turned down Collins when that officer had asked that a medical officer be detailed to the Klamath.²⁴

22. Master Rolls & Returns, Cos. B & D, 4th U.S. Infantry, NA.

23. Crook to Mackall, Nov. 21 & Dec. 8, 1858, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

24. Crook to Mackall, Dec. 30, 1858, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

In the spring of 1859 Lieutenant Collins and Company B were withdrawn from Fort Ter-Waw and sent to Hoopa Valley, where they were assigned to Fort Gaston. Crook that summer, in response to a plea for protection against the Hupa, ordered a sergeant and a score of privates to establish an outpost at the confluence of the Klamath and Salmon. This news did not sit well with the residents of Crescent City. As they had several times in the past, they held a meeting and drafted a protest, which was forwarded to department headquarters. In expressing their regret at Crook's action, they pointed out that the mouth of the Salmon was within 36 miles of Fort Gaston; the number of Indians in Hoopa Valley was one to ten, when compared with the number in the vicinity of Fort Ter-Waw and Crescent City; and that the Hupa were "all of a friendly habit and there was no fear of an outbreak among them." At the same time, the Tolowa were uneasy and restless, because most of their land had been occupied by settlers. And, it was pointed out, these settlers were not squatters, the Indians' land having been purchased either by the United States or California. These settlers, since they held legal title to their property under the law of the United States, wanted the Tolowa removed for a third--and they hoped final--time to the Klamath River Reservation, so they could be "left in the peaceable occupation of their lands."²⁵

Many of the Tolowa congregated in Crescent City. At nights they could be found everywhere. Drunken Indians were in the habit of sleeping in barns, sheds, and abandoned buildings, and there was constant danger of fire. Protests had been made, but the officials in charge of the Reservation took no action.²⁶

The citizens therefore petitioned that "all orders now issued or contemplated which will tend to divide or remove the command of Lt. Crook from the Klamath Reservation may be countermanded . . . , and the entire Company kept" at Fort Ter-Waw, "where they will be of service." If the army would agree to their two requests, it would be serving "the cause of humanity," while placing the citizens of recently organized Del Norte County under its obligation.²⁷

25. Crescent City Citizens to Mackall, July 21, 1859, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

26. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 61.

27. Crescent City Citizens to Mackall, July 21, 1859, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific. Del Norte County was organized in 1857 by a division of Klamath County.

The military pocketed the memorial. In regard to recalling the outpost at the mouth of the Salmon, it would be unwise to allow civilians to dictate how an officer was to deploy his unit, while Superintendent Henley had overruled the forcible return of the Tolowa to the Reservation. If the citizens wished the Indians back on the Reservation, they would have to approach officials of the Department of the Interior.

Lieutenant Crook in mid-September took a canoe up the Klamath to visit his detachment. He found the Hupa peaceful, and--on discussing the situation with several influential members of the white community--that no outbreak was anticipated. He was told that those who had agitated for the stationing of troops in the area had done so not for the protection the military would afford, "but for the personal benefit they would derive" from the sale of goods and services to the army. He learned that several buildings at the Orleans Bar diggings had been burned, but he was not satisfied the Indians were the arsonists.

If the detachment were to remain where it was through the winter, quarters would have to be erected, because the snow back in the mountains got very deep. Moreover, the nearest doctor was at Fort Gaston, and this point had been driven home when Crook was compelled to "bring down one of his men to the post for medical attention."²⁸

The people at Benicia, after evaluating Crook's report and taking cognizance that Company D was too scattered to take the field if trouble developed with the Tolowa, ordered the outpost recalled. Crook accordingly recalled the detachment from the mouth of the Salmon and concentrated his company at Fort Ter-Waw.²⁹

In August 1859 the Fort Ter-Waw guardhouse was partially destroyed by fire. As to be expected, a grog shop had been opened by an enterprising white just off the Reservation, but within easy walking distance of the post. With a supply of rotgut whiskey so near and little else for the troops to spend their money on, the guardhouse was usually full after each visit by the paymaster. Consequently, Crook "assumed the responsibility of placing soldiers on extra duty to build a new house, trusting it will meet with the general's approval."³⁰

28. Crook to Mackall, Sept. 23, 1859, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

29. Ibid.

30. Crook to Mackall, Aug. 30, 1859, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

Crook, in the last week of September, turned out a fatigue party to improve the trail from Fort Ter-Waw to Crescent City. The rugged terrain and thick undergrowth made this a difficult and unpopular chore. Sgt. William Hunt, who was detailed to push the men, tried to be a friend to the privates and permitted them to straggle. Crook could be a stern disciplinarian, and he had the sergeant locked up in the new guardhouse. The lesson was learned, and the project was completed without further incidents.³¹

In September 1860 Crook secured a 60-day leave to visit friends and relatives in the east. Lieutenant Turner commanded at Fort Ter-Waw while Crook was absent. Crook returned to duty on Christmas.³² Soon after his return, Crook organized "The Ter-Waw Dramatic Association," and the performances were said to "be very interesting and to reflect great credit on its members!"³³

E. THE CIVIL WAR COMPELS the U.S. to REDEPLOY the 4TH INFANTRY

South Carolina had withdrawn from the Union on December 20, 1860, to be followed by the other six states of the deep South. On April 12 Confederate guns opened on Fort Sumter, and its defenders surrendered the next day. President Abraham Lincoln then called for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion, and four states of the upper South left the Union. For the next four years, the bloody Civil War was to occupy much of the nation's energy.

Regular army units scattered about the frontier posts would be recalled to fight the South. Because his superiors held Crook in high repute, his unit was one of the first to receive its marching orders. In June, Crook took Company D to Crescent City, where on June 11 it was embarked on a steamboat for San Francisco, the next stage on its journey to the Atlantic Seaboard. Crook's *Autobiography* and official correspondence demonstrate that his Fort Ter-Waw years taught him many valuable lessons, which he successfully applied in the Indian Campaigns of the 1870s and 1880s. Unlike many of his brother officers, Crook observed the redmen closely and sought to understand them.

31. Crook to Mackall, Oct. 19, 1859, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

32. Muster Rolls & Returns, Co. D, 4th U. S. Infantry, NA.

33. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, pp. 39-40.

The Crescent City citizens were disappointed to see that Lieutenant Crook's command had been withdrawn from Fort Ter-Waw. At a mass-meeting, held on June 24, a memorial was framed and addressed to the commander of the Department of the Pacific, Brig. Gen. Edwin V. Summer. It was pointed out that the presence of troops had been "effectual in awing and restraining the Indians" in Del Norte and Klamath Counties, and that their continued presence was essential to the preservation of peace. They asked General Summer to return Crook's company to Fort Ter-Waw, and if this were impracticable to send an officer and arms to organize a militia company.

To illustrate the danger, the citizens pointed out that the Indians, in Del Norte County, outnumbered the whites two to one, and moreover many of them were well-armed. If the government refused protection the citizens would "make preparations at our own expense, as we do not desire a repetition of the scenes of 1855 and 1856."³⁴

The last thing that General Summer wanted was a repetition of the Rogue River War, so he ordered Company C, 4th U. S. Infantry, Capt. Lewis Hunt commanding, to Fort Ter-Waw. Hunt's people would remain on the Reservation until such time as the California Volunteers were ready to take the field. Company C left Camp Sumner on the steamboat *Columbia* on August 20. The unit disembarked at Crescent City on the 24th and marched to the mouth of the Klamath over a mule trail. There they were embarked in canoes on the 28th and taken upstream to the post.³⁵

Captain Hunt found that his stay at Fort Ter-Waw would be pleasant. Apart from the high cost of transportation (\$25 to \$30 per ton) from Crescent City, the post would not be an expensive one to maintain. Half the forage allowance would be sufficient, and good beef cattle could be purchased, on the hoof, for five cents per pound or less. The Yurok was quiet and well disposed, so there would be no trouble with them. The buildings were of solid construction, and the gardens, seeded by Company D, lush.³⁶

34. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1900), (Series I) 50, (pt. 1), 522-523. Cited hereinafter as *O.R.*

35. Muster Rolls & Returns, Co. C, 4th U.S. Infantry, NA.

36. Hunt to Drum, Aug. 31, 1861, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

F. FLOODS DESTROY FORT TER-WAW

By November the 3d California Volunteer Infantry was ready to take the field. Capt. John H. May's Company C was ordered to Del Norte County to relieve Hunt's regulars. May's people reached Fort Ter-Waw on November 14. On his arrival at Crescent City from San Francisco, May found that the heavy surf would not permit the steamer to tie-up at the wharf. May was compelled to land his unit in small boats, at a cost of two dollars per man. The charge for boating equipment and supplies from Crescent City to the mouth of the Klamath was also high, eight cents per pound.³⁷

On November 24 the post was turned over to May by Captain Hunt, and he marched his regulars to Eureka. From there they took the steamship *Columbia* to San Francisco.³⁸

Torrential rains pounded the Humboldt Coast in December and early January, causing the Klamath, as well as the other rivers and streams, to flood. By mid-January the flat on which Fort Ter-Waw stood had been inundated four times, as the river crested and ebbed. Seventeen of the 20 buildings constituting the post were swept away. When Captain May reported this situation to his superiors, they directed him to rebuild the post. This would not be impossible, because the men's morale, despite the heavy rains and flooding, was surprisingly high. With the parade ground under water much of the time, company drill had been infrequent.³⁹

Col. Francis J. Lippitt had formally assumed command of the Humboldt Military District, with headquarters at Fort Humboldt, on January 9, 1862.⁴⁰ Heavy rains which continued to plague the coast and poor trails prevented Colonel Lippitt from visiting Fort Ter-Waw. Until March 5 the road and trail leading up the coast from Eureka to the mouth of the Klamath was impassable.

37. *O.R.*, (Series I), 50, (pt. 1), 743.

38. Hunt to Drum, Dec. 5, 1861, NA, RG 98, Ltrs. Recd., Dept. of the Pacific.

39. *O. R.* (Series I), 50, (pt. 1), 805. The garrison numbered 55, including officers. The three buildings left standing were officers' quarters. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 40.

40. The District included the counties of Del Norte, Klamath, Humboldt, Trinity, Mendocino, Sonoma, and Napa. *OR*, (Series I), 50, (pt. 1), 800.

Meanwhile, Lippitt's superiors had determined to redeploy Captain May's company, sending it to rejoin the regiment on the Central Overland Route. The new commander of the Department of the Pacific, Brig. Gen. George Wright, accordingly ordered Company G, 2d California Infantry to the Klamath. The first Lippitt learned of this move was when Capt. William W. Stuart with his company reached Humboldt Bay by steamer from San Francisco. He was agreeably surprised to learn from Stuart that he and his men were enroute to Fort Ter-Waw to replace May's people. Captain Stuart had not brought any provisions or ammunition with him, and Lippitt, not knowing whether any would be available at Crescent City or Fort Ter-Waw, had Company G supplied with 30 days' rations and 1,000 rounds of ball cartridge.⁴¹

Stuart's company then sailed on to Crescent City, landing there. Lt. Theodore Whetmore started for Fort Ter-Waw with a 24-man detachment on March 14. A 20-mule train accompanied the platoon, while the men carried three-days' rations in their haversacks. Lt. John J. Shepherd followed with a second detachment on the 20th. One of Shepherd's men, Greenleaf Curtis, kept a journal, in which he recorded his impressions of the march. On the first day's tramp, the troops reached Cushing's house, five miles down the beach from Crescent City. The little column got under way at 10 a.m. on the 21st and "went as far as English Henry's 14 miles over a very bad road." Lieutenant Shepherd had his men on the trail by 8 o'clock on the 22d, and they reached the mouth of the Klamath three hours later, to find that portions of the trail up the north bank of the river had been destroyed by the winter floods. A number of Yurok, with four canoes, took the soldiers up to Fort Ter-Waw, where they arrived at 3 p.m.⁴²

Another soldier, Pvt. George E. Young, recorded what he saw:

Amidst the grand old forest of such mammoth trees this Post once formed a conspicuous and important spot of uncommon beauty. The Quarters, barracks, Government Stores & Shops were handsomely arranged for comfort and usefulness and no expense spared to make the Fort a safe retreat and a good & pleasant home.

But all the property we found is in a most deplorable condition. Out of 25 buildings only three

41. Ibid., pp. 909-910. Fred B. Rogers, "Early Military Posts of Del Norte County," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 26, 3.

42. Young, *History of Del Norte*, p. 57.

remained and only two of any account. All others had been swept away.⁴³

They found May's company, along with those who had come down with Lieutenant Whetmore, living in tents. Captain May and his people, with Stuart's on the scene, now marched for Crescent City.⁴⁴

Soon after he assumed responsibility for the post, Captain Stuart made a reconnaissance of the route from the fort to Crescent City "to ascertain the practicality of opening a trail passable for pack-animals." He found considerable labor would be required to improve the trail from the fort to Half-way House. To add to his problems, there were only 20 days' rations on hand, and the Klamath, for the time being, could not be navigated by anything larger than a canoe. In reporting this situation to his superiors, on March 25, Stuart pointed out, "the post is at the present time a very expensive one, and it will require an immense amount of labor and material to rebuild."⁴⁵

Stuart was opposed to carrying out the orders to rebuild Fort Ter-Waw, and on May 10 he reported, "we are hemmed in here in every way, and we have no outlet except the trail on the south side of the Klamath to the coast, which the troops had recently opened." This trail intersected the Crescent City-Humboldt trail. Travel was generally by canoe and very expensive, the Yurok owning all the canoes. Their charge for ferrying the troops across the river was four cents each way, which Stuart considered too high.⁴⁶

Once again, the people of Crescent City began to interfere with troop movements. They were distressed to learn that Captain Stuart had sent his best men to the Bald Hills to man the outpost at Elk Camp, on the trail between Trinidad and the Klamath. Recently, two-thirds of the adult males had left Crescent City for the Oregon mines. About 150 families had remained, mostly women and children, with only a 30-man militia company to protect them from the Tolowa. Most of the homeguards were armed with flintlocks. The people were saying harsh words about the reduction of Stuart's command, because Fort Ter-Waw was all the defense Del Norte had. With 800 Yurok on the Klamath and as many more Tolowa on Smith River, the situation

43. Rogers, "Early Military Posts of Del Norte County," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 26, 3.

44. Young, *History of Del Norte*, p. 57.

45. O. R. (Series I), 50, (pt.1), 952.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 1062.

looked bleak. To make matters worse, the Hupa were descending the Klamath, daily, to fish and trade. Persons had told Stuart that the Yurok had secreted 400 stands-of-arms, which they had salvaged after the flood, and that profiteers from Humboldt Bay were selling them ammunition.

In the period following the flood, the Indian agent had abandoned his agency at Wau-Kell, and the Indians had dug up quantities of lead pipe and iron. When he had first reached the post, Stuart could, by using quartermaster's supplies for currency, get the Yurok to transport government stores, but by May they demanded cash. Some had become so bold that they threatened the Hupa and "others up the river will come down and clean white men out from their fishing grounds, saying, 'Indians all fight against white men.'"⁴⁷

Captain Stuart was not a man of Lieutenant Crook's ability and character, and he was shaken by these stories and unwilling to face difficulties. Besides, he was a poor match for the Crescent City politicians. Judge E. Mason of that town on May 19 wrote George M. Hanson, Superintendent of Indians for the Northern District, complaining that his fellow citizens were disenchanted with the military. He reminded Hanson of a promise "to have at least one company of troops in Smith River Valley" by April, in return for an agreement to permit the United States to establish a reservation there. Since the departure of the men for the mines, the Tolowa had become "quite impudent going to houses where there are no men and demanding food and clothing." This had frightened the women and children, causing them to abandon their homes and seek shelter in Crescent City. Moreover, the Tolowa were in contact with their former enemies --the Yurok. Chief Ilas had made three visits to the Klamath, and fears were voiced that he was plotting a general outbreak.⁴⁸

Superintendent Hanson on May 21 accordingly contacted General Wright. While Hanson, personally, had no fears of trouble in Del Norte, he would be glad to see troops posted in the new Smith River Reservation.⁴⁹ General Wright, the next day, acknowledged receipt of Hanson's note and Judge Mason's letter. Before taking action, Wright wished to know the number of Indians on the Smith River Reservation, and whether all those previously living near Fort Ter-Waw had been removed.⁵⁰

47. Ibid., pp. 1062-1963.

48. Ibid., p. 1088.

49. Ibid., p. 1087.

50. Ibid., p. 1092.

Hanson answered immediately. Previous to his departure from Smith River, he had removed all, or nearly all, the Humboldt and Eel River Indians and a few Yurok to the new reservation. Counting the Tolowa, there would be about 1,000 Indians on Smith River. The Yurok were disinclined to emigrate, and claimed that in "their old haunts they could shift or provide for themselves better than the others who had been" concentrated on Smith River. Hanson was agreeable to their remaining on the Klamath until he had better means of providing for their welfare. In his opinion there could not be in excess of 300 Yurok within three or four miles of Fort Ter-Waw, while there were no white settlers within 30 miles, if squawmen were discounted. Hanson would be pleased to see Stuart's company located at some point between Crescent City and Smith River.⁵¹

General Wright, since the move was advocated by the Office of Indian Affairs and no longer opposed by the post commander, agreed to abandon Fort Ter-Waw. On May 27, 1862, Captain Stuart received orders to pull his troops off the Klamath River Reservation and to establish a new post on or adjacent to the new Smith River Reservation. Stuart lost no time in carrying out his orders. A diarist wrote on June 10, 1862, that the day was "memorable for the departure of the 1st detachment in the evacuation of Fort Ter-Waw. At early dawn the captain with 39 men took boats down the river to its mouth, then overland to Crescent City." The rest of Company G, 2d California Infantry, followed within two days, and Fort Ter-Waw had been abandoned and was soon forgotten.⁵²

G. COMMENTS and RECOMMENDATIONS

The site of Fort Ter-Waw is now engulfed by the rapidly growing community of Klamath Glen. The site is near the line separating Sections 18 and 19, Township 13 North, Range 2 East. This is about three miles east of the boundary of Redwood National Park. The State of California has erected a historical tablet, commemorating the post, near the site. In 1946 Fred B. Rogers reported that the remains of several chimney foundations could be seen. When I visited the site on April 26, 1969, these had disappeared.⁵³

51. Ibid., p. 1093.

52. Rogers, "Early Military Posts of Del Norte County," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 26, 3.

53. Ibid., 3.

Although Fort Ter-Waw is not located in Redwood National Park, it is intimately associated with a number of themes of the Park Story, and as such it constitutes an important resource. Troops from Fort Ter-Waw brought peace and order to the Klamath and protected the Yurok from encroachments by the whites; they opened a trail from the post to the mouth of the Klamath and improved the trail up the coast to Crescent City; and they defeated the Tolowa in the battle on Wau-Kell Flat.

The role of George Crook at Fort Ter-Waw and on the Klamath will be of interest to the visitor. Crook, a Civil War general and famous Indian campaigner in the West, commanded at Fort Ter-Waw for almost four years. Here he learned to understand and appreciate the Indians, faculties not possessed by most American generals who established their reputations by leading armies in the Civil War. Crook has given us some of our most enlightening and entertaining description of life among the Yurok in the late 1850s. Finally, the battle on Wau-Kell Flat was the second engagement in which this famous Indian fighter had an independent command.

The flood that destroyed Fort Ter-Waw in January 1862 is our first recorded example of the terrible devastation the Klamath is capable of inflicting.

Unless Wau-Kell Flat is acquired by the Service as previously recommended, the story of Fort Ter-Waw, George Crook, and the army on the Klamath will have to be interpreted in a Visitor Center. If Wau-Kell Flat is acquired, these elements of "Man in the Redwoods" should be interpreted there.

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VIII. THE KLAMATH RIVER RESERVATION--1858-1894*

A. DAVID BUELL and FARMING OPERATIONS--1858-1861

The Office of Indian Affairs determined to dump Subagent Heintzelman, because Superintendent Henley held that the movement of the Tolowa to the Klamath had been premature and had sparked the conspiracy that ended in the fight on Wau-Kell Flat. Heintzelman's successor, David Buell, took charge of the Klamath Indian Reservation in 1858.

In addition to the subagent in charge, the agency staff consisted of six positions--a physician, farmer, blacksmith, interpreter, overseer, and teacher. All of these positions except one, the overseer, were at Wau-Kell. The overseer was stationed at Kepel. The physician in 1859 was paid \$1,200 per year, while the other incumbents received \$900, each, per year for their services.¹

Superintendent Henley resigned under fire in 1859, and he was succeeded as Superintendent of the California District by James Y. McDuffie on June 7. McDuffie in August visited the Klamath River Reservation, and found that the agency at Wau-Kell was located in a beautiful valley, containing about 800 acres. Walking about the area, he was delighted to see that the land was fertile and well-adapted to the "growth of a variety of grain and vegetables." A large portion of the flat was not cultivated, and "although not densely timbered, contained considerable undergrowth which will require labor & expense in clearing." About 160 acres were under cultivation. The yield of the farm, McDuffie found, spoke well for "the industry & good management of the agent and employees & promises great success in the future."²

At Ho'pau, one mile below the agency and on the opposite side of the Klamath, a small 40-acre farm was being cultivated. Adjoining this farm, Superintendent McDuffie saw another 80 acres which

*See National Register Forms, pp. 339-351.

1. Rept. of Employees Connected with the Klamath River Reservation, Sept. 1, 1859, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt. As of September 1, 1859, these positions were held by: physician, Dr. S. S. Welton; farmer, G. W. Terrill; blacksmith, J. Davison; interpreter, M. G. Tucker; overseer, Thomas Sherwood; and teacher, Mrs. N. L. Buell.

2. McDuffie to Greenwood, Sept. 30, 1859, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt. A. B. Greenwood had replaced Denver as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

could be farmed. Visiting Fort Ter-Waw, McDuffie was well received by Lieutenant Crook. The flat at the fort contained about 80 acres of ground, "unsurpassed in fertility and of easy cultivation."³ At Pecwan, ten miles above the agency, he visited a small 18-acre farm, adjoining which there was about 50 acres that "could be turned to a profitable account." Kepel, 17 river miles above Wau-Kell, was a beautiful location, and it was "surrounded by a country unsurpassed for grazing purposes & is entirely isolated & protected from the invasion of white settlers." The 15 acres cultivated here, under the supervision of the agency overseer, were rich. As the country was gently undulating, it would be easy to bring additional acres under cultivation.⁴

In addition to these areas, McDuffie had seen other flats, which could be brought under cultivation. When they were, it would be possible for the Reservation to support at least 5,000 Indians.

At the Wau-Kell Agency there were six major buildings--a residence, mill, blockhouse, barn, stable, and granary; at Pecwan there was another residence and granary; at Kepel a second blockhouse; and at Lop-El there were three well-built houses. The residence at the agency was "commodious and comfortably arranged," while the other government buildings were frame and "sustained well the purpose for which they were designed." Also located on the Reservation and belonging to the government were two stores (one clapboard and the other log) and 39 log houses occupied by Yurok.⁵

The number of work animals (22 oxen, six mules, and one horse) were insufficient to meet the area's agricultural needs. One bull, 22 cows and calves, 87 hogs, and a number of chickens helped provide food to supplement the diet.

McDuffie was so impressed with what he saw on the Klamath that he dashed off a letter to Commissioner A. B. Greenwood, calling his attention to the prosperous condition of the Reservation. An incomplete census indicated that not less than "2,000 Indians were residing on & frequenting this place." Near Wau-Kell there were between 200 and 250, whose services were available for farming purposes. They appeared to be "obedient & contented, as is the case

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. Of the land under cultivation, 33 acres were in potatoes, 75 in peas, 7 in carrots, and 18 in beets, cabbages, corn, melons and other garden vegetables.

5. Ibid.; Dreibelbis to Greenwood, Nov. 22, 1860, NA, RG 75, 01A, Ltrs: Recd., Calif. Supt.

when an abundance of food & occupation is found for them." He cited conditions on the Reservation as proof of the practicality of expediting the policy of settling the California Indians in self-sufficient farming communes.⁶

The year 1860 was a good year on the Reservation. In June 1860 Congress had enacted legislation reorganizing the California Superintendency and dividing it into a Northern and Southern District, each to be under a superintending agent at a salary of \$3,600 per year. John A. Dreibelbis was named by President James Buchanan to head the Northern District.⁷

Touring the Reservation and its farms with Agent Buell in the autumn of 1860, Dreibelbis was reminded of a "well regulated plantation." He complimented Buell on the efficient management of the area. Land under cultivation had been substantially increased. On one 5-acre plot, Buell boasted, 60,000 potatoes had been grown, while a perch of ground would produce 360 pounds of carrots.⁸

Before returning to San Francisco, Dreibelbis examined Buell's books, and reappointed all the staff, as he was assured by the agent that they were faithfully discharging their duties. He was told that \$1,200, not counting the salaries, would be sufficient to fund the Reservation in Fiscal Year 1861, as the reserve was self-sufficient in foodstuffs. Unlike most Indians, the Yurok did not require beef, because the Klamath salmon runs provided them with an abundance of meat. Already, predatory whites had attempted to trespass on their fishing rights at the mouth of the river. They had been checked, however, by the "prompt & decided interference of Agent Buell." The whites, although they had been rebuffed, promised to return with their lawyers and occupy the three small islands, near the mouth of the Klamath. To checkmate this land grab, Superintendent Dreibelbis called upon Commissioner Greenwood to allot funds to survey and blaze the boundaries of the Reservation. To prevent any disputes, the point of beginning should be in mid-channel at the mouth, "thence one mile on each side thereof and parallel with the River for 20 miles," which would preclude any arguments that the islands did not belong to the Reservation.⁹

6. McDuffie to Greenwood, Sept. 30, 1859, NA, RG 75, 01A, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

7. Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and Their Administration*, pp. 67-68.

8. Dreibelbis to Greenwood, Nov. 22, 1860, NA, RG 75, 01A, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt. George Terrill was promoted from overseer to supervisor by Dreibelbis.

9. *Ibid.*

Another index of the success of the Reservation was the census figures, which showed 3,000 Indians in residence. And, Dreibelbis boasted, these are "healthy, well-fed, well-clad, peaceable, happy, and contented." There had been a "few-discontented spirits among those removed to the area from Eel River, but they had vanished into the mountains!"¹⁰

President Abraham Lincoln had been inaugurated in March 1861, and the officials charged with administering the Klamath River Reservation became victims of the spoils system. George M. Hanson replaced Dreibelbis as Superintendent for the North District. Hanson was not so optimistic as his predecessor. When he visited the Klamath in July 1861, he found about 300 acres in crops--wheat, barley, corn, oats, peas, potatoes, carrots, and beans. He believed that with little additional expense another 600 acres could be brought into cultivation. The agency buildings were in tolerable condition, the teams old, and the implements "so worn as to be nearly useless." Twenty-five hundred dollars were needed to purchase younger work animals and modern farming equipment. Lieutenant Crook's company having been pulled out of Fort Ter-Waw and not knowing that Captain Hunt's unit had been ordered to the area, Hanson called for the War Department to surrender the buildings and gardens to the Office of Indian Affairs, because they were located "on the most valuable portion of the farm land."¹¹

B. THE RESERVATION as a HAVEN of REFUGE

Subagent Buell on February 23, 1860, left Wau-Kell for San Francisco on official business. He stopped off at Humboldt Bay on the 26th, and there he learned of a "terrible massacre" committed the night before on the Indians of that area. "A more brutal, heartless deed cannot be found recorded in the history of our country."¹²

By the post commander at Fort Humboldt, Maj. Gabriel Rains, Buell was briefed on the background to the murders. In January an effort had been made to raise a volunteer company under Capt. Seaman Wright, "as the fishing season was over and many men out of employ." This force planned a campaign against the Indians of the area, who had

10. Ibid.

11. Hanson to Dole, July 15, 1861, NA, RG 75, OLA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt. Hanson estimated the population of the Reservation at 1,800.

12. Buell to McDuffie, Aug. 1, 1860, NA, RG 75, OLA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

fled the Mendocino Reservation. Wright outfitted his unit on credit, promising to repay the Eureka merchants on the completion of the campaign. His company, about 30 strong, advanced up South Fork of Eel River, killing indiscriminately about 40 redmen. Wright then applied to have his company mustered into state service. Governor John B. Weller turned down this request, as he had learned that Colonel Clarke had ordered another company of regulars to Humboldt County. The California legislature at the same time had before it a report of a committee adverse to the payment "to murders of women and children" in a similar case.

Captain Wright and his men were infuriated by the State's refusal to muster them in or pay them for their services, and they held a meeting on Eel River, and "resolved to kill every possible Indian man, woman, and child in this part of the county." On the night of February 25, a score of these men rode to Humboldt Point, stole several small boats, crossed the bay, and murdered nine men and 47 women and children. They then retraced their route and rode into Eureka, while it was still dark, took a ship's boat and rowed out to Indian Island. Disembarking, they gunned down three men and caused the rest to take to their heels. Wright and his followers then entered the Indians' huts. Five of the more bloodthirsty of the whites bludgeoned to death, with axes and hatchets, 57 women and children. Returning to the mainland, the killers proceeded to Eagle Prairie and murdered another 30 to 35 Indians.¹³

Major Rains, in forwarding details of the massacre to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, observed:

These Indians were the most inoffensive I ever saw-- killed nobody, troubled nobody, and nobody's cattle, were useful furnishing fish and clams to the whites . . . , living apart by themselves, orderly, never drank liquor; and were in hostility with the Mountain tribes, whom they were accused of supplying with ammunition.¹⁴

Buell now continued on to San Francisco, where he described the atrocities to Superintendent McDuffie. Former agent Whipple, who

13. Rains to Hendricks, April 30, 1860, NA, RG 75, 01A, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt. Hendricks had succeeded Greenwood as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

14. Ibid.

now edited the *Northern California*, told McDuffie that the survivors had sought protection of the more enlightened whites, but, he cautioned, the security afforded was limited and temporary. Unless the survivors were removed to a reservation, they were in danger of sharing the fate of their slaughtered friends and families.¹⁵

McDuffie, after listening to what Buell and Whipple had to say, determined that the survivors should be taken to the Klamath River Reservation. Buell was told to proceed with their removal.

Accordingly, he left San Francisco on March 5, for the Klamath, traveling by way of Humboldt Bay and Uniontown. Upon landing at Eureka, he learned that Major Rains had concentrated a number of fugitive redmen at Fort Humboldt to whom he was issuing rations. As it was necessary for him to return to the Reservation to complete arrangements for the reception of the refugees, Buell did not call on Rains. But, at his request, Whipple did, and told the army officer of the steps taken by Superintendent McDuffie for the Indians' removal to the Klamath. Rains gave Whipple the impression that he was satisfied with this situation. He promised to write Buell, assuring him that the military would cooperate by providing "an escort & transportation for the old & helpless Indians." Buell, however, received no letter from Rains.¹⁶

By April 7 Buell had seen that a number of huts were renovated and others erected at Wau-Kell for the reception of the refugees, and he started for Eureka. He reached Humboldt Bay, 48 hours later, and called on Major Rains. The army officer seemed willing to permit the Indians to accompany Buell to the Klamath, but he observed that "he had no authority to compel them or to use any force in their removal & that if there was any compulsion brought to bear, it must proceed from the Indian Department." Buell answered that if the issuance of rations was stopped, no force would be required. There the subject was dropped.

The next morning, the 10th, Buell called on Rains to implement his mission. Rains called him aside and told him that if the Indians were willing to go, it was satisfactory; but if not, he would permit no compulsion. Moreover, the soldier continued, he would not allow them to starve. Calling for an interpreter, Agent Buell told the redmen that he would see that they were provided with

15. Buell to McDuffie, Aug. 1, 1860, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

16. Ibid.

homes and protection on the Reservation. They shook their heads, indicating that they preferred to remain at Fort Humboldt.¹⁷

Buell retired to his hotel in Eureka and wrote Rains an "official letter," informing him of his readiness to receive the Indians and conduct them to the reserve, where he was prepared to subsist them. Rains was a boor and refused to reply.¹⁸

On April 11, Buell rode out to Uniontown where he found the surviving Mad River Indians, living with liberal-minded whites. Told by their friends that they could no longer vouch for their safety, the Mad River Indians agreed to go to the Klamath with Buell. First, they returned to their homes to get their possessions, after which they fired their huts, stove in their canoes, and destroyed all nonportable property. Accompanied by 124 Indians, Buell, with no other force than J. C. Chapman and his pack mules, headed up the Crescent City trail to the Klamath. The column, after five days on the road, reached Wau-Kell on April 16.¹⁹

Major Rains, on learning that Agent Buell had started for the Klamath with the Mad River Indians, had second thoughts. He ordered Lt. A. B. Hardcastle to take a detail and escort the 322 Indians who had sought the protection of the army to the Klamath River Reservation. Hardcastle's column moved out on April 21. In an effort to screen his failure to cooperate with Buell, Rains charged that the agent "without authority apparently in direct violation of Section 2d, Chapter 122, Laws of the State of California, for the government and protection of the Indians, passed April 22, 1850, forceably removed the Indians from their homes on Lower Mad River."²⁰

Lieutenant Hardcastle and his soldiers of the 4th Infantry pushed the Indians too hard. By the time they reached Redwood Creek, 100 of the old and infirm were too weak to continue up the trail. They were left behind, guarded by a small detachment. Hardcastle, with the rest of the Indians, reached the mouth of the Klamath on April 26. From there he sent a messenger to the Wau-Kell Agency, with a letter telling of his arrival with 180 Indians.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Rains to Hendricks, April 30, 1860, NA, RG 75, 01A, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

Buell turned out a number of Yurok with canoes and headed down to the mouth of the river, returning with the newcomers to the agency. The next day, the 27th, the agent sent a pack train to the relief of the Indians camped on Redwood Creek. Subsequently, another 40 Indians were brought up to the agency from Fort Humboldt.²¹

Thus in 1860 the Klamath River Reservation became a haven of refuge for the Indians of the Mad and Eel rivers. Here, among pleasant surroundings, they found for the time being peace and security from that vile class of whites which believed the only good Indian was a dead one.

C. SUPPLYING the RESERVATION with HARD GOODS from CRESCENT CITY

The *Crescent City Herald* in May 1858 reported, "Quite a fleet of canoes, manned by forty Indians, arrived from the Klamath on May 22d. They came for the purpose of taking down provisions for their use on the reservation." In August 1860 the *Herald* observed, "The tugboat *Maryann* came to the Klamath with freight for the reservation, but it was unable to enter for want of water, so most of the freight was landed in canoes; the rest was thrown overboard to float ashore."

Agent Buell with his wife and a young female visitor, accompanied by John Daggett and a boatman, started from Crescent City for the mouth of the Klamath in a surfboat. The river was high and the breakers strong, and the boat was driven ashore on the north spit. A number of Yurok rushed to their aid, and they succeeded in getting the boat into the river and reaching the agency in safety, though thoroughly drenched and cold.²²

D. FLOODS DESTROY the AGENCY and WREAK HAVOC on the RESERVATION

The same floods which doomed Fort Ter-Waw destroyed the agency at Wau-Kell. The floods which ravaged the lower Klamath in late December 1861 and January 1862 swept across the flats, wrecking buildings, fences, and storehouses, and left an estimated 2,000 Indians destitute. Superintendent Hanson, who had replaced McDuffie,

21. Hardcastle to Buell, April 26, 1860, NA, RG 75, 01A, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt. The Indians left on Redwood Creek by Hardcastle had been supplied with rations to last for four to five days.

22. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 39.

wired the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on January 5, "The cries of over two thousand Indians now in a state of starvation . . . will reach the ears of the authorities in Washington."²³

Superintendent Hanson in mid-January visited the flood stricken Reservation. He found the farm "fields of bare cobble stone, on one side, and Sand, 3 feet deep on the other, which had taken the place of nearly every acre of arable land on the Reservation." The floods, he wailed, had destroyed the plan to establish on the Klamath agricultural communes capable of sustaining in peace and prosperity all the Indians of northwest California.

On the flats "every panel of fencing, every Indian village, and every government building (over 30), except a barn," had been swept away. This included the mill, along with crops stored in granaries and all government stores. Gone were the farming and blacksmith tools, swine, poultry, and most of the cattle, "all swept into the Pacific."

Questioning the oldest Yurok, Hanson learned that this was the worst flood in their memories.²⁴

A soldier-diarist visiting Wau-Kell in March recorded, "Little is left of what was once the beautiful residence of the U. S. agent." All that remained of the agency was "a lone white cottage-like looking building, a barn & what was once a mill standing in the midst of a barren sandy bar."²⁵

E. THE SMITH RIVER RESERVATION

Superintendent Hanson, having found a scene of desolation where there had formerly been prosperous farms and gardens, determined to relocate the Indians and agency employees. He toured the Northern District. An area that was suitable would have to have: (a) fertile ground for farms; and (b) be "secluded from white settlements." After satisfying himself that there was no public land nearby meet-

23. Hanson to Wright, Dec. 31, 1861, and Hanson to Dole, Jan. 5, 1862, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

24. Hanson to Dole, Feb. 14, 1862, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

25. Rogers, "Early Military Posts of Del Norte County," *California Historical Quarterly*, 26, 3.

ing these criteria, he determined to move the destitute Indians from the Klamath to Smith River. Reporting on the lower Smith River Valley to Commissioner William P. Dole, Hanson wrote, it is "impregnable to floods, provided with an excellent growth of timber and living springs, and 20 farms." The settlers, when questioned, indicated that they were willing to sell out to the government. Hanson therefore, without clearing the matter with his superiors in Washington, purchased 5,000 acres on the north bank of Smith River.

After securing the land for the Smith River Reservation, Hanson began to remove the Indians from the Klamath. The Yurok were no more eager to live among the Tolowa than the Tolowa were among them. Refusing to go to Smith River, they remained on the Klamath. The Indians from Mad and Eel rivers, however, were eager to move. Numbering between 400 and 500, they "traveled thro snow, rain, and mud, barefooted for 40 miles to where they expected to find something to eat." While en route up the trail to Crescent City, two of the women gave birth to children. Superintendent Hanson and his staff were surprised to see these women pushing on up the trail the next morning, "with the newcomers on their backs, as thou nothing of the kind had happened."²⁶

Commissioner Dole, confronted as he was by a *fait accompli*, sanctioned Hanson's actions, and on May 3, 1862, the Secretary of the Interior formally established the Smith River Reservation. The agent and his staff were formally transferred to the Smith River Reservation, and the Yurok left to shift for themselves on the Klamath. With the assistance of the military, Hanson soon concentrated the Tolowa on the new reserve, along with the Indians from Mad and Eel rivers. The post to which Captain Stuart moved Company G, 2d California Volunteers, was designated Camp Lincoln.

In 1864 the Hoopa Valley and surrounding mountains were selected by Superintendent Austin Wiley as an Indian Reservation, on which to concentrate the Indians of northwest California. Sixty thousand dollars was appropriated by the Congress in the following year to pay the settlers for their improvements. Many of the Yurok moved up from the Klamath and settled in Hoopa Valley. The Secretary of the Interior on July 27, 1867, discontinued the Smith River Reservation. In 1868 the Tolowa and Mad and Eel River Indians were brought to Hoopa Valley. The Tolowa still refused to live with the Yurok and most of them fled the Reservation.²⁷

26. Hanson to Dole, Feb. 14, 1862, NA, RG 75, 01A, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

27. *Humboldt Times*, "Jubilee Edition," Dec. 7, 1904.

F. SQUATTERS ATTEMPT to TAKE OVER the KLAMATH RIVER RESERVATION

During the late 1860s and 1870s the word spread that the Klamath River Reservation would be opened to settlement by whites. This belief led a number of them to locate on the Reservation and to make improvements to the land. Martin Van Buren Jones of Crescent City established a fishery at the mouth of the river. A tavern for the accommodation of travelers was built by Morgan G. Tucker, and a ferry put into operation. A dozen settlers had taken up homesteads nearby, and others were preparing to locate there, as soon as the Indians' title was extinguished and the Reservation declared open for settlement. Those who had already squatted felt secure.²⁸

United States Representative J. K. Luttrell, urged on by his constituents, applied to the Department of the Interior for information as to whether the Klamath River Reservation was still held by the Federal Government. He received a letter from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Edward Shuter, dated February 27, 1874, informing him that the land in question was one of the two reservations for Indians in California authorized by a clause in the Indian appropriation act of March 3, 1855. In 1861-62 floods had destroyed nearly all the arable land in the Klamath River Reservation, and the Secretary of the Interior on May 3, 1862, had established the Smith River Reservation. That reservation had been discontinued on July 27, 1867. Since the great flood, the Klamath River Reservation had not been used for any public purposes, Shuter informed Luttrell, and "the department has no claim upon it."²⁹

The Shuter letter was circulated by those interested in securing land on the lower Klamath. Just as the squatters were congratulating themselves on a successful land grab, H. R. Clum, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs on August 15, 1874, notified Del Norte County Clerk P. H. Peveler that the Reservation had not been relinquished. This was in reply to an inquiry from Peveler asking, "whether the lands formerly occupied as an Indian Reservation at the mouth of the Klamath" have been abandoned and whether the land was open "to settlement the same as any other unsurveyed Government land."³⁰

An attempt was now made to rally support to pressure the United States into opening the Reservation to settlement. One hundred and forty-four citizens of Del Norte County petitioned the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to declare the reserve abandoned. They pointed

28. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 150.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

30. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 47.

out that since the great flood the land had not been "occupied and used as an Indian Reservation; that on the lands formerly used . . . there are not to exceed 50 Indians of all ages, whose chief occupation is hunting & fishing." These Yurok, at the moment, were not supervised by an agent. Within the Reservation, they wrote, were about 10,000 acres "well adapted to grazing & agriculture, besides a large quantity of land valuable for lumbering." According to the petitioners, the few Yurok living on the Reserve had expressed a desire to remove to Hoopa Valley.³¹

The Yurok, however, had some friends in the region. E. Steele and others forwarded a memorial for consideration by the Senate. They challenged the assertion that there were few Indians on the lower Klamath, pointing out that they were quite numerous, "living upon the fish caught in the stream, the game found in the redwoods, and by means of such employment as they can obtain in passing travelers & freight in their canoes up & down the river."

Continuing, Steele and his friends pointed out:

The Reservation passes through a close cañon with high precipitous mountains rising from the water's edge, with small sand bars or flats at each bend in the river, and where is generally found a little brook of water flowing down from the Mountain side. The Mountains are covered with a heavy growth of redwood trees and a dense underbrush, and when combined with the rough, steep and rugged hills renders the country impassable by even men afoot.

Most of the flats were occupied by rancherias. Many of the Yurok had excellent gardens, while some had orchards. Steele and his partisans were satisfied that the land grabbing whites would have no use for this area, "until the redwoods of other more accessible districts are exhausted, which will not happen for at least 100 years."

Instead of the government abandoning the Reservation, it should be expanded to the topographic crests of the ridges north and south of the Klamath. The Yurok, they petitioned, should "be allowed to remain and to provide for themselves as long as they shall be orderly and peaceable."³²

31. Petition, Citizens of Del Norte to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Jan. 1875, NA, RG 75, OLA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

32. Steele & Others to U.S. Senate, Jan. 1875, NA, RG 75, OLA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

Confronted by these contradictory statements, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs called on the army at Fort Gaston for help. A thorough reconnaissance of the Klamath River Reservation was desired. Second Lieut. George S. Wilson of the 12th U. S. Infantry was given the assignment. He left Fort Gaston by canoe on May 19, 1875, and took two days to reach Wau-Kell Flat. The return to the agency required five days.³³

Taking a rough census of the Indians living on the reserve, he calculated their number at 1,125. He counted 225 houses, exclusive of sweathouses and other small structures not used as dwellings.³⁴

Many of the Yurok were in a "very miserable condition, physically, the result of venereal diseases, and their number was rapidly decreasing." They seemed well fed, living on an abundance of salmon, sturgeon, and acorns. In each house that Wilson visited, he found large supplies of food on hand, with a good surplus of dried fish left over from the winter. Many of the young men were in the habit of traveling to Humboldt Bay to work on farms, cultivating potatoes.

The Yurok had learned to garden and to build log and board cabins, which were beginning to replace the hewn-plank huts. Farming was on a small scale, and consisted usually of a potato patch.

Whites, with whom he had chatted, complained that the Yurok were "adept at petty theft." A Mr. Masters claimed that they had killed 30 of his cattle, but when asked by the lieutenant for proof, he was unable to produce any. Another source of complaint was the high charges made for ferrying whites and their goods across the Klamath. Captain Spott, who owned a ferry at Rekwoi, had stated that a white-operated ferry at that point was unthinkable.

Lieutenant Wilson's presence caused the Yurok to fret, because they associated him with the scheme to remove them from the Reservation. If the government sought to force them to go to Hoopa Valley, they promised to flee to the mountains and fight. If this occurred, they were well provided with firearms, especially muzzle-loaders, had a large number of canoes and some horses.

33. Wilson to Parker, June 1, 1875, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

34. Ibid. The settlements and number of houses in each were: Rekwoi, 15; Wetlkewali, 7; Ho`pau, 7; Sa`aiti, 5; Erner, 4 including one ten miles up Blue Creek; Serper, 4; Wohkero, 10; Ko`otep, 7; and Pecwan, 19.

The Yurok did not object to miners trespassing on the Reservation, nor did Wilson get the impression that they would complain about logging, but they hated and feared cattle ranchers, because their stock destroyed the supply of acorns and berries and frightened away the game. If the whites continued to trespass on the Yurok's fishing rights at the mouth of the Klamath, Wilson foresaw serious trouble.

If the United States wished to negotiate with the Yurok, it would be difficult, as "there was no tribal relations of any force." No chief or headman was recognized by the entire tribe. Each village had its leader: its wealthiest individual.³⁵

After reviewing Lieutenant Wilson's report, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs decided he lacked authority to declare the Reservation abandoned. At the same time, he would not risk alienating the whites by ordering them off the land on which they were squatting. The squatters, however, felt certain of victory, when on April 10, 1878, the Postmaster General, in response to a plea, authorized the establishment of a postoffice at Requa, as Rekwqi was called by the whites. Morgan G. Tucker would be postmaster.³⁶

To avoid a nasty situation, the Secretary of the Interior on May 14, 1877, transferred administrative responsibility for the Hoopa Reservation to the War Department.³⁷ That spring Lt. James Halloran, who like Lieutenant Wilson was posted at Fort Gaston, visited the Klamath River Reservation and "reported a condition of affairs likely to lead to hostilities between the whites and

35. Ibid. Wilson found that small schooners could ascend the Klamath as far as Turwar Flat. He also delineated the redwood belt as extending from the mouth of the Klamath to Klamath Bluff.

36. Records of the Post Office Department, NA, RG 28, Records of Appointment of Postmasters. Tucker held the position of postmaster at Requa until March 6, 1882, when he was succeeded by Henry Albert. On January 10, 1883, the office was discontinued and transferred to Crescent City. Six weeks later, it was re-established with E. D. Smith as postmaster. The Requa Postoffice was again discontinued on June 28, 1883, and was not re-established until February 29, 1888, with Mary Ann Feheley as postmistress. It has been in continuous operation since that date.

37. Secretary of War to Secretary of the Interior, Sept. 6, 1877, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

Indians if the cause of disagreement was not speedily removed." The inciting cause was not stated in Halloran's report, but it was hinted that liquor was being sold to the Indians.³⁸

Lieutenant Halloran's report was forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior, through the War Department. Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, after reviewing the report, called on the army to see that the squatters were removed. Acting under orders from the War Department, Brig. Gen. Irwin McDowell, the Commander of the Department of the Pacific, on October 17, 1877, called upon Capt. Charles Parker at Fort Gaston to notify the settlers on the Klamath River Reservation that they were to leave immediately. Parker saw that this order was executed, and eviction notices were served on 14 persons to leave with their property. Four of these individuals, it was admitted, were living outside the Reservation.³⁹

Morgan Tucker, knowing that the California legislature was in session, wrote his representative from Del Norte County, James E. Murphy, pleading that he employ his influence to secure a stay of execution, and barring this, to obtain a period of grace to enable them to remove their property from the reserve.⁴⁰

Murphy contacted the California Congressional delegation, and they in turn descended on Secretary of War George W. McCrary. They told him that Congress would, in its current session, pass legislation opening the Reservation to settlement. After checking with Secretary of the Interior Schurz, McCrary directed the Adjutant General on December 19, 1877, to telegraph General McDowell that "the execution of the order to remove the settlers from the Klamath River Indian Reservation be suspended for six months."⁴¹

The settlers used this period to file protests that they had lived on the Klamath for years in the belief that they were on public lands, and

such belief was strengthened by the universal impression that such was the fact, and that the

38. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 155-156.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 156; Secretary of War to Secretary of the Interior, Sept. 6, 1877, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

40. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 150.

41. McCrary to Secretary of the Interior, Dec. 19 & 27, 1877, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

Government had relinquished its claims as evidenced by the letter . . . of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs addressed to the Hon. J. K. Luttrell, Representative from California.⁴²

G. THE ARMY MOVES AGAINST the SQUATTERS

The 45th Congress, however, failed to take action. In June and again in November 1878, the grace period was extended another six months. The final extension ended on May 27, 1879.⁴³ The Adjutant General accordingly on May 22 issued instructions for General McDowell to see that the trespassers were evicted from the Klamath River Reservation.⁴⁴ General McDowell delegated responsibility for seeing that this order was carried out to his commander in northern California, Col. Henry R. Mizner. The colonel in turn contacted the officer in charge at Fort Gaston, Capt. E. B. Savage of the United States Infantry.

Captain Savage, accompanied by 11 men armed and equipped for field service, left Fort Gaston by boat on June 11. His orders were: To suppress all fishing by whites and require all citizens residing on the Reservation to leave without delay with all property belonging to them.⁴⁵ The troops reached Requa on the 16th and called on the five squatters (Martin Van Buren Jones, Morgan G. Tucker, Robert Gibbs, James Pryor, and John M. Harrington) living in and around the village. Written notices to remove their property and vacate the reserve were served on these trespassers. On June 18 similar notices were served by the military on P. D. Holcomb near Requa; Henry K. Pilgrim of Wau-Kell, with a copy to his partner James Isle who was not at home; while a notice was left at George Richardson's house. Two days later notices were served on Benjamin Coy of Turwar, George Parker, and Joseph Ewing of Hoppaw, and Charles Jones of Requa. Savage, on inspecting the property, found that all the interlopers had horses, cattle, and

42. Bledsoe, *History of De? Norte County*, pp. 150-151, 156.

43. McDowell to Adjutant General, Dec. 19, 1877, NA, RG 75, O1A, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

44. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1879, NA, RG 75, O1A, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

45. Savage to Mizner, June 18, 1879, NA, RG 75, O1A, Ltrs. Recd. Calif. Supt.

crops under cultivation, which because of the rugged configuration of the terrain and lack of roads they would be compelled to abandon.⁴⁶

The whites were unanimous in stating that they would ignore the order to get off the reserve, but their resolve weakened when Captain Savage, pointing to his armed men, warned that he was ready to use force. After Gibbs, Holcomb, and Pryor were placed under arrest and ejected from the Reservation, Harrington and Martin Jones complied with the eviction order. It was necessary to make a show of force to start Ewing, Coy, and Pilgrim packing. Soldiers were turned to breaking up Martin Jones' fishery and Tucker's trading house. Three infantrymen were posted at Hoppaw with orders to visit Wau-Kell and Turwar once every two days to see that those residing on those flats left and stayed off the Reservation.⁴⁷

Savage by July 2 was able to report that all squatters had been ejected or had complied with the orders to move off the Reservation. Buildings and crops had not been removed, only portable property. The majority of the trespassers had expressed a desire to be forcibly evicted, as they believed "their claims to property upon the Reservation would be improved thereby."⁴⁸

Martin Jones had raised a question which Captain Savage was unable to answer. He wished to know if he would be permitted by the military to anchor boats in mid-channel of the Klamath and take salmon with gill nets, provided he did not land them on the Reservation. Jones argued that the river was navigable, as it had 31 feet of water where he would anchor, and there the Klamath was one-half mile wide. Also, if he took fish above the reserve would he be permitted to ship them down the Klamath and across the bar by boat.⁴⁹

46. Ibid.

47. Savage to Mizner, June 25, 1879, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt. George Parker's house at Turwar was over a mile from the Klamath, but he had improvements between his residence and the river.

48. Savage to Mizner, July 2, 1879, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt. Charles Wilson had reached Requa on June 27 and had been served an eviction notice. A measurement had disclosed that Ewing's dwelling was one mile and eight yards from the Klamath.

49. Savage to Mizner, June 25, 1879, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

Colonel Mizner, Savage's superior, could make decisions. He notified Savage that Jones' request could not be entertained. In his opinion, it would constitute an "erosion of the spirit of the orders." Under no circumstances, he warned, must the Yurok be "deprived of the Salmon as it is their main subsistence." In addition, claims by the squatters for buildings, crops, and gardens would not "be entertained, as the parties were in unlawful possession of the same & had acquired no right to the land and are liable to prosecution for trespass."⁵⁰

H. THE SQUATTERS and THEIR ALLIES FIGHT BACK

The eviction of the squatters caused an outcry in Del Norte County that reached all the way to Washington. United States Representative Campbell Berry introduced a bill seeking to open the Reservation to settlement by whites. The Committee on Indian Affairs to whom the bill was referred made a study. On May 7, 1880, the Committee reported that not more than 115 Indians were living on the Reservation. These Indians were said to belong to several tribes and were continually at war with each other. Homicides and murders were frequent. It was found that in the absence of soldiers, the restraining influence of white settlers was needed to preserve the peace.

So far the Indians had failed to make any advances in the "arts of civilized life." As proof of this, it was pointed out that all of them together did not cultivate more than five acres of land, and that amount was found in small parcels around their huts. Next, the Committee assailed the configuration of the Reservation as "an injustice, if not an outrage."

50. Mizner to Savage, July 2, 1879, NA, RG 75, 01A, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt. Typical of the claims were those of Martin Van Buren Jones and Morgan Tucker. The former listed his abandoned property with its valuation: Building (45 x 25) \$800; building (16 x 24) \$375; building (16 x 20) \$200; kitchen, smokehouse, storeroom, and woodshed \$425; 35 tons of salt, \$900; 1,400 half-barrels, \$1,400; material for 500 half-barrels, \$200; 1 seine, \$300; 1 seine, \$150; 6 gill nets, \$300; 1 gill net, \$125; 9 tanks, \$180; 1 set of cooper tools, \$60; 1 sailboat, \$50; 1 lighter \$280; 1 plow, \$25; 1 wagon, \$75; household furniture, \$100; 8 head of cattle, \$800; 4 horses, \$200; 1 pig, \$10; 300 feet 1-inch pipe and 50 feet of hose, \$100; 5 acres of fenced pasture; and a 1-acre garden. Tucker valued his property at: One building, 30-foot square, frame 1 1/2-story; one building (16 x 12); and stock in trading house, \$500; 1 horse, \$30; and a 1-acre garden.

According to testimony submitted, the Committee found that from the year 1862 until 1877, the reserve had been abandoned by the United States. It appeared that those Indians on the Klamath should be on "the reservation set apart for them, which is the Hoopa Reservation on the Trinity River." In view of the statement of Indian Commissioner Shuter to Representative Luttrell in 1874, the settlers were justified in believing the Government had abandoned the reserve. While the Committee would not do an injustice to the Indians, it at the same time could not sanction an "outrage to be inflicted upon the white settlers who entered upon these lands in good faith."

It was the opinion of the Committee that the United States could have no use for the Klamath River Reservation. Their study had shown that the Hoopa Reservation was capable of sustaining many more Indians than were now settled upon it. "Why, then," it was asked, should these "lands in question be kept from settlement and improvement by white citizens who are eager to expend their labor and means in the development of these resources?"

The recommendation of the Committee was that the Klamath River Reservation be "restored to the public domain, and again made free for the access of labor and capital of white settlers seeking homes and fields for their energy and enterprise."⁵¹

Although the Committee on Indian Affairs had endorsed Berry's bill to open the Reservation to settlement by whites, the legislation failed to pass. The squatters, undaunted, returned to their homes as soon as Captain Savage and his soldiers returned to Fort Gaston. Several of the settlers made arrangements with friendly Yurok to hold their land in their absence. Finally, a non-commissioned officer and several privates were posted at Requa to prevent this subterfuge.⁵²

Again in 1884 legislation was introduced in the House by Representative Barclay Henley for restoration of the Reservation to the public domain. This legislation, as drafted, was opposed by some of the settlers and it failed to pass.⁵³

51. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 157-160.

52. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 47.

53. *Ibid.*

I. THE YUROK in 1886 and 1887

The army throughout Fiscal Year 1886 continued to man the out-post at Requa to "prevent intrusions on the Indians' land," and to protect the redmen in their only industry--salmon fishing. The agent for the Hoopa Valley Reservation, who also had responsibility for the Klamath River Reservation, who also had the responsibility. The captain reported that the 400 Yurok living on the reserve were friendly and well-disposed and maintained "amicable relations." But if the troops were withdrawn, the Reservation would be overrun and the Yurok dispossessed.⁵⁴

Captain Dougherty in 1887 took a census of the Indians living on the Klamath. He found that there were about 1,200 residing in villages along the river. These villages, which were several miles apart, extended from the mouth of the river to well above Weitchpec. The Yurok were "self-sustaining, relying to a great extent for subsistence upon salmon." Of the 1,200, a little over 200 Yurok claimed the Klamath River Reservation as home. About one-half of these were absent from the reserve for part of each year, working on farms in Humboldt County and in lumber camps. They returned to the river during the salmon runs, however.

Within the Klamath River Reservation were eight villages or rancherias, containing about 60 houses, some of which were modern. Not since the destruction of the agency at Wau-Kell by floods in 1861-62 had the Yurok had any schooling. Only when they grew to adulthood did the children learn English.⁵⁵

While the Yurok continued to be on good terms with the whites, Captain Dougherty was concerned with their blood feuds, which all too frequently resulted in murders. The agent had called the civil authorities' attention to this situation. When he replied, the California Attorney General was evasive, while the District Attorney for Del Norte refused to prosecute in any case in which Indians alone were involved.⁵⁶

54. Rept. of Secretary of the Interior, Nov. 1, 1886, found in U. S. House, *Executive Documents*, 49th Cong. 2d Sess., 8, 261.

55. Rept. of Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year 1887, found in U. S. House, *Executive Documents*, 50th Cong. 1st Sess. 11, 91. The Lower Klamath Reservation contained about 26,000 acres.

56. Ibid.

J. CANNERIES COME to the KLAMATH

In May 1887 R. D. Hume of Gold Beach, Oregon, took a light-draft steamboat over the bar and anchored in the Klamath. Aboard the ship were a number of Oregon fishermen. Hume proceeded to establish a floating cannery. The Yurok complained bitterly that this was an intrusion of the worst sort, and they went to see Captain Dougherty. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs hesitated to take action, unless he could get a ruling from the Attorney General as to whether he had jurisdiction over the floating cannery. The Yurok were dissatisfied with this reasoning, and they threatened to resort to violence to drive off Hume and his people, provided the United States courts failed to take action.⁵⁷

As soon as the fall salmon run on the Klamath was over, Hume's vessel hoisted anchor and returned to Gold Beach. The courts, as the Indians and agent feared, failed to act, and Hume's floating cannery was back on the Klamath in 1888 for the salmon run. Hume's craft was now seized by a United States Marshal and the case taken into a Federal court. After lengthy litigation, the case was decided in Hume's favor, and he proceeded to build a cannery ashore.

Meanwhile, the Yurok had entered into a partnership with John Bomhoff of Crescent City. Bomhoff supplied the Yurok with boats, nets, etc. A cannery to compete with Hume's was soon in operation at Requa. Bomhoff's enterprise gave employment to all the Yurok at Requa "and for some distance up the river." During the autumn salmon run, the Indians employed by Bomhoff made \$200 per day, in addition to their subsistence.⁵⁸

Commercial fishing continued on the lower Klamath, with Bomhoff and his Yurok allies in competition with Hume's cannery. In June 1889, the commandant at Fort Gaston recalled the troops manning the outpost at Requa, and on October 1, 1890, Capt. Frank H. Edmunds relieved Captain Dougherty as agent-in-charge of the Hoopa Reservation. In November, Edmunds was replaced by a civilian, Isaac Beers. For the first time since 1877, an employee of the Department of the Interior would be responsible for the Hoopa and Klamath River Reservations.⁵⁹

57. Ibid.; McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 50.

58. Rpt. of Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year 1888, found in *U. S. House, Executive Documents*, 50th Cong. 2d Sess. 77, 10; McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 50.

59. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 48; Rept. of Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year 1891, found in *U. S. House, Executive Documents*, 51st Cong. 2d Sess., 72, p. 252.

K. THE RESERVATION--1890-1892

When the Superintendent of Indian Schools visited the Klamath in September 1890, he was deeply impressed with the Yurok. Lacking the prejudice of many of the local whites, he reported that they were "physically a good type of Indian, vigorous, self-supporting, and in some degree progressive." But, he complained, since 1861 "the United States had done nothing for their education."⁶⁰

Agent Beers was likewise impressed with the Yurok. He found that several of them had taken up land under the Allotment Act, while one or two others had secured homesteads. Although they had received little or no assistance from the government since the flood of 1861-62, a number of them were "living in comfortable houses and are well advanced in civilization." Generally, they were more independent and self-reliant than the Hupa, "being good workers, and as they say in this Western Country, many of them are good 'rustlers.'"⁶¹ As the Yurok and Hupa were of the same culture, the only difference being their language, it was apparent that the Hupa suffered from an excess of paternalism on the government's part. In the years since 1862, the Yurok had had little contact with the agent, while the Hupa had been closely supervised by personnel assigned to the Hoopa Valley Agency:

A number of nearby stock ranches, the salmon fisheries, and the diggings at Gold Bluffs and on the middle reaches of the Klamath afforded the Yurok opportunity to earn wages. Many of them spent part of the summer working for farmers, while in the fall scores moved into the migrant labor camps near Arcata, where they dug potatoes. Agent Beers had heard the farmers say that "they could not secure this crop were it not for these Indians." Most of the work was done by contract, the men, women, and children toiling together. The men did the digging, while the women and children sacked the potatoes.⁶²

Beers admired the skill of the Yurok in riving redwood lumber from which they erected their dwellings and sweathouses. Their canoes were works of art. They built all vessels used on the Klamath, as well as the Trinity. They were quick to discover and adopt

60. Rpt. of Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year 1891, found in *ibid.*, p. 252.

61. Beers to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Aug. 15, 1892, found in *U. S. House, Executive Documents*, 52d Cong. 2d Sess., 13, 230.

62. *Ibid.*

the better features of the boats brought to the Klamath by the canneries. He had seen canoes made by the Yurok from "a redwood log as finely shaped as a yawl boat," which they had learned to navigate with sail.⁶³

During Fiscal Year 1892 there had been some difficulties between the Yurok and land-grabbing whites. So far as Beers could ascertain, the whites had generally been the aggressors. Generally, however, the Indians and whites lived on good terms, and both looked "anxiously for final settlement of the land question along the lower Klamath."⁶⁴

L. THE KLAMATH RIVER RESERVATION IS OPENED for SETTLEMENT

Representative Thomas J. Geary accordingly introduced at the 2d Session of the 52d Congress legislation opening the Klamath River Reservation to settlers, and reserving to the Indians only such land as they might require for village purposes.⁶⁵ This time the Senate and House of Representatives passed an act declaring the reserve, as established by President Pierce's Executive Order of November 16, 1855, open "to settlement and purchase under the laws of the United States granting homestead rights," provided:

That any Indian now located on said reservation may, at any time within one year from the passage of this act apply to the Secretary of the Interior for an allotment of land for himself and, if the head of a family, for the members of his family under the provisions of the act of February eighth, eighteen hundred and eight-seven, entitled "An act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes," and if found entitled thereto, shall have the same allotted as provided in said act . . . :
 Provided, That lands settled and . . . improved, and now occupied by . . . qualified persons under the land laws shall be exempt from such allotment unless one or more of said Indians have resided upon said tract in good faith for four months prior to the passage of this act.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 48.

And any person entitled to the benefits of the homestead laws of the United States who has in good faith prior to the passage of this act, made actual settlement upon any lands on the same reservation not allotted under the foregoing proviso and not reserved for the permanent use and occupation of any village or settlement of Indians, with the intent to enter the same under the homestead law shall have the preferred right, at the expiration of said period of one year to enter and acquire title to the land so settled upon, not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres, upon the payment therefore of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre.

Proceeds from the sale of the reserve were to be paid into a fund to be used by the Secretary of the Interior for "the maintenance and education of the Yurok."⁶⁶

Subsequently, the period in which the Indians could take up their allotments was extending from one to two years. Captain Dougherty, who had replaced Beers as agent responsible for the Hoopa Reservation in June 1893, reported on August 23, 1894, that 744 allotments had been made to date from the mouth of the Klamath to the mouth of the Trinity.⁶⁷ One hundred and twenty-five patents from whites had been received, of which 72 had been delivered to the patentees. While most of the land allotted could never be used for agriculture, it did guarantee to the Yurok the "tenure of their homes."⁶⁸

Information that land on the former reservation would soon be available to those interested in acquiring a homestead was carried by the *Del Norte Record* in April 1894. The announcement read:

To Whom it may Concern
The Klamath Indian Reservation opened
May 21, 1894, a.m. Now prepared
to receive applications for homesteads.⁶⁹

66. Rept. of Secretary of Interior for Fiscal Year 1892, found in *U. S. House, Executive Documents*, 52d Cong., 2d Sess., 73, pp. 710-711.

67. *Del Norte Record*, June 25, 1892.

68. Rpt. of Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year 1894, found in *U. S. House, Executive Documents*, 53d Cong., 2d Sess., 75, 117.

69. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 48.

Although the Yurok had been freed from most Federal administrative controls, the majority of the Del Norte County whites were unwilling to recognize their civil rights. The establishment was unable to see "the wisdom of bringing Indians who were able to maintain themselves by industry within the provisions of the laws of the State, or according them and their property the protection of the courts."⁷⁰ Especially disconcerting was the failure of the state and county courts to take cognizance of torts committed by one Indian on another redman. This left the Yurok with no legal remedy, and resulted in actionable offenses becoming standing grievances, which could lead to bloodshed.⁷¹ Time, however, was on the side of the Indians, and before many years had passed, the state and local courts accepted the Yurok of the Klamath as first class citizens.

Within four years of the discontinuance of the Reservation, Captain Dougherty was able to report that "since the allotment of lands their [the Yurok] condition has very materially improved."⁷² Those wishing free medical attention could still receive it by visiting the hospital at the Hoopa Valley Agency.⁷³

By 1894 many of the Yurok had intermarried with whites. According to the census taken by Captain Dougherty in 1895 there were 673 Yurok, comprising 168 families. One hundred and thirty-seven of these family units lived in modern dwellings (sawed or split lumber), while 31 resided in the hewn slab huts of their forefathers. The Yurok owned 76 horses or mules, and 26 head of cattle. About five-sixths of the cultivated land was in small tracts or gardens. Over half the Yurok spoke English, and most of the adult males made their living in what Captain Dougherty described as "civilized pursuits."⁷⁴

70. Rept. of Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year 1896, *U. S. House Executive Documents*, 54th Cong., 2d Sess. 13, 125.

71. Rept. of Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year 1897, found in *U. S. House, Executive Documents*, 55th Cong., 2d Sess. 13, 116.

72. Rpt. of Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year 1896, *House Executive Documents*, 13, 125.

73. Rpt. of Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year 1894, *House Executive Documents*, 15, 117.

74. Rpt. of Secretary of the Interior for Fiscal Year 1895, found in *U. S. House, Executive Documents*, 54th Cong., 1st Sess. 15, 130.

M. COMMENTS and RECOMMENDATIONS

The story of Indian and white relations on the Lower Klamath has important historical, economic, and sociological ramifications. The Indians in northwest California found themselves in the early 1850s engulfed by a flood of miners, adventurers, and packers. Despite the efforts of Colonel McKee, war came. In 1855 as a result of the Red Cap War, the Klamath River Reservation was established, with its agency at Wau-Kell. During the years, 1855-1861, the Yurok were encouraged to develop self-sufficient agricultural communes. These gave every promise of success. Other Indians were moved onto the Reservation. The Tolowa, having engaged in blood feuds with certain of the Yurok villages, refused to stay. After the massacre of February 1860, the surviving Mad and Eel River Indians found the Reservation a haven of refuge.

The floods of 1861-62 destroyed the Wau-Kell Agency and devastated the farms, causing the agency employees to abandon the Reservation. While the Mad and Eel River Indians were moved to the newly established Smith River Reservation, the Yurok remained on the Klamath. For the next 15 years, the Department of the Interior seemingly forgot about its reserve on the Klamath, and the Yurok were permitted to shift for themselves. In the 1870s squatters moved on to the Reservation, and the Department of the Interior was compelled to call on the army to evict the trespassers. Unlike most reservation Indians, the Yurok had not been dependent on the government, and they had been compelled to make their own way. By the time the Congress enacted legislation in 1892 abandoning the Klamath River Reservation and permitting the Yurok to take up allotments, they had abandoned many of the customs of their fathers and had adopted the way of life of the white man. Economically the Yurok were better off than most reservation Indians, who had suffered from an excess of paternalism. Today the Yurok, though the number of full-bloods is limited, have been integrated into the economic and social life of the region.

As the former Klamath River Reservation played an important role in the political, social, economic, and military history of the area, the portion included in Redwood National Park should be designated Class VI Land. The best site on which to tell the story of the Klamath Indian Reservation would be at Wau-Kell Flat. If it is impossible to acquire Wau-Kell Flat, the story of the Reservation should be interpreted at both the Park Visitor Center and at an interpretive station near Dad's Camp.

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IX. TRAILS, ROADS, FERRIES, AND FREIGHTERS

A. TRAILS

1. Trail from Trinidad to the Klamath Diggings*

The principal mining districts in northwestern California, during the period 1850-1853, were grouped in two areas--the Trinity River mines, of which Weaverville was the center, and the Klamath and Salmon River diggings, of which Orleans Bar was the focal point. It was from the diggings on the Trinity that the Gregg party started on the expedition resulting in the rediscovery of Trinidad and Humboldt Bays. Had the towns of the Humboldt Coast been dependent solely upon the trade with the Trinity River mines, they would have been far less prosperous in the 1850s. But, fortunately for them, adventurers in June 1850 discovered gold on Salmon River and two months later made a strike on the Klamath. The coastal towns were situated to exploit this trade.¹

Within weeks after the establishment of the towns on the Humboldt Coast, trails were cut through the redwoods and across the mountains to the mining regions. Trinidad and Uniontown (Arcata) took the lead, as both were well situated by geography to act as supply stations for the diggings of the Klamath and Salmon River Districts. Trinidad, the first town established on this reach of the coast, was for a few years the leader in the packing trade, because it was located closer to the Klamath diggings than the others. During the summer of 1850, the packers, utilizing old Indian trails, opened a route from Trinidad up the coast to Big Lagoon, then across the divide to Redwood Creek. Redwood Creek was forded at "Tall Trees," and the trail ascended the Bald Hills to Elk Camp. It then passed along the crest of Bald Hills to French Camp, where the trail forked, one branch leading to the Klamath at Martins Ferry and the other into Hoopa Valley.²

*See National Register Forms, pp. 267-279.

1. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, pp. 67-68.

2. Dept. of the Interior Rept., March 17, 1853, *U.S. House, Executive Documents*, Serial 688, Doc. 4, p. 181; Preemption Claims, Klamath County, 1851-1853, p. 13; "Official Map of Humboldt County, California, Compiled and Drawn by Stanley Forbes, 1886"; "Topographical Map of the Trail from Fort Gaston to Stone Lagoon, Calif.," drawn from field notes made on a scout commanded by E. B. Savage, Capt. 8th Inft., by Lt. R. H. Wilson, Febry. 1879; "Map of Humboldt County, California, 1888, by J. N. Lentell"; Map, General Land Office, Township No.10 North, Range No.2 East, Humboldt Meridian, Dec. 30, 1882.

The Trinidad trail followed a route dictated by the topography, and intersected the route leading up the Klamath from Klamath City to Martins Ferry. From Uniontown another trail led to Orleans Bar via the Bald Hills,³ intersecting the Trinidad trail near the mouth of the Trinity.

The period of greatest excitement at the Klamath and Salmon diggings was during the summer and autumn of 1850 and the ensuing winter. Consequently, during these months the packing trade was of the greatest importance to the coastal towns, and Trinidad, which was the chief supply depot, enjoyed its greatest prosperity. A large number of mules had been driven to that place over the trail from Sonoma in May 1850, but the demands of the packing trade made it necessary that more be shipped by sea during the winter.⁴

High prices were asked and paid for transporting freight. Two dollars a pound was asked and received for the trip from Trinidad to the Salmon mines. This raised the price of all imported items to an all-but-prohibitive figure, but such were the times that the miners were prepared to pay the price asked. In November 1851 Indian Agent McKee paid \$20 for a hundredweight of flour at Durkee's Ferry and reported that that was ten dollars under the market price.⁵

John Daggett was one of the adventurers who reached the Klamath diggings, in 1852, via the Trinidad trail. He recalled that from Trinidad they found it necessary to "furnish our own transportation, carrying blankets on our own backs," as there were few if any inns on this route to the mining district.

"We passed first through the grand belt of old redwood trees, a sight long to be remembered, thence over the bald-hill country, abounding at that time in elk."⁶

3. George Gibbs, *Journal of the Expedition of Colonel Redick M'Kee, United States Indian Agent Through Northwestern California* (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 135.

4. *Alta California*, May 22 and July 1, 1850, and Feb. 12, 1851.

5. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region*, p. 69.

6. John Daggett, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer," Scrapbook, p. 5, California State Library, Calif. Section.

During the Red Cap War of 1855, pack trains were attacked and traffic over the trail was cut. Supplies at the Klamath and Salmon River diggings ran short. With the return of peace, traffic improved. To guard the Trinidad trail and to protect the ranches that had been established on the Bald Hills, troops were posted at Elk Camp in 1862 and 63. These soldiers were supplied by pack trains from Trinidad. The section of the Trinidad trail leading from Big Lagoon, crossing Redwood Creek at "Tall Trees," and ascending the Bald Hills to Elk Camp was abandoned after the construction--in the final decade of the 19th century--of the Bald Hills road, connecting Orick with the Bald Hills. The trail from Elk Camp down to Redwood Creek and the "Tall Trees" was reopened by the Arcata Redwood Company within the past five years. This was done as a public relations project by Arcata foresters.⁷

Over 100 years before the team from the National Geographic Society in 1964 measured the Howard A. Libbey Tree and ascertained that it was the "world's tallest tree," packers and travelers on the Trinidad-Klamath Trail were aware of the great height of the redwood groves on Redwood Creek. As the trail crossed the stream close to the grove, the packers undoubtedly marveled at its size.

Mr. H. Vanderpool, in the late spring of 1853, wrote the editor of the Sacramento *Daily Union* that near Trinidad Bay there was "a magnificent redwood forest, in which there were a number of trees of very extraordinary size." The largest of these trees was on Eel Creek and "measured 2 feet from its base, the almost incredible circumference of one hundred and twenty feet!" A second tree on the Trinidad-Klamath Trail, between Elk and Redwood camps, which had fallen, "accommodated 17 persons and 19 cargoes or mule packs with abundant room for shelter for three weeks, during the rainy season of 1851." A third tree in the same area measured 91 feet in circumference, one yard from its base, while a fourth, "which was prostrate, was from 70 to 80 feet in circumference, 291 feet in length," with a portion of the top broken off in the fall.

Vanderpool championed these trees "as having no parallel for size in the known history of the world."⁸

7. "Official Map of Humboldt County, California," Compiled by J. N. Lentell, 1898.

8. Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 8, 1853.

2. Trail from Trinidad to the Mouth of the Klamath

A trail was opened from Trinidad up the coast to the mouth of the Klamath in the spring of 1850. This route facilitated communications between the shortlived boomtown of Klamath City and Trinidad. It was the route over which most of the adventurers reached the Gold Bluffs. Superintendent Buell and Lieutenant Hardcastle conducted the Mad and Eel River Indians who had escaped the massacre of February 1860 up this trail to the Klamath River Reservation. In 1862 the Postmaster-General established a mail route from Arcata to Crescent City, via Trinidad and Gold Bluffs. J. F. Denny was awarded the contract to carry the mail. For \$1,750 per year, beginning July 2, he would make one round trip per week with the mail. His route between Trinidad and the Klamath was this trail.⁹

As on many early western trails, a man traveling between the Klamath and Trinidad had to be on his guard. Pat McGrath, in the winter of 1875, left Baker City, Idaho Territory, en route to Eureka. About midway between the Klamath and Gold Bluffs, Pat was stopped by nine Indians, who asked for money. After relieving Pat and his traveling companion of their money, they tied them up and stripped them of their packs and clothing. While the Indians were directing their attention toward Pat, his friend kicked loose his bonds and fled. Pat now cried that "Soldiers were coming," and the redmen dropped everything and raced to their canoe, which was hidden in a slough.¹⁰

After freeing himself, Pat made his way to Mrs. Johnston's. To show him how lucky he was, Mrs. Johnston took Pat to the beach and pointed to a freshly dug grave. Here rested a white man, whose body had been found several days before in the surf. He had met his death at the hands of Indians. Several Indians had been heard to boast that they would take the lives of five whites in revenge for an injury done one of their people accused of

9. "Mail Routes, Ark., Calif., Ill., Iowa, Kan., Ky., Mo., Neb., Nev., N. Mex., Tenn., Tex., and Utah, 1858-1862," Library P. O. D., pp. 238-239, NA, NNR/68-724. Denny was to leave Trinidad on Tuesdays at 6 a.m. and to reach Crescent City by 3 p.m. the next day. He would depart Crescent City on Thursdays at 6 a.m. and reach Trinidad at 3 p.m. the following day. On July 1, 1863, the route was shortened by 18 miles to extend from Trinidad to Crescent City. Denny was again the low bidder, securing the route for \$1,500.

10. Broadus to Smith, Feb. 20, 1875, NA, RG 75, OIA, Itrs. Recd., Calif. Supt. John Broadus was agent in charge of the Hoopa Valley Reservation.

stealing a horse in Arcata. One of the men presumed marked for death was Henry Orman, the manager of the Gold Bluff diggings.¹¹

The Trinidad-Klamath Trail paralleled the beach from Stone Lagoon to Lower Gold Bluff. It then forked. While one branch continued up the beach fronting the bluffs, the main trail ascended the ridge north of Major Creek and led eastward to Boyes' Prairie on Prairie Creek, then swinging to be west, it rejoined the other trail at Upper Gold Bluff. The trail then paralleled the Pacific as far as the mouth of the Klamath.¹²

3. Crescent City-Klamath Trail

Even before the establishment of Crescent City in 1853, there was a trail of sorts leading down the coast from Pebble Beach to the mouth of the Klamath. This trail had been used by Tolowa and Yurok trading and war parties, while Jed Smith and his mountain men had followed portions of it in 1828. Ehernberg and his companions in 1850 had advanced down this trail. This route followed the beach where ever feasible, travelers awaiting a low tide. Today's Endert's Beach could be reached without difficulty, provided the traveler watched his tides. From there the trail led up over Ragged Ass Hill, coming out at Last Chance. The Indians and whites traveling afoot often went from Damnation Creek to Wilson Creek by way of the beach, when the tide was out, but the jagged rocks made this route impassable to horsemen.¹³

With the establishment of the Klamath River Reservation in 1855, Subagent Whipple turned out a crew improving the trail to Crescent City. When Lieutenant Crook and Company D, 4th Infantry, marched from Crescent City to the Reservation in October 1857, they traveled via this trail as far as Rekwoi. Crook in the fall of 1859 organized and sent fatigue parties to improve the trail. Earlier he had had a trail cut from Fort Ter-Waw to the False Klamath. In June 1862 when Company G, 2d California, abandoned Fort Ter-Waw, the soldiers marched from Rekwoi to Smith River via this route. Beginning on July 2 of that year, Denny carried mail over the trail.

11. Ibid.

12. Official Map of Humboldt County, California--1886; Map of Humboldt County, California--1888.

13. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 54.

Travel from Crescent City to the Klamath was described by an early resident:

I left Crescent City at 8 a.m., and in one hour and fifteen minutes I was at the summit of Ragged Ass Hill. The brush-lined trail winds down the coast for a distance of about four miles, and then turning to the left at the end of another mile, crosses Damnation Creek, from whence it is three miles to the upper end of Damnation Ridge. It is then about four miles through the redwoods [to Wilson Creek].¹⁴

When Peter Louis DeMartin settled on Wilson Creek in 1877, he was compelled to pack in by mules. If he had any produce to market or needed supplies in large quantities he rented Jim Isle's big boat. This craft manned by six Indians was used for trips to and from DeMartin's place on the False Klamath and Crescent City.¹⁵

Travel to coastal points was usually by boat, but when high seas prevented steamers and schooners from landing or taking on passengers at Crescent City, persons in a hurry to reach San Francisco would secure horses and ride down the trail to Eureka, where their chances of securing passage south were more favorable. A man who was a member of one of these groups reported that in November 1881, he and his companions left Crescent City at 5 a.m., the 13th. They made good time for the first five miles, but progress slowed as they climbed Ragged Ass Hill. About 10 o'clock, they were able to look back and see Crescent City. "The sun shone out on the ocean, and the lighthouse and town seemed not more than two miles off." After being ferried across the Klamath by the Yurok, they proceeded along the beach to Johnston's, where they fed their horses and ate. Leaving Johnston's, they climbed a steep cliff, after first dismounting and holding onto the tails of their horses. Descending onto the beach, they pushed onto the Lower Gold Bluff, where they arrived at 7 p.m. The next day, they rode to Savage's where they were able to secure a buggy to drive them into Trinidad, where they arrived at 3 p.m.¹⁶

14. Ibid., p. 56.

15. Ibid.

16. *Del Norte Record*, Nov. 19, 1881. Johnston and his wife lived near the county line, and kept a stopping place for travelers on the Trinidad-Klamath trail. Taking advantage of their preemption rights, they secured possession of much of the range land between the Klamath and Orick. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 58.

4. The Kelsey Trail*

To facilitate travel to the mining camps on the middle Klamath, Ben Kelsey was hired to cut a trail from Crescent City to the Klamath. The people of Yreka raised the money to complete their end of the road. The Kelsey Trail was used for almost a quarter century to supply the mining camps of the middle Klamath, and western Del Norte and Siskiyou Counties. Kelsey was paid \$4,200 for this project.¹⁷

The Kelsey trail on leaving Crescent City crossed Howland Hill and Mill Creek.¹⁸ Two miles beyond Mill Creek, the Kelsey Trail was joined by the Bense Trail from Crescent City. It then ascended Bald Hill and bore away to the southeast, following the ridge paralleling South Fork of Smith River.¹⁹

5. Cold Spring Mountain Trail

The first trail opened by white packers from Crescent City to Oregon Territory was the Cold Spring Mountain Trail. On leaving Crescent City, this trail crossed Elk Valley, passed over Howland Hill, descended Mill Creek, crossed Smith River at Catching's Ferry, and ascended the ridge separating the watersheds of Rock and Myrtle Creeks. The trail continued on to the Oregon diggings at Sailors Creek by way of Cold Spring Mountain.²⁰

This trail was an instant success, as many as 500 mules a week being packed out of Crescent City for the Sailors Creek diggings. In June 1854 the *Crescent City Herald* announced, "Our present trail [to Oregon] needing some repairs in different places;" the sum of \$1,700 was subscribed by the citizens in a few hours, "to be applied to that purpose," and seven men were sent to repair the Cold Spring Mountain Trail.²¹

*See National Register Forms, pp. 281-294.

17. Doris Chase, *They Pushed Back the Forest* (Sacramento, 1959), p.32.

18. Mill Creek was crossed in the southeast quarter of Section 19, Township 16 North, Range 1 East, Humboldt Meridian.

19. Map, General Land Office, Township No. 16 North, Range No. 2 East, Humboldt Meridian, Oct. 17, 1884.

20. Chase, *They Pushed Back the Forest*, pp. 30-31; General Land Office Maps: Township 16 North, Range 1 West, 1856; Township 16 North, Range 1 East, 1878; Township 17 North, Range 1 East, 1884.

21. Chase, *They Pushed Back the Forest*, pp. 30-32.

6. Ah Pah Trail

By 1882 a trail had been opened from Boyes' Prairie to the Klamath. Near the southeast corner of Section 32, Township 12 North, Range 2 East, the trail forked, one branch reaching the Klamath at the mouth of Ah Pah Creek and the other striking the river opposite the Yurok village of Serper (Suppar).²²

In the early 1900s, C. W. Ward's Ah Pah Ranch was a sportsman's mecca, which featured "the grandest salmon known on the Pacific Coast for the daily bill of fare." At the ranch two expert Indian guides and trackers, Henry McDonald and Charles Frye, could be hired. To reach the ranch, it was necessary to rent horses at Boyes' and take the Ah Pah Trail.²³

B. ROADS

1. Crescent City Plank Road*

Crescent City by 1854 had grown to 300 houses and a population of 800. As the town was becoming the center of a considerable trading area, the merchants called for the construction of a wagon road to connect Crescent City with the Illinois River Country in Oregon Territory. Realizing that good roads were vital for the town's economic growth, the people held a mass-meeting on June 10 to devise a way to build a road network. Six thousand dollars had been previously pledged for the enterprise. At the meeting, preliminary arrangements were made for the organization of a joint-stock company to build "a plank and turnpike road." S. G. Whipple was elected president, F. E. Weston, secretary, and S. H. Grubler, treasurer, of the corporation which was designated, "The Crescent City and Yreka Plank and Turnpike Company." A resolution was passed constituting the company officers as a board of directors, and empowering them to employ a competent engineer to survey the route, and to hire suitable persons to assist "in the looking-out and survey of different routes."²⁴

*See National Register Forms, pp. 295-310.

22. General Land Office Maps: Township 11 North, Range 1 East, 1882; Township 12 North, Range 2 East, 1889.

23. *Humboldt County, California, The Land of Unrivalled Undeveloped Natural Resources on the Westernmost Rim of the American Continent* (Eureka, 1915), p. 29.

24. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 24-25; Esther R. Smith, *The History of Del Norte County, California* (Oakland, 1953), pp. 27-28.

A survey of the route for the projected road was finished by T. P. Robinson in October, and the subscription books opened. Capital stock was established at \$50,000, divided into 400 shares of \$125 each. Before the end of the year paid-in subscriptions totaled \$18,500.²⁵ The failure of a number of San Francisco business houses in 1855 caused liquid assets to disappear, and the promoters abandoned, for the time being, their project.²⁶

By December 1856 the business climate had improved with the discovery of gold on Elk Creek. Men rushed to exploit the new strike. Within a short time, it was estimated that 300 men were at work, and none of them clearing less than \$10 to \$20 per day. Encouraged by this development, the business community of Crescent City revived the defunct corporation under the name of the "Crescent City Plank Road and Turnpike Company." W. A. Hamilton was elected president, T. S. Pomeroy, secretary, and Henry Smith, treasurer. A three-man team was charged with selecting and reporting on a favorable route for a wagon road to the Sailors Creek diggings in Oregon. Fifty thousand dollars in capital stock, to sell for \$125 per share, was made available.²⁷ In June 1857, to speed construction, an assessment of \$10 on each share of stock outstanding was levied, and agents named to collect it.²⁸

The plank road was completed in May 1858, and the first through stage rumbled out of Crescent City en route for Sailors Creek on the 19th. It ran tri-weekly and connected at Sailors Creek with the stage line for Jacksonville, Oregon, and Yreka, California. This stage line, the first in Del Norte County, was operated by McClellan & Company and P. J. Mann. After leaving Crescent City, stops were made at Smith River Corners, Altaville on the Low Divide, North Fork, Tailor's on top of McGrew Mountain, and Sailors Creek.²⁹

25. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte*, p. 26; Smith, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 27-28.

26. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte*, p. 49.

27. *Ibid.*; Smith, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 27-28. The company's board of directors, elected on June 4, 1857, were: J. W. Stateler, John A. Baxter, F. E. Weston, David Price, D. C. Dewis, E. Y. Naylor, and J. G. Wall.

28. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte*, p. 52.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 61; Smith, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 28.

The tons of freight that had formerly been forwarded to the mining camps on pack trains now went forward by wagon. Sections of the road were planked. It was a toll road, and the toll house was at Peacock's Smith River ferry. A two-horse team paid five dollars, a four-horse team eight dollars, and a six-horse team ten dollars. If the river was low, the wagons could ford. When wagons could travel the road, from April until the wet season commenced in the fall, a four-horse team could pull 3,000 to 3,500 pounds of freight up-hill to Oregon. Often two wagons were hitched one behind the other with six or eight horses pulling.³⁰

In the spring of 1862, the Postmaster-General invited proposals for carrying the mail twice a week, both ways, from Crescent City to Waldo, Oregon. R. V. Husbands filed the low bid of \$2,100 and was awarded the contract. On July 3 Husbands left Crescent City at 6 a.m., en route up the plank road to Waldo. He reached Waldo as scheduled at 11 a.m. the next day.³¹

Crescent City was a busy shipping center from 1857 to 1865. In the former year, during the period March through May, there were landed at the town 1,278 tons of freight and 1,717 passengers. From Crescent City the mining districts of southwestern Oregon and northwestern California were supplied until 1865. "We doubt," a local booster boasted, "if any town on the coast commanded the extent of that business that Crescent City did." The town was advertised as a commercial center, and steam and sailing vessels, plying the coast between San Francisco and the mouth of the Columbia, habitually announced that they would "call at Crescent City with and for freight and passengers."

Not a day passed, when the rains and snow would permit passage over the Crescent City Plank Road through the mountains, but there was great activity on 2d Street. One side of this street, between E and K, was lined with incoming teams and the opposite side with outgoing. In addition, there were always pack trains. The construction of the Oregon & California Railroad to Redding and Rose-

30. Chase, *They Pushed Back the Forest*, pp. 35-40.

31. "Mail Routes, Ark., Calif., Ill., Iowa., Kan., Ky., Mo., Neb., N. Mex., Tenn., Tex., and Utah, 1858-1862," Library P. O. D., pp. 226-227, NA, NNR/68-724. The mail carrier was to depart Crescent City at 6 a.m. on Mondays and Thursdays, and to leave Waldo on the return trip at 3 p.m. on Tuesdays and Fridays. George P. Johnson of Crescent City took over the route from Husbands on April 1, 1863.

burg, Oregon, diverted most of the traffic away from Crescent City, and the heyday of the packer and the teamster in Del Norte was over by 1866.³²

The Crescent City Plank Road passed up Elk Valley, crossed Howland Hill (about one-half mile south of where U.S. 199 does), turned to the northeast, striking Smith River at Peacock's Ferry. It then ascended the ridge dividing the watersheds of Smith River and Myrtle Creek to High Divide and Altaville, then on to Jacksonville, Oregon.³³

2. Gasquet Road

Horace Gasquet, after acquiring the stand of J. D. Mace & Co. at the confluence of North and Middle Forks of Smith River in 1857, expanded his activities. A trail was opened from his stand into Oregon. Over this route he packed tons of supplies and equipment to the mining camps. Next, he cut a trail down Gold Mountain to Indian Creek and Happy Camp on the Klamath. Stores were opened by Gasquet at Waldo and Happy Camp. These stores, his mining activities, and trail construction and maintenance, as well as his farm at Gasquet, were handled with Chinese labor until 1886.

By the late 1870s it was apparent to Gasquet that the efficiency of his multiple business operations would be improved by the construction of a toll road from his base of operations at Gasquet Flats, (as his home base at the junction of the north and the middle forks was called), to Oregon. On May 15, 1881, a petition was circulated calling on the Del Norte County Board of Supervisors to help fund the project. While the board talked, Gasquet put his Chinese to work opening up a road over a route surveyed by Laurant Bonnaz. This route led from Gasquet's place up Patrick Creek, up East Fork of Patrick Creek, over the ridge to Shelly Creek, and on to Oregon.³⁴

32. Robert J. Jenkins, *Del Norte County as It Is . . .* (Crescent City, 1894), pp. 26-28.

33. General Land Office Maps: Township 16 North, Range 1 West, 1856; Township 17 North, Range 1 East.

34. Ernie Coan, "Horace Gasquet: Del Norte's Early Multi-Purpose Man," *Del Norte TriPLICATE*, Centennial Edition, 1954.

Gasquet in 1882 notified the Board of Supervisors that the road was under construction and about one-half completed. Its cost so far had been \$10,800. As it was already being used by the public, he asked the board to establish a rate of tolls, "pedestrians 25¢, horsemen \$1, pack animals laden 50¢, unladen 25¢, loose horses and cattle 12 1/2 ¢ each, sheep and hogs 6¢ each, vehicles with one horse \$2.75, two horses \$3, four horses \$3.50, and six horses \$4."³⁵

Gasquet's toll road into Oregon was completed by 1887. Meanwhile, to increase traffic over his road and to reduce hauling costs to Crescent City, Gasquet had opened a road from Gasquet Flats down the left bank of Smith River to the mouth of South Fork. This road, although built by private enterprise, was free of toll. Del Norte County hired Nels Christensen to lay a plank road through the Mill Creek bottom and across Howland Hill. This road joined the Crescent City Plank Road in Elk Valley and connected with Gasquet's at South Fork. The suspension bridge across South Fork was built by Gasquet and donated to the county.³⁶

3. Crescent City-Trinidad Road*

The construction of the road south from Crescent City to the Klamath, and beyond, is an excellent example of the difficulties encountered by roadbuilders in the redwoods. By 1887 there were enough settlers on the lower Klamath to pressure the Del Norte County Board of Supervisors into ordering the District Attorney to take legal action to secure a right-of-way for a wagon road to the Klamath. On October 22 it was reported that work on the road had commenced. Construction had started "where the road commences below Alexanders."³⁷ Progress was agonizingly slow. Becoming discouraged with the county, Lewis DeMartin in June 1889

*See National Register Forms, pp. 341-324.

35. Ibid.

36. Chase, *They Pushed Back the Forest*, p. 41. Until the plank road was opened in the early 1890s, across the Mill Creek bottom, Gasquet Flats was reached from Crescent City via the Cold Spring Mountain Trail. The trail to Gasquet branched off from that trail at Catching's Ferry and ascended the left bank of Smith River. The road, when built, followed the same alignment as the trail. General Land Office Maps: Township 16 North, Range 1 East; Township 17 North, Range 1 East.

37. *Del Norte Record*, Oct. 22, 1887.

hired Pat Feheley to open a sled road from his Wilson Creek dairy farm to Requa. This six-mile road was completed in July, and DeMartin lost no time in hauling up from Requa 600 pounds of freight in a cart. The road was said to be excellent, and running along the ocean, it followed the old trail.³⁸

The Klamath Trail in October was reportedly in bad condition as the rains had made "the ground slippery so that it is hardly safe to ride a horse over it faster than a walk."³⁹ Bids had been asked by the county for two and one-half miles of wagon road from the south approach to the Cushing Creek bridge to the top of Ragged Ass Hill. No bids were received.⁴⁰ The Board of Supervisors on November 9, 1889, announced that they would make a trip to the Klamath to reconnoiter the wagon road survey. Supervisor John Miller told the editor of the *Record* that "the growth of the country demands a good wagon road to the Klamath."⁴¹

DeMartin was delighted to learn from the *Record* of March 6, 1891, that Supervisor Miller "will have the wagon road completed to Klamath in one year from date if people will let him alone." As far as he was concerned, DeMartin was willing to be taxed 50 cents on the hundred dollars of assessed value of his property to get the project off dead-center. Commenting on DeMartin's letter, which he published, the editor noted that except for P. S. Snyder, DeMartin paid the most taxes in the district. With the exception of one or two others, there was not a taxpayer who had paid over \$10 of his assessment for the much desired road. The editor trusted that the Board of Supervisors in April would find a petition for a special election in the Klamath Road District for building the road.

At the same time, the *Arcata Union* was pointing out that if a road were opened from Redwood Creek to the Klamath, trade from that area would gravitate to Arcata.⁴²

38. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 58.

39. *Del Norte Record*, Oct. 12, 1889.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1889.

42. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1891.

A contractor who had examined the route reported that the Klamath Wagon Road could be completed for \$6,000.⁴³ Road building was resumed in the spring, and on September 19 it was announced that the men working on the road were inching closer to Crescent City, and they would "soon have the road finished to the beach." On October 3 the road overseers had 16 men at work clearing brush. As soon as the right-of-way was opened, the crew would be reinforced.⁴⁴

The editor of the *Record* informed his readers on July 30, 1892, that the road is in "very good condition," but it is very narrow. Evidently, the road was unsatisfactory, because on November 4, 1893, the *Record* complained, "In 1887 the Klamath Road was surveyed and still there is no road." Support for the completion of the road materialized, and in January 1894 the Board of Supervisors awarded the contract for building the road, from Last Chance to DeMartin's, to W. T. Bailey for \$985. Joseph Bertsch agreed to build the road across his property for \$600. DeMartin planned to use road machinery to open the road across his land, and he was to be paid \$75 for the bridge he had thrown across Wilson Creek.⁴⁵

By May the road had been completed to DeMartin's, and on July 7 Pat Feheley of Requa was given the contract to open the Del Norte section of the road south of the Klamath. The wagon road was finished by the late summer of 1894, and stages were operating between Crescent City and Eureka.⁴⁶ The supervisors now discussed proposals for bridging the Klamath at Requa, but, after studying the situation, it was dropped for the time being as too costly.⁴⁷

Much of the road through the redwoods was built on puncheons. The roadbed was graded, then paved with slabs of redwood. These made an excellent roadway as long as the puncheons were solidly packed. When the winter rains came, the dirt was washed away and water collected under the puncheons, "Forming veritable gey-

43. *Ibid.*, March 28, 1891

44. *Ibid.*, Sept. 19 & Oct. 3, 1891.

45. *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1894.

46. *Ibid.*, May 5 & July 7, 1894. Frank Bosch signed the first contract to carry passengers, freight, and mail over the Crescent City-Requa portion of the road, while Burr McConnaha ran the stage line from Trinidad to Requa. Mrs. Elsie Bosch, *Humboldt County Historical Society*, 10, No. 2.

47. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, pp. 60-61.

sers as vehicles drove over them." The puncheons kept the vehicles from sinking in the mud, but they were very rough and uncomfortable to ride over.

In the summertime, the dust became so thick that clouds of it rolled up behind each wagon. The trees and ferns along the right-of-way were coated with dust, which was not washed away until the winter rains came.⁴⁸

The Crescent City-Trinidad Road, on leaving Crescent City, paralleled the beach to within a short distance of Cushing Creek. At ebb tide the stages and cars would be driven along the beach. After crossing Cushing Creek, the road ascended Ragged Ass Hill and passed around the head of Nickel Creek. It then descended Damnation Ridge by way of Skunk Camp and Last Chance and on to Wilson Creek. The road then paralleled today's U.S. 101 as far as Hunter Creek, where it crossed High Prairie Creek and continued to Requa. South of the Klamath, the old wagon road and the Redwood Highway followed the same alignment to Elk Grove. There it skirted the western verge of the prairie. From May Creek to a point just below the confluence of Prairie and Redwood creeks, the wagon road and today's 101 had identical right-of-ways. Here the wagon road crossed to the east side of Redwood Creek.⁴⁹

The coming of the automobile speeded up and increased traffic on the Crescent City-Trinidad road. By 1915 there was a guide for tourists. According to this publication, it was possible to reach Eureka from Medford, Oregon, via Grants Pass, and through the redwoods of Smith River to Crescent City. South from Crescent City the road passed through more redwood groves to Requa, where the tourist crossed the Klamath on a ferry. He then drove southward, skirting the proposed National Redwood Park down the valley of Prairie Creek, "through the grandest redwood growths known to Orick." From Orick the road led southward, "along the margins of placid lagoons . . . and rock-bound coast," to Trinidad and Eureka.⁵⁰

48. Ibid., p. 61; *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), pp. 3A & 6 AA.

49. Map of Del Norte County, California, June 1918; California State Parks, Del Norte Park, Key Map, Olmsted Brothers, June 1931; Official Map of Humboldt County, California, Lentell, 1898; Denny's Official Map of the County of Humboldt, California, 1911; Personal Interview, Bearss with Ray Chaffey, April 26, 1969. Ray Chaffey, of the High Prairie Creek Community, has lived in the area for over 50 years.

50. *Humboldt County, California, The Land of Unrivalled Undeveloped Natural Resources*, p. 29.

4. Redwood Highway *

The Redwood Highway was created as a State Highway by a bond issue in 1909. It was October 19, 1917, before any action to expedite its construction was taken in Del Norte. At that time the Board of Supervisors announced plans to secure the right-of-way for the Redwood Highway between Wilson Creek and Crescent City. A contract was let in July 1919 for construction between Cushing and Wilson creeks. In 1923 the section from the head of Richardson Creek to Hunter Creek was built by prison labor. A camp for the prisoners was established on the Del Ponte place.⁵¹

By the end of 1923 the Redwood Highway, except for the bridge across the Klamath, had been completed and opened to through traffic in Del Norte and Humboldt counties. Between Crescent City and Cushing Creek, the Redwood Highway and the old road followed the same alignment. South of Cushing Creek, the Redwood Highway clung for three miles to the cliffs, providing the motorists a spectacular view of Crescent City and the Pacific. The new highway then skirted the headwaters of Damnation Creek, descending Damnation Ridge to Wilson Creek. Its alignment here was parallel to and a few hundred yards west of the old road. Wilson Creek was crossed several hundred yards above the False Klamath. Between Wilson and Hunter creeks, the Redwood Highway followed the same general alignment as the old road. From Hunter Creek, the Redwood Highway, instead of sweeping toward Requa, continued southeastward and struck the Klamath at the mouth of Hoppaw Creek. The roadway on the south side of the Klamath ascended Richardson Creek and intersected the old road near High Bluff. From High Bluff to Orick the alignments were identical, except at two points: between Elk Grove and May Creek, the new road was located east of the old, while at Orick the Redwood Highway crossed Redwood Creek about one-half mile farther south.⁵²

The California Highway Commission, which has frequently been a whipping boy for conservationists, demonstrated a keen sense of aesthetic values in accepting the right-of-way for the Redwood Highway in Del Norte and Humboldt counties. The counties had to acquire land for the right-of-way. Heretofore, they had been in

*See National Register Forms, pp. 325-337.

51. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, pp. 61-62.

52. California State Parks, Del Norte Park, Key Map, Olmsted Bros., June 1931; *California Highway Bulletin*, Oct. 15, 1912, 7, No. 1, p. 3; Ltr., E. Thomas to Bearss, July 30, 1969. E. Thomas is Assistant District Engineer, State of California-Transportation Division.

the habit of purchasing the right-of-way, logging it, and then turning it over to the State Highway Commission. The State Commission now refused to go along with this practice, and the County Boards of Supervisors were required to turn over to the State an unlogged right-of-way. In building the Redwood Highway through Del Norte and Humboldt only those redwoods interfering with construction were felled. Thousands of these giants were thus saved for the American people. This practice was followed when sections of the highway were relocated in the 1930s.⁵³

5. U.S. 101 (Redwood Highway)

Costly slides, which fortunately caused no fatalities, compelled the State of California to relocate six miles of the Redwood Highway in Del Norte County. This was done in the early 1930s. South of Crescent City the new highway, on entering Section 35, Township 16 North, Range 1 West, ascended the ridge and passed around the head of Cushing Creek. From this point for the next four miles it paralleled the Wagon Road constructed in 1887-1894. It then descended Damnation Ridge to a junction with the cliffside road in Section 31, Township 15 North, Range 1 East.

Before the new bridge across the Klamath was opened in 1965, two sections of U.S. 101 were relocated. South of the Klamath, the road was aligned to ascend the valley of Waukell Creek. North of the river one-half mile of road was repositioned to facilitate the approach to the new bridge.

6. U.S. 199

Today's U.S. 199 was built in the late 1920s to link Crescent City with Medford, Oregon. The Hiouchi Bridge across Smith River was officially opened for traffic and dedicated on June 22, 1929.⁵⁴

53. Ibid.

54. *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition, 1954, p. 5-B.

C. FERRIES

1. Requa Ferry

The first white man to operate a toll ferry across the Klamath at Requa was Morgan G. Tucker. This was in 1876. The Yurok opposed the undertaking, because it would deprive them of the revenue they had formerly received for passing travelers across the river in their big redwood canoes.⁵⁵ On September 2 Tucker employed the *Crescent City Courier* to announce:

To Whom it may Concern

The undersigned will apply to the Honorable Board of Supervisors of Del Norte County for authority to erect and keep a Toll Ferry on the Klamath River about one-half mile above the mouth of said river. The said applicant will be at the office of the clerk of said Board . . . on Monday, October 2, 1876.⁵⁶

His application was approved, and on September 23, John Young who had come up the trail from Eureka informed the editor of the *Courier* that Tucker's ferry at the mouth of the Klamath "is a grand improvement."⁵⁷ Tucker's ferry caused the Indians to protest its presence to the agent in charge of the Hoopa Valley Reservation. At first, the Office of Indian Affairs was willing to let matters drift. On April 11, 1878, Tucker wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs "for permission to continue the ferry franchise" now held at Requa. To strengthen his position, he pointed out that "the mail from Crescent City to Eureka crosses at this point, and the maintenance of the ferry is a public benefit."⁵⁸

The Secretary of the Interior was agreeable to granting Tucker the franchise, provided he posted a bond, and signified his willingness to observe such rules and regulations as established by the Office of Indian Affairs.⁵⁹

55. *Crescent City Courier*, Aug. 26, 1876.

56. *Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1876.

57. *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1876.

58. Tucker to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 11, 1878, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

59. Secretary of the Interior to Tucker, May 13, 1878, NA, RG 75, OIA, Ltrs. Recd., Calif. Supt.

Tucker continued to operate his ferry until June 1879, when, along with the other squatters, he was evicted from the Klamath River Reservation.

A Yurok took over Tucker's franchise. The service now provided caused numerous complaints. On January 29, 1887, the *Courier* warned, "River high. The ferry boat run by the Indians is not fit for use during high and swift water, and under no circumstances would I at present take the chances of crossing with horses."⁶⁰ In July 1888 it was reported that the Yurok who ferried Frank Brown across the Klamath got lost in a fog and went upstream several miles before discovering his error.⁶¹ In June 1890 Captain Spott, who operated the ferry, transported 1,800 sheep across the river at five cents a head. The captain crowded too many sheep onto his boat, smothering three. The owner demanded and received \$2 per head for the dead animals.⁶² Travelers were also disenchanted by Captain Spott's failure to establish and maintain a schedule. They urged that the franchise be awarded a responsible white man.⁶³

It was 1895, three years after the Reservation had been discontinued, before Captain Spott was squeezed out. In December of that year Bailey and Fortain signed an agreement with the Board of Supervisors to operate a ferry near the mouth of the Klamath. W. T. Bailey proposed to run a cable across the river, 1,700 feet in length. This was 300 feet longer than the Eel River cable. The cable would be similar to the one used at Peacock's crossing of Smith River,⁶⁴ and the current would be employed to drive the ferry across.⁶⁴

The cable, after several failures, was finally stretched across the river, and continued in operation for a number of years. By 1919, however, it had seen better days. On May 9, 1919, the editor of the *Del Norte TriPLICATE* complained that the ferry at Requa, because of the low stage of the river, might have to be relocated and new equipment provided, "if the present regular mail, passenger and tourist service is maintained." Traffic during ebb tide was delayed as much as six hours.⁶⁵

60. *Crescent City Courier*, Jan. 29, 1887.

61. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1888.

62. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1890.

63. *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1890.

64. *Del Norte Record*, Dec. 28, 1895.

65. *Del Norte TriPLICATE*, May 9, 1919.

In June 1919 the *Triplicate* announced that a new contract for the Klamath ferry had been let by the Board of Supervisors. Dave Ball was to receive \$1,402.13 for building a new boat, while Stacey Fisher was to be paid \$2,580 a year for operating the ferry. Subsequently, Frank Bosch ran the ferry until the Douglas Bridge was opened for traffic in 1926. The ferry then went out of business.⁶⁶

Bids for the Klamath River Bridge were received May 26, 1924, and the contract awarded to F. Rolandi of San Francisco on June 19. Work was commenced in July. The bridge was dedicated May 17, 1926, with appropriate addresses by Governor Friend W. Richardson of California and Walter M. Pierce, Governor of Oregon. It was not opened to traffic, however, until the late fall of 1926. The bridge was named the Douglas Memorial Bridge in honor of the late Dr. Gustave H. Douglas. Dr. Douglas had spearheaded the campaign to secure construction of a highway bridge across the lower Klamath, which would link Del Norte with the improved highway system of Humboldt County and other areas to the south.⁶⁷

During the flood of December 1964, two spans at the south end of the Douglas Bridge were washed out, a third span left "wobbly," and the north approach swept away. The golden bears were left standing guard over a ruined structure. Until a new bridge could be built one-half mile upstream, a Bailey Bridge, built by the Army Engineers, carried U.S. 101 traffic across the Klamath.⁶⁸

2. Catching's Ferry

Catching's Ferry, located one-half mile above where Mill Creek flows into Smith River, provided transportation across to those taking the Cold Spring Mountain Trail from Crescent City to Sailors Creek. This ferry was in operation as late as 1884.⁶⁹

3. Peacock's Ferry

Travelers on the Crescent City Plank Road crossed Smith River at Peacock's Ferry. This ferry was located a short distance below the mouth of Clark Creek. During certain seasons of the year,

66. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 54.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-65.

68. *Del Norte Triplicate*, Dec. 25, 1964.

69. General Land Office Maps, Township 16 North, Range 1 East, Humboldt Meridian, for 1878 and 1884.

the ferry was moved about one-fourth mile farther downstream.⁷⁰

In the 19th century a hemp line about the size of a man's forearm was stretched across Smith River at this point. One end was secured to a tree and the other to a windlass. A flat-boat, large enough to accommodate a stage or large wagon, was attached to the line by blocks. When the ferry was ready to cast-off, she was pushed into the river by means of pulleys--her bow inclined upstream. The current, which struck the craft at an angle, provided the propelling force, and guided by a traveling block, the boat passed rapidly across Smith River. The ferryhouse and tollhouse were combined and located on the north bank.⁷¹

D. FREIGHTING--1858-1915

T. H. Miles of Trinidad recalled that before the automobile the roads were atrocious. They were steep, dangerous, and rough. In the summer, dust was ankle deep, while in the winter the mud all but put a stop to freighting. In building roads, little thought was given to making easy grades, and no effort at all was made to eliminate hairpin turns. The grades were narrow with few turnouts. Repair work in the spring consisted of filling in the worst mud-holes with small rocks, cedar bark, and brush. There was no gravel, because of the primitive equipment. Here and there were toll roads which were kept in fair condition.

At first, the teamsters hauled their own beds and camp outfits, and pulled out of the road whenever night overtook them. As the years rolled by, ranchers along the different freight roads began to cater to teamsters, building corrals and feed sheds and boarding drivers. Eventually, the number who camped out were few. The "stopping places," as they were called, that put out the best meals got most of the teamsters, and it was not uncommon to find six or eight big outfits--stopping for the night--at a popular station.⁷²

The big front wagon was "a creation of great skill, strength, and precision, and was made by hand." High grade Norway steel was used in its construction. The front axles were two and one-half inches in diameter, the rear two and three-quarters, with corres-

70. General Land Office Map, Township 17 North, Range 1 East, 1884.

71. *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition, 1954, p. 2-F.

72. Smith, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 29-30.

ponding heavy wood stock. The wheels were high, the rear averaging from five to five and one-half feet in diameter, the front in proportion. Hubs and boxes were massive, bored and tubed to allow ciling without removing the wheel. The brake beams that held the brake blocks were of white oak or hickory. The brake blocks were of white or sugar pine, bushed in the initial groove worn by the wheel with dagger pine. These blocks were at least two feet long. The tail wagon was rigged in similar fashion, with the brake rope leading through rings on the side of the front wagon. The wagons were coupled by "crotch chains" with a few long links in the bight of the chain. The short coupling tongue had a heavy slot iron clamped or bolted to it.⁷³

The largest rigs required a ten-horse team which was a single line or "jerk line" team. The line was snapped to the lip strap of the near leader (who had been broken to turn "gee" when the line was jerked) and led by rings on collar and harness to the wheel-horse and hung on his hames. The off-leader was kept in place by a four-foot jockey stick, one end of it fastened under the collar of the leader, the other snapped to his lip strap. To keep him from surging ahead, he was controlled by a "buck strap" which kept him in his place; otherwise the leader would have no control over him. Behind the leaders (of a ten-horse team) came the "eights," the "sixes," and the pointers. The pointers' stretchers were hooked to the tongue. The pointers were the most important horses in the team, because they--and, to a lesser extent, the wheelers--kept the big front wagon in the road. They were accordingly selected for their pulling qualities and intelligence.⁷⁴

These long teams were seldom composed of big horses. Heavy draft stock could not stand the travel (an average of 15 miles per day) and would become so "leg-weary and slow that, by early fall, the team would lose a day every trip, and a six-day haul would take seven days." A good free-walking team would average about 1,200 pounds to the horse, though the pointers and wheelers were usually a little heavier.⁷⁵

The average rate of travel for a team loaded to capacity (on the down-grade trip) was about two miles an hour, and the load (generally lumber or concentrate from small mines) was a ton to a horse. From the seaport or railhead up to the mountains, the average load for a ten-horse team was 16,000 pounds.

73. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

74. Ibid., p. 31.

75. Ibid., p. 32.

The mountain haul for the first two days inland from the coast was the hardest, as one had not yet climbed out of the searing heat. A good driver would "save his team in every possible way." If he came to shade, he would stop and rest his horses, pulling the collars away from their necks to permit the air to cool them. When he came to a steep grade, he would give them plenty of time, pulling not more than a few feet at a time. On reaching camp in the evening, the welfare of the team came first.⁷⁶ A wagon breakdown was bad, and could take half or all the profit out of a trip; but worst of all would have been to have a sick horse.⁷⁷

"A well-found team," swinging down the road, wagons clicking and "chuckling" along, was an impressive sight. Most of the freighting companies took pride in the appearance of their teams. From the bridles hung gaily dyed squirrel tails. The horses' manes were roached, and the housing over the hames bore the owner's initials in brass tacks. The bells on the leaders lent a cheerful air to the scene. These bells, however, had a practical use, since they could be heard a mile off. This was important, because turnouts were few and far between, and it was understood that all teamsters, on starting up or down a long narrow grade, would stop and listen, repeating this at the first turnout, where they would pull over and wait for any outfit that could be heard oncoming.⁷⁸

E. COMMENTS and RECOMMENDATIONS

Few areas, if any, in the National Park Service afford a better opportunity than Redwood National Park for interpreting man's struggle to cope with his environment. Trails were difficult to open, and roads, until the advent of huge power earth-moving equipment, next to impossible to build. For example, in the last quarter of the 19th century it took from 1887 to 1894 to open the wagon road from Crescent City to Trinidad. No through railroad penetrated Del Norte County or the northern portion of Humboldt County. While the Del Norte & Southern Railroad and the Crescent City & Smith River Railroad were common carriers, their operations were limited, in general, to the level belt of country between the Pacific and Howland Hill. Practically all the tonnage carried was made up of logs for the lumber mills. Plans were made to connect Crescent City with Grants Pass by rail, but the cost of building a right-of-way and laying track through the rugged and wild Coast Range frightened investors.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid., p. 33.

78. Ibid., p. 34.

Until the construction of modern highways in the 1920s and the advent of trucks and trailers for long-distance overland hauling, Del Norte and northern Humboldt Counties were cut off, except by water, from the commercial and population centers of California and Oregon. All goods and equipment, except those carried by mail carrier, had to be brought in by ship, while the products of the area's farms, forests, and mines had to go out the same way. To supply the inland mining camps, first trails and then roads were opened. Pack trains loaded out of Crescent City and Trinidad were driven over these trails with supplies and came out with gold. As soon as roads were opened, freight wagons, except during the rainy season, replaced the pack trains.

The construction of the Redwood Highway in the 1920s and the successful efforts of the California Highway Department in the field of conservation cannot be ignored, because they brought visitors into the region and helped make the public cognizant of the grandeur and dignity of the redwoods.

The roads, trails, ferries, pack trains, and freighters constitute an important and invaluable element in the story of man and the redwoods. This is a facet of the area's history that can be interpreted on site, because portions of the old trails and roads are extant. The ferry sites can be easily identified. Certain of these sites should be designated Class VI Land. Sites meriting this designation are: (a) The portion of the Crescent City Plank Road between U.S. 199 and Peacock's Ferry; (b) Peacock's and Catching's ferries; (c) the portion of the Kelsey Trail (today's Bald Hill Road) in Sections 22 and 23, Township 16 North, Range 1 East; (d) the extant sections of the Crescent City-Trinidad Wagon Road along Damnation Ridge and Ragged Ass Hill--the remains on Damnation Ridge are especially interesting, because you can still feel the puncheons just below the surface; and (e) the five miles of Redwood Highway constructed in the 1920s and abandoned in the 1930s, running along the cliffs and skirting the head of Damnation Creek. While the trail from Trinidad to the Klamath, where it was reopened by Arcata Redwood Company, has lost its integrity, it still possesses historical significance. As such it should be designated Class VI Land, and an effort made to acquire the trail between the Park boundary and Elk Camp.

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X. THE LUMBER INDUSTRY--1850-1953

A. THE LUMBER INDUSTRY in HUMBOLDT COUNTY--1850-1860.

1. The First Sawmills

In Humboldt County the redwood zone extended in 1850 in an irregular belt 108 miles in length, varying in width from two to 20 miles, and embracing an estimated 500,000 acres. This territory included level river bottoms, plateaus, rolling land, and steep hillsides. Foresters in 1902 calculated that an average of 50,000 merchantable feet of lumber could be harvested from an acre, in addition to railroad ties, fence posts, shingle bolts, refuse, etc.¹

Lumbering commenced in Humboldt County in 1850, but five years were to pass before any attention was paid the redwoods. The pioneer lumbermen were easterners from Maine and the Maritime Provinces of Canada, who were accustomed to the pine, spruce, and fir of their homes. They were familiar with these, and their kindred species, and their adaptability to the manufacture of lumber for use in the building trades, but because of the "in-capacity" of the mills to handle the huge redwood logs and their ignorance of its adaptability for lumber, no redwood was shipped from Humboldt Bay until 1855.²

The first sawmill on Humboldt Bay, the Papoose, was built and put into operation in the summer of 1850 by Martin White and James Eddy. Their mill failed within the year, as did several others, including the Luffelholz. The first cargo of lumber shipped from Humboldt Bay was sawed at the Papoose and loaded aboard *James H. Whiting*.³ On February 24, 1852, the first "really successful mill in the county was established by James T. Ryan and James Duff."

Ryan was an interesting character. Born in Ireland he had emigrated to the United States and settled in Massachusetts where he became a successful contractor. The lure of gold drew him to California, and in 1850 he reached Humboldt Bay. In 1852

1. *Souvenir of Humboldt County, Being a Frank, Fair, and Accurate Exposition, Pictorially and Otherwise, of the Resources, Industries and Possibilities of this Magnificent Section of California* (Eureka, 1902), pp. 45-46.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

3. Elliott, *History of Humboldt County*, p. 141.

Ryan bought the steamer *Santa Clara* and entered into partnership with Duff. The inexhaustible timber resources of the Humboldt Coast had made a lasting impression on Ryan. The little steamer was loaded with sawmill machinery at San Francisco, and she headed out the Golden Gate and up the coast. As she was crossing the bar at the entrance to Humboldt Bay, some of the machinery was washed overboard by the breakers. Undaunted, Ryan had *Santa Clara* anchored, while a crew was turned to digging a slip. A full head of steam was then raised, and the ship driven aground --bows on--in the slip. The ship's engines would be used to power the sawmill that Ryan & Duff constructed on the beach.

Within a short time, Ryan & Duff were sawing several thousand feet of spruce, fir, and pine a day. In June, Ryan & Duff loaded their first shipment on the brig, *John Clifford*. Beating her way across the bar, the brig grounded and was pounded to pieces. Several days later, Ryan & Duff sent off the brig *Cornwallis*, only to see her meet a similar fate. Ryan then got Hans H. Buhne to take out a third shipment in the bark *Home*. On July 4, 1852, *Home* hoisted anchor and made sail, but she was doomed not to reach San Francisco and was driven ashore on the south spit. Despite these blows and the destruction of their mill by fire, Ryan & Duff continued in business.⁴

One of those who went to work for Ryan & Duff was William Carson, a Canadian who brought the first ox team to Humboldt County. He was employed to oversee woods activity near Freshwater. In 1854 Carson left Ryan & Duff and purchased the Mula Mill. Within a year, by selecting the smaller logs, and not handling anything that exceeded five feet in diameter, he shipped 20,000 board feet of redwood lumber to San Francisco aboard the brig *Tigress*. In San Francisco the redwood was almost an instantaneous success. Because of its rot-resistance it soon commanded premium prices. Carson's Mula Mill was small, capable of producing only 5,000 feet of lumber a day, and operated by three or four men using a slash saw in place of the gang saw.⁵

4. Stuart Nixon, *Redwood Empire* (Forge Village, 1966), p. 172; Ralph W. Andrews, *Redwood Classic* (Seattle, 1958), p. 124; *The Titans: Story of the West's Oldest Redwood Lumber Mill* (Eureka, undated), p. 1.

5. Nixon, *Redwood Empire*, p. 178; Andrews, *Redwood Classic*, p. 123; *The Titans*, p. 2; *Souvenir of Humboldt County*, p. 48.

2. The Humboldt Lumber & Manufacturing Co.

By 1854 there were nine mills operating on Humboldt Bay. As early as 1852 a commission had been named consisting of Ryan and W. H. Kingsbury on the part of management, and Carson to represent the loggers, to adopt a standard of measurement for scaling logs. The commission determined that all logs 12-foot long and up to 30 inches in diameter were to be measured by the Spaulding Scale, while those in excess of that size were to be measured by the Scribner scale. These guidelines for measurement applied to spruce, pine, and fir, but no standards were adopted for measuring redwood, because of its great size, shape, and peculiarities of its timber. Until after the turn of the century, redwood was scaled by a method drawing upon both the Spaulding and Scribner rules, combined with the judgment of the scaler.⁶

It was soon apparent to management that the local market and that at San Francisco were too limited to consume the entire output of the growing Humboldt Bay lumber industry. To foster trade with Atlantic Coast ports and to secure other markets abroad, the operators determined to pool their resources. After a series of meetings, a number of mill owners united to form the Humboldt Lumber & Manufacturing Co., with a capitalization of \$380,000. James T. Ryan was elected president and Martin White vice president.⁷

At the outset prospects were excellent. In 1854 the company exported 20,567,000 feet of lumber. Unfortunately, the operators were better production experts than businessmen. There was a financial crisis, when a number of customers failed to meet their obligations. In December 1854 the blow fell; many mills were compelled to suspend operations. Notices of sheriff's sales soon appeared in the *Humboldt Times*, and in April 1855 the mills of the association were turned over to their creditors. A new policy was instituted, which permitted only cash transactions, and limited operations were resumed. Recovery was slow, however.⁸

After considerable litigation, the California Supreme Court awarded Duff the ownership of Ryan & Duff in 1859. He put the mill back in production at a cost of \$11,000 and ran it until October 7, 1862, when the mill was destroyed by fire.⁹

6. *Souvenir of Humboldt County*, p. 48.

7. *Humboldt Times*, Sept. 23, 1854.

8. Hyman Palais, "History of the Lumber Industry in Humboldt County," *Pacific Historical Review*, Feb. 1950, pp. 3-4.

9. *Humboldt Times*, Oct. 8, 1862.

3. Other Mills--1852-1860

Another mill established soon after Ryan & Duff's was Martin White's Bay Mill on Front Street, between L and M Streets, at the fringe of Eureka. White joined the Humboldt Lumber & Manufacturing Co., and after the association went bankrupt, his plant was sold in 1856 to John Dolbeer and his three partners, Daniel Pickard, Isaac Upton, and C. W. Long. Charles McLean of San Francisco bought out Dolbeer's partners in 1859 and continued the business in partnership with Dolbeer. Disaster struck on September 1, 1860, when the mill was destroyed by fire. Dolbeer rebuilt the mill (known as Bay Mill No. 2), but as he was short of capital he signed a partnership agreement with William Carson on April 17, 1863. McLean had died by this time.¹⁰

In 1852 the second largest mill on Humboldt Bay was owned by Ridgeway and Flanders. Their plant was at the foot of G Street and employed 31 men. The next year, John Vance and Garwood purchased the operation for \$65,000. In 1854 Vance refused to join the Humboldt Lumber & Manufacturing Co. His mill therefore was not involved in the litigation that affected most of the early plants. When Garwood was drowned in the capsizing of *Merrimac* at the entrance to the harbor, Vance was left without a partner. Vance died in 1892 and left his estate, including his mill, to his sons.¹¹

In 1853 the Pine & Bean Mill was situated near the foot of H Street. James C. Smiley became a partner, and the plant became known as the Smiley-Bean Mill. The same year it was gutted by fire, and Smiley and Bean sold their interest in what remained to S. L. Mastick, who rebuilt and operated the mill until 1860. At that time it was purchased by John Kentfield and D. R. Jones. Jones in 1861 introduced the carriage, a device still used in mills to pull the log past the saw. This enabled Jones to expand greatly the plant's production. The operators soon were handicapped by a shortage of space, and they searched for a more

10. *The Titans*, p. 1; Palais, "History of the Lumber Industry in Humboldt County," *Pacific Historical Quarterly*, February 1950, p. 5. In 1857 Peter Hinkle and Carson had formed a partnership which required Carson to provide the capital and Hinkle the mill, and provided for an equal division of profits at the end of the year. The agreement was not renewed, and in 1863 Carson joined Dolbeer.

11. Palais, "History of the Lumber Industry in Humboldt County," *Pacific Historical Review*, Feb. 1950, p. 8.

favorable site. It was found on Gunther's Island, and construction of the new facilities was started on September 1, 1866.¹²

4. Status of the Industry in 1860.

When the enumerator for the Eighth Census visited the Humboldt Bay area in June 1860, four sawmills were in operation. They were: Dolbeer & Co., John Vance, Titlow & Price, and Lyman Fish & Son. Dolbeer told the enumerator that he had invested \$8,000 in his company, which in 1859 had turned out 2,050,000 feet of lumber, 450,000 laths, and 100,000 pickets, valued at \$24,275. At his mill he employed nine men and operated four steam saws. John Vance valued his mill at \$20,000. In 1859 his plant, employing 18 men and 36 steam saws, had cut 4,336,700 feet of lumber, worth \$52,041. The two other mills reporting, Titlow & Price and Lyman Fish & Son, were smaller operations and located in Union Township.¹³

By 1860 Humboldt was the second ranking California county in production of lumber, sawing 30,000,000 feet per year. In Humboldt the principal lumber sawed was redwood, spruce, and fir, and small quantities of cedar. Most of the Humboldt lumber was shipped to the San Francisco market. Most of the mills were on the shore of Humboldt Bay, which was bounded by flats about five to six miles across. Through these flats meandered tidal sloughs, into which fed rivers and streams coming down out of the hills. The land had been in Federal ownership and, subject to pre-emption, could be bought. Lumbermen, owning claims along the sloughs, dragged their logs to the water and tumbled them in.

Those owning claims along the ravines at the head of the sloughs built wooden tramways (pole roads), consisting of small logs laid crossways on a roadbed to serve as ties. Then 6-inch trees were pegged together, and placed on the ties to serve as rails. On these tramways, they ran four-wheel wagons, each wheel of solid wood, eight inches wide, and from two to three feet in diameter, made of a traverse section of a tree. These wheels were hollowed in the center. The "cars," the weight of which was often nearly as much as the weight of the load, were pulled by eight- or six-horse teams. On these "cars" one or two logs were placed, and the team hauled the load down the

12. Ibid., p. 9.

13. Eighth Census for Humboldt County (Eureka and Union Townships), Schedule 4: Manufacturing, California State Library, California Section.

grade to a slough. After the logs had been dumped into the water, the "cars" returned for another load. The tramways and cars were easy to build and did not require many materials shipped in from the outside. By 1854 there were 20 miles of tramways in the Humboldt Bay area.¹⁴

The thickness of the logs hauled varied from 16 inches to nine feet, with the average diameter four and one-half feet. Seven feet was the most common diameter of redwood to be sawed. The greater the diameter, the shorter the log was cut. The ordinary lengths of saw logs were 14, 16, 18, 20, 24, and 32 feet. Redwood was rarely sawn into more than 20-foot lengths. A good lumberjack could fell a tree of three-foot diameter in an hour; a tree five feet in diameter in three and one-half hours. Ordinarily two choppers worked together, one on each side of the tree. They used the American axe and axe-handle; the handle being about a foot longer than that used in Michigan and Maine. After the tree was down, it was cut into saw-logs with a cross-cut saw, managed by one man. It had been found that one man could make a longer stroke than two, and as the length of the stroke was a matter of much importance to "clear the saw," or throw out the saw-dust, one of the handles was knocked off, and the saw held like a handsaw.¹⁵

After the logs had been rolled into the slough, they were made into rafts of from 50 to 100 feet in length, and from ten to 40 feet wide. The outer logs of the raft were fastened to each other at the ends, by small chains with a dog at each end, and a dog driven into each log. Ropes were used to keep the raft from spreading in the middle. When the tide ebbed, the raft was floated to the mill. If the tide turned before the raft had reached Humboldt Bay, it was made fast to a stump or tree on the shore, and the loggers waited the next flood tide.¹⁶

Every mill had a boom for logs. This boom consisted of large, long logs chained together and floating on the surface of a slough or cove. When the raft arrived, the boom was opened, the raft pulled in, and surveyed. This was done by a bonded

14. John S. Hittell, *The Resources of California: Comprising Agriculture, Mining, Geography, Climate, Commerce, etc.* . . . (San Francisco, 1866), pp.306-307; *The Titans*, p. 5. The "cars" were built in the mill's shop.

15. Hittell, *Resources of California*, p. 307. Logs in the 1850s were never felled at greater distances from the tramways than 100 yards.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

estimator, who received ten cents per 1,000 feet of lumber, one-half to be paid by the loggers and one-half by the mill. The thickness of the log was taken at the small end, and one-fourth was thrown out as waste.¹⁷

On several of the smaller streams flowing into Humboldt Bay, dams were built, so that a combination of the water stored in the pool and spring flooding could be employed to push the huge logs into the bay, where they could be rafted. When cutting commenced on Mad River, a narrow canal, eight feet wide, was cut from the river into the north arm of the bay. A boom was thrown across the mouth of Mad River to arrest the logs as they came down, after which they were shunted through the canal.¹⁸

There was no place in the United States where the average thickness of the logs sawn in the mills was as great as in Humboldt and Del Norte Counties, and the mills were built with reference to this situation. The frames were large and strong, and the saws of proportionate length. Four types of saws were used: the single-gate, the gang-saws in a gate, the muley, and the circular. The single-gate was secured in a frame, which played up and down. This saw was used for sawing small logs. The gang-saws were a set of saws fastened in a frame parallel to each other. In some gangs there were 24 saws side by side, and they cut a log into boards at one movement. Gang-saws moved slowly and produced smooth lumber. Boards, planks, joists, rafters, and studding were cut with gang saws. A three and one-half-foot log was the largest that could be cut with gang-saws in the 1850s. The muley-saw was an upright saw, fastened at the lower end to a shaft connecting with a steam engine or waterpower, while the upper end was loose, playing in a groove to keep it straight. The muley was employed to cut the largest logs into bolts and to take off slabs, so as to reduce logs to a size suitable for gang-saws. The muley made 300 strokes a minute, whereas the gate-saw made about 100. The circular saw was used to cut all the thin siding, pickets, and laths. The largest circular saws in 1860 were 52 inches in diameter, leaving about 24 inches on each side of the axle. When large logs were to be cut with circular saws, one saw was put above the other, and one cut into the log from above, and the other from

17. Ibid.

18. *The Titans*, pp. 4-5.

below, and in this fashion they could cope with logs up to four feet in diameter.¹⁹

B. THE LUMBER INDUSTRY in DEL NORTE COUNTY--1853-1881

1. The First Sawmills

The first sawmill in today's Del Norte County was established in 1853, soon after Crescent City was platted. Machinery for the mill was landed from *Pomona* in May of that year, and F. E. Watson built and operated this first mill for R. F. Knox & Co. of San Francisco. This mill was located in the gulch near the intersection of today's Third and C Streets. Many of the logs cut into lumber at the mill were hauled over Howland Hill from Mill Creek. To transport the logs, the loggers employed "two large wheels about twelve feet in diameter, with an axle between and a long tongue, on which the logs were loaded, and partly dragged and wheeled by oxen."²⁰

Watson's Mill was enlarged and relocated in 1855 at the corner of today's G and 7th Streets, opposite W. A. Hamilton's residence. This mill was destroyed by fire in 1856, and some of the equipment salvaged by a Mr. Kingsland was used to build a small mill on Elk Creek.²¹

W. Bayse built and operated a water-powered mill on Mill Creek, six miles from Crescent City. The road over Howland Hill opened by Watson and his loggers was improved, for the purpose of hauling logs into town. The cost of transportation was too high and Bayse soon went bankrupt.²²

19. Hittell, *Resources of California*, pp.309-310; *The Titans*, pp.3-4.

20. Leona Hammond, "Lumbering Epitomizes Centennial's 'One Hundred Years of Progress,'" *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition, (1954), p. 2-AA; Ernie Coan, "Hobbs-Wall Empire," found in *ibid.*, p. 3-D; Smith, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 12.

21. Hammond, "Lumbering Epitomizes Centennial's 'One Hundred Years of Progress,'" p. 2-AA; Coan, "Hobbs-Wall Empire," p. 3-D.

22. *Ibid.*

A horse-powered mill operated briefly near where the Elk Valley Mill subsequently stood. It was reported that the carpenter, who was building the City Hotel, was able to pack the lumber from the mill to the hotel and work it up as fast as it was sawed. Consequently, the mill was not considered a good investment and soon shut down.²³

Another man, A. M. Smith, built a mill on Smith River, near where it was later spanned by the bridge erected by the Crescent City & Smith River Railroad. The Fairbanks Brothers opened a small mill near Smith River Corners. N. O. Armington became interested in this undertaking and a grist mill was added.²⁴

There was a small sawmill at the Waukell Agency on the Klamath in the late 1850s, but its production was reserved for the government.²⁵

In 1860, when the enumerator for the Eighth Census compiled the Fourth Schedule for Del Norte County, he reported there were two mills--the Crescent City and Del Norte. Both were equipped to handle lumber, as well as flour. The Crescent City Mill, employing seven men, was steam-powered and in 1859 had produced 1,200 barrels of flour, 60 tons of bran, and 150,000 feet of lumber.²⁶ The Del Norte Mill, employing six men, was water-powered, and its output in 1859 was: 2,000 barrels of flour, 80 tons of bran, and 130,000 feet of lumber.²⁷

23. Ibid.

24. Coan "Hobbs-Wall Empire," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 3-D.

25. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 51.

26. Eighth Census for Del Norte County; Schedule 4: Manufacturing, California State Library, California Section. The estimated valuation of the products was: flour \$10,800, bran \$1,200, and lumber \$4,500.

27. Ibid. The stated value of these products was: flour \$16,000, bran \$2,400, and lumber \$3,250.

2. Crescent City Mill & Transportation Co.

With the decline in freighting and packing trade, following the completion of the Oregon & California Railroad to Redding and Roseburg in 1865, Crescent City business leaders became concerned. At the instigation of J. Wenger, Sr., a public meeting was held in 1869 and steps taken to shore up the county's sagging economy. It was determined to organize a corporation for the construction of a sawmill to utilize "the immense stand of redwood and spruce so providently accessible." This would be a community venture with some members paying for their certificates in money, others with labor.²⁸

The company thus organized was designated the Crescent City Mill & Transportation Co., and steps were taken to build a large steam sawmill to cut lumber for export. Work was begun immediately, with John H. Chaplin and J. Wenger, Sr., in charge. The plant, called the Lake Earl Mill, was located two miles north of Crescent City, on the lake of that name. Until 1880 the mill was plagued by shallow water in Lake Earl. A dam was then constructed across the outlet of the lake, about one-fourth mile below the mill, with gates so constructed that during the rainy season the surplus water could be let out. Behind the dam there was always sufficient water to float the biggest logs. The pond would hold 3,500,000 feet of timber, sufficient to keep the mill running for an entire year. The mill was linked with the Crescent City Wharf by railroad.

The capacity of the mill in 1881 was 32,000 feet per day. Most of the lumber sawed was spruce. Double circular saws were used, as well as edgers, slab saws, and planers. The circular saws had diameters of 64 and 60 inches, each. Thirty men were employed in the mill, and an equal number in the logging camp. Wages varied from \$26 to \$75 per month and board, depending on the degree of skill of the employee.²⁹

Until 1869 little thought had been given to exporting lumber, and no wharf had been built. Freight had been unloaded onto a lighter at a cost of three dollars a ton, and another dollar

28. Hammond, "Lumbering Epitomizes Centennial's 'One Hundred Years of Progress,'" *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 2-AA.

29. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 123-124; Smith, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 12. After about a year, Wenger and A. M. Simpson bought out the other stockholders.

added for drayage to a warehouse. If the lumber industry were to prosper, a wharf would have to be built. Justus Welles and J. K. Johnson were given the contract. Until the wharf was completed, lumber was hauled by oxen from the mill on Lake Earl to the waterfront, where it was stacked above high-water mark. A number of rollers were fashioned to reach about 200 yards, then placed about three feet apart, and the lumber run on to lighters.³⁰

The first cargo of lumber shipped from the Lake Earl Mill left Crescent City aboard the schooner *Fanny Jane*, Peter Caughell commanding. Several more shipments were loaded from the beach, before the wharf was extended a sufficient distance from the shore to permit the lighters to be loaded directly from the wharf.³¹

The manager of the Crescent City Mill & Transportation Co., informed the enumerator for the Ninth Census, in 1870, that his plant represented a capital investment of \$45,000; it was steam-powered with three saws and one planer; there were 26 men currently employed in the mill; and last year's payroll had totaled \$12,500.³² The value of the company's capital equipment had increased to \$75,000 in 1880. The greatest number of hands employed at the mill during the past 12 months had been 25, while the least for any month had been eight. Skilled hands were paid \$2.50 per day, while day labor drew \$1.25 for an 11-hour day. The mill had operated in 1879 at full capacity for five months, three-quarters capacity for three months, one-half capacity for one month, and had been closed down for three months. In 1879 the mill had turned out 3,500,000 feet of lumber and 30,000 laths valued at \$33,000.³³

30. Hammond, "Lumbering Epitomizes Centennial's 'One Hundred Years of Progress,'" *Del Norte Triplet*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 2-AA; Smith, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 12.

31. Ibid.

32. Ninth Census for Del Norte County, Schedule 4: Manufacturing, California State Library, California Section.

33. Tenth Census for Del Norte County, Schedule 4: Manufacturing, California State Library, California Section. In 1880 the management of the Crescent City Mill reported that they did not manufacture any timber products, that they logged on Lake Earl, and that they owned their own logging operations. At the mill they had four boilers and one steam engine of 100 horsepower.

3. Hobbs, Wall & Co.*

The shipments of lumber from Del Norte County by the Crescent City Mill & Transportation Co. drew the attention of the Hobbs, Gilmore & Co. of San Francisco to northwest California. Caleb Hobbs and David Pomeroy of that firm visited Del Norte and liked the economic opportunities. In 1871 they incorporated as Hobbs, Pomeroy & Co., and built on Elk Creek, a short distance upstream from its mouth, a mill and box factory. The mill was two stories, the upper being occupied by the sawmill, the lower by the box factory. There was an engine room on one side of the main building.

Elk Creek was used to bring logs down from the woods, three miles away. The creek had a depth of about five feet, and logs nine feet in diameter could be rafted to the mill; those larger than that were split beforehand. Arriving at the mill, the logs were hauled up an inclined plane by steam power, the entire operation being controlled by one man. They were then in charge of the sawyer, who, by means of levers and pulleys, turned them on to the carriages. While being sawed, the logs were moved on the carriage by jackscrews, manipulated by one man. The mill ran triple circular saws, the first a 74-inch saw, the second a 60-inch, and the third a 50-inch. There was also a 21-inch horizontal saw. On the mill floor could be found a 50-inch pony, one edger, one slab saw, two trimmers, one picket saw, one lathe saw, and one planer. The planer could plane anything from a 10-inch timber to a small moulding. Its capacity was: surfacing from 15,000 to 18,000 feet per day, tongue and groove 13,000, and rustic 12,000.³⁴

The capacity of the Hobbs, Pomeroy Co. mill was from 45,000 to 50,000 feet per day. The greater part of the sawed lumber in 1880 was spruce and redwood, with only small quantities of fir, for local use, being sawed. In calendar year 1880, the mill sawed 6,000,000 feet of lumber, while the box factory worked up 1,250,000 feet into boxes. Value of the lumber sawed was placed at \$60,000. The number of men employed in the mill and box factory was 70, with another 30 in the logging camp. Wages ranged from a low of \$20 to a high of \$75 per month, with board included.³⁵

* See National Register Forms, pp. 353-363.

34. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 125-126.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127, 128; Tenth Census for Del Norte County, Schedule 4: Manufacturing, California State Library, California Section.

Most of the boxes made in the box factory were destined for bread and sugar, and for the Cutting & Co. packing house of San Francisco. From 1,500 to 2,000 boxes were turned out daily. Spruce was used principally in the manufacture of boxes, though a few redwood boxes were fashioned. One million feet of lumber from the yard was yearly worked up into boxes. In addition, 250,000 feet of slabs and waste lumber from the mill were annually worked up into sugar and small bread boxes. Machinery found in the box factory consisted of: three large splitting saws, one self-feeding re-splitting machine, two small saws for general use, two cut-off saws, one horizontal 43-inch header, two planers (one double-surface and the other a single-surface), and one edger.³⁶

A railroad spur, the first in Del Norte County, had been built from the Elk Valley Mill to the Crescent City Wharf. The lion's share of lumber sawed by Hobbs, Pomeroy was shipped to the San Francisco box factory of Hobbs, Gilmore & Co. In addition, the company owned 1,600 acres of timberland.³⁷

David Pomeroy was drowned in 1879, when *Mary D. Pomeroy* foundered with all hands, while bound from Crescent City for San Francisco, with a cargo of lumber. J. G. Wall took Pomeroy's place, and the firm became known as Hobbs, Wall & Co.³⁸

4. Other Lumber Companies 1860-1880

In the late 1860s and early 1870s Anthony and Thomas Van Pelt operated a small steam sawmill, with a capitalization of \$3,000 near Pebble Beach. With a small labor force, usually about four men, they employed a circular saw to turn redwood into lumber, which they shipped to San Francisco.³⁹

36. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 127-128.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

38. Smith, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 13,14; Hammond, "Lumbering Epitomizes Centennial's 'One Hundred Years of Progress,'" *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 2-AA.

39. Coan, "Hobbs-Wall Empire," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 3-D; Ninth Census for Del Norte County, Schedule 4: Manufacturing, California State Library, California Section.

The Smith River Mill, 12 miles from Crescent City on Smith River, continued to be operated by waterpower. In 1870 Robert Foster was the owner-operator. He and his 11 hands were able to turn out 5,000 feet of redwood lumber per day.⁴⁰

In 1880 there was a mill at Growler Gulch, owned by the Big Flat Gold Mining Co. Lumber sawed by this water-powered mill was used in the Big Flat mines, the logs being hauled down the gulch and up a skid road to the mill.⁴¹

5. Economic Condition of the Del Norte County Lumber Industry in 1880

By 1880 the lumber industry in Del Norte was beginning to boom. Local historian and booster, A. J. Bledsoe forecast that

in the near future Del Norte will export more redwood, spruce, and fir than any country in the State. Other lumber counties in California are fast losing their forests and will soon have no lumber to ship. The lumber business here is just in its infancy. The lumber now sawed is but a trifling amount to what will be cut in a few years to come. Its future value to the county cannot be overestimated. The capital now lying useless in city banks will in a few years find a safe investment here. For it is certain that as the production in other parts of the State decreases, more attention will be directed to the forests of this county.⁴²

It was estimated in 1881 that timber acreage in Del Norte available for ready exploitation totaled 238,700 acres. Taking the low estimate of 250,000 feet of timber to the acre, the 238,700 acres would provide not less than 59,675,000,000 feet. Calculating the number of working days in a sawmill at 300 per year, and limiting their capacity to 25,000 feet per

40. Ibid.; Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 130.

41. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 130; Tenth Census for Del Norte County, Schedule 4: Manufacturing, California State Library, California Section.

42. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 121.

day, Bledsoe estimated, the Del Norte forests would provide timber for one sawmill for 8,525 years; to five sawmills for 1,705 years; to ten sawmills for 853 years; and to 20 sawmills for 426 years.⁴³

C. THE LUMBER INDUSTRY in DEL NORTE--1881-1939

1. Hobbs, Wall & Co.

Hobbs, Wall & Co. expanded the capacity of its Elk Valley Mill in the period 1880 to 1893 from 6,000,000 feet of lumber per year to 8,500,000, or 45,000 feet per day. The company continued active in the box manufacturing trade, which called for large quantities of spruce and hemlock. Its payroll, including those working in the plant and logging camps, averaged \$8,000 per month.⁴⁴

At this time, Hobbs, Wall owned about 8,700 acres of timberland in the county, most of which was between Crescent City and Smith River. In 1890 Hobbs, Wall lumberjacks had logged from a 480-acre tract, 110 acres of which produced 20,174,329 feet of logs.⁴⁵

In 1903 the lumber industry of Del Norte was tied-up by its first major strike by loggers and mill hands. They had walked out in protest against the wage scale established by Hobbs, Wall, the principal producer. In May the strike was settled at both the Lake Earl and Elk Valley mills, and in the logging camps. The strike, although of short duration, had hit the community's economy hard. According to terms of the settlement, a minimum wage of \$40 per month was set for unskilled labor. Skilled blacksmiths and carpenters would be paid \$80 per month for a ten-hour day. Head choppers got \$60 per month, with board, while the head sawyer was the best paid man on the job, \$125 per month.⁴⁶

43. Ibid., pp. 122-123.

44. Jenkins, *Del Norte County As It Is*, p. 99.

45. Ibid., p. 56.

46. Coan, "Hobbs-Wall Empire," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 3-D.

Before May 1903 was over Hobbs, Wall had secured control of J. Wenger & Co. (J. Wenger & Co., besides the Lake Earl Mill, owned considerable timber acreage and several coastal freighters.)⁴⁷

In 1919 Hobbs, Wall & Co. was operating both the Elk Valley and Lake Earl Mills, three logging camps, a big company store in Crescent City, and smaller ones at each of the camps. Twelve miles of railroad, extending from the logging camps on Smith River, led to the two mills, with a spur continuing on to the wharf. This railroad, a common carrier, was designated the Crescent City & Smith River Railroad. It had been built in the period 1890-1894. Although the corporation owned vast tracts of timber in Del Norte County, the only portion that had been logged was that "lying on and in the direction of Smith River" and Lake Earl. Between 300 and 400 men found employment in the three logging camps, and so great was their production that logging trains passed up and down the track every few hours.⁴⁸

The Lake Earl Mill could turn out 40,000 feet of lumber in a ten-hour day, while the larger and more modern Elk Valley Mill was able to saw in excess of 100,000 feet the same period. From Crescent City the forestry products were shipped to San Francisco and San Pedro in the company steamers, *Del Norte*, *Mandalay*, and *Westport*. These vessels could make the round trip in a week to ten days. On their return run, the ships brought in freight and merchandise for the public, as well as passengers.⁴⁹

Boarding houses were operated and manned by Hobbs, Wall at the camps and mills. These were supplied from the company store. In fact, Hobbs, Wall was "termed the main business artery of the county." In 1908 the company had shipped 19,193,800 feet of lumber from the Crescent City wharf.⁵⁰

In 1908 Hobbs, Wall began construction of the Del Norte & Southern Railroad to enable their people to begin timbering the western slope of Howland Hill and the portion of the Mill Creek watershed in Section 25. Camps 10 and 11 were established. To

47. Ibid.

48. Steve W. Scotten, *Del Norte County California, Its Industries, Resources, and Capabilities* (Crescent City, 1909), pp. 11-15.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

reach the latter, a spur of the railroad was carried over Howland Hill, via the famous switchbacks of the seven and nine percent grades. The only trainmen authorized to take an engine over the nine percent grade were Roy and Leo Ward.⁵¹

Smaller spool donkeys were used to bunch the logs. The logs were then loaded aboard the cars and shipped to the Elk Valley Mill. As the company was running a number of camps, its policy was to convert as much of the cutover land as possible to pasture to raise beef cattle for slaughter to feed the hands. This involved extensive slash burning.⁵²

During World War I there was a demand for Sitka spruce for airplane construction. Hobbs, Wall took advantage of this situation to extend the Del Norte & Southern Railroad into the area between Sections 1 and 2, Township 16 North, Range 1 West, where their foresters had pinpointed a heavy growth of Sitka spruce. Camp No. 12 was established near today's parking lot of the Rellim Lodge, serving the Demonstration Forest. Under the direction of the woods boss, Alex Moseley, the logs were yarded on the main skid roads with huge Humboldt bull donkeys (steam engines). These roads could be as much as 3,000 feet in length.

In 1920 Hobbs, Wall establish Camp 12-2 (the loggers were a superstitious group so there could be no Camp 13) on Mill Creek, near the present site of Rellim Redwood Company's Mill Creek Nurs-

51. Personal Interview, Richard Childs with Bearss, April 23, 1969. Mr. Childs has an encyclopedic knowledge of lumbering and railroading in Del Norte County in the 20th century. Mr. Childs generously shared his knowledge and outstanding collection of historic photographs of Del Norte County with me. Roy Ward, an employee of Hobbs, Wall, recalled in 1954 his days on the Del Norte & Southern:

One day, as the locomotive of which he was engineer approached the old trestle, still standing in 1954 adjacent to the Humboldt road behind the Bertch tract, the fireman on the other locomotive lay in wait for the slow-moving train. When it reached the spot where he was concealed, he flung a hornet's nest into the cab. "The unlucky fireman really 'fired up' the boiler at that point, and Ward and he, both severely stung, made a record run back to town, much to the amusement of the man back in the brush."

52. Ibid.; *Rellim Redwood Co., Demonstration Forest* (Crescent City, 1969), p. 3.

53. Personal Interview, Childs with Bearss, April 23, 1969.

sery. This was a big camp and quartered up to 150 men. The right-of-way of the Del Norte & Southern was extended down the east slope of Howland Hill and up Mill Creek two and one-half miles. Loggers were soon hard at work cutting timber on the upper Mill Creek watershed. To facilitate the task of getting logs down off the steep slopes, three inclined railways, varying in length from 3,600 to 1,800 feet, were built.⁵³

On February 22, 1939, the Hobbs, Wall employees were told that the company was shutting down its Elk Valley Mill temporarily so that the equipment could be modernized. The loggers and railroaders were also laid off. The company did not resume operations, however, and in April boards were nailed across the windows and doors of the company store on 2d street.

2. J. Wenger & Co.

After J. Wenger gained controlling interest in the Lake Earl Mill, the Crescent City Mill & Transportation Co. became known as J. Wenger & Co. In 1890 the sawmill was destroyed by fire, but it was rebuilt in 1894.⁵⁴ The new mill had a capacity of 50,000 feet of lumber per day. To compete with Hobbs, Wall & Co. in the carrying trade, J. Wenger & Co. operated two intercoastal steamers--*Albion* and *Scotia*.⁵⁵

In 1890 the company had owned 1,708 acres of timberland. On a 160-acre tract, east of the railroad leading from the Lake Earl Mill to Crescent City, loggers from J. Wenger & Co. in 1890 had cut from 16 1/4 acres 5,098, 608 feet of lumber. The lumber-jacks on a second tract of 500 acres had logged a quarter section which had yielded 27,802,121 feet of lumber, or an average of 173,763 feet per acre.⁵⁶

Hobbs, Wall acquired the Lake Earl Mill and Timberlands of J. Wenger & Co. in 1903. The mill on Lake Earl was now designated Hobbs, Wall No. 2, while their other mill in Elk Valley became Hobbs, Wall No. 1. In 1912, in the face of rising labor costs, Hobbs, Wall closed the Lake Earl Mill.⁵⁷

53. Personal Interview, Childs with Bearss, April 23, 1969.

54. Jenkins, *Del Norte County As It Is*, p. 28.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 55-56.

57. Personal Interview, Childs with Bearss, April 23, 1969.

3. Hume, Westbrook & Bomhoff

A large mill was erected near the mouth of Smith River in 1882-1883 by R. D. Hume, Henry Westbrook, and John Bomhoff. The lumber had to be shipped out Smith River, but as the channel was constantly shifting this plagued the operators, and they sold their interests to the Del Norte Commercial Co. The mill was then closed, but it was reopened in 1894 on completion of the Crescent City & Smith River Railroad to Smith River. This provided only a temporary respite, and by 1909 the mill had closed for good, permitting Hobbs, Wall & Co. to monopolize the Del Norte County lumber industry.⁵⁸

4. Sawmills on the Klamath

The first commercial sawmill on the Klamath was one of the ventures undertaken by the Klamath Commercial Co., which had been incorporated by R. D. Hume for the "purpose of lumbering and fishing at or near the mouth of the Klamath River." Martin Van Buren Jones was named general superintendent. On August 27, 1881, it was reported in the *Del Norte Record* that Jones had been on the ground for several weeks with a crew of workers, and "has the mill and building sites all ready and timber cut for the frames." Jones planned to saw cedar, laurel, and oak, which would be shipped to Crescent City on small schooners and then sent to the San Francisco market on steamers.⁵⁹

The sawmill was not successful, however. In 1890 Edward and Henry Schnaubelt built a mill on Hunter Creek. With its engine and boiler brought in by a schooner from Crescent City, the Schnaubelt Brothers' mill was "a model of ingenuity and good convenience to the farmers" of the area who had been accustomed for "years to split out all the materials for buildings, fences, etc. etc." Subsequently, Ed Hughes acquired and operated the mill.⁶⁰

5. Logging on the Klamath

About the close of World War I, Bull & Dunn began logging the Klamath Bluff area. To get their logs out, it was necessary to

58. Jenkins, *Del Norte County As It Is*. pp. 49-50; Coan, "Hobbs-Wall Empire," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 3-D.

59. *Del Norte Record*, Aug. 27, 1881.

60. *Ibid.* June 21, 1890; Jenkins, *Del Norte County As It Is*, p. 116.

float them down the Klamath to its mouth, where they would be made into rafts. G. G. Davis had rafted logs during World War I in Alaska and Canada. An ingenious plan for putting together ocean-going rafts had been developed by Davis. These rafts, called swiftnets, on which Davis and his sons held 32 patents, were held together by cables laced in a fashion designed to hold the raft together and keep it from breaking up when towed to sea. So efficient were the Davis patents that one of their rafts which was en route down from Alaska, when cut loose during a storm, drifted across the Pacific and ended up aground on the coast of Japan. A huge swiftnet raft would hold up to several million feet of timber.

The Davis rafts were towed out to sea and down the coast from the Klamath to Eureka. There they were broken up, and the cedar exported to Japan.⁶¹

One of the problems encountered by the Davises, in rafting logs out of the Klamath, was shallow water found over the Klamath Bar, during prolonged droughts. On September 25, 1926, it was reported that Bull & Dunn Cedar Co. had experienced difficulty in getting out their rafts, because of "unseasonably low water and the deplorable condition of the mouth of the river." Nevertheless, three rafts, after being assembled by Davis' crew in the slough below the Douglas Bridge, were one after the other towed downstream. Near the bar, lines were sent aboard the rafts from the *Golden West* anchored outside the bar. At flood tide the rafts were floated across. The little freighter then headed down the coast to Eureka, with the three cedar rafts in tow.⁶²

It was known that enough additional logs were coming down the Klamath for Davis and his boys to build two more rafts. To get the logs over shoals, Jackson Ames and Frank Ryvison were out with their motorboats.⁶³

Superintendent Davis and his crew were called on during the second week of October to assist Captain Olsen of the gasoline schooner *Martha*. Captain Olsen, scoffing at the fears of the others, attempted to cross the bar. He hugged the north shore too closely and stranded his vessel. Davis and his people quit work on the rafts and rushed to Olsen's assistance. A channel

61. Personal Interview, Matthew Davis with Bearss, April 23, 1969. Davis is the son of G. G. Davis, and during the 1920s and 30s he assisted his father in assembling rafts at the mouth of the Klamath.

62. *Del Norte Triplicate*, Sept. 25, 1926.

63. *Ibid.*

was cut around *Martha*, lines run out, deadmen positioned, and the craft winched off the bar. She floated free, but before she could get steerageway, she was caught by a powerful eddy. The lines parted, and she was again driven hard aground, but this time on the south beach. She was freed a second time. Once again, she was buffeted by the current and driven ashore. A final effort succeeded in freeing *Martha*, and she beat her way up the coast.⁶⁴

While *Martha* was aground, the channel through which the Klamath discharged into the Pacific was obstructed, and the river began to back up. It continued to do so, until it covered the flat on the south side of the Klamath, where cars drove onto the ferry. A number of motorists turned their vehicles around, drove back down the road, and turned into the new road, leading down Richardson Creek to the Douglas Bridge. Although the road crews tried to flag them down, they drove across the bridge. Though dedicated in May, the structure was not yet officially opened to traffic.

As soon as *Martha* was freed, the water rushed out through the channel. The pool that had been backed up quickly drained, and the south approach to the ferry was again open to traffic.⁶⁵

On October 18, *Golden West* crossed the bar, using the channel opened by Davis' men in freeing *Martha*. She lashed onto a raft of cedar logs. As she headed out into the Pacific, the little freighter grounded on the south beach, and "the raft floated out, made a circle, and struck on the south beach near the boat, causing the raft to go to pieces with every breaker pounding floating logs endwise against the sides of *Golden West*." The freighter was refloated at flood tide, and most of the logs salvaged. These incidents, however, were indicative of the difficulties experienced in rafting logs out of the Klamath during the 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁶

D. THE LUMBER INDUSTRY IN DEL NORTE COUNTY--1939-1953

Immediately following the end of World War II, the lumber industry of Del Norte County, which had died prematurely when Hobbs, Wall Co. shut down in 1939, received "a most effective shot in

64. Ibid., Oct. 15, 1926; Personal Interview, Davis with Bearss, April 23, 1969.

65. *Del Norte Triplicate*, Oct. 22, 1926.

66. Ibid.

the arm." Operators from Washington and Oregon were looking toward a rapid expansion of the industry. To whet the operators' interest, the Del Norte Chamber of Commerce had circulated promotional literature, calling attention to the bountiful supply of timber in the region. When they came the northern operators brought with them "know-how and skills" that quickly changed Crescent City "from a slow-moving, relaxed resort town into a busy, small town metropolis with visions of a promising future."

With the companies came experienced loggers, mill hands, truckers, and shippers. Between 1940 and 1952 the population of the county doubled. Gone were the colorful days of the logging camps, donkeys, skid roads, and railroads. The operators of the late 1940s and early 1950s used power saws, bulldozers, trucks, and trailers. Instead of living in camps, the loggers were family men, who commuted to and from work.⁶⁷

The lumbering industry, as before the closing of Hobbs, Wall, again became the county's major industry. By 1954, of the county's aggregate labor force of nearly 4,500 there were 2,800 engaged in lumbering and related industries. Nine of the 40 logging, lumber, and plywood operations in Del Norte owned standing timber. According to the county assessor, there were on the books, 140,000 acres of privately owned commercial timberlands. This acreage held 5,725,000,000 board feet, of which 75 percent was owned by five companies--Simpson Logging, M & M Woodworking Co., S. A. Agnew, Howard Mill, and Arrow Mill.

The annual timber harvest zoomed from 53,000,000 feet in 1946 to 300,000,000 in 1953. As another index of the importance of the lumbering industry, it was pointed out that in 1953 the six largest operators had paid over 40 percent of the taxes needed to keep the county in business.⁶⁸

In 1953 there were in the county about 400,000 acres of public land administered by the United States Forest Service, on which there was an estimated 5,800,000,000 board feet of marketable timber. Jurisdiction over this timber was divided between the Siskiyou and Six Rivers National Forests. Most of this tim-

67. Hammond, "Lumber Epitomizes Centennial's 'One Hundred Years of Progress,'" *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 2-AA.

68. Henry Trobitz, "Del Norte County Logging Industry Has Good Future,"; Nancy Kelyt, "Lumber Industry Major Factor in D. N. Economy," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 4-AA, p. 8-E.

ber was Douglas fir. Guidelines established by Department of Agriculture foresters permitted this timber to be cut at a rate of 50-60,000,000 feet per year on a sustained yield basis. Currently, cuttings had fallen short of the sustained yield capacity, because of the inaccessibility of much of the timber. Roads would have to be opened to get at much of the federally owned stumpage.⁶⁹

The two state parks, Jed Smith and Del Norte, in 1953 embraced 15,000 acres, containing 1,800,000,000 board feet of virgin timber.⁷⁰

News that 300,000,000 feet of timber had been harvested in 1953 caused concern to conservationists. Checking this figure against reserves, they found that this figure greatly exceeded the sustained yield of the county. It was urged that the cut figure be reduced to 150-200 million feet per year.

Another pressing problem was to provide for "an orderly removal of the over-mature and decadent portions of the stands, using wisely with as little waste as possible." Fire must be controlled, and the logged areas left in good condition for rejuvenation.⁷¹

E. LOGGING CAMPS in the 1870s-1920s

1. Shanties

The logging camps were similar in appearance to the settlements of the 1840s made in the oak, beech, and maple forests of western New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. The camp consisted of a number of shanties, 12 feet square, in which the men slept on bunks ranged upon the side opposite the entrance.⁷²

69. Ibid.

70. Kelty, "Lumber Industry Major Factor in D. N. Economy," found in *ibid.*, 4 AA.

71. Troblitz, "Del Norte County Logging Industry Has Good Future," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), 8-E.

72. *Redwood and Lumbering in California Forests* (San Francisco 1884), p. 35. Hobbs, Wall Co., before 1900 named their camps for the boss--after 1900 the camps were numbered. Personal Interview, Childs with Bearss, April 23, 1969.

2. Cookhouse

There was a cookhouse, 50 to 60 feet in length, and 30 feet in width, wide enough to accommodate two tables when positioned lengthwise. The stove and cooking utensils were separated from the dining hall by a partition of boards, or cheap cotton cloth tacked to upright posts.

A good cook was the "oracle of the camp." He was appealed to by his boarders to settle disputes, "whether concerning questions of law, love, or labor." He was usually musically inclined, called at stag dances, and whistled an accompaniment. It was not unusual to find that the cook was a college graduate, "who has banished himself from the populous town or city to break up convivial habits." He acted as merchant, buying and selling tobacco and cigars by the box, socks, woolen shirts, jumpers, and overalls by the dozen. Where the "boss" was not too strict, a thrifty cook could provide a tired man with a tumbler of whiskey, "the bottom of the glass coming up in the center halfway to the brim." As a rule, however, hard liquor was forbidden in camp, unless the "boss" kept the keys to where it was stored.⁷³

3. Storehouse

The storehouse was well supplied with barrels of corned pork and beef, kits of salt fish, sides of bacon, sacks of beans and potatoes. Indeed, the loggers were more liberally provided with provisions than any other class of laborers. The larder was never short of flour, butter, coffee, tea, dried fruits, and canned goods. Fresh beef by the quarter or half, and sheep by the carcass were forwarded to the camps from the Company Store.⁷⁴

4. Repair Shop

The repair shop, consisting of a blacksmithy and "jack of all trades" department, was looked upon as a "sort of manufacturing center." Here the oxen and horses were shod, chains, "dogs," jack-screws, picks, shovels, wedges, and trucks repaired, axe helves fitted, mauls fashioned, saws filed, and tools ground.⁷⁵

73. Ibid., pp. 35-36.

74. Ibid., p. 37.

75. Ibid., p. 38.

5. Barn

There was a long barn in which the oxen and horses were fed, and the hay, cornmeal, and ground barley stored. In the center was the feed; on each side were the stalls for the stock. By the mid-1880s technological advances had reduced the need for oxen. Among these advances were the use of standard gauge railroads, extending into the logging areas, to haul out logs; a greater use of rivers in Humboldt County in getting the timber to mills; and the introduction of donkey engines, which were capable of snaking huge logs from deep gulches or hillsides to convenient points, where they would be picked up by ox teams. With the advent of the bull donkey in the 1890s, ox teams became obsolete and were dispensed with at most of the logging camps.⁷⁶

F. LOGGING OPERATIONS, 1870s-1930s

1. The Season

Logging in Humboldt and Del Norte Counties usually began for the season in the '80s and '90s soon after the Christmas and New Year's holidays, providing the season had not been unusually wet. A crew of a dozen men or more was sent to each logging camp. This crew usually consisted of a cook, several choppers, a few sawyers, and others to peel and ring the trees after they were felled.⁷⁷

2. Choppers

The employment of 1st class choppers was vital, because an error in felling a single tree, whereby it was smashed, "takes away the profit of the lumberman to the amount of the chopper's wages for a month." Great skill in felling redwoods was mandatory, where the trees would more than cover the ground solidly, if it were attempted to make a clean cutting. In heavily timbered districts, an attempt to remove all the standing redwood, at the same cutting, would result in a loss of "timber to owners that would appear ridiculously great to lumbermen of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Canada." Where the redwood grew the thickest, three cuttings over the same ground was the practice.⁷⁸

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

77. *Pacific Coast Wood & Iron* (1888).

78. *Redwood and Lumbering in California*, pp. 45-47.

Most of the timber was felled with saws, but an undercut (kerf) first had to be made with the axe, and the choppers had to be skilled with both axe and saw. The favored saw was a 12-foot saw, worked by two men. It had ears at each end, secured by bolts, which could be removed at the operator's pleasure.⁷⁹

The head chopper first determined which way the redwood was to fall, marking out a path where it would least injure itself and other timber. On steep hills it was usually made to fall uphill, but if the countryside was broken or eroded, the chopper had to be extremely careful, as the tremendous weight of the tree made it subject to injury in falling. An unskilled hand could shatter several thousand feet of lumber. He also had to look out for the safety of the score or more trees that might be in reach of the first to be felled, as all of them would have to be felled before any were removed.

After the bed had been selected, a staging would be erected to bring "the choppers on a common level and elevate them sufficiently to cut the bole of the tree above the irregularities produced" by the huge roots. The tree was usually cut six to ten feet above the ground. When the staging had been completed, an undercut (kerf) was made on the side of the tree toward which it was to fall. In making this cut both the head chopper and his assistant worked together, one being a right-handed chopper and the other left-handed.⁸⁰

Double-biting axes, weighing from three to four pounds, were favored. The helms, strong and flexible, were fashioned of the best second-growth hickory. These helms were mostly manufactured in Pennsylvania, cost from 75¢ to \$1 each, and were from 38 to 42 inches in length. A man who swung over three pounds of steel all day at the end of a 42-inch handle developed powerful arm and shoulder muscles. Eastern lumberjacks frequently questioned the use of such long helms. The reason, they were told, was that the woodman must be able to reach the center of the tree from his position on the platform, and in many of the redwoods that center was four to six feet from the outer edge.⁸¹

Before going into the woods in the morning, the double-headed axes were ground to a razor's edge. The chopper was thus cer-

79. *Ibid.*, p. 44; *Pacific Coast Wood & Iron* (1888).

80. *Pacific Coast Wood & Iron* (1888).

81. *Ibid.*

tain of a keen edge throughout the day, without returning to camp to use the grindstone, should his edge be blunted by accident.⁸²

In making the undercut, care was exercised to insure that the kerf extended on either side an equal distance from the point toward which the tree was to fall. For this purpose a "gun" or "pointer" was used to indicate the distance the forest giant was to fall. The undercut finished, the choppers were about ready to take up the felling saw. To facilitate starting the saw properly, two holes were bored horizontally into the tree, about two inches in depth. Wooden pins were then driven into these holes, on which the saw rested until the kerf was deep enough to steady it. Steel wedges were driven into the cut opened by the saw. As it bit deeper into the tree more wedges were added, "until the tree is forced bodily over by the mechanical power of the driven wedges."⁸³

Choppers in the 1880s were paid up to \$125 per month, many less, depending on their experience and ability to save timber from breakage, when it was felled.⁸⁴

3. The Peelers

Before the tree was cut into logs, it was studied by the sawyer "to determine how it will cut to the best advantage." The logs were cut in lengths of even feet from 12 up to 20. Where a cut was to be made, a "ring" was cut into the bark. Next, the "peelers" were turned to. With an axe they cut through the thick bark at the points indicated by the sawyer. Then with long steel bars, flattened at one end, they jointly drove them through the bark, and alternately pried the bark from the redwood, preparing the way for the men with the cross-cut saws. At certain seasons of the year, the bark came off easily. Peelers in the last quarter of the 19th century were paid from \$50 to \$60 per month and provided their board.⁸⁵

82. *Redwood and Lumbering in California*, p. 44.

83. *Ibid.*; *Pacific Coast Wood & Iron* (1888).

84. *Redwood and Lumbering in California*, p. 45.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 46; *Pacific Coast Wood & Iron* (1888).

4. Sawyers and Road Building

In cutting the tree into logs, an eight-foot saw was favored. It could be handled by one man. Since 1880 in camps where a number of sawyers were employed, a man was hired to file the saws and keep them in cutting trim.

With the approach of spring and with the days getting longer, the crew was beefed up from 40 to 60 men, and several million feet of logs were soon ready for hauling. The most difficult and expensive part of the work connected with logging in Humboldt and Del Norte Counties now began. This was the construction of roads. Road building in this rugged region was expensive. Sometimes several thousand dollars had to be spent on a road before a single log was reached.

In reference to road building, many buyers of redwood land, unfamiliar with logging the giants, were known to make serious mistakes in their estimates. On a tract of 160 acres there might be 6,000,000 feet of standing timber, while the same amount of timber may be found on another tract of half that acreage. The uninformed would suppose that the 160-acre tract was the more valuable, because it contained more acreage. If he did the logging himself, and spent \$5,000 or more in cutting roads over the 160 acres to get out six million feet of timber, while on the 80-acre tract he could harvest the same quantity of timber by an expenditure of \$2,500 for roads, he would be poorer but wiser.

5. The Swampers

Early in the spring, a crew of "swampers" began opening logging roads. The underbrush was cut away, and along with the bark stripped off by the peelers, was stacked and burned. They had to be careful to see that if a wind came up, the fire did not spread and destroy a valuable log. In case of emergency, the swampers could call on the water packer for assistance.⁸⁶

6. Skid Roads

Skid roads were built. These roads were built of compactly laid, small round timber, 12 feet in length. The skids were cut

86. *Redwood and Lumbering in California*, p. 47; *Pacific Coast Wood & Iron* (1888).

from young timber, one third to one-half greater in diameter, and placed six feet apart. The skids were barked smooth, as were the logs, thus the drag was comparatively light.⁸⁷

7. The Ox Team and Teamster

When the number of choppers was increased, the teamsters and teams, and "chain tenders" reported for duty. The camp might now number anywhere from 30 to 100 men, according to the quantity of timber to be got out. The team was usually eight to 12 powerful oxen, or in some cases six, eight, or ten heavy draft horses. The team, whether composed of oxen or horses, was driven by one man, who next to the cook was the most important individual in camp, and received by far the highest wages. The teamster (bull-puncher) was paid from \$150 to \$200 per month and bunking accommodations thrown in. His calling was quite as professional as that of the engineer, head sawyer, accountant, or lawyer. If he had a family, he was permitted to live apart from the crew, drawing rations from the storehouse, while his wife did the cooking.

A good bull-puncher was born--not made. He knew his beasts, their strengths and weaknesses, by heart. For the "well-disposed, obedient animal," he had a pet name. For the savage-eyed, with unruly predilections, he had his "christening of a sterner sort." He saw that they were fed morning, noon, and night, and groomed with curry comb and brush. His working day was accordingly longer, and he had little time to chat with the choppers and chain-tenders, who gathered after supper to smoke their pipes.⁸⁸

In the long run, the production of the camp was dependent on the teamster. With poor help, the best teamster was handicapped, but experienced men were generally hired for all key positions.

In driving oxen, the teamster used words of command, supplemented by a "goad stick." This was a piece of hardwood, about four-foot long, with a brad in the end. On occasions the brad was driven into the thick hide of a lagging ox. His main reliance, however, was on a powerful set of lungs. The ease with which an ox team worked, depended on the leaders. "With a pair of leaders that will supplement the driver's lungs everything is possible." Oxen could be driven from any point, and the driver might be found on the "off" side as often as on the "nigh."⁸⁹

87. *Redwood and Lumbering in California*, p. 39.

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

89. *Pacific Coast Wood & Iron* (1888).

8. The Water Packer

When the team started with a load for the landing, the work of the teams and "water packer" began. The water packer for a brief period became the "arbiter of the life and fortunes of the team, teamster, and load." It was his duty to accompany the team and keep the "road generously sprinkled with water in front of the load." If he were careless, the load could be precipitated down a steep grade onto the team, or he could "hang the load up" in the most difficult place.

Water barrels were positioned along the logging roadway at key points, and five-gallon coal oil cans provided with stout wooden hand-pieces scattered along the way. These were filled with water on the way up the grade, for on the trip down "everything is done with a rush and there is no time to dabble in water."

The water packer stayed with the team to supply sufficient water to make the "logs glide smoothly with the least strain on the team. Woe to the 'water packer' who stumbles, or inadvertently spills a can of water at the brink of a steep grade." If this occurred, the logs would shoot forward and overwhelm the team before the teamster could bellow a command. He would likewise be in trouble if the water gave out on a hard pull and the load hung up. Then men with jackscrews would have to be called in to get the logs moving again. A false step could throw the water packer in front of the logs, and by poor judgment he could drive the logs down onto the team and pull-puncher. The water packer and head "chain-tender" worked closely with the teamster, as it was necessary that the latter have full control as to the weight of the load.⁹⁰

90. Ibid.; *Redwood and Lumbering in California*, p. 47. The water was packed in canvas fastened to a wooden frame, which resembled a pair of saddlebags, only larger. From 30 to 40 gallons of water were carried by each pack animal. From two to six horses or mules, attended by laborers, were kept at work on a single logging claim, filling barrels along the skid roads and snaking trails. One man usually handled two animals. Some water packers used "dope," a mixture of cheap tallow and tar instead of water. *Redwood and Lumbering in California*, p. 39.

9. Other Members of the Logging Crew

To round out the logging crew, there was an engineer at the donkey, the block-shifters, gypsy-tender, the chain-tenders, and hand-skidders. The engineer also doubled as stoker. The chain-tender or hook-tender had to be an alert individual. The dogs, or hooks, made of steel one and one-half or two inches square, pointed at one end, with an eye and ring at the other to which chains could be attached, were driven into the log at points required for utilizing power to the maximum. The chain-tender would then signal the engineer. When the donkey-winch started, something had to give. If the chain broke, under the strain, the tender could be injured or killed by the whiplash. The slipping of a dog was equally dangerous.

The hand-skidder with his iron-handled maul drove the dogs into the logs and pried them loose at the landing with the iron handle, tossing the chains over the yokes of oxen for the return trip.

The block-shifter also had to be careful. The block, or pulley which he was responsible for was in almost continual use. For example, the log might have to be started at right angles from the direct line between it and the donkey, or a giant stump might necessitate a movement of the log to the left or right. A block would be used by the tender to secure the desired angle of stress. If the heavy rope that worked upon the gypsy of the donkey, and was attached to the log chain, moving through his block, separated, he must be in position to escape the rebound. Block-tenders and chainmen were paid from \$30 to \$50 per month and their board in the 1880s and 1890s. The gypsy-tender took in and paid out rope. As he was posted at the donkey, he helped the engineer gather fuel for the steam engine.⁹¹

10. The Introduction of the Steam Donkey

One day early in the 1880s an unusually high tide floated logs from the William Carson mill pond into Humboldt Bay. H. N. Mercer at this time was operating a piledriver near the edge of the mill pond. Carson suggested that Mercer hitch a line from

91. *Redwood and Lumbering in California*, pp. 48-49. The gypsy was patented in 1882. By the use of snatch blocks and the gypsy, logs could be pulled in any direction. If the logs refused to start, the donkey was made fast to a stump, and it could exert sufficient power to break a five-inch manila line. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

his steam donkey to the logs and pull them back into the pond. Seeing how well this operated, Carson began speculating as to how this system of employing donkey engines might be used on land. The Dolbeer Logging Engine resulted, built by Carson's partner, John Dolbeer. It consisted of an upright boiler and engine and was used to snake logs to the roads and for coupling them together in preparation for the ox teams. The Dolbeer Donkey was introduced at Salmon Creek in 1882.⁹²

While useful, the first donkeys were unable to pull logs along the skid roads. Within the year, Dolbeer's geared donkey, which besides pulling a train of logs could be used for loading, made its appearance. One set of driving wheels was in front, turned by a cogged driving gear meshed with the inner rim of the wheels. At the engine's tip in front, and several feet from the driving wheels, was an axle turned by a small cog, also meshed with the driving gear. At each end of the axle were spools on which cable could be wound. By detaching the driving wheels and meshing in the winch, the cable could be used to haul logs a short distance from the woods and onto cars.⁹³

By 1888 over 100 of Dolbeer's improved donkeys were in use in Humboldt County and they had been introduced into Del Norte. Fixed on a heavy bed or sled, the engine by use of tackle and blocks attached to stumps and trees could pull itself up steep grades, and it was taken into all the back country logging camps and roads. The engine was used to clear the way of old stumps and logs, but its principal use was to snake logs into the road for the ox team.

By the time the spring rains were over and the roads ready for hauling, a large number of logs were ready. In "swamping out" these logs and attaching them with "dogs" and chains, they were "sniped," i.e., the sharp corner or right angle of the forward end was rounded off, so that in hauling it would not dig into the ground, or catch on any obstructions.⁹⁴

92. *The Titans*, p. 6.

93. *Ibid.*

94. *Pacific Coast Wood & Iron* (1888).

11. Blasting

Logs in excess of ten-foot in diameter were usually split, while logs of 16- to 20- foot diameter were quartered by blasting. To accomplish this, a long auger was employed. A hole was bored past the center, a cartridge inserted, and the log split into sections that could be easily handled.⁹⁵

12. The Landing

The landing onto which the logs were hauled by the teams was built of "skids" or poles of fir or pine, laid in the same fashion as a corduroy road, except the poles were much larger, being ten to 20 inches or more in diameter, and capable of supporting the heaviest redwood. Usually there was enough room on the landing to hold several loads, or 20 to 30 logs. The landing was built in the form of a buttress, facing the tramway, railroad, or waterway. Trees, in the rough, 50 to 60 feet long, were hauled to the site, either by donkey or ox-team, and framed in abutment form. The upper, or surface, timbers were hewn and leveled to correspond with the car-bunks, upon which the logs were rolled or slid by the donkey, or the gypsy.⁹⁶

13. Marking the Logs

At the landing the logs were marked. Among the reasons advanced for marking were: (a) frequently there were several camps putting logs into the same stream or onto the same railroad-- although the men in the different camps were working for the same company, it was wise to keep tab on the production of each; (b) the logs were frequently taken from different claims owned by different people, to whom the lumber company paid stumpage. Logs therefore needed two marks--one to designate the land from which they came and another to identify the logging camp. In addition, some logs were "sinkers," and would get lost in the pond, and might be several seasons in reaching the mill. This necessitated a third mark to indicate the year they were put in the pond.⁹⁷

95. *Redwood and Lumbering in California*, p. 50.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 51; *Pacific Coast Wood & Iron* (1888).

97. *Pacific Coast Wood & Iron* (1888).

14. Transporting the Logs to the Mill Ponds

It was inevitable, as the logging sites moved farther away from the mill, that railroads should enter the picture. In Del Norte County two railroads were built by Hobbs, Wall & Co. These railroads were of standard gauge and were engineered to carry the heavy weights imposed in transporting the giant logs. A logging train generally had a four-man crew, excluding the engineer and fireman, who served as brakemen and general utility men under the supervision of the "boss logger." They were able to load from 50,000 to 60,000 feet of logs in an hour.

To load the cars, they were spotted alongside the landing, and the men posted there, aided by the brakemen and general utility men, rolled the logs onto the car with a jackscrew operated by a crank. First, however, "chocks" were placed on the bunks on the opposite side of the car to prevent the log rolling too far. As soon as the log was secured, the engineer eased the train forward and a second car was spotted in front of the landing, while the manipulator of the jackscrew got another log ready to load. As soon as all the cars had been loaded, the locomotive chuffed away from the landing, en route to the mill. A train carrying logs traveled at a speed of about 15 miles per hour.⁹⁸

15. Mill Ponds

A deep tidewater slough, the arm of a bay or a lake, was the usual railroad terminus. Here a landing was built of heavy logs, with an incline toward the water, the inner line of the landing close to the track. Over this landing, with the aid of jackscrews, the logs were rolled into the water, where they were made up into rafts, and towed to the mills, where they were stored behind booms.

From these ponds, the logs were snaked up an incline into the mill by a huge chain attached to a low iron car. This car had first been lowered into the water, the log floated onto it, and made fast. The sawyer being ready for the log, he lifted or rolled it into place upon the carriage by means of a derrick. The log was secured, the lever thrown over, and the log

98. Ibid.; *Redwood and Lumbering in California*, pp. 52-54. The cars had a capacity of one large log, two medium sized ones, or three small ones.

moved up against the double, or triple, circular saws, which cut their way through the wood.⁹⁹

16. Technological Advances

In 1892 David Evans built the first bull donkey, designed to haul large numbers of logs along the skid roads. It was very successful, and a number were soon introduced into Del Norte County. By the 1920s, the bull donkeys had replaced the teams of oxen. With the bull donkey, logs were pulled from all over the logged area by means of cables into a string or train ready for the trip down a skid road to the landing. A bull donkey engine was able to pull a train of ten logs down the hill. Crude oil was splashed on the skids to reduce friction, but the bull donkey yanked the logs down by brute strength until a groove was worn in the skids. The bull donkey engine was large and had tremendous power; its cable would often be five miles long. The cable was wound around an enormous drum as it was pulled in, while a smaller cable was played out, so that the longer cable might return to the logging area.¹⁰⁰

The high line, powered by a bull donkey, was introduced in the 1900s. Instead of snaking the logs along the ground, it lifted them to the landing at the railroad.¹⁰¹

By 1912 Hobbs, Wall had abandoned the use of jackscrews in unloading their cars into the pond. They now employed capstans to pull the logs off. The company likewise discontinued the use of truck cars, switching to "Bobby" and "Kimble" cars.¹⁰²

Caterpillars were first used for logging in the area in 1925 at Klamath Bluff. By the following year, Superintendent Davis and his team were using caterpillars to assemble their rafts at the mouth of the Klamath. Power saws appeared in the early 1930s, and by 1936 their use was general. After World War II, with the rapid expansion of the lumber industry in Del Norte County, bulldozers were used to build roads into the logging areas, and trucks and trailers to speed the logs to the mills.¹⁰³

99. *Redwood and Lumbering in California*, p. 55.

100. *The Titans*, p. 6; Thornbury, *California Redwoods*, pp. 40-41; Personal Interview, Childs with Bearss, April 23, 1969.

101. *The Titans*, p. 6.

102 and 103. Personal Interview, Childs with Bearss, April 23 1969.

G. COMMENTS and RECOMMENDATIONS

The logging story is vital and will have great interest to the Visitor. Here the Service will interpret the history of logging on the Humboldt Coast, from its beginning in 1851 until today. In the beginning, the logs and mills were small, the trees handled were small and comparatively light, while they were either floated to the mill or moved by oxen or bobsleds. Soon, heavy trucks pulled along wooden tramways by ox- or horse-teams, replaced the bobsleds. Logging railroads made their appearance in the 1870s, while in 1882 the Dolbeer donkey was introduced. Ten years later, the bull donkey appeared, to be followed in the 1920s and 40s by caterpillars, trucks, and trailers. Life in the logging camps during the 19th and early 20th centuries, along with logging practices and techniques of that period, will have tremendous appeal to the millions of visitors to the area.

Certain key sites and structures associated with the logging industry of 50 years ago are located within the proposed boundary of Redwood National Park, and these should be designated Class VI Land. These are: the sites of Hobbs, Wall Camps 11 and 12-1; the roadbed and inclines of the Del Norte & Southern Railroad; and the skid roads on upper Mill Creek and Howland Hill. The trestles of the Del Norte & Southern will be entered on the list of Classified Structures.

Because of the excellent existing remains (the roadbed and trestles) the Service should retain possession of the land in Section 1 Township 15 North, Range 1 West, surrounding the Rellim Redwood Company's Demonstration Forest.

Experience has demonstrated that Living History is popular and educational. Thought should be given to the possibility of instituting such a program near Redwood National Park. Perhaps the Service, in cooperation with local lumber interests, railroad and logging buffs, and the counties of Del Norte and Humboldt, on a limited scale, might conduct logging operations of the period, circa 1890. Such a program would have to be subsidized, but its visitor interest would be tremendous.

In connection with this proposal, to avoid congestion on the Park roads, it might be feasible to rebuild the Del Norte & Southern Railroad. Trains could then be used to shuttle visitors from Crescent City into the Mill Creek watershed.

The Service in its interpretive program should concentrate on the story of logging on the Humboldt Coast from 1851 to 1939. This will

make it possible to avoid competition with the interpretive programs of the Federal, State, County, and Forestry Industries, at the same time avoiding costly duplications that tax the visitor's patience and interest.

Because of the time factor, it was not possible to make a study in depth of Hobbs, Wall operations. As this company dominated the Del Norte logging industry from 1871 to 1939, its role deserves additional study. It is therefore recommended that, in the near future, a Historical Resource Study be undertaken, by the Division of History, of Hobbs, Wall & Co.

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XI. OTHER INDUSTRIES

A. COPPER MINING

1. Discovery and Exploitation

Although it was rumored for seven years that there was copper ore in Del Norte County, it was March 1860 before several miners took specimens to be tested by D. S. Sartwell and Dr. Henry Smith. The report was soon out--the ore contained indeed a large percentage of copper. A company headed by D. C. Gibbs, geologist, was organized to exploit the vein, the outcropping having been traced for over a mile. The vein was first opened at a point on the ridge east of Smith River, near Peacock's (Black's) Ferry.¹

Several shafts, from 20 to 30 feet in depth, were opened, to enable the geologists to ascertain the quality of the ore. The samples secured were sufficient to prove the area was rich in various minerals, "and all that was needed was the energy to prospect, and continue prospecting, until the hidden treasures of her hills would claim for Del Norte an enviable position among her sister counties."²

The summer of 1860 was feverish with excitement, because of the copper strike, and the mines of Del Norte attracted attention as far away as San Francisco. A company of Cornish miners disembarked and pronounced the ore they saw as the richest they had heretofore inspected. Besides being rich it was accessible. The copper fever spread. "Oxides, sulphurets, casings, and outcroppings," became familiar words on lips of men who a few months before would have been unable to define them. A stampede ensued. The streets of Crescent City were deserted, and McClelland's Livery Stable had no horses or mules to rent at any price.

The Evoca Company, the first one organized, located its mine on the plank road from Peacock's Ferry to the Illinois Valley, and about one-half mile east of Smith River. The Excelsior was on the same ridge, one mile north of the Evoca, while the Pacific was one-half mile farther north and on the same ridge. The Del Norte was located on the east side of Myrtle Creek, two and

1. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 66. The mine was eight miles from Crescent City, and 500 feet above the river,

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

one-half miles from Peacock's Ferry. The Alta California was on Low Divide, on the wagon road from Crescent City to the Illinois Valley. The Union was on the opposite side of the road from the Alta California's workings. Four other mines (the Crescent, Bamboo, Mammoth, and the Chaplin & Bradford claims) were located near Low Divide.³

These companies all came into existence during a two-month period in the summer of 1860. Many persons who should have known better seemed to forget that it required a large amount of capital to operate a successful copper mine. Most of these mines soon failed. Between 1860 and 1863 there was shipped from the Alta California and Union mines about 2,000 tons of high-grade copper ore. Because of the high price of labor and transportation, the mines were too expensive to exploit at a profit. Moreover, the price of copper on the world market was low.⁴

By 1880 there was only one copper mine (the Condon Copper Mine of Big Flat) operating in the county. Wages for miners had dropped to \$40 per month and board, while the cost of transporting ore from the mine to San Francisco had slumped to \$10 per ton. Although the ore was rich and commanded a price of between \$50 and \$60 per ton in San Francisco, the mines remained shut down, the owners lacking the means and enterprise to exploit them.⁵

2. Comments and Recommendations

The copper mines discovered in 1860 were on the ridge separating the watersheds of Peacock and Sultan creeks, at Low Divide, and east of Myrtle Creek. These are all outside the Park. The ore from the mines was hauled into Crescent City over the road belonging to the Crescent City Plank Road and passing through the Park. Some mention of the copper mines should be made in interpreting this road and Peacock's Ferry.

3. Ibid., p. 69.

4. Ibid., pp. 140-141. Miners' wages were from \$75 to \$100 per month and board; freight from the mines to Crescent City over the plank road, \$10 per ton; and transportation from there to San Francisco \$13.50 per ton.

5. Ibid., p. 141.

B. GOLD MINING

1. Beach Mining

General Ray, a resident of Carson City, Nevada, spent July 1872 in Del Norte County, inspecting the beach mines, four miles southeast of Crescent City. He pronounced them the best he had seen for "gold, platinum, and magnetic iron," and expressed himself satisfied that they would return large profits to anyone willing to work them with up-to-date equipment. These beach sands at this time, as heretofore, were worked with "wheelbarrow, tom, and sluice." Consequently, it was believed, a large quantity of the metal was lost. Indeed, most of the claims had been abandoned, for want of capital and modern machinery.

Crescent City business interests seemed unreceptive to outside capital, and when General Ray returned on a steamer on which was loaded the necessary machinery for working the beach sands, he was met with opposition. On disembarking, Ray found that the section of the beach he proposed to work had been "jumped", while he was securing equipment and capital in San Francisco. An exorbitant price was now demanded for it. Ray was not a man to be fleeced, so he ordered the machinery left on ship and returned to San Francisco, leaving the would-be speculators in mining claims to mourn their loss.⁶

The speculators were compelled to work their claims along the beach south of Cushing Creek. Their return per ton of sand was meagre, and the tailings proved by assay to be nearly as rich in gold as before the washing. By 1880 the claims had been abandoned.⁷

In the spring of 1891, H. Raymond and several others rented a Wood & Garcelon Gold Washing Machine. The machine, which had a capacity of four pans, was put into operation on Pebble Beach, two miles above Crescent City. Seven men ran the machine for 30 days, and quit in disgust when the sand only yielded ten cents per ton. Raymond and his partners,⁸ seeing that the operation did not pay, went out of business.

6. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 88-89.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

8. Jenkins, *Del Norte County As It Is*, pp. 69-70.

2. Placer Mining

The Myrtle Creek placer was discovered in 1853 by Louis Galise. Lack of water was a limiting factor, restricting operations to the winter months until 1894. In that year a ditch was completed, which permitted the placer to be worked for the greater part of the year. In 1891 a nugget valued at \$800 had been found. The Myrtle Creek placer is now closed down.⁹

3. Drift Mining

Hiram Rice in the 1890s conducted drift mining and sluicing on a 20-acre tract on Mill Creek. In 1894 he told Robert Jenkins that for the past 23 years he had "made a comfortable living by these means." The gravel on his claim was from ten to 20 feet thick. At the western edge of his claim, he reported that the gravel on the bedrock showed from three to five cents per pan.

He had prospected this gravel to a point about one-half mile east of his house, "where the gravel forms a spur, which runs down from Bald Hill, and is crossed by the Old Kelsey Trail." Up to this point, the gravel paid for sluicing. The gold was coarse, and he had found a number of nuggets worth \$20 each.

Several tunnels had been driven into the spur to pinpoint the old channel. Upon the bedrock, he had encountered the trunks of several redwood, "which appeared to have grown upon the spot." Gravel taken from the tunnels had paid only 50 cents per day.

Rice had prospected the gravel between his house and Mill Creek, a distance of 440 yards. Crossing the stream, he found some gravel that paid four dollars to the wheelbarrow.¹⁰

Cornelius G. Nickerson, who was 15 years younger than Rice, likewise prospected on Mill Creek. His "ranch" was located about a mile south of Rice's house. Coming to Del Norte County in 1867, Nickerson spent his years on Mill Creek as a pocket miner, searching for gold which had been deposited after the

9. Ibid., p. 66.

10. Ibid., pp. 68-69. Hiram Rice had been born in Pennsylvania in 1829, and had moved to Del Norte County in the late 1860s, settling on Mill Creek. *Great Register of Del Norte County* (1879).

spring freshets. He also raised a garden and kept a small orchard. For most of his life Nickerson was a bachelor, but several years before he passed on, he married the widow Jeater. In 1910 he sold out and left Mill Creek.¹¹

4. Comments and Recommendations

The story of the unsuccessful efforts to reap great riches mining gold from beaches will be told at Gold Bluffs. Because of the probable high visitation to the area around Cushing Creek, some on-site interpretation should be made at that point.

The Nickerson Ranch site has been identified on the ground but the site of Rice's house has not. An effort should be made by the Service to pinpoint the Rice house site, and the remains of Rice's tunnels, sluice boxes, ditch, and bedrock flume. These should then be identified, and an access trail opened. If the remains are found to be in a good state of preservation, they should be entered in the list of Classified Structures.

C. SILVER MINING

In 1871 Blalock sank a shaft on Myrtle Creek and penetrated rock containing silver ore. For some reason he did not exploit his discovery, and closed his shaft. His find was kept secret until 1874, when word of it was permitted to leak. As expected, this news caused the wildest excitement in Crescent City. Stories spread that a new Comstock had been found in Del Norte County. Men collected on the streets to show one another the "results of the numerous tests of the rock which had been made, some saying that they could find no silver, while others asserted that it was \$300 rock."

A new mining district, the Myrtle Creek, was organized, and the entire area staked in claims. The boom quickly subsided without any move being made to develop the Myrtle Creek silver mines.¹²

11. Personal Interview, Eva McNamara & O. Endert with Fred E. Hearth, (seasonal naturalist at Jed Smith State Park), 1960. Nickerson was born in Maine in 1843. *Great Register of Del Norte County* (1879).

12. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 90-91.

D. SALMON CANNERIES on the KLAMATH

1. Jones & Richardson Co.

Martin V. Jones and George Richardson in the autumn of 1876 established the first commercial fishery at the mouth of the Klamath. The Yurok protested their presence, and in 1877 they sought to force them to vacate their claim and fishery. Jones and Richardson refused to move. In August 1877 the *Crescent City Courier* reported that they have already put up a few cans of salmon, and Jones had gone to San Francisco to "lay in a supply of salt and other materials with which to carry on fishing on a more extensive scale."¹³

Captain Savage and his soldiers evicted Jones and Richardson from their property in June 1879, and the first commercial fishery on the Klamath was closed down.

2. Klamath Commercial Co.

The opposition of the Indians mollified, Jones incorporated the Klamath Commercial Co. for the "purpose of lumbering and fishing at or near the mouth of the Klamath." On August 27, 1881, the *Del Norte Record* announced:

The milling and canning enterprise on the Klamath River is now under way. M. V. Jones, who is the general superintendent of the work, has been on the ground for some weeks with a crew of men, and has the mill and building sites all ready.¹⁴

The cannery was to be erected on Hunter Creek, more than a mile from the river. The Indians would catch and deliver the salmon for so much a head. The scow *Ester Cobos*, drawing six feet of water, would be employed to trade between the Klamath and Crescent City.¹⁵ As the cannery was off the Reservation and the Indians were benefitted by its presence, the military took no action to interfere with its operation.

13. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, pp. 48-49.

14. *Del Norte Record*, Aug. 27, 1881.

15. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 42.

3. The Klamath Packing & Trading Co.

John Bomhoff in 1886 received permission from the Indian Agent to build a saltery near the mouth of the Klamath. R. D. Hume of Gold Beach, Oregon, likewise decided to get into the business. In 1887 he sent down a scow, on which quarters were built, equipped to carry on the business of general merchandising and salting salmon. The craft was seized by a U. S. Marshal during the winter of 1887-88. After extensive litigation, the case was decided in favor of Hume, and he proceeded to build a cannery on the right bank of the Klamath, about one-half mile from the one constructed the previous year by John Bomhoff & Co. Hume's cannery was wrecked by the flood of 1890, and the two companies merged under the name of Klamath Packing & Trading Co.¹⁶

These early fisheries salted most of their catch. In 1887 Bomhoff packed 700 barrels of salmon, and R. D. Hume 500. The schooners *Requa* and *Geo. Harley* made frequent runs to the Klamath, bringing in tin, salt, and other materials for the canneries, and taking out barrels of fish.¹⁷

The Klamath Packing & Trading Co. found the years between 1894 and 1909 profitable. In the latter year, it was reported that Klamath River salmon bring the "top-notch in the market, as their reputation for superiority is far-famed." The plant in that year was owned by the R. D. Hume Estate and W. T. Bailey. For a number of years, Bailey had been plant superintendent. During the calendar year 1908, there were 6,500 cases of salmon shipped from the cannery aboard its gasoline-powered craft. This vessel made the run from Requa to Humboldt Bay, during favorable weather, with cases of fish, which were transshipped to San Francisco. On her return, the vessel brought in items needed by the cannery and supplies for the area.¹⁸

16. Ibid., pp. 49-50.

17. Ibid., p. 50.

18. Scotten, *Del Norte County, California*, pp. 18-19. Besides the cannery, there was at Requa a postoffice, Hammond's General Store, the Requa House and Stable, a blacksmith shop, two taverns, and the ferry. Requa could be reached from Crescent City by Frank Bosch's "popular stage line." In 1909 the telephone line connecting Requa with Crescent

4. Salmon Fishing on the Klamath

In the heyday of commercial salmon fishing on the Klamath, it was not uncommon during a good run for the netters, Indian and white, to bring 7,000 to 10,000 fish daily to the canneries. Seventeen thousand was the record catch in 1912. When several canneries were in operation, as many as 100 nets were in use. These nets, with buoys and weights, were about 20 feet deep, and usually of 7 1/2-inch mesh to permit the smaller fish to escape upstream to spawn. Old Timers recalled that "it was quite a feat to haul in a net of fighting fish into a dugout canoe and not lose any of the catch." When the canneries had all the salmon they could handle for the day, a signal was given for the netters to cease operations.¹⁹

For over 50 years commercial fishing on the Klamath flourished. Many Yurok found employment in the industry for several months each year. Fish were caught, salted or canned, and shipped out in small schooners. Commercial fishing was declared illegal on the Klamath and Smith rivers in January 1934, and the Klamath Packing & Trading Co. closed.²⁰

This action was followed by illegal netting, the guilty parties employing nets with as small as three-inch mesh. These allowed nothing except the fingerlings to escape. So flagrant and defiant of the laws were these people that they loaded their trucks with netted salmon in broad daylight, then trucked to Oregon wholesalers for sale and distribution. This condition got so bad during World War II that Del Norte sportsmen telegraphed Governor Earl Warren, either to take immediate action to stop the depredations, or they would.

Governor Warren accordingly ordered Otis Wright, a hard-boiled warden, to Del Norte. From the day that Wright stopped his first truck-load of fish on U.S. 199, en route for Oregon, illegal netting was on its way to extinction.²¹

City was completed. The cannery owned by the Klamath Packing & Trading Co. was destroyed by flood waters in the winter of 1949-50. At this time, however, it had been closed for a number of years.

19. *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 5-C.

20. *Ibid.*; McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 51.

21. *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 5-C.

Today the Klamath is a mecca for sport fishermen. During the salmon runs thousands of fishermen work the waters near the mouth of the Klamath, eager to catch the big Chinook salmon and the wily steelhead.

5. Comments and Recommendations

The story of commercial and sports fishing at the mouth of the Klamath is one that lends itself to on-site interpretation. As the bar at the river's mouth and "Anchor Row" will be overrun with fishermen, during the salmon runs, the Service should cooperate with the owners of Dad's Camp to insure maximum use and enjoyment of the area.

E. THE DAIRY INDUSTRY

1. H. H. Alexander*

H. H. Alexander, who resided three miles southeast of Crescent City, on the trail to the Klamath, in 1890 owned a well-equipped dairy farm. The author of *Del Norte County As It Is* reported that "everything about his farm indicates thrift and comfort."²² The Alexander Farm in 1969 was owned by Benjamin Pozzie.*

2. David Griffin

In Del Norte County, prior to 1900, David Griffin had taken the lead in the introduction of purebred livestock. He showed great pride in his purebred Jersey and Holstein cattle. In 1894 he owned two thoroughbred four-year-old colts of the "Go Bang" line, one of which had carried off the largest purse in the three-year-old trotting race in 1893 at the Del Norte Agricultural Association Fair.²³

* See National Register Forms, pp. 365-377.

22. Jenkins, *Del Norte County As It Is*, pp. 42-43. Alexander, a native of Kentucky, was a Del Norte pioneer. He was living on this farm as early as 1869. *Great Register of Del Norte County* (1897).

23. Jenkins, *Del Norte County As It Is*, p. 43. The Griffin farm was located in the north one-half of Section 2, Township 16 North, Range 1 West.

3. Louis DeMartin^{*}

Louis DeMartin was born in Switzerland in 1839, and at the age of 15 he came to the United States in steerage. To get to California, he crossed the isthmus of Panama. In 1874 DeMartin moved from Petaluma to Eureka, where he purchased the Revere Hotel. Three years later, he bought the ranch in Del Norte County that was to be his home until his death in 1907. His ranch was on Wilson Creek and fronted on the Pacific for a number of miles. To reach his property, he came up from Eureka by overland trail, bringing with him his family and belongings by pack mule.

At first, DeMartin raised sheep, having at one time about 3,000. Wild dogs and bear killed so many that he determined to diversify. He was soon raising a variety of crops, as well as cattle and hogs. Butter was churned and since it could not be taken to market immediately, it was "put down" in wooden barrels, in brine, and the barrels placed in a side-hill cellar, where a constant temperature could be maintained. Hogs were butchered every two months, as many as 60 at a time. The lard, hams, and bacon, along with the casks of butter, were shipped to Crescent City. Until the road was completed in 1894, these items were sent out aboard Jim Isles' big redwood canoe, with its crew of seven Yurok. When the canoe returned, it brought such items as were needed on the ranch to supplement its own produce.

Sometimes there was a special cargo--Mrs. DeMartin and one of her children traveling to Crescent City so the priest could baptize the little one. Milton DeMartin recalled that he was four years old when he first saw Crescent City.

The mail came once a week at first, later, three times. In December 1884 the mail carrier, John Waggle, was drowned in fording Wilson Creek when he was thrown by his horse. Waggle's body, which was swept out to sea, was found in April, about one-half mile below the mouth of the creek by a squaw. DeMartin and Eli Porter interred the body near where it was found.

In 1889 DeMartin built a new home and hostelry. He charged travelers 25 cents for meals, and a similar amount for a bed. The ranch, after DeMartin's death in 1907, remained in the hands of the heirs until 1944, when it was sold to Mrs. Henry Rudisill.²⁴

^{*}See National Register Forms, pp. 379-389.

²⁴ *Del Norte TriPLICATE*, May 7, 14 & 28, 1959. The bridge carrying U.S. 101 across Wilson Creek and dedicated October 20, 1957, is named in honor of Louis DeMartin.

4. Charles Fortain

A native of Canada, Charles Fortain was living on the Klamath as early as 1892. Besides farming, he entered in 1895 into a partnership with W. T. Bailey of Requa to operate the Klamath Ferry.²⁵

5. Comments and Recommendations

Buildings which merit inclusion on the List of Classified Structures survive at three of these sites--Alexander's, DeMartin's, and Fortain's. The structure at Alexander's is a large barn that was standing at least as early as 1894; at DeMartin's it is the house which dates back to before 1900; and at Fortain's the dwelling dates to the late 19th century. Historic Structures reports should be programmed for Alexander's Barn and DeMartin's House. If the Fortain House is included in the Park, it should likewise have a Historic Structures Report.

The story of man's successful struggle to establish first a sheep ranch and then a dairy farm in the redwoods can be interpreted at DeMartins.

F. HOTELS and INNS

In the first decade of the 20th century, after the opening of a through road from Crescent City to Eureka, a number of hotels and inns were opened along this route. These guest houses catered to tourists, hunters, and fishermen. These inns were:

1. The Orick Inn: Walter Devlin, its proprietor, provided guides, horses, camping outfits, and provisions for hunters and fishermen.
2. Davidson's Inn: At Davidson's on Prairie Creek many parties interested in deer and bear hunting, and trout fishing made their headquarters.

25. McBeth, *Lower Klamath County*, p. 53; *Great Register of Del Norte County* (1894); Personal Interview, Chaffey with Bearss, April 26, 1969.

3. Boyes' Ranch: This was a popular resort of hunters and fishermen. Here horses and pack outfits were available for the trip over the Ah Pah Trail to Ward's ranch.

4. Hamilton's Hotel*: The Hamilton Hotel was popular with both sportsmen and tourists. It was located in good deer and bear hunting country, while the Hamiltons specialized in a "good home table, home-made butter and cream, fresh vegetables, and berries." From the cliffs fronting the hotel, the visitor had a spectacular view of the Pacific. In August, schools of whales could be seen frolicking off-shore.²⁶

5. Comments and Recommendations

Two of these hotels, the Orick Inn and Hamilton's, still stand, but only one, Hamilton's, is within the Park. Hamilton's Hotel will be included on the List of Classified Structures, and a Historic Structures Report will be required.

As Hamilton's Hotel enjoys a commanding view of the ocean, it should be used as a visitor contact point, to interpret the tourist and the Redwoods.

*See National Register Forms, pp. 391-403.

26. *Humboldt County, California, The Land of Unrivalled Undeveloped Natural Resources*, pp. 23-26.

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XII. DEATH AND DISASTER ALONG THE HUMBOLDT COAST

A. FLOODS

1. The Flood of 1861-1862

The first flood of record occurred in December 1861 and January 1862. Torrential rains hammered the Humboldt Coast in late December. Devastating floods ensued. At high tide, the breakers forced themselves over "drift-wood, bulk heads, and break-water, into the streets of Crescent City." Huge logs were carried onto the sidewalks, crashing into Front street buildings, breaking windows and doors, and wreaking havoc. On the beach, debris was piled to great heights. Forest giants were swept in by the flood tide. From one end of the beach to the other, huge redwood, spruce, and fir were piled one upon another¹

But the losses at Crescent City were slight when compared with the loss suffered on the Klamath. Fort Ter-Waw and the Wau-Kell agency were engulfed by swirling flood waters, and most of the buildings swept away or wrecked. Damage was so great that the post and agency were abandoned.²

Many conservationists argued, following the disastrous floods of 1955 and 1964, that heavy logging on the watersheds was the cause of the great amount of redwood and other timber being uprooted and swept downstream into the ocean by flooding rivers. Much of this timber and debris was deposited by the breakers along the beaches. If these individuals had studied the flood of 1861-1862, which occurred before there was any significant logging on Klamath and Smith rivers, they would have found that floodwaters have always been an enemy of redwoods.

William H. Brewer, a professor of Agriculture in the Sheffield Scientific School, visited the area in the autumn of 1863, almost two years after the floods. He found that the swirling waters had brought down a tremendous quantity of wood, much of which was cast up onto the beaches between Crescent City and the Klamath. He reported that it looked to him as if there were enough timber along the ten miles of the shore "to make a million cords of wood. It is," he wrote, "thrown up in great

1. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 72-73.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 74; McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 40.

piles, often a mile long, and the size of some of these logs is tremendous." He had measured at least 20. Although they were worn by water and their bark was gone, it was not uncommon to find logs 150 feet long and four feet in diameter at the small end, without the bark.³

According to other contemporary accounts, the beach at Crescent City for eight miles was covered to a width of 200 yards and a depth of from three to eight feet with debris. One large officers' tent from Fort Ter-Waw had been picked up. Winter squashes "in good order" were found. Goods of all sorts, but badly damaged, were often seen. There was enough timber on the beach to supply the California market for years.⁴

2. The Flood of 1881

The next major flood on the Humboldt Coast occurred in January 1881. Morgan G. Tucker reported that in January heavy rains caused the Klamath to rise to an unprecedented height, "sweeping everything within its reach." Enormous trees, which had been uprooted from the banks, "came crashing down the river, some of which were deposited on the farms, while others found their way to the ocean." Houses were swept away, and livestock drowned. Morgan, who had been living on the Klamath during the last flood, assured the editor of the *Del Norte Record* that the river was "higher than in '61 and '62."⁵

3. The Flood of 1890

Heavy rains in late January 1890 caused the Klamath to spill over its banks. Water from the river inundated the Hunter Creek bottom to a depth of ten feet in places. South of the Klamath, Jim Regan's and W. Norris' ranches, located on the flats, had suffered heavy damage. At Martins Ferry, the Klamath rose 100 feet, the highest the oldest resident could recall, and carried away the suspension bridge. The river at Orleans Bar was higher

3. *Up and Down California in 1860-1864, The Journal of William H. Brewer, Professor of Agriculture in the Sheffield Scientific School from 1864 to 1903*, edited by Francis Farquhar (Berkeley, 1966), p. 495.

4. McBeth, *Lower Klamath Country*, p. 40.

5. *Del Norte Record*, Jan. 22, 1881.

than it had been in January 1862, while at Turwar it crested three feet higher than 28 years before.⁶

4. The Flood of 1955

There was high water on the Klamath several times during the next 65 years, but not until December 1955 did the Humboldt Coast again feel the full fury of the elements. Rains which pounded the area relentlessly during the third week of December sent the Klamath surging upward. The low ground at the mouth of the river was flooded, and more than one thousand persons driven from their homes. Traffic over U.S. 101 south to Eureka was stopped by the high water, as the south approach to the Douglas Bridge was washed away, and earth slides loosened by the rain blocked the Redwood Highway. Damage ran into the millions of dollars in Del Norte County.

The communities of Klamath, Klamath Glen, and Orick were evacuated and suffered fearful damage. Klamath was inundated. On the morning of the 22d, only the second stories and roofs protruded above the churning, muddy water. A reporter from the *Triplicate*, who flew over the area, observed that it was

a horrible, sickening sight, as the highest flood waters in the history of the great Klamath river smashed and swept all before its wild, muddy flow.

Debris was in sight everywhere. Logs, trees, sides of houses, propane tanks, in fact almost everything, was observed being carried down the river.⁷

South of Crescent City more than 300 refugees from the flood, most of whom had fled the Klamath Glen area on the 21st, were huddled at the Arrow Mill. Another 300 had been evacuated south of the Klamath and taken to the old radar site, when high water blocked their movement up U.S. 101 to Crescent City. An equal number had fled to the safety afforded by the mill of Simpson

6. Ibid., Feb. 8, 1890; Ernie Coan, "Klamath River, Historic, But Rugged," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 3-C.

7. *Del Norte Triplicate*, Dec. 22, 1955.

Redwood Co., at the Glen. About 100 were quartered at MacMillen's Ranch, just north of Klamath, while scores of tourists had remained in their cars which had been stalled by mud slides.⁸

The rains providentially ceased on the 21st, and the Klamath crested the next afternoon. President Dwight D. Eisenhower on Christmas Eve proclaimed the flood-ravaged region in the Pacific northwest a "major disaster area." He called on all Federal agencies "to grant every aid as rapidly as possible."⁹

The local people, assisted by the Red Cross and Federal and State authorities, were able to cope with the situation. Within a short period, the physical damage to roads and buildings wrought by this calamity, the worse that had ever visited Del Norte County, had been repaired. The thousands of redwood and other trees uprooted and swept downstream by the flood could not be replaced, neither could the top soil that had been washed away.

5. The Flood of 1964

Residents of the Humboldt Coast who believed that it would be impossible to top the flood of 1955 had only nine years to wait. During the Christmas season of 1964, the Pacific northwest was sent reeling under the "greatest natural disaster" it had ever experienced. Torrential rains, along with a warm spell that caused the snow in the Siskiyou to melt rapidly, sent the Klamath and Smith rivers surging. The former crested much higher than in 1955, though it was impossible to establish an "official" high-water mark, as the flood gauges were swept away. Rivermen estimated that the flood crest was eight feet higher at Klamath than it had been nine years before.

Hundreds of people in Del Norte were driven from their homes, as the Klamath and Smith rivers flooded the flats and lowlands. Even the Gasquet area, which had heretofore escaped damage, suffered. Emergency relief facilities were set up at the Del Norte Fairgrounds by the local Red Cross for the reception and care of victims of the flood. Granges and local residents opened their

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., Dec. 29, 1955.

doors to many of the evacuees. The Seventh Day Adventist School was employed as a clearing house for clothing donations.¹⁰

Much of the damage was caused by the debris (trees and wreckage) swept downstream by flood waters. Once again, as in 1862, the Crescent City beaches were obstructed by huge log jams. Tons of mud and sand (gook) were dumped into homes and over roads, making rescue efforts difficult. Bulldozers were used to reopen the road into Klamath Glen, where several hundred were marooned. Most of this equipment was manned by personnel from Simpson Timber Co. That firm's Klamath mill served as a rallying point for persons fleeing the surging water. Many trailers were pulled onto high ground at the mill, but for others rescue came too late, and they were swept out into the Pacific.¹¹

Del Norte boat owners risked their lives on the Klamath and Smith to save persons stranded in and on their homes. Jet boats were employed in the most dangerous areas, "but the heavy flow of logs and other materials made rescues hazardous."

For a number of hours it was feared that Del Norte would be isolated by the flood. U.S. 199 to Grants Pass, Oregon, was closed when several bridges across Smith River were washed out. The Douglas Bridge, across the Klamath, was carried away. Two spans at the south end of the structure were crumbled, a third span was left wobbly, and the north approach washed away. The golden bears, however, held firm and stood guard over the ruined bridge. Huge slabs of highway and street pavement were visible to airmen, protruding "here and there above the water." The two service stations that had formerly stood on either side of U.S. 101 at the north turn into flood-ravaged Klamath were gone.

Fears were voiced at one time that the bridge carrying the Redwood Highway across the Chetco, near Brookings, Oregon, was doomed. It was saved, however, and this remained the only route into Crescent City.¹²

President Lyndon B. Johnson, on Christmas Eve, declared the flood-stricken region a disaster area. By this time the rivers had crested. A survey of the Red Cross disclosed that in Del Norte County there were 3,000 homeless and that about 850 homes had been destroyed. Damage was estimated at \$40,000,000.¹³

10. Ibid., Dec. 25, 1964.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., Jan. 1, 1965.

The lumber industry in Del Norte and Humboldt counties had been hard hit by the flood. A survey of the 15 mills in Del Norte County, which in 1964 had accounted for 90 percent of the business, was undertaken in mid-January. It was found that four of the mills were shut down, while three others were operating with a skeleton force. Of the 2,300 employees in these mills, 433 had been laid off.

Mill operators told a reporter for the *Triplicate* that although U.S. 101 north was open, the extra cost of trucking to the railroad at Coos Bay would cause additional lay-offs.¹⁴

As in every flood of which we have record since 1861-1862, thousands of redwood had been uprooted. On hillsides that had been denuded of timber in the years following World War II, the rains had caused frightful erosions. The wholesale removal of the ground cover by man had undoubtedly contributed to making the flood of December 1964 the worst on record.

B. THE TSUNAMI of 1964

The flood of December 1964 was not the first disaster to strike the Humboldt Coast in that year. In the last week of March, a terrific earthquake, which registered 8.8 on the Richter scale, devastated Anchorage, Alaska, and other points in Kenai Peninsula of the 49th State. Unknown to residents of the Humboldt Coast, the quake sent a tidal wave, or more properly a tsunami, racing southwestward at a speed of 500 miles per hour.¹⁵

Shortly before midnight on March 28, a huge wave struck the Crescent City area. Houses and businesses on Front Street were first to feel the destructive force, as the water "moved into the city bringing with it logs and debris." Unlike tidal waves of the movies, the tsunami was characterized by a rapid raising of the water with smaller waves riding its crest. As the first wave subsided, officers of the Del Norte County sheriff's department and the city police advanced into the area to survey the damage, to discourage looters, and to control sightseers.

As the officers were starting to clear the downtown area, a second wave swept in. At the time of its arrival, Front Street was choked with wreckage which in places blocked traffic. The second wave struck with less force than the first, as did the

14. Ibid., Jan. 15, 1965.

15. Ibid., April 9, 1964.

third. But the fourth, a raging torrent, swept across part of the city with a violence that "litterly tore up business and private buildings, and in some instances carrying complete buildings considerable distances from their foundations." Power and communication lines went down. Automobiles were smashed, and in many cases left upside down or through store fronts. Receding, the fourth wave left in its wake a large area of "total destruction, and many families searching for loved ones."¹⁶

Ten-month-old William Eugene Wright was torn from his mother's arms by the surging flood sea tide, as she sought to reach safety. William and his sister Bonita Ione, age 3, were drowned. The waves, which at some points reached a height of ten feet, claimed the lives of two couples, who with three others were spending the evening in the Long Branch Tavern, near Elk Creek. Driven from the tavern by the waves, the patrons sought to escape in a small boat, which they found nearby. Of the seven, only two men escaped as the craft was swamped. The two couples, the Earl Edwardses and the William Clausens, were drowned, as was Joan Field. Adolph Arrigoni, a long-time resident, was drowned when his home on B Street was engulfed. The 30-foot combination home and shoe repair shop trailer of Jim Parks was swept from its site at Front and Battery streets and overturned, drowning the shoemaker. The body of the 11th victim, Mrs. Lavelle Hillsberry, was found later in the wreckage.¹⁷

Emergency Civil Defense units moved in to assist the police and sheriff's departments to organize clean-up and rescue operations. They were assisted by volunteers, employing all sorts of equipment, to remove debris and logs blocking streets and highways. Leaking butane tanks added to the danger, and emergency crews were turned out to shut them off. Fires broke out along U.S. 101 southeast of Crescent City, destroying the Huskey-Texaco bulk plant and the Union oil plant. They spread to the Nichols Pontiac Garage & Service Station and a nearby body shop. Explosions ripped the five huge storage tanks at the bulk plant, as firemen stood by, helpless.¹⁸

A survey showed that 150 stores, motels, and business houses had been destroyed or badly damaged. The Del Norte *Triplicate's* plant was wrecked, and the editor estimated damage at \$100,000. The recently opened Ben Franklin Store had been smashed by a six-foot wall of water. In the Citizen's Dock area, buildings were demolished, and the Coast Guard Station swept out into the Pacific.

16. Ibid., April 2, 1964.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

Hardly had the water subsided from the fourth and final wave, before scavengers appeared and commenced looting. Liquor stores and taverns were said to be hard hit. Law officers assisted by volunteers, were organized into patrols to "discourage the human vultures who seem to swarm to disaster with but one idea, and that being to gain from other's losses." The National Guard was called out by Governor Pat Brown, and, reinforced by army reserve units, cordoned off the section of Crescent City that had felt the fury of the tsunami.

By Sunday, the 29th, work crews had made "huge strides in the cleaning out the damaged buildings." Wreckage-choked roads and streets were opened. Along U.S. 101, southeast of the city, highway crews and foresters were hard at work stacking and burning giant piles of driftwood and litter that had covered two miles of highway.¹⁹

Crescent City was declared a disaster area by President Johnson. In the ensuing weeks and months, the devastated section of Crescent City was rebuilt in accordance with a well-thought-out master plan.

C. SHIPWRECKS, FIRES, and STRANDINGS

1. The Burning of America

Beginning with *Paragon* in April 1850 and *Tarquin* the following January, the coast of Del Norte County and that part of Humboldt County included within Redwood National Park was destined to be the scene of many maritime disasters. Sunday, June 24, 1855, was a memorable day for Crescent City. At 3:30 p.m., the big sidewheel steamboat *America*, A. G. Jones master, anchored in the harbor. The steamer was en route from San Francisco for Puget Sound with a battalion of the U. S. Infantry commanded by Maj. Henry Prince.

America had stopped at Crescent City to land passengers, freight, and mail. Soon after the mail had been put ashore in a lighter, one of the stokers discovered "large quantities of smoke issuing from the coal bunkers." He raised the cry of "Fire!" No flame could be seen, but "volumes of smoke and gas" soon filled the area below decks, driving out the engineers and

19. Ibid.

stokers. It was impossible for anyone to go below to pinpoint the fire.²⁰

Meanwhile, those ashore had observed the smoke and speculated on its cause. Soon, however, they realized the ship was afire. Lighters, boats, and canoes headed for *America*, while those ashore could see that Captain Jones and Major Prince had turned their men to in an effort to control the fire. Pumps were manned, as sailors and soldiers fought the flames amid suffocating gas and smoke. After about 30 minutes, Captain Jones told Major Prince to have the lighters come alongside and put most of the soldiers ashore. As soon as this was done, Captain Jones ran his ship aground, bows on, in shallow water about 150 yards from the beach.²¹

Here the crew and soldiers were reinforced by citizens. For a time, it appeared that the firefighters had gained the upper hand, but "the dense smoke gradually deepened and darkened, the efforts on board became feebler . . . , and a sheet of clear flame that tore through the black sky proclaimed the triumph of the destroyer." The ship was abandoned.

By Monday morning the flames had died, leaving "a charred, smouldering and hideous skeleton" of *America*. Subsequently, the hulk was examined and it was believed that it would pay to tow it to San Francisco, where the vessel would be rebuilt. Accordingly, the steamer *Goliah* took the hulk in tow. Off Point Reyes, she encountered heavy seas and the hawser parted, casting the hulk adrift. Efforts were made to get a line aboard *America*, without success, and when last seen she was shipping water badly, with the seas breaking across her.²²

20. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 36; *Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States 1807-1868*, compiled by William M. Lytle (Mystic, 1952), p. 8. Built in 1853 in New York City by William H. Brown, *America* displaced 922 tons. She had been brought around Cape Horn in 1854 by Captain Mitchell. At San Francisco, she had been sold to J. T. Wright, who valued the vessel at \$140,000.

21. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 36-37.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38. Three brass 6-pounders were salvaged from *America*, and emplaced at Battery Point.

2. The Sinking of the Steamer *Brother Jonathan*

A frightful disaster occurred off the coast on Sunday, July 30, 1865. Two days before the sidewheel steamer *Brother Jonathan*, of 1,359 tons and owned by the California Steam Navigation Co., had left San Francisco bound for Portland, Oregon. She carried about 120 cabin passengers, 72 in steerage, and a crew of 50 officers and men. Among the passengers was the commander of the newly constituted Department of the Columbia, Brig. Gen. George Wright, his wife, and staff; and Paymaster E. W. Eddy with \$300,000 with which to pay the troops at Fort Vancouver.²³

Capt. S. J. DeWolf conned his ship out the Golden Gate and into a north wind. The rugged Farallones soon dropped astern, and the vessel was out of sight of land. On the morning of the 30th, the wind increased in velocity and became a howling nor'wester. Captain DeWolf, taking cognizance of the mountainous waves, determined to turn his vessel about and make for Crescent City, 16 miles to the southeastward. He would anchor in the lee of Battery Point and ride out the storm, resuming the run up the coast as soon as the storm had abated.

Off Point St. George, about four miles from land, lay St. George Reef. It was customary for steamers sailing against a nor'wester to keep close inshore, inside the reef. But *Brother Jonathan*, in beating her way toward Crescent City, held to a course outside the reef as laid down on the chart. Quartermaster Yates recalled that the ship was four miles due west of Point St. George, when she struck a sunken ledge. The shock sent passengers and many of the crew scrambling out on deck. DeWolf sought to back his ship off. For five minutes she wallowed helplessly. Then there was another dull thump. A section of her keel surfaced. Her foremast torn loose, dropped, punching another hole in her bottom, and came to rest with its foreyards across the rails.

The stranding was so sudden, so unexpected, so terrible that those aboard had barely recovered their wits, when the cry, "Abandon Ship!" was raised. Some women fainted, others called for help; strong men who had faced death paled. All looked to Captain DeWolf for "the means of safety and delivery." Life-preservers were passed out, two guns were fired in quick suc-

23. Ibid., pp. 78-79; Frances T. McBeth, "Major Marine Disaster During Early Days of Crescent City," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 6-D; *Merchant Steam Vessel of the United States*, p. 22. *Brother Jonathan* had been built in New York City in 1851.

cession as a signal of distress, and the command "Lower Lifeboats!" was given. Three were lowered from the davits. One, crowded with women and children, was swamped. Another, filled with men, collapsed. The third, captained by 3d Mate Charles Patterson, and manned by Quartermaster Yates, a steerage steward, and 13 others, was able to beat her way clear of the doomed ship. Pulling at their oars, they soon lost sight of *Brother Jonathan*, and all their energies were devoted to keeping their small craft from being swamped. They reached Crescent City about 4 p.m. and sounded the alarm.²⁴

A number of boats were manned, and the would-be rescuers put out into the wind-swept Pacific. High seas forced them to turn back far short of the reef. Early the next day, July 31, two boats commanded by Benjamin West and Anson Burr started out to look for survivors. They returned that evening with the report that they had seen neither wreckage nor bodies. Monday evening a boat manned by 3d Mate Patterson and others sailed for Eureka to obtain assistance. Before proceeding very far, they sighted wreckage, which Patterson identified as part of *Brother Jonathan's* hurricane deck, along with beds and trunks. They returned to Crescent City with this information. Meanwhile, the lifeboat which had been swamped drifted ashore on the beach, near Crescent City.²⁵

On Tuesday, August 1, two men in a small boat excitedly told that they had seen people on Seal Rock. Several rescue boats were manned, and at 1 p.m. they pulled off into a heavy surf. When they reached the rock, they found, to their disappointment, that the "people" were sea lions. Because of the heavy seas and a strong head wind, they did not get back to Crescent City until 1 a.m. The hard pull and cold spray had sapped their strength and they were exhausted.²⁶

Several days after the disaster, a boat went up and tried to pinpoint the site of the sinking. Quartermaster Yates pointed out a rocky ledge, a small portion of which was visible at low

24. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 79-81; McBeth, "Major Marine Disaster During Early Days of Crescent City," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 6-D.

25. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 81-82. Subsequently, a portion of the "upper work" of the ship was found near Point St. George, along with the heel of her foremast.

26. McBeth, "Major Marine Disaster During Early Days of Crescent City," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 6-D.

tide, as the one on which *Brother Jonathan* struck. The rock, which was not on any charts issued by the Coast Survey, was named "*Brother Jonathan Rock*."²⁷

News of the loss of *Brother Jonathan*, along with 215 passengers and crew, did not reach San Francisco until Wednesday, August 2. There was no direct telegraph line connecting Crescent City with the Bay area, so a soldier from Camp Lincoln rode up the plank road to Jacksonville, Oregon, with a message addressed to Col. R. C. Drum. The dispatch read:

At 2 p.m. yesterday the steamer *Brother Jonathan*, struck a sunken rock and sank in less than an hour with all on board except 16 persons who escaped in a small boat, the only survivors of the ill-fated ship. No trace of the vessel is left. Gen. Wright, family, and staff are supposed to be lost.

This message was received at San Francisco late on August 1, and the next morning, when the *Alta California* published the news, the city was plunged into mourning. Flags hung at half-mast. Bells tolled. Buildings were draped in crepe.²⁸

Nine to ten days after the sinking, the bodies of the victims began to come ashore. A patrol of soldiers from Camp Lincoln watched the beaches near Crescent City, while troops from Fort Humboldt patrolled the coast north to Trinidad. Every day three or four bodies were picked up at sea by boatmen, and a number came ashore on the beaches above and below Crescent City. As fast as they could be secured the bodies were taken to Dugan & Wall's warehouse, where an inquest was held. The 45 bodies recovered in the area were buried in the old Crescent City cemetery, near Pebble Beach. Those found south of Trinidad were laid to rest at Dows Prairie or taken to Eureka. Between Gold Bluffs and Trinidad, about 16 bodies were interred near the beach. The body of General Wright's horse and a camel--there were two camels aboard the ship destined for the Portland zoo--were found on a beach, eight miles north of Trinidad. It was said by the survivors that Captain DeWolf's Newfoundland, a superb swimmer, would certainly reach shore, but the angry sea was too strong for the dog.²⁹

27. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, p. 82.

28. McBeth, "Major Marine Disaster During Early Days of Crescent City," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 6-D.

29. *Ibid.*; Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 82-83. A num-

In the old Crescent City cemetery there is a monument encircled by markers, bearing the inscription, "Sacred to the Memory of _____, Lost on the *Brother Jonathan*, July 30, A.D. 1865."³⁰

Each summer until the turn of the century, promoters would organize expeditions to recover the treasure that went down with *Brother Jonathan*. These expeditions came to naught, because they were never able to pinpoint the site of the sinking.³¹

3. Queen Christina Runs Aground

In the period 1865-1907 a number of vessels were wrecked or stranded along this coast. *Amanda Alger* went ashore at the Gold Bluffs in December 1871; *Centennial* stranded in April 1877 as she sought to cross the bar at the mouth of the Klamath; seven vessels, including *California*, *Wall*, and *Elvenia*, were stranded near Crescent City in the years 1878-1881. Seven more strandings were reported to the Life-Saving Service for the period 1884-1905. Several of these ships, including *Dauntless*, had run afoul of the Klamath Bar.³²

On October 21, 1907, the coast of Del Norte claimed a noted victim. One of the largest freighters on the Pacific coast at this time was *Queen Christina*. She had been built at Newcastle, England, in 1901. Displacing 4,268 tons, she had a beam of 48 feet and a length of 360 feet. The *Queen* had sailed from San Francisco on Saturday, October 19, for Portland, with a cargo of wheat.

Off Point St. George on Monday, the 21st, she encountered a pea-soup-like fog. Capt. George R. Harris, believing he was holding a course seven miles off-shore, eased his ship ahead. Suddenly, there was the sickening thud of iron grating against rock. The damage control people called that the ship was hard aground and taking water badly, so Captain Harris passed the order to abandon ship. The crew made shore in two lifeboats.

ber of the bodies were afterwards removed by relatives and friends to family cemeteries.

30. Bledsoe, *History of Del Norte County*, pp. 83-84.

31. McBeth, "Major Marine Disaster During Early Days of Crescent City," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 6-D.

32. *Annual Reports of the United States Life-Saving Service* (1875-1905).

At this hour the sea was smooth, but the stricken vessel would be exposed to storms bearing in from both the southeast and southwest. It was accordingly predicted that she would be pounded to pieces on the rocks by the first heavy sea.

When word of the wreck reached Crescent City, the Hobbs, Wall steam-schooner *Navarro* got under way. A line was sent aboard the big freighter, but *Navarro* was unable to pull her off the rocks. Arrangements were then made by Captain Harris to employ the Hobbs, Wall vessel to help his crew salvage as much as they could from the wreck.

Captain Harris sought to pin the blame for the disaster on the personnel manning the Point St. George Reef Light, claiming that the foghorn was not being sounded at the time his ship became stranded. The keepers' claim that it was being sounded was backed by most mariners, who pointed out that under "some conditions you can be 'right on top' of a foghorn and still not hear it."³³

Those who said that *Queen Christina* would not withstand the first winter's storm had not reckoned with the quality of the workmanship of the Tyne shipbuilders. She not only took all the Pacific had to offer during the winter of 1907-1908, but she retained her lines. It was not until January 1909 that she succumbed to the breakers. The *Crescent City News* reported at that time that the "stranded steamer *Queen Christina* is a complete wreck . . . there is nothing visible of the ill-fated craft except a portion of the bridge . . . heavy seas roll over it . . . the masts have gone by the board."³⁴

4. The Foundering of *Magnolia*

An unidentified vessel stranded on the Klamath Bar in 1908, and eight years later the small 49-ton coastal freighter *Magnolia* came to grief at the same point. On April 8, 1916, *Magnolia* sought to enter the Klamath in rough seas with a cargo of shakes. She was caught in the breakers and capsized, drowning her four-man crew. *Magnolia* then drifted out to sea. The Coast Guard, upon being notified of the disaster, dispatched the cutter *Humboldt Bay* northward. The cutter located the derelict, put a line aboard, and towed her down the coast to Eureka.³⁵

33. Wallace E. Martin, *Humboldt County Historical Society*, 9, No.1.

34. Ibid.

35. *Annual Reports of the United States Coast Guard for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1916* (Washington, 1916), p. 236.

5. The Disappearance of *South Coast*

Two vessels were lost off the coast fronting Redwood National Park in the period 1917 to 1929. On October 27, 1918, *Mandalay* became a victim of the sea nine miles north of the mouth of the Klamath, and six years later the motorship *Sharp*, a light coastal freighter, operating out of San Francisco, was wrecked offshore. A ship closely identified with Crescent City and Del Norte County, the Hobbs, Wall freighter *Del Norte* stranded on Point Arena on July 27, 1917. She was bound for San Francisco from Crescent City with "a valuable cargo of lumber, 80 tons of high-grade chrome ore, several tons of butter, seven passengers, and crew."³⁶

The steamer *South Coast* was a veteran. Built in 1887 she had logged thousands of miles in the coastal trade. The 301-ton vessel had been purchased by Hobbs, Wall in 1915. In September 1930 she was chartered to haul cedar logs from Crescent City to Coos Bay, Oregon. Two trips had been made, so no apprehension was felt, when *South Coast* pulled away from the Crescent City wharf at 10 a.m. on the 16th. Although she carried no radio, the sea was calm, and Capt. Stanley Sorenson and his 18-man crew looked forward to a pleasant run up the coast.³⁷

South Coast never reached her destination. That evening residents of Gold Beach, Oregon, saw a flash at sea, followed by a dull boom. The next day the crew of the General Petroleum Tanker *Tejon* sighted debris (logs, several lifeboats, and a pilothouse) 40 miles south of Cape Blanco and 30 miles to the seaward. The captain of *Tejon* radioed word of the disaster to officials of Hobbs, Wall and the United States Coast Guard Station at Humboldt Bay. The Coast Guard cutter *Cahokia* headed for the scene. No survivors were found, but the pilothouse and life-

36. Ernie Coan, "Sea Takes its Toll as Death Stalks Marine History of Del Norte," *Del Norte TriPLICATE*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 5-E. *Del Norte* had been built at Tiburon in 1890, displaced 450.11 tons, had a length of 158 feet, a beam of 32.2 feet, and drew 12.5 feet. A similar fate had overtaken another Hobbs, Wall freighter on January 30, 1903, when the steamer *Crescent City* had stranded on Fish Rock. Wallace E. Martin, "Captain's Negligence Blamed for loss of Steamer Crescent City off Mendocino Coast," *Humboldt County Historical Society* (1964). *Crescent City* had been built in 1882, and for 21 years she had been hauling redwood lumber from Del Norte County to San Francisco.

37. *Del Norte TriPLICATE*, Sept. 19, 1930.

boats were recovered and taken to Eureka. An examination of these indicated that the lifeboats had not been lowered, but had been torn from their davits, while the pilothouse had been battered from the deck. This satisfied Captain Halvorson of *Cahokia* that *South Coast* had struck Rogue River Reef in a fog, causing the cargo to shift, and capsizing the vessel.³⁸

The grave of *South Coast* was found on July 30, 1937, as the Department of Commerce survey steamer *Guide* was making soundings off Port Orford. Her wire drags became entangled in the mast of a sunken ship. A diver was sent down, and returned with word that he had found the missing ship. Her position confirmed Captain Halvorson's theory that *South Coast* had indeed struck Rogue River Reef and had foundered there.³⁹

Two vessels were wrecked off the coast in the 1940s. On November 16, 1942, *Susan Olson* was stranded at Crescent City, and on February 3, 1948, the 69-ton dragger *Garrison* went down in 128 fathoms of water off the north head of False Klamath Rock.⁴⁰

D. AIDS to NAVIGATION

1. The Crescent City Lighthouse

In 1855, the year after Crescent City was incorporated, the California legislature passed a concurrent resolution urging the state's delegation in Congress to press for the passage of an act providing for the erection of lighthouses at "Trinidad and Crescent City."⁴¹ On March 3, 1855, Congress appropriated \$15,000 for the construction of a Crescent City lighthouse, and on December 8 President Franklin Pierce designated certain lands as reserved for lighthouse purposes.⁴²

38. Ibid., Sept. 19 & 26, 1930; Wallace E. Martin, *Humboldt County Historical Society*, 12, No.5.

39. Martin, *Humboldt County Historical Society*, 12, No. 5.

40. Coan, "Sea Takes its Toll as Death Stalks Marine History of Del Norte," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 5-E.

41. Esther R. Smith, *The First Crescent City Lighthouse* (Crescent City, 1956), p. 1.

42. Ibid., 2. The reservation as finally established included the small island off Battery Point, and ten acres on Battery Point.

The lighthouse and keeper's quarters was constructed in 1856, and on December 10 of that year, the fourth-order light was lit for the first time by Mr. Van Court. Theophilus Magruder was named keeper on Christmas 1856.

According to the Lighthouse Board, the Crescent City light was

on the seaward extremity of an island off Battery Point . . . , latitude 41° 44' 36" north; longitude, 124° 12' 10" west; fixed white light varied by a white flash every 90 seconds; order of light 4; height of light above the ocean highwater, 77 ft.' distance visible in nautical miles, 14 1/2; low white tower, rising from white dwelling with red roof and green shutters; lantern, black; outbuildings, white with red roofs.⁴³

The keeper's quarters by the late 1860s needed funds for its maintenance. But, as is frequently the case with bureaucracies, a number of years passed before money became available for the structure's up-keep. To goad the Lighthouse Board into taking action, warnings were voiced that the station was "in a delapidated condition, and should be rebuilt if the light is to be continued." The Board, itself, was of the opinion that the light was of little consequence, because no vessel could enter Crescent City Harbor after dark, and no ship bound up or down the coast could, with safety, hold a course near enough to shore to make the light. If a first-order light were erected on Point St. George Reef, the Crescent City light should be discontinued.⁴⁴

The station was repaired by 1879, and in the following year the color of the dwelling was changed from "a stone-color" to light buff, and the tower painted white. Mineral oil lamps replaced the lard-oil lamps in 1881. Fifteen years later, the ten-acre reservation on Battery Point was subdivided and sold at public auction. Meanwhile, the fourth order constant level lamp had been replaced by a Haines mineral-oil lamp. On May 18, 1907, the lens was replaced with a new four-panel fourth-order lens.⁴⁵

In July 1939, the United States Coast Guard assumed responsibility for the Crescent City Lighthouse. Fourteen years later, an automatic light was installed, and on November 1, 1953, the

43. Ibid. The light characteristic was changed in 1907 to "flashing white every 15 seconds."

44. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

45. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

United States leased the lighthouse to the Del Norte County Historical Society.⁴⁶

2. St. George Reef Lighthouse

The site of this lighthouse is on Northwest Seal Rock, it being the outermost danger of St. George Reef, a cluster of rocky islets and sunken rocks projecting westerly from Point St. George. Inside the reef, close under Point St. George, is a deep, wide channel navigated by northbound steamers, during the hours of daylight, when the coast is not fogbound. The Lighthouse Board, in selecting this site for a first-order light, was influenced by several factors: (a) the tragic sinking of *Brother Jonathan*; (b) its position midway between Capes Mendocino and Blanco; (c) its location about six miles from the mainland; and (d) the large area, about 40,000 square feet of rock, above low-water mark, available as a construction site.⁴⁷

On April 3, 1883, a construction crew left San Francisco in the schooner *La Ninfa*. The party numbered 25, consisting of crew, quarrymen, stonecutters, and a blacksmith, with an outfit of provisions, fresh water, and tools. *La Ninfa* was towed by the wrecking steamer *Whitelaw*, having on board four sets of moorings. After a stormy passage, *Whitelaw* succeeded in making Northwest Seal Rock, on the morning of April 9. A 12,000-pound mushroom sinker was lowered. Despite a heavy sea, *La Ninfa* was made fast.⁴⁸

It had been assumed that the spar buoy could be secured at 18 fathoms, but it was found that the depth was 30 fathoms, and that the spar buoys were too small. Larger ones would have to be secured. The steamer headed for Humboldt Bay, the nearest point where they could be procured. It was April 28 before *Whitelaw*, having secured the buoys, returned to Northwest Seal Rock to find the schooner gone and no trace of the moorings.

The weather being favorable, the ship laid the remainder of the moorings and awaited the reappearance of *La Ninfa*. When

46. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

47. "Report of the Light-House Board, 1892," Appendix No. 5, NA, RG 26, Lighthouse Clipping File, St. George Reef, p. 271.

48. *Ibid.* Buffeted by heavy seas *Whitelaw* was twice compelled to return to San Francisco.

the schooner did not show up, *Whitelaw* on May 3 proceeded to Humboldt Bay. On her arrival, the crew learned from the brig *Josephine* that they had sighted and spoken to *La Ninfa* during a gale off Cape Mendocino on April 30. After taking on coal, *Whitelaw* was again taken out to sea, and on May 6 she found the missing schooner. From the captain, Superintendent of Construction A. Ballantyne learned that during a storm on the night of April 22, *La Ninfa's* line had parted, and she had been driven north, then south. *Whitelaw* was employed to drag for the missing moorings, but she was unsuccessful. Arrangements having been made with Hobbs, Wall for lease of *Crescent City*, *Whitelaw* was discharged.⁴⁹

On May 9, 1883, the construction people made a landing on the rock. Ringbolts were positioned, springlines run, and the schooner made fast. The next day, the 10th, blasting powder was landed and drilling started on the north side of the rock. By the end of August, the benches, ten feet wide around the outline of the pier, had been formed by blasting, and only required to be finished off by stonecutters. In addition, space was blasted for the water supply, allowing for a storage capacity of 77,000 gallons.

By September 28 the site had been prepared and was ready to receive the masonry. The tools and men were then evacuated from the rock. The crew was paid off in San Francisco and the tools stored on Yerba Buena Island.⁵⁰

In the fall of 1883, Ballantyne prepared drawings and specifications for a wharf, workmen's quarters, and stonecutters' shed on the North Spit at Humboldt Bay. Here the stone would be dressed, before it was shipped to the rock. James Simpson of Eureka, as low bidder, was given the contract for this work.

While in Humboldt County, Ballantyne's attention was called to a deposit of granite recently discovered near the mouth of Mad River. Visiting the quarry, he found a "deposit of granite boulders of a good quality," and in sufficient quantity to complete the structure. The stone was purchased at a royalty of four cents per cubic foot. A contract was made with the railroad to haul the stone from the quarry to the stoneyard for two dollars per ton.⁵¹

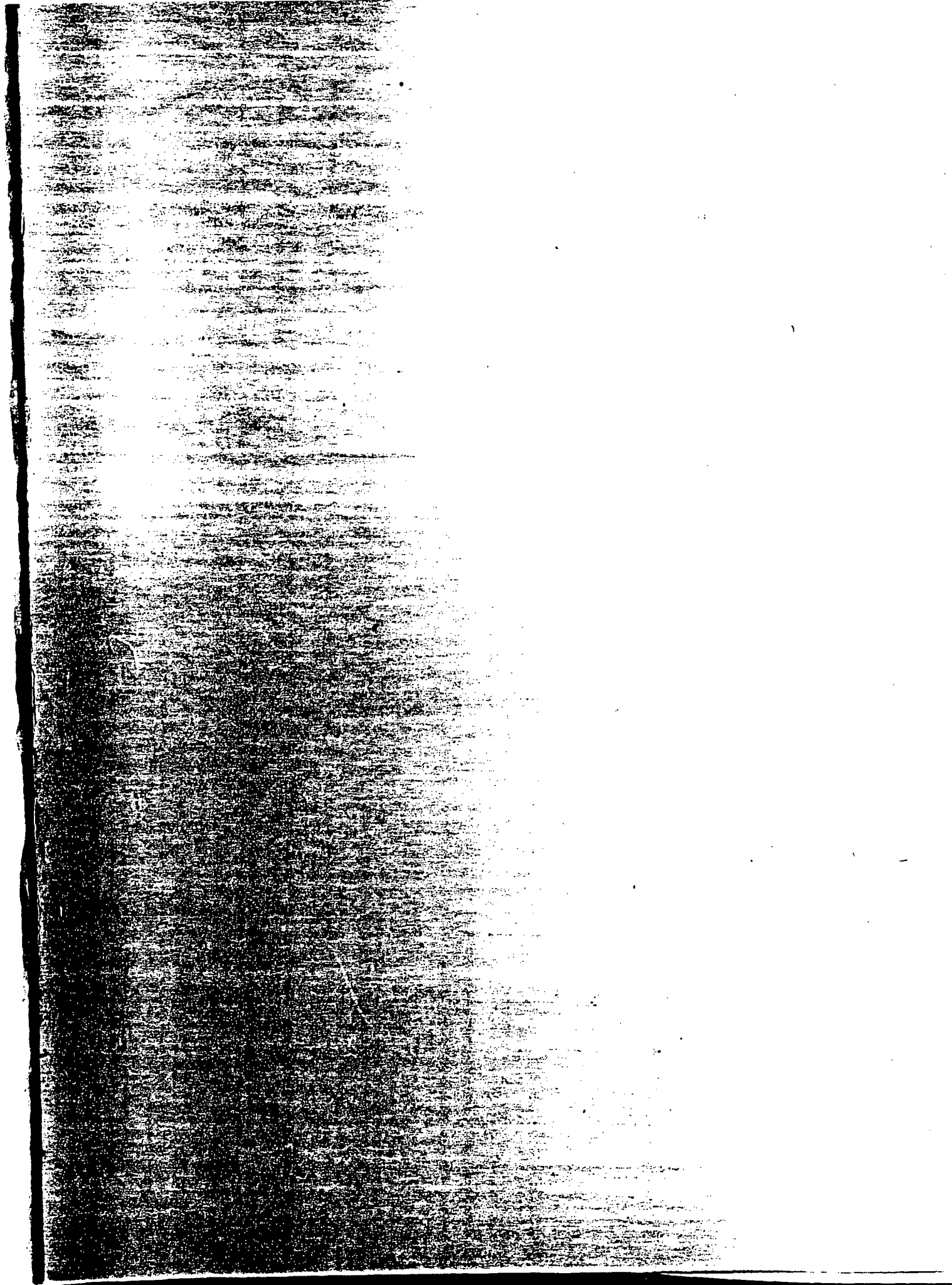
49. Ibid., pp. 271-272.

50. Ibid., p. 272.

51. Ibid., pp. 272-273.

REDWOOD BASIC DATA

BEARDS



The spring of 1884 found work being pushed at the quarry and stoneyard, so there would be several boatloads of cut-stone ready for shipment to the site.⁵² About May 1 *Whitelaw* was chartered and dispatched to the reef with a large boom derrick and heavy backing anchors.⁵³ It was July 2 before the moorings were set, and the derrick positioned ashore. Meanwhile, the schooner *American Boy* had been chartered and outfitted in Humboldt Bay, as a quartersboat.

The appropriation act of July 7, 1884, contained only \$30,000 for Northwest Seal Rock, so construction was immediately suspended and both vessels discharged, "as the work could not be carried on advantageously at an expenditure less than \$15,000 per month, or \$75,000 for the season." To make use of the limited funds available, Ballantyne employed a force of from 12 to 20 quarrymen and laborers and from eight to ten stonecutters in Humboldt County until October 31, 1885, when they were laid off.⁵⁴

To guard against deterioration of the plant and possible loss of the derrick, a working party sent from Humboldt Bay spent the month of June 1885 raising all the moorings except one, which was replaced and rebuoyed. The derrick was secured against possible loss from its exposure to heavy seas.⁵⁵

Congress on March 3, 1885, voted another \$40,000 to continue the work. Ballantyne still considered the sum inadequate, and as no appropriation was made in 1886, no work was programmed with the available funds, other than the routine care of the property.

In four years, 1883-1886, only one working season of about 100 days had been used advantageously on the rock. During a

52. Each stone was cut by a gauge to fit the space it was to occupy in the finished structure. It was then marked with its number, and a record made of the time used in dressing it and the name of the person by whom dressed. The stones were dressed so as to be laid with three-sixteenth-inch joints.

53. The mast of the derrick was 20 x 20 inches by 50 feet in length; the boom of 20 inches diameter in the slings, by 90 feet long, with two stiff legs, 78 feet long.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 272-273; St. George Reef Light-Station, Cal., NA, Clipping File, RG 26.

55. Report of the Light-House Board, 1892, Appendix No. 5, NA, RG 26, p. 273.

part of these four years, other attempts were made to work on the reef, but because of inadequate appropriations the plant deteriorated, and rot and rust "combined to make the first four years of work unduly expensive."

An appropriation of \$120,000 having become available March 4, 1887, authority was given by the Lighthouse Board for "preparing and laying stone by hired labor, for the purchase of plant in open market, and charter of the vessels necessary on the best terms obtainable." First, crews had to be turned to removing debris that had been washed into the quarry by the winter rains; replacing the piles at the stoneyard wharf weakened by teredos; and overhauling and re-rigging the plant. The schooner *Sparrow* of 200 tons was chartered and fitted out as sleeping quarters for 50 workers. A large assortment of tools, rope, blocks, chain, and ironwork, together with a powerful steam winch, were shipped by the steamer *Santa Maria* from San Francisco on April 5.

By May 18, Ballantyne and his people had six sets of moorings positioned. The remainder of the month was spent in erecting four boom derricks and a large hoisting engine; and building a wharf for receiving materials at the rock. On June 4 the steamer *Alliance* reached the reef with the first cargo of building materials and stonemasons. At the close of the season's work, on October 3, the pier had been raised to a height of 18 feet.⁵⁶

Work was resumed in April 1888, with funds appropriated the previous month. Two vessels were chartered. *Whitelaw*, which had sailed from San Francisco on April 19, reached the rock on the 26th with men, chains, rigging, tools, and lumber for the landing and men's quarters. By the time *Del Norte* arrived with her first cargo of building stone on May 26, the wharf with quarters for 50 men underneath had been finished. Before the season ended, the 13th course of masonry had been laid, raising the pier to a height of 28 feet, excluding the zero course.⁵⁷

56. Ibid., p. 274. When a course of stone was dressed, it was shipped to the site by steamer. Each stone, averaging in weight about two and one-half tons, was placed in a rope netting, attached simultaneously to the derrick on the steamer and to that on the structure, and landed. So careful was the crew that none of the stone was spalled or chipped. The face of the pier, when completed, was composed of 1,339 dressed-dimension stones.

57. Ibid., pp. 274-275.

Congress made available \$200,000 to fund the project on March 2, 1889. On April 11 *Del Norte* sailed for Humboldt Bay, where she took aboard men and material and proceeded to the rock. Work was commenced on the 14th course on April 30. The weather during the season was more severe than in 1888, but an improvement over 1887.

The men's quarters, although strongly built, were smashed in a May gale. None of the laborers were injured, but some of the men were washed from their bunks.

By October the pier was completed, eight courses having been laid in 1889. The walls of the boiler-room, coatrooms, and store-rooms were erected and arched, while the paving of the pier was laid. With the coming of the autumn storms, work was suspended, and measures taken to secure against damage the property to be left at the site.

No attempt was made to push construction at the rock in 1890, because available funds did not warrant the effort. Work, however, was continued at the quarry and stoneyard, preparing stone for the tower. Sufficient stone having been dressed by July 1, the crew was discharged and the stoneyard placed in charge of a watchman.⁵⁸

On September 30, 1890, \$81,000 was allotted for construction. This made a total of \$721,000 appropriated, which was the estimated cost of the structure. Early in 1891 plans were made to complete the station. On April 10 the steam schooner *Sunol* sailed from San Francisco for the reef, by way of Humboldt Bay. She reached Seal Rock on the 22d. On going ashore, Ballantyne and his 50 men found their quarters badly battered and no mooring buoys. Work was resumed on May 1, and they commenced setting flagging on top of the pier. The first stone of the tower was positioned on May 13 and the last on August 23. A four-boom derrick was rigged inside the tower for supplying masons with stone; it also served as an inside scaffold. A double hoist was erected for mortar, and the falls of both hoists were carried to steam winches.

One June 16 occurred the only serious accident during the construction of the tower. One of the riggers, while letting go a tag line of the big derrick boom, was swept over the pier to his death.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

From August 23 to October 29 the crew was busy taking down scaffolding; erecting ironwork; pointing stonework; putting in concrete arches in the tower; laying concrete floors in the pier rooms and upper hallways; leveling platforms for landings, derrick seat, and hoisting-engine bed; building donkey-engine house; plastering rooms in tower; carpenter work; painting metal work; varnishing all woodwork; and setting up the foghorn signal boilers and machinery. All work was finished by October 31, but Ballantyne was unable to get his people off the rock until November 8, because of the heavy sea.

The station was left in charge of three keepers, and the construction people with tools and rigging embarked. The tools were stored at Yerba Buena and the men paid off in San Francisco on November 18, 1891.⁵⁹

In July 1892 the lens for the lighthouse reached San Francisco from France, and in August it was taken by a tender to the station, and installed. The St. George Reef Lighthouse was finally lighted on October 20, 1892, with a first-order light, flashing alternately red and white, with 15-second intervals between flashes, illuminating the entire horizon.⁶⁰

The hoisting engine left behind by the construction people to be used in landing supplies broke down in 1892. It was replaced by a new double-drum hoisting engine and boiler, erected on the top of the pier. A small house was built over them to protect them from the weather.⁶¹

On October 17, 1893, the 1st assistant keeper and the station's 18-foot boat were lost in an an angry sea. In January 1894 the station was provided with a new boat. A set of boat davits were put up on the Crescent City wharf to enable the keepers to secure their craft while ashore.⁶²

A scarcity of water caused the Lighthouse Board on March 1, 1895, to change the fog signal to longer silent intervals--this would reduce the expenditure of steam. The foghorn would now give a 5-second blast to be followed by a silence of 75 seconds.⁶³

One of the keepers was injured in 1901, while attempting to hoist the launch from the water. To correct this situation, a

59. Ibid., pp. 275-276.

60. St. George Reef Light-Station, Cal., NA, Clipping File, RG 26.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

new boom, 90 feet long, was placed on the derrick and guyed to the tower. This greatly improved facilities for landing supplies and taking the launch from the water, as the boom extending farther from the side of the rock reached a point beyond a treacherous eddy which had heretofore made landing dangerous.

Probably the most violent storm experienced at this lighthouse was in 1923. Mountainous seas from a nor'wester broke on the platform of the tower, 70 feet above water, with such violence as to tear the donkey-engine house from its foundation.⁶⁴

3. Redding Rock Light

An unattended automatic acetylene light was placed on Redding Rock in 1912. This light was on a black, steel skeleton tower, 116 feet above the ocean. It would operate for six months on one change of gas, and it cost when erected \$3,800.

The six-man crew charged with installing the light was marooned on Redding Rock by bad weather and had to spend the night there. The next day they were taken off "by throwing them ropes which they tied around their waists." The men then leaped into the sea and were drawn into the tender.⁶⁵

E. COMMENTS and RECOMMENDATIONS

One of the most valuable Park resources is the miles of rugged seacoast. From the cliffs, the visitor is rewarded with spectacular views of the ocean, rocks, pounding surf, and beaches. Here the Service will be able to interpret the story of man, the ocean, and the redwoods.

Until the mid-1920s, when the Redwood Highway and the Douglas Bridge were opened, residents of this section of California were dependent on ocean-going shipping for what they exported and imported. Besides the vessels belonging to Hobbs, Wall, a

64. Ibid.

65. G. R. Putnam, *Lighthouses and Lightships of the United States* (Boston, 1917), 139; *United States Department of Commerce, United States Coast Pilot, Pacific Coast: California, Oregon, and Washington* (Washington, 1926), p. 127. Redding Rock was 94 feet high and four and one-half miles off shore.

number of ships passing up and down the coast from San Francisco to Portland and the Puget Sound Cities called at Crescent City, while small coastal freighters entered the Klamath. With the opening of the Redwood Highway through Del Norte and Humboldt counties and the development of fleets of truckers, the coastal freighters went out of business.⁶⁶

Since shipping played a vital role in the development and history of the area, the Service must interpret the maritime story with its devotion to duty, its hazards, and its tragedies. Interpretive exhibits pertaining to this facet of the Park story should be located in the Visitor Center and at overlooks south of Enderts Beach and near High Bluff. Interpretive personnel assigned to the Park should be familiar with the *Brother Jonathan* story and the location of the *Brother Jonathan* Cemetery; the history and location of the Crescent City and St. George Reef Lighthouses; and the Redding Rock Light. While these are not in the Park, they are valuable resources for interpreting the theme--man and the sea.

The Tsunami of 1964 will arouse the visitor's interest. Exhibits describing the Tsunami should be located in both the Visitor Center and at an overlook south of Enderts Beach. From the overlook, on a clear day, the visitor can look northwest into the section of Crescent City hardest hit by this disaster.

The story of the floods should also be told at the Visitor Center and in the field. In the field the ideal site would be at the south abutment to the Douglas Bridge, where the Golden Bears stand guard. If the south abutment and the Golden Bears are included in the Park, they must be entered on the List of Classified Structures.

66. *Adventure Trails* (Eureka, 1947). Among the coastal freighters recalled by residents of Requa were: *Coaster*, *Berwick*, *Enterprise*, *Nanny*, *Copper Queen*, *Magnolia*, *Golden West*, *Cotata*, and *Martha*.

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XIII. WORLD WAR II

A. JAPANESE SUBMARINES CRUISE the PACIFIC COAST

1. First Attacks

Japanese submarines operated off the western coast of the United States on several occasions during World War II. When plans were made for the attack on Pearl Harbor, a directive was issued on November 5, 1941, by the Japanese Navy for its *6th Fleet* of submarines to "make reconnaissance of American Fleet in Hawaii and West Coast area, and, by surprise attacks on shipping, destroy lines of communication."¹ After participating in the operations directed against Pearl Harbor, the *6th Fleet* dispatched nine submarines to attack shipping along the coasts of California, Oregon, and Washington. Seven of these vessels were equipped to carry planes for reconnaissance. These submarines began arriving off the coast about December 17 and operated on previously assigned stations from Cape Flattery in the north to San Diego in the south.²

The submarines remained off our coast for about ten days. Only four of the nine attacked any shipping. The tanker *Agwi-world* was shelled by a submarine off Santa Cruz, California, on December 19, but she escaped. Four other vessels, *S. S. Emidio*, *Samoa*, *Larry Doheny*, and *Montebello* were attacked off the California coast before Christmas. Two of these vessels, both tankers, were destroyed.³

1. Japanese Monograph 97, Pearl Harbor Operations: General Outline of Orders and Plans, app. I.

2. Stetson Conn, Rose C. Engelman, and Byron Fairchild, *U. S. Army in World War II--The Western Hemisphere, Guarding the United States and Its Outposts* (Washington, 1964), p. 86; Samuel E. Morison, *The Rising Sun in the Pacific, 1931-April 1942* (Boston, 1947), p. 221. U. S. Army Transport *Cynthia Olsen* was torpedoed by a Japanese submarine about 1,000 miles northeast of Oahu on December 7; *S. S. Lahaina* was shelled and sent to the bottom about 700 miles on the same bearing on December 11; *S. S. Manimi* was torpedoed and sunk December 17, not far from Honolulu; and *S. S. Prusa* was torpedoed and sunk, December 19, 150 miles south of Hawaii.

3. Morison, *The Rising Sun in the Pacific*, p. 221.

Claims were voiced at the time that an army B-24 bomber sent a Japanese submarine to the bottom on Christmas Eve, at a point 50 miles off the mouth of the Columbia River. This was an error on the airmen's part, because the submarine assigned to that station, *I-25*, was destined to return to the Pacific coast in the late summer of 1942. The submarine flotilla had planned to engage in simultaneous shelling of coastal cities on Christmas Eve, but at the last moment, Japanese fleet headquarters ordered the submarines to abandon the plan and to return to their base at Kwajalein.⁴

2. Sinking of *S. S. Emidio*

One of the vessels attacked by the submarines was the General Petroleum Tanker *Emidio*. On Saturday, December 20, she was running down the coast; when at 1 p.m. the lookout sighted a large submarine bearing down. Capt. A. C. Farrow, in an effort to escape conned a zigzag course, which took the 6,912-ton tanker nearer the coast. The submarine, however, was too swift, and she soon drew in range. Her gunners then opened fire with their 5 1/2-inch gun. Six shells were fired, five of them bursting on the target. Several of the lifeboats were damaged, the tanker's radio put out of action, and three sailors knocked overboard. The radioman, however, was able to get off an S. O. S. before his set went dead.

Captain Farrow and most of the crew then abandoned *Emidio*. While they were searching, unsuccessfully, for the men carried overboard, a patrol bomber of the U. S. Navy appeared and the submarine submerged. *Emidio*, with only a skeleton crew aboard, was wallowing and helpless, while Farrow and his people in the two lifeboats looked for the men hurled overboard by the exploding shells. As soon as the bomber disappeared, the submarine surfaced, closed to within 440 yards, and sent a torpedo crashed into the tanker. The torpedo exploded in the after engine room, drowning two of the eleven men remaining aboard. After the submarine had disappeared, the two lifeboats took aboard the nine survivors of the skeleton crew and pulled for the coast. Twelve hours later, they reached Blunts Reef Lightship.

When interviewed by the press Captain Farrow and his crew called the attack, "shameful and ruthless," as they charged the Japanese with deliberately shelling their lifeboats before they

4. Conn, Engelman, & Fairchild, *Guarding the United States and Its Outposts*, p. 87.

could be lowered. "If they had been armed," they boasted, "we would have had a good chance against the submarine," as she was within easy range.⁵

Emidio refused to sink, however. Drifting northward with the current, she came ashore on Steamboat Rock, near the entrance to Crescent City harbor, on the night of December 25. Hundreds of people crowded Battery Point the next day to view the wreck. The tanker's bow was out of the water, and her after portion was submerged. One of the curious reported, "The bridge and forward deck are out of the water, the ship's stack with the letter, G, rising out of the water at the stern, which appears to be riding on the rocky bottom. The bow moves with the rise and fall of the waves."⁶

Emidio drifted free on Wednesday, January 14, and wallowed in the entrance to the harbor, threatening to run down the craft at anchor in Fish Harbor. To prevent the derelict from becoming a "Flying Dutchman," Leo Ward was taken out to the hulk and released its anchor. Although the vessel was in custody of the United States Coast Guard, Ward was interested in the possibility of salvaging the vessel, and he had contacted officials of General Petroleum in San Pedro. He believed the bow of *Emidio* was sound, and if the after portion could be raised with pontoons or cut away, the craft could be salvaged.⁷

R. C. Porter of San Francisco made a better offer for the hulk than Ward, and he acquired salvage rights to *Emidio*. He hired a crew of local fishermen and boats to carry out the project. Porter, however, failed to notify the Coast Guard of his plan, and he and his men were fired on by the guard as they sought to board the wreck. After identifying themselves, they were allowed to proceed. The anchor chain was cut, and the tides carried the hulk toward Fauntleroy Rock.⁸ Nine years were to

5. *Del Norte Triplicate*, Dec. 26, 1941. The five casualties in the attack on *Emidio* were: Assistant Engineer B. A. Winters and Fireman K. K. Kines of San Pedro killed in the explosion of the torpedo; and Seaman F. W. Potts, Messboy S. McGilvary, and R. S. Pennington blown overboard and drowned. There were 31 survivors.

6. *Ibid.* *Emidio* had come ashore on the southwest side of Steamboat Rock, and about 440 yards off-shore from the harbor entrance light.

7. *Ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1942.

8. *Ibid.*, Jan. 23, 1942. Oil seeping from the wreck plagued the local crab fishermen.

pass before the rusty bow was finally broken up for scrap, and the forward bollards placed at the foot of H Street as a memorial.⁹

B. JAPANESE SUBMARINES RETURN

Two enemy submarines were off the Pacific coast in February 1942. The first to arrive, *I-8*, patrolled northward from the Golden Gate to the Washington coast without encountering any shipping, and then returned to her home port. The second was *I-17*, a large plane-carrying submarine. *I-17* arrived off San Diego about February 19. Four days later, on the 23d, just as President Franklin D. Roosevelt was beginning a "fireside chat," she surfaced off the California coast, near Santa Barbara, and from a range of 2,500 yards pumped 13 rounds of 5 1/2-inch shell into the oil installations. Damage, however, was negligible. She then headed northward and cruised the Humboldt Coast before returning to Japan.¹⁰

The night after *I-17* shelled the oil installations near Santa Barbara, there occurred the "Battle of Los Angeles." Tensions had been building up for some time as agitation for removal of resident Japanese from coastal California had mounted. At 2 a.m. word spread that an unidentified plane had appeared on a radarscope bearing in from the Pacific toward Los Angeles. A blackout was ordered and all anti-aircraft units alerted. The guns roared into action at 3 a.m., the first shot aimed at a balloon (probably a meteorological balloon over Santa Monica). Within the next hour, the gunners expended over 1,400 rounds of ammunition against a variety of "targets" in the Los Angeles area. Exhaustive hearings led to the conclusion by the army that from one to five unidentified planes had penetrated the area, whereas the navy decided that there had been no excuse for the firing.¹¹

Fears were voiced on the Pacific coast, following the Doolittle raid on Tokyo in April 1942, that the Japanese would retaliate. Steps were accordingly taken by the United States to beef up its west coast defenses. Victory over a powerful Japanese task force at Midway on June 4, 1942, with the loss of four enemy aircraft carriers, all but ended the threat of a serious attack on the west

9. Coan, "Sea Takes its Toll as Death Stalks Marine History of Del Norte," *Del Norte Triplicate*, Centennial Edition (1954), p. 5-E.

10. Japanese Monograph 102, pp. 16-17.

11. Conn, Engelman, & Fairchild, *Guarding the United States and Its Outposts*, pp. 87-88.

coast. In effect the Battle of Midway restored the balance of naval power in the Pacific, which the Japanese had upset at Pearl Harbor.

The Japanese occupation of the western Aleutian Islands (Kiska, Attu, and Agattu) in June 1942 caused some members of the American military to fear a further Japanese thrust toward the Alaskan mainland. Japanese submarine operations helped spark these apprehensions. In conjunction with the air attack on Dutch Harbor and the occupation of the western Aleutians, two of the big plane-carrying submarines, *I-25* and *I-26*, had been sent to reconnoiter to the south of Alaska. *I-26* at the end of May departed from the neighborhood of Kodiak Island and made her way toward the Washington coast. One Japanese source claims that the reconnaissance plane of *I-26* "scouted Seattle Harbor and reported no heavy men-of-war, particularly carriers, there."¹²

On June 20 the Japanese established their presence by torpedoing a Canadian lumber schooner southwest of Cape Flattery and then shelling the Canadian radio compass station at Estevan Point on Vancouver Island. The next night, June 21-22, a submarine sent six to nine 5 1/2-inch shells crashing into the Fort Stevens Military Reservation in Oregon, at the mouth of the Columbia, inflicting neither casualties nor damage. This bombardment, insignificant in itself, was the first foreign attack on a continental military installation since the War of 1812. On June 23 two torpedoes missed a tanker off the southern coast of Oregon.¹³

The final Japanese submarine patrol off the Pacific coast was undertaken in reprisal for the Doolittle raid. *I-25*, with its reconnaissance plane equipped for bombing, reached the coast near the California-Oregon boundary at the end of August 1942. On September 9 the plane dropped an incendiary bomb into a heavily wooded area on a mountain slope, near Brookings, Oregon. The bomb started a forest fire, but it was quickly brought under control by fire-fighters. *I-25*, after staying out of sight of American forces charged with her destruction, attacked with torpedoes and sank two tankers on October 4 and 6 off the coast of southern Oregon. These attacks marked an end to submarine warfare off the west coast.¹⁴

12. U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, *Interrogations of Japanese Officials* (2 vols, Washington, 1946), Interview 97, Comdr. Masatake Okumiya, Oct. 10, 1945.

13. Japanese Monograph 110, pp. 21-23; Conn, Engelman & Fairchild, *Guarding the United States and Its Outposts*, p. 92.

14. Japanese Monograph 110, pp. 32-33.

C. FREE BALLOON OPERATIONS

Lacking the industrial and technical know-how to strike at the United States with rockets, the Japanese soon after the Doolittle Raid made plans to take advantage of the jet stream and prevailing winds to attack the United States with free balloons. The balloon bomb was Japan's V-I. While preparations were started in 1942, this method of attack was probably undertaken more as an encouragement to homefront morale than as a method of crippling the American war effort. After the war, a Japanese officer reported:

The bag part of the balloons which were being sent to America consisted of hundreds of small pieces of paper These pieces were made by school children all over Japan, gathered up village by village, and shipped to a central assembly place for reshipment to the factory where the balloons were finally completed.¹⁵

In the period October 1944 to August 1945, the Japanese launched about 9,300 of these balloons from the Sendai area of northern Honshu. The bags of the balloons were 33 1/2 feet in diameter and lifted various mechanisms and a load of from 25 to 65 pounds of incendiary and anti-personnel bombs. The first of these free balloons, which were capable of crossing the Pacific in four days, was recovered from the ocean off San Pedro on November 13. About 90 of these balloons were recovered in the continental United States between November 1944 and V-J Day. Some of them drifted as far east as Michigan and south into Mexico. Many landed in Alaska and Canada. As a weapon they were a failure, because they did almost no damage, and there is no proven instance of these bombs starting a forest fire. The only casualties caused by the free balloons occurred at Bly, Oregon, on May 5, 1945, when a woman and five children on a Sunday School picnic were killed when they tried to disassemble a bomb.¹⁶

D. BEACH PATROLS and OTHER DEFENSES *

During the first months of World War II, as one allied bastion after another fell to the Japanese in the western and southwest Pacific, the United States greatly strengthened its Western Defense

* See National Register Forms, pp. 405-417.

15. Conn, Engelman, & Fairchild, *Guiding the United States and Its Outposts*, p. 113.

16. Ibid.

Command. By the end of May and before the victory at Midway, the equivalent of 17 anti-aircraft regiments were in position in the three west coast states. Six barrage balloon battalions were deployed in the Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego areas. Medium and heavy bombers, long-range patrol craft, and fighters were flown in. Radar stations were built at strategic points and manned. Beach patrols were organized by the Coast Guard. Volunteers assisted the Coast Guard in watching the beaches.

As soon as the extent and significance of the Japanese defeat at Midway became apparent, the army began to reduce the strength of the force assembled for defense of the west coast. First to go were the heavy and medium bombers, to be followed by several of the anti-aircraft regiments.¹⁷

To patrol the beaches north and south of the Klamath, the Coast Guard established a camp on the bluffs two miles south of the Klamath. An observation station* was built of cinderblocks. This station had false roofs. From the air or the road, the buildings looked like a barn and farmhouse. Many of the older men from the Klamath area, such as Ray Chaffey, served as civilian volunteers with the Coast Guard. They stood watches and patrolled the beach, thus relieving members of the Coast Guard for duty overseas.¹⁸

E. COMMENTS and RECOMMENDATIONS

World War II occurred a generation ago. It is now a part of our heritage and, because of the large numbers of veterans and their families, sites associated with it possess high visitor interest. Redwood National Park is closely identified with the Japanese submarine offensive in December 1941 and September and October 1942, and the free balloon assaults of the last year of the war.

It is therefore recommended that the World War II observation station on the cliff, south of the Klamath, be restored and employed to interpret the aforementioned activities, and the successful efforts of the United States to cope with these threats. To insure an accurate restoration, Historic Structures Reports should be programmed for the observation station. The structures constituting the observation station will be included on the List of Classified Structures.

*See National Register Forms, pp. 405-417.

17. Ibid., pp. 89, 91, 93; Malcolm F. Willoughby, *The United States Coast Guard in World War II* (Annapolis, 1957), pp. 48-53.

18. Personal Interview, Chaffey with Bearss, April 26, 1969.
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XIV. THE STRUGGLE FOR A REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK

A. FIRST EFFORTS

During the last quarter of the 19th century there was a technological revolution in the redwood logging industry. The harvesting of redwood timber was accelerated by the introduction of the Dolbeer donkey, bull donkeys, and railroads. While these innovations made it practicable to log the slopes, they left almost no seed trees. A second industry development was the concentration of timber ownership. Some of this was accompanied by abuse of the Federal land laws.

These changes within industry stimulated public and governmental interest in what was happening to the redwoods. Evidence of this awareness was the increased activity of the California State Government in forestry matters. In 1885 the legislature created a State Board of Forestry, and the Board in 1887 passed a resolution advocating that the United States government discontinue sale of all public timberland and hereafter sell only timber. In 1901 the legislature authorized the establishment of the first state park preserving coast redwoods, the California Redwood Park at Big Basin.¹

Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot of the Department of Agriculture in 1899 initiated a study of redwoods to provide groundwork for Federal action. Protection, however, was not immediately forthcoming. On June 25, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt established by executive order the Monterey Forest Reserve. Eighteen months later, he established Muir Woods National Monument. Just north of the Golden Gate, Muir Woods, the gift of William Kent, preserves and interprets a "typical example of the relatively small isolated groves found in sheltered valleys or canyons in the drier portions of the redwood region."²

On the Humboldt Coast, there were both public spirited men and those interested in promoting tourism. They had read with interest of a proposal for a Redwood National Park broached by Pinchot and seconded by Kent. Both men had promised "to subscribe generously to a fund to be raised for the purchase of the necessary land."³

1. *The Redwoods: A National Opportunity for Conservation and Alternatives for Action* (Washington, 1964), pp. 18-19.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

3. *Humboldt County, California, The Land of Unrivaled Undeveloped Natural Resources*, p. 23.

It appeared that the hour had struck when, in 1913, Charles W. Ward announced to those interested in a Redwood National Park that 22,000 acres of redwoods on the south side of the Klamath were for sale. This tract owned by the Ward Estate had come on the market through partition proceedings to divide the estate. Included within the proposed boundary of the park were a number of smaller tracts which could be purchased at reasonable prices.

Several thousand acres of Indian allotment lands were also included, and Ward urged that they be sold by the Department of the Interior at a price established by the Secretary. The proceeds could be deposited in a trust fund, the income of which could be paid annually to the Yurok. This sale of the Indian lands was to be undertaken with the goal of perfecting the Redwood National Park.

The proposed park would include within its boundary nearly one and one-half billion feet of the finest redwood, fir, spruce, hemlock, and cedar. Over eighty percent of the timber was redwood. It was separated from the adjoining timberlands to the south by the Great Divide, separating the basins of Prairie and Ah Pah creeks from the lower Klamath watershed. Its northern boundary would be the Klamath. The terrain sloped in a northerly direction to the Klamath, and the watershed was "noted for continuous nightly fogs during the entire year, a condition which insures the preservation of the forest after the surrounding timber has been cut."⁴

Humboldt County conservation interests felt that if Pinchot and Kent would take the lead, the Ward tract could be purchased with funds subscribed by the public, and then gift-deeded to the United States as a National Park.⁵

The Federal government failed to demonstrate sufficient interest in the proposed Redwood National Park, and Pinchot and Kent accordingly were unwilling to spearhead a campaign to purchase the Ward tract.

During World War I the lumber industry thrived and millions of feet of redwood were felled. In view of the failure of the Federal Government to act, a group of far-seeing conservationists in 1918 organized the Save-the-Redwood League. Congress now had second

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p. 25; *Humboldt Standard*, Nov. 10, 1913. No bid had been received for the Ward tract on November 10, 1913, when it had been offered for sale to settle the suit brought by Will Ward for a partition of the estate.

thoughts and authorized the Secretary of the Interior to study the feasibility of acquiring a typical stand of redwoods as a national park. No action, however, was taken to implement the results of this study.

Goaded by the Save-the-Redwoods League, the State of California renewed its interest in redwood parks by authorizing appropriations to acquire timberland on a basis of matching funds promoted by the League.⁶

From 1918 until today, the Save-the-Redwoods League spearheaded the movement to preserve the redwoods. In addition to direct action in land acquisition, the league played a significant role during the 1920s in the establishment of a California State Park Commission. The first unit of Humboldt Redwoods State Park was established through League efforts in 1921. With this as a beginning, other groups were inspired to save redwoods. In Humboldt and Del Norte Counties, the Boards of Supervisors voted public funds for this purpose, and lumber companies contributed land. The California State Park Act of 1927 provided an agency to look after the redwoods that were preserved, and the passage of the Park Bond Act at the same time made matching grants available to acquire lands for state parks.⁷

In its beginning years, the Save-the-Redwoods League had as one of its goals the establishment of a Redwood National Park. During the 1920s and 1930s studies were made by the Federal Government. While some of these recommended establishment of a National Park, the necessary legislative action was not taken.⁸

B. THE ESTABLISHMENT of REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK

In April 1963 the National Geographic Society made a grant to the National Park Service to finance a special study of the California Coast Redwoods. The study involved an analysis of the remaining redwoods forests, the preservation already accomplished, and whether additional preservation was needed.

6. *The Redwoods*, p. 19.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

8. *Ibid.*

On June 25, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson was briefed on the study. He requested Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall to submit recommendations.

A preliminary report, *The Redwoods*, was distributed in the fall of 1964. Its conclusions were: (1) The redwoods are a significant part of our heritage and they need preservation. (2) There is an urgent need to preserve additional acreage of virgin growth in a major redwoods park. (3) It is essential to do this to offset continuing attrition and encroachments and to provide opportunity for future generations to see and enjoy these magnificent forests. (4) Of the original redwoods forest comprising some 1,941,000 acres, about 750,000 acres of old growth redwoods remain. About 300,000 acres are essentially untouched virgin growth of which approximately 50,000 acres or 2 1/2 percent of the original redwood forests are protected in California State Parks. (5) At the present annual rate of redwoods harvesting, about nine hundred million board feet, all old growth redwoods not protected in parks will be gone by the year 2000, and probably in 20 to 30 years.⁹

The report also suggested certain alternate possibilities for additional preservation and solicited comments and suggestions of interested parties. Nearly 4,000 comments were received in response to the report and nationwide interest has continued. Comments came from members of the California Congressional Delegation, State, County, and City officials in California, forest products industries, schools, conservation organizations, Chambers of Commerce and other interested groups, and many private individuals.

Nationwide, the general public was overwhelmingly in favor of a Redwood National Park to assure further preservation of the resource. Main opposition came from the forest products industry, and from local authorities in the three northern California counties involved, who feared adverse economic effects, if redwood harvesting were reduced. All agreed, however, that an early decision was needed to end the economic uncertainty over the change.

Opinions varied on the appropriate size and proper location of the park. Alternative plans were put forward by the redwood industry, the State, the American Forestry Association, the Sierra Club, the Save-the-Redwoods League, Representative Don Clausen, and others. Some conservation organizations and individuals urged acquisition of a much larger area than that proposed by the National Park Service. Others contended that adequate protection required adding only minor additional redwood tracts to existing State Parks.

9. *The Redwoods*, pp. 35-39.

Secretary Udall called a meeting for November 22, 1965. Those invited included members of Congress, State and County officials, and representatives of the redwood lumber industry, of conservation and civic organizations, and interested citizens. At the meeting, three plans for a national park were presented by the Park Service. Secretary Udall told the meeting that redwoods preservation was the most important conservation issue before his Department.¹⁰

He called a second meeting, for December 17, 1965. Representatives of several major foundations were invited and the Secretary attempted to find out how much foundation money could be used to buy redwoods.¹¹

On February 23, 1966, President Johnson's special message to Congress on conservation matters included support for the creation of a Redwood National Park. Secretary Udall, on the same date, forwarded the Administration plan for the proposed park, and it was introduced as S. 2962 by Senator Thomas Kuchel of California and H.R. 13011 by Representative Don Clausen. Numerous other bills, dating back to October 1965, would authorize a Redwood National Park of different size and location. The Senate Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation conducted field hearings in the redwood country in June 1966, and hearings in Washington in August, but no final action was taken by the 89th Congress.¹²

The continued cutting of virgin redwood stands in the areas proposed for a national park aroused grave concern. On August 17, 1966, Secretary Udall met with officials of the Rellium Redwood Company in an attempt to halt timber harvesting in the area proposed for the park. In a letter of August 18, Harold Miller, president of the company, refused the request to halt cutting.¹³ But subsequently, and following a Presidential appeal, the five lumber companies involved--Rellium, Georgia-Pacific, Simpson, Arcata, and

10. Redwoods Meeting, Nov. 22, 1965, Secretary's Conference Room.

11. Redwoods Meeting, Dec. 17, 1965. Secretary Udall, Director Hartzog, and Director Crafts met with Foundation representatives.

12. President's special message to the Congress asking for a Redwood National Park, Feb. 23, 1966; June 1966, Senate field hearings.

13. Aug. 1966, exchange of letters between Secretary Udall and Miller in regard to moratorium on redwood cutting.

Pacific--agreed to restrict harvesting operations in the involved areas.¹⁴

In another conservation message to Congress on January 30, 1967, President Johnson again called for establishment of a Redwood National Park. About the same time he asked Laurance Rockefeller, Chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty, to go to California to discuss the redwoods issue with the newly elected Governor of California, Ronald Reagan. State redwoods parks had become embroiled in the National Park issue. During the period April through June 1967, a series of meetings were held between representatives of the State, the Interior Department, and other Departments, with Mr. Rockefeller serving as intermediary.¹⁵

Secretary Udall sent the Administration's plan for a Redwood National Park to the 90th Congress on March 11, 1967. It was the plan sent to the 89th Congress, except that certain possible additions were suggested if they could be added without spending Federal funds. Senator Thomas Kuchel and Representative Wayne Aspinall introduced the legislation but deleted the possible-additions language. As in the 89th Congress, many other bills were introduced, some of which would authorize a park of much larger size than the Administration's plan. H. R. 7742 introduced by Representative Clausen called for a Redwoods-to-the-Sea concept in which redwood acreage in the proposed park would be curtailed.¹⁶

On November 1, 1967, the Senate passed S. 2515 which called for the establishment of a Redwood National Park of different size and location from the Administration's plan. The House Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation had conducted redwoods hearings in Washington

14. On September 8, 1966, Senators Kuchel and Jackson announced at a joint-press conference that the timber companies had agreed to restrict their timber harvesting in areas under consideration for inclusion in the park. Secretary Udall on the same date issued a statement that the companies had agreed to the one-year moratorium in response to President Johnson's appeal.

15. President Johnson's special message to Congress, "Protecting our Natural Heritage," Jan. 30, 1967; Discussions mediated by Rockefeller with State of California and Department of the Interior; Ltr., Reagan to Aspinall, May 3, 1967; Ltr., Bureau of the Budget to Jackson & Aspinall, June 22, 1967; and Ltr., Reagan to Jackson, June 28, 1967. .

16. Departmental report to 90th Congress, containing draft legislation and background statement, March 11, 1967.

June 27, 1967, field hearings in the redwoods country on April 16 and 18, 1968, and additional hearings in Washington on May 20-21, 1968. The House then passed an amended S. 2515 on July 15, 1968, calling for a park of some 28,500 acres instead of the 64,000-acre park in the Senate bill. A joint Conference Committee met in August and September 1968, and on September 9 agreement was announced that fixed the park at 58,000 acres to cost an estimated \$92,000,000 for land acquisition. The park was authorized to include three State parks--Jedediah Smith, Del Norte Coast, and Prairie Creek--lands in the Mill Creek, Prairie Creek, Lost Man Creek, Little Lost Man Creek, and Redwood Creek drainages, and approximately 40 miles of scenic Pacific Ocean coastline. Approximately 10,900 acres of virgin old growth redwood would be set aside in addition to the groves already preserved in the California State Parks.

The House of Representatives passed this bill on September 12 and the Senate concurred on September 19. President Johnson signed the Act creating the Redwood National Park on October 2, 1968.¹⁷

C. THE STATE REDWOODS PARKS AUTHORIZED for
INCLUSION in REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK

1. Jedediah Smith Redwoods State Park

This park had its origin on September 11, 1929, when the family of the late Frank D. Stout, a former president of the Del Norte Company, Ltd., gave to the State of California 44 acres of redwoods at the confluence of Mill Creek with Smith River. This grove was to be known as the Frank D. Stout Memorial Grove. The Webber tract of 22 acres was purchased in 1931, to be followed by the J. L. Musick tract of 75 acres in 1932. These three groves were combined for administrative purposes and designated the Hiouchi Redwoods State Park.¹⁸

The area to be preserved and protected for the benefit of the American people was expanded from 147 acres to 6,919 acres in 1939. On December 5 of that year, the California State Park Commission took title to 6,772 acres from the Del Norte Company,

17. Senate Report No. 641, 90th Congress, 1st Sess.

18. *Jedediah Smith Redwoods State Park*, twofold leaflet; documents found in the history files, Jed Smith RSP. The largest redwood in the park is the Stout Tree, which measures 20 feet in diameter and 340 feet in height.

Ltd. The purchase price was \$80,000, provided by private gifts obtained by the Save-the-Redwoods League from persons in many parts of the United States. An option was secured at this time by the League to purchase an additional 2,518 acres. The funds to secure the additional acreage were to be provided by the state and matching gifts from interested persons, and to be made in installments over the next ten years.

The combined purchase and option represented a total price of approximately \$550,000 for 9,290 acres. This was admittedly a higher price per acre than was involved in the \$80,000 paid for the 6,772 acres. This difference resulted from the necessity for meeting delinquent taxes on the holdings of the Del Norte Company, Ltd., with funds realized through the sale. Consequently, the \$80,000 for this acreage was a tremendous bargain, not representative of the value of this magnificent stand of redwood, which had been assessed by the county at \$961,472 for fiscal year 1938 and \$780,461 for fiscal year 1939.¹⁹

Commenting on the acquisition, Newton B. Drury, investigating officer of the California State Park Commission, observed that it "largely realizes an objective established by the Save-the-Redwoods League," as outlined by the Olmstead State Park Survey of 1927. The Olmstead group at that time had urged that the lower Mill Creek watershed be included in the State Park System. In reporting the purchase to the Commission, Drury took cognizance of

the cooperative attitude of the owners and stated that the very favorable price for the first unit was due to their desire to see this outstanding tract of redwoods protected intact, as well as to exceptional circumstances relating to the burden of delinquent taxes on the property.²⁰

As was to be anticipated, there was some local opposition to seeing this land removed from the county tax roll. To take the starch out of the opposition, Chairman Matthew M. Gleason of the State Park Commission pointed out that the expanding tourist

19. "Great Del Norte County Redwood Forest is Added to State Parks," reprinted from *California Conservationist* for December 1939. District State Park Superintendent E. P. French had stated that along the lower reaches of Mill Creek, he had found the heaviest stands of timber he had ever cruised.

20. Ibid.

trade would pump more income into the county's economy than the Board of Supervisors could hope to collect in taxes from the land in question. In the negotiations with the Del Norte Company, Ltd., it had been stipulated that the \$80,000 should be paid to the county to liquidate the delinquent taxes. In addition, Gleason observed that if the timber had been logged, the taxes would have ceased.²¹

The purchase, as provided by California law, was approved by Governor Culbert L. Olson and Director J. R. Richards of the Department of Finance. Director Richard Sachse of the Department of Natural Resources was enthusiastic. He told the press:

The saving of these redwoods is a great accomplishment for the State of California and for the Save-the-Redwoods League. Here is a part of California's heritage of natural beauty which we today can be proud to hold unimpaired for the inspiration of generations to come.²²

With this large addition to Hiouchi Redwoods State Park, the name of the area was changed in 1944 to Mill Creek Redwoods State Park. The acquisition of acreage provided for under the option agreement with the Del Norte Company, Ltd., and the establishment of seven additional memorial groves expanded the park boundaries beyond the Mill Creek watershed. It was accordingly redesignated in 1951 as the Jedediah Smith Redwoods State Park, to honor the first American to see Smith River and to explore the hinterlands of Del Norte and Humboldt Counties.²³

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Jedediah Smith Redwoods State Park, twofold leaflet; documents found in History files, Jed Smith RSP. These memorial groves were: Wellman, Krauss, Metcalf, Tyson, Jed Smith, and National Tribute. The 500 acres included in the National Tribute Grove is "preserved through the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution to honor those who served in the armed forces of the United States in World War II and to keep inviolate these primeval Sequoia sempervirens as an American Heritage." One-half the funds for the purchase of the National Tribute Grove was appropriated by the State of California. Funds for the acquisition of the Jed Smith Groves were contributed by Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Goethe of Sacramento and by the State of California.

In 1966 the Save-the-Redwoods League contributed \$700,000 toward a land exchange which added "a superlative Coast Redwood virgin forest" to Jed Smith Redwoods State Park. This exchange, which the state negotiated with the Simpson Timber Co., provided for an exchange of scattered state-owned timberland outside the park for "vitally necessary Redwood forest holdings within the park." To make up the difference in the appraised valuation, the League had provided \$700,000 and the state \$50,000.

The acquired lands totaled 815 acres and extended along U.S. 199, and included two miles of frontage on Smith River. With this acquisition the park acreage was increased to more than 10,000 acres.²⁴

2. Del Norte Coast Redwoods State Park

Del Norte Coast Redwoods State Park had its inception on August 20, 1924, when George F. Schwarz of New York purchased 157 acres of redwoods with sea-frontage and deeded them to the State of California. This tract was dedicated in honor of Henry S. Graves, former Chief Forester of the United States Forest Service. Schwarz followed his initial gift by the purchase of two adjoining 130-acre parcels, likewise fronting on the Pacific, which were gift-deeded to the State in April 1926.²⁵

The park area was increased by a generous gift from George O. Knapp of Santa Barbara. The Knapp purchase (331 acres) was to the north and south of the Graves Grove, to make certain that no trees would be felled and destroy the natural beauty of the approaches. A government tract of 80 acres, near the Graves Grove, was transferred to the state in the same year. Two tracts, one of 40 acres and the other of 1,568 acres, were purchased by the Save-the-Redwoods League and the State of California and added to the park in 1930. Within six years the park had been expanded to a total acreage of 2,306.²⁶

24. *Pacific Sun* (San Rafael), Jan., 12, 1967. In the Smith River groves there were a number of redwoods over 300 feet tall and 12 feet in diameter. At this time, the State accepted title to the 10-acre Simpson Reed Memorial Grove. This grove was established for public enjoyment by the Simpson Timber Co., in memory of Mark E. Reed, its president from 1914-1933.

25. Emerson Knight, *The Del Norte Coast State Park* (Sierra Club Bulletin, 1931), p. 30.

26. *Ibid.*

Emerson Knight, in 1931, reported that Del Norte Coast Redwoods State Park is noteworthy for its topography, ranging from sea-level to 1,100 feet upward, its rich variety in flora and fauna, and its wealth of impressive scenic beauty. When traveling northward, it is entered shortly after crossing Wilson Creek and continues, five miles in length, to a boundary beyond Knapp's Point. The extreme width is about a mile and a half. The curving course of the Redwood Highway swings along for six miles and attains a height of over 900 feet in the park, while the length of the ocean frontage is also about six miles. The park is unique on account of its redwood forest of stately gigantic trees on steep slopes, being closely related to the dramatic broken shore line in constant state of evolution, below. The Graves Grove of redwoods lying in the very heart of this park is an area of most extraordinary beauty.²⁷

Since 1931, other organizations and corporations, spearheaded always by the Save-the-Redwoods League, succeeded in increasing the park acreage to 6,375 acres. The latest acquisition was a gift-deed for 160 acres made by the Save-the-Redwoods League on March 22, 1966. The largest single acquisition was the 3,030 acres gift-deeded on January 27, 1942, by the North Coast Redwood Co. In the period, 1929-1966, the Save-the-Redwoods League deeded 1,595 acres to the park.²⁸

Development in the park features four trails (Footsteps Rock, Damnation, Last Chance, and Mill Creek), and the \$1,600,000 Mill Creek Camp Ground. The camp ground and its access road were completed on November 9, 1967, and opened on November 24. The formal dedication was on May 11, 1968.²⁹

3. Prairie Creek Redwoods State Park

Ranchers and homesteaders pre-empted most of the lands bordering on Prairie Creek, north of Orick, in the 1880s and 1890s, with the rest of the area now included in Prairie Creek Redwoods State Park being staked out as mining and timber claims. The first parcel of land acquired within the boundary of today's park was deeded to the State of California in 1923, as a gift from the pioneer Joseph Russ family of Humboldt County. This

27. Ibid., p. 29.

28. Documents found in History files, Del Norte Coast Redwoods SP.

29. Ibid.

160-acre tract was destined to be known as the Joseph Zipporah Russ Memorial Grove.³⁰ Several years later, Humboldt County acquired the Roberts Tract (160 acres) and deeded it to the state.³¹

In the winter of 1931-1932, the Save-the-Redwoods League purchased from the Sage Land and Improvement Co., for almost \$1,000,000, 4,892 acres of "superb Redwood forest in the heart of the magnificent Prairie Creek region." This substantial land acquisition had been made possible through a gift of \$500,000 from Edward S. Harkness of New York. Harkness' contribution was matched in part by private gifts donated through the League, together with \$150,000 allocated by the State Park Commission. About the same time, several privately owned tracts within the area (the 286 acres at Boyes Prairie and the 160-acre Cottrell claim) had been purchased, and gift-deeded to the State. These acquisitions, along with the several parcels of vacated government land, had boosted park acreage by March 15, 1932, to almost 6,000 acres.³²

As of March 15, 1932, Prairie Creek Redwoods State Park extended from Boyes Prairie northward to the Del Norte County Line, a distance of seven miles; and from the ridge separating the Prairie Creek basin from the Klamath River watershed on the east to a ridge parallel to and one-half mile west of the Redwood Highway. With the acquisition of this core-area, Chairman J. D. Grant of the Save-the-Redwoods League announced that the

essential parts of three of the League's four major projects have now been preserved. These are the Bull Creek-Dyerville Forest . . .; the Del Norte Coast Park . . .; and the Prairie Creek Park. Small acquisitions have also been made in the Mill Creek-Smith River area [today's Jed Smith Redwoods State Park] north of Crescent City.³³

30. *Prairie Creek Redwoods State Park*, twofold leaflet, files Prairie Creek Redwood SP.

31. Save-the-Redwoods League (1932) p. 2. The Leach Tract was also acquired by the State at this time.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

Moreover, the league had taken an option for 18 months, "on a beautiful forest tract of 3,270 acres in the Godwood Creek basin." While the League for the time being had no funds to effect this purchase, Grant trusted that the necessary amount could be raised before the expiration of the option.³⁴ With the nation in the throes of a depression, money was difficult to raise, and the League was unable to purchase all the land under option.

In 1959 the Save-the-Redwoods League acquired and gift-deeded to the State Park Commission over 700 acres, fronting for one and one-half miles on the Pacific at Lower Gold Bluffs. Six years later, on May 10, 1965, the League achieved one of its long-term goals by purchasing from the Pacific Lumber Co. the 2,000-acre Fern Canyon tract. The acquisition included the Upper Gold Bluffs, Fern Canyon, and four miles of wild ocean beach. Under the terms of the agreement 30 acres, including Fern Canyon, would be a gift from Pacific Lumber Co. to the State. Meanwhile, the State Park Commission in 1963 had acquired as a gift the Huggins Homestead, which bounded the Fern Canyon Tract on the north.³⁵

To successfully discharge its mission, the Save-the-Redwoods League in the years since it was founded in 1918 had raised over \$10,000,000 from public spirited people. These funds had been matched by the State to purchase more than 100,000 acres of coast redwoods. Persons contributing substantial sums to enable the League to fund its land acquisition program could request that memorial groves be set aside. These groves would be accessible by either roads or trails, have a memorial plaque, and benches adjacent to the plaque. By January 1, 1965, there were 93 memorial groves in Prairie Creek Redwoods State Park, totaling over 5,000 acres, and set aside to honor those who had contributed over two and one-half million dollars "to preserve this area for the enjoyment of the American people for all time."³⁶

34. Ibid., p. 4.

35. Documents found in History Files, Prairie Creek Redwood SP. Fred W. Huggins had homesteaded this quarter section in 1913, and he and his wife, Mary, for 50 years had "preserved the beauty of the forest and seacoast."

36. Save-the-Redwoods League, Prairie Creek Redwoods State Park, Memorial Groves, Humboldt County, California, Jan. 1, 1965.

D. THE DEDICATION of REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK *

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, the wife of the President, and whose beautification program had caught the imagination of the American people was a natural choice to dedicate Redwood National Park. The ceremony was scheduled for 10:10 a.m., Monday, November 25, 1968, at a site near the Bald Hills Road, overlooking Prairie Creek.

The First Lady arrived by jet at the McKinleyville airport on Sunday evening, where she was greeted by Humboldt County officials. Later, a reception sponsored by the Humboldt County Board of Supervisors was held for Mrs. Johnson at the Eureka Inn.

On the morning of the 25th, Mrs. Johnson, accompanied by many visiting and local dignitaries, was driven up the Bald Hills road to a parking site near the crest of the ridge. A brisk ten minutes walk brought the official party and invited guests, including conservationists and government officials, to the dedication site, National Park Service Director George B. Hartzog introduced the First Lady, referring to her as "Mrs. Beautification," and "Mrs. Conservation," and praising the work she had done to "stir the soul of America" in preserving natural resources and improving the environment.

Mrs. Johnson, addressing the group, reviewed briefly the work of private and public agencies in preserving the redwoods, culminating in the signing into law on October 2 at the White House of the bill establishing the Redwood National Park. Speaking of conservation efforts, she pointed out that much remained to be done, but added that 300 conservation bills had already been signed into law by the President during the last five years, mostly due to the efforts of individuals and groups working in their home areas."

Referring to Redwood National Park, as the "crowning moment of a crusade which has lasted two generations," she pointed out that its establishment would change the local economy from a timber base to tourism. Mrs. Johnson expressed her gratitude to the local redwood timber operators and praised their "cooperative spirit." She observed that support for the project had been world wide. "Now the dream of nature lovers and conservationists is a reality."

Dwarfed by the giant redwoods, the First Lady was buoyant over her trip to the area. "This is my first visit here, except in my imagination," she said. "I've been waiting to come here all my life."

United States Representative Don Clausen, Newton Drury, and other guests joined Mrs. Johnson in unveiling the plaque. (The plaque will eventually be positioned on Redwood Creek at The Tall Trees.) Mrs. Johnson at this time cited Drury of the Save-the-

* See National Register Forms, pp. 419-431.

Redwoods League for special commendation for his group's work in preserving the redwoods for the enjoyment of unborn generations.

Besides the remarks by Mrs. Johnson, the program included choral selections by the Humboldt State College Concert Choir; an invocation by Dr. Melville B. Grosvenor of the National Geographic Society; and remarks by Elwyn Lindley of the Humboldt County Board of Supervisors, State Natural Resources Director Norman B. Livermore, Representative Clausen, and Director Hartzog.³⁷

Following the ceremony, Mrs. Johnson led a bus and automobile caravan to Prairie Creek Redwoods State Park for a "Lumber Jack" luncheon. At 12:30 the official party left the park and motored up U.S. 101 and across Howland Hill to Jedediah Smith Redwoods State Park. The First Lady then led a hike along the Nickerson Ranch Trail. Buses then took them to the picnic area, where 75 residents of Del Norte County greeted Mrs. Johnson. Refreshments, including salmon and clam juice, were served. Entertainment was provided by several Tolowa, "who performed ancient ritual dances in traditional costumes."

The trip back to McKinleyville Airport was detoured south of the Klamath along old U.S. 101 to permit Mrs. Johnson to enjoy a panoramic view of the Pacific, before boarding the 5 p.m. jet for Washington.³⁸

E. FINAL COMMENTS and RECOMMENDATIONS*

The long and difficult campaign of almost 60 years that ended in October 1968 with the establishment of the Redwood National Park is a story that can thrill the visitor. Many groups and individuals were involved. In interpreting the struggle to preserve significant stands of redwoods, the Service can teach valuable lessons in conservation and of man and his environment.

The memorial groves in the three California State Parks are valuable resources. In each a memorial grove served as the nucleus around which these magnificent areas grew and developed. To secure funds to acquire additional redwood acreage, the Save-the-Redwoods League, encouraged benefactors to designate groves as living memo-

* See National Register Forms, pp. 419-431.

37. *Del Norte Triplicate*, Nov. 20 & 27, 1968.

38. *Ibid.*, Mrs. Johnson was accompanied on her trip to the Redwood County by 45 American and 15 foreign newspaper correspondents.

rials to deceased members of their families, friends, or in honor of individuals whom they admired. Thus in the three state parks authorized for inclusion in Redwood National Park there are a number of memorial groves.

Because of its significance to the conservation movement, the site off the Bald Hills road, overlooking Prairie Creek, where Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson dedicated the Redwood National Park on November 25, 1968, should be designated Class VI Land.

While events are still fresh in their minds and before death takes its toll, an Administrative History of Redwood National Park should be prepared. This history would begin with the inception of the movement for a Redwood National Park, trace its evolution through the passage of the legislation of the 90th Congress, and conclude with the establishment and development of the Park. Such a document will be invaluable to future superintendents and their staffs.

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[264]

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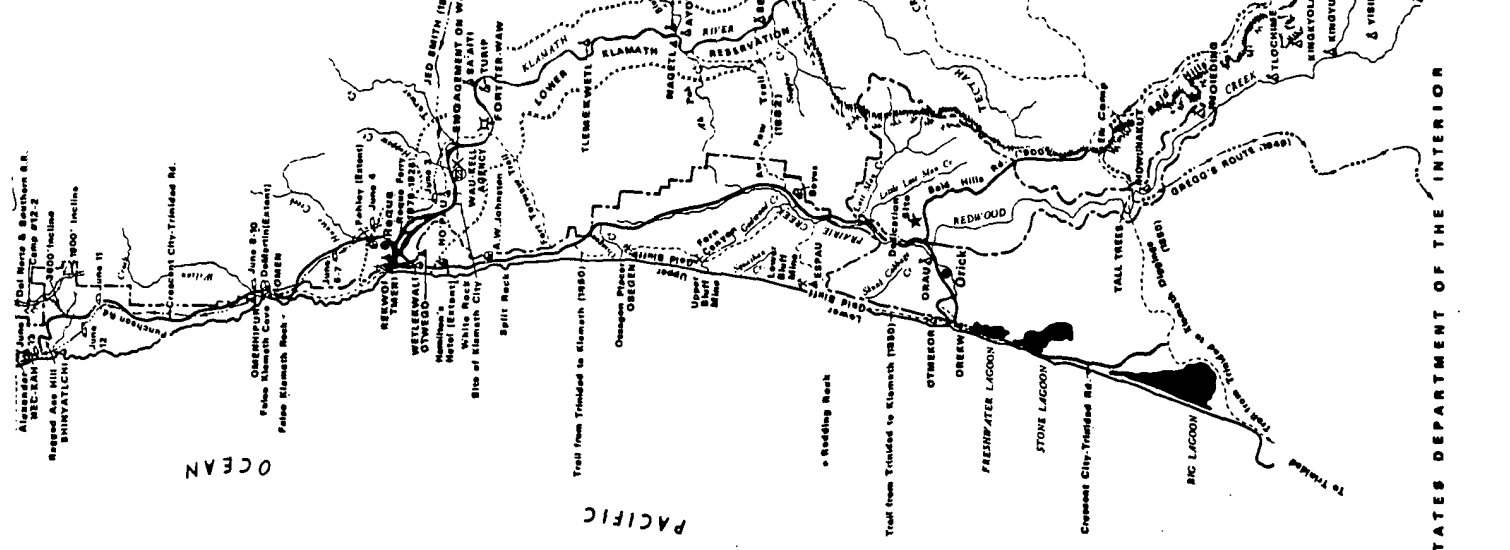
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(National Register Nomination Forms have been deleted
from the March 1982 reprint)

NATIONAL REGISTER INVENTORY-NOMINATION FORMS for ELEMENTS in
BASIC DATA STUDY, "REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK," by E. C. BEARSS

| | | |
|---------------------------|--|-------------|
| [Roads and Trails] | TALL TREES TRAIL (see study, IX., A., 1.) | pp. 267-279 |
| | BALD HILL ROAD (see study, IX., A., 4.) | 281-294 |
| | CRESCENT CITY PLANK ROAD and PEACOCK'S FERRY (see study, IX., B., 1.) | 295-310 |
| | CRESCENT CITY-TRINIDAD ROAD (see study, IX., B., 3.) | 311-324 |
| | ABANDONED SECTION of REDWOOD HIGHWAY (see study, IX., B., 4.) | 325-337 |
| [Historic Districts] | KLAMATH RIVER RESERVATION (see study, VIII.) | 339-351 |
| | HOBB, WALL CO. (see study, X., B., 3.; C., 1.) | 353-363 |
| [Struc- tures] | BENJAMIN POZZIE'S BARN (see study, XI., E., 1.) | 365-377 |
| | OLD DEMARTIN HOUSE (see study, XI., E., 3.) | 379-389 |
| | HAMILTON'S HOTEL (Larry Crivelli House) (see study, XI., F., 4.) | 391-403 |
| | WORLD WAR II OBSERVATION POST (see study, XIII., D., p. 237) | 405-417 |
| [Dedica- tion Site] | LADY BIRD JOHNSON GROVE (see study, XIV., D., and E.) | 419-431 |

- MINES
- TRAILS
- ROADS
- TOWNS
- RESIDENCES & INNS
- DEDICATION SITE (1988) - (1989)
- AUTHORIZED BOUNDARY REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK
- EASTERN LIMIT OF REDWOODS IN HUMBOLDT CO. IN 1888
- SITE OF KLAMATH CITY

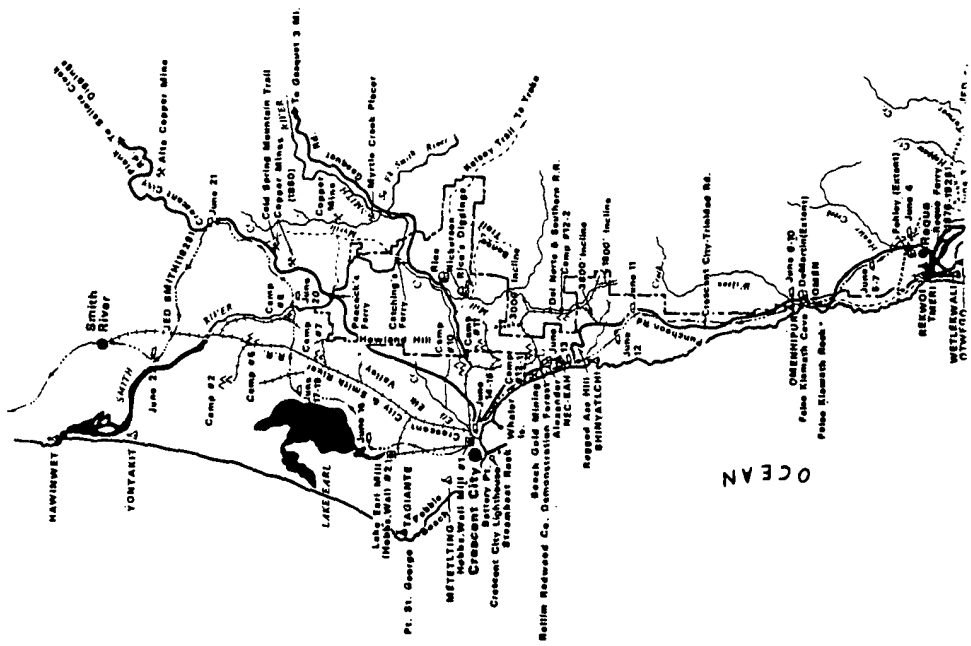


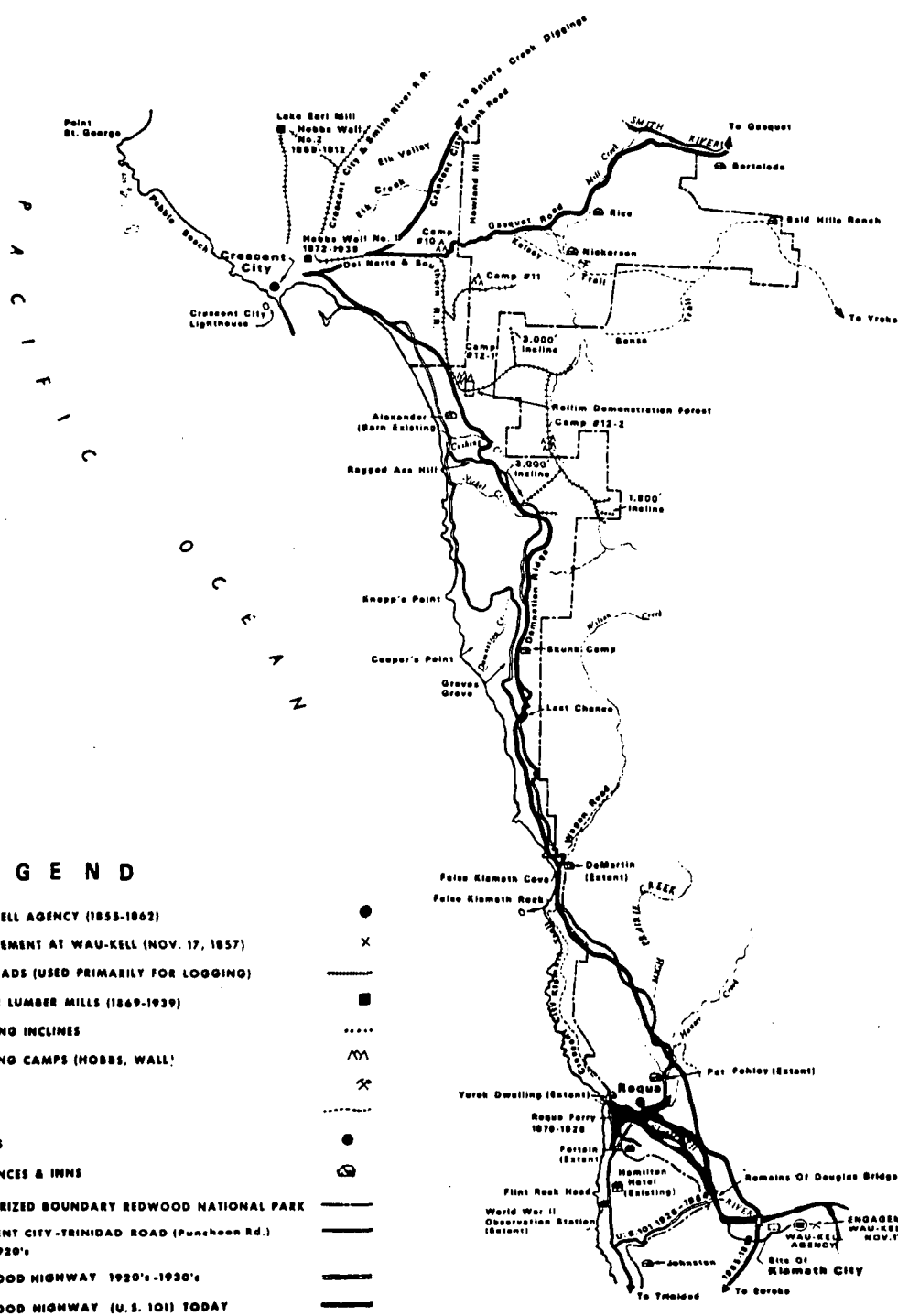
REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK
CALIFORNIA
HISTORICAL BASE MAP
1828 - 1989

PLATE I
Research by E. C. Beards
Drawing by Western Service Center

LEGEND

- INDIAN VILLAGES
- INDIAN SITES OCCUPIED DURING CERTAIN PERIODS
- BOUNDARY OF LOWER KLAMATH INDIAN RESERVATION
- JED SMITH'S ROUTE
- JED SMITH CAMPSITES
- JOSIAH GREGG'S ROUTE
- WAU-KELL AGENCY (1855-1862)
- FORT TER-WAW (1857-1862)
- ENGAGEMENT AT WAU-KELL (NOV. 17, 1867)
- RAILROADS (USED PRIMARILY FOR LOGGING)
- MAJOR LUMBER MILLS (1869-1939)
- LOGGING INCLINES
- LOGGING CAMPS (HOBBS, WALL)
- MINES
- TRAILS
- ROADS
- TOWNS
- RESIDENCES & INNS
- DEDICATION SITE (1968) - (1968)
- AUTHORIZED BOUNDARY REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK
- EASTERN LIMIT OF REDWOODS IN HUMBOLDT CO. IN 1866
- SITE OF KLAMATH CITY





LEGEND

- WAU-KELL AGENCY (1855-1862)
- ✕ ENGAGEMENT AT WAU-KELL (NOV. 17, 1857)
- RAILROADS (USED PRIMARILY FOR LOGGING)
- MAJOR LUMBER MILLS (1869-1939)
- LOGGING INCLINES
- ⌒ LOGGING CAMPS (HOBBS, WALL)
- ⚡ MINES
- TRAILS
- TOWNS
- ⌒ RESIDENCES & INNS
- AUTHORIZED BOUNDARY REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK
- CRESCENT CITY - TRINIDAD ROAD (Punchoon Rd.) 1894-1920's
- REDWOOD HIGHWAY 1920's - 1920's
- REDWOOD HIGHWAY (U. S. 101) TODAY

**REDWOOD NATIONAL PARK
CALIFORNIA**

HISTORICAL BASE MAP • 1857-1969

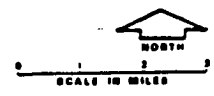


PLATE II
Research by E. C. Bearss;
Drawing by Western Service Center

NOVEMBER 1969 • EPAD 82C



PLATE III

SISKIYOU MOUNTAINS

SISKIYOU RANGE

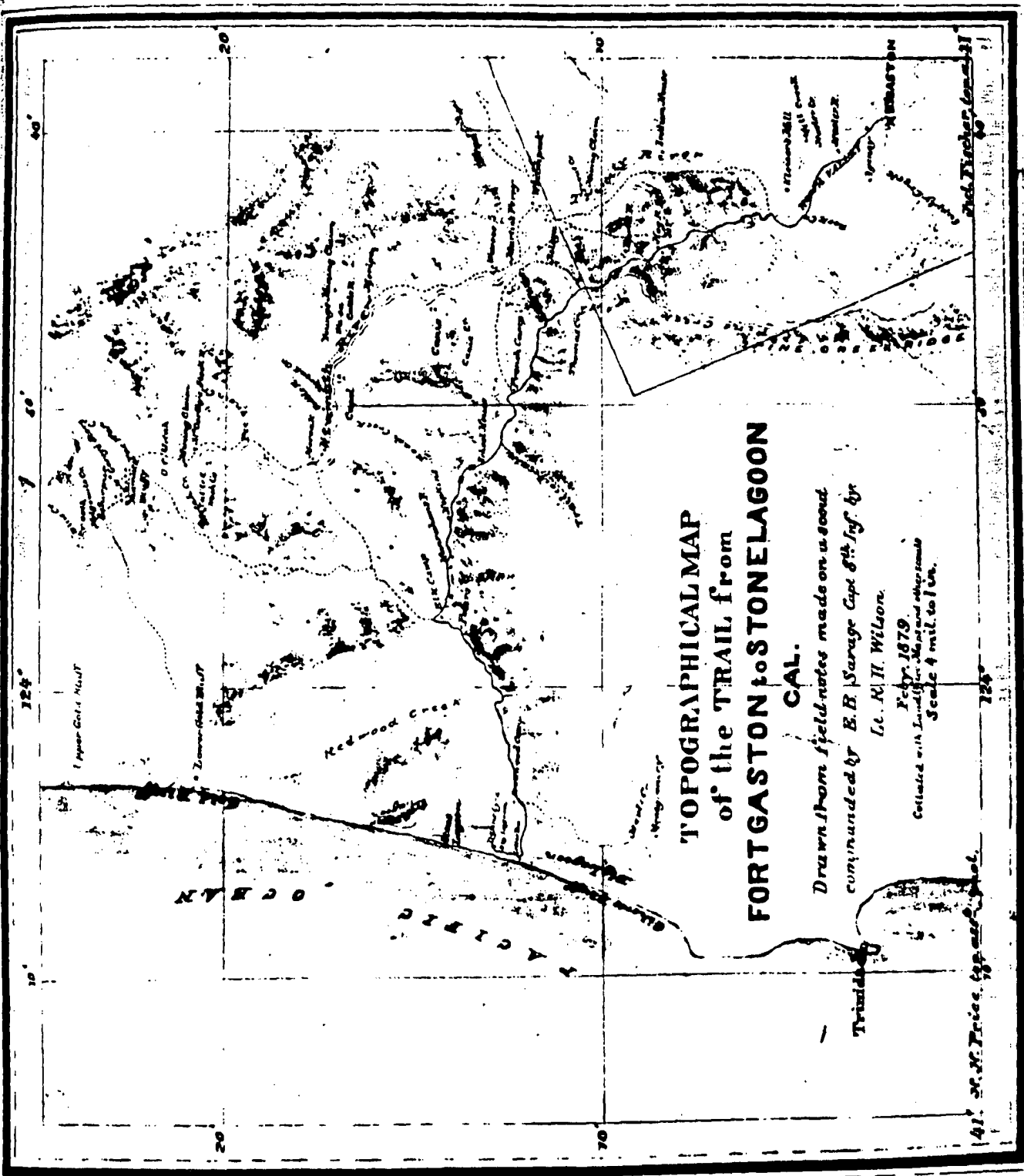
SALMON RIVER

COAST RANGE

COAST RANGE

PACIFIC OCEAN

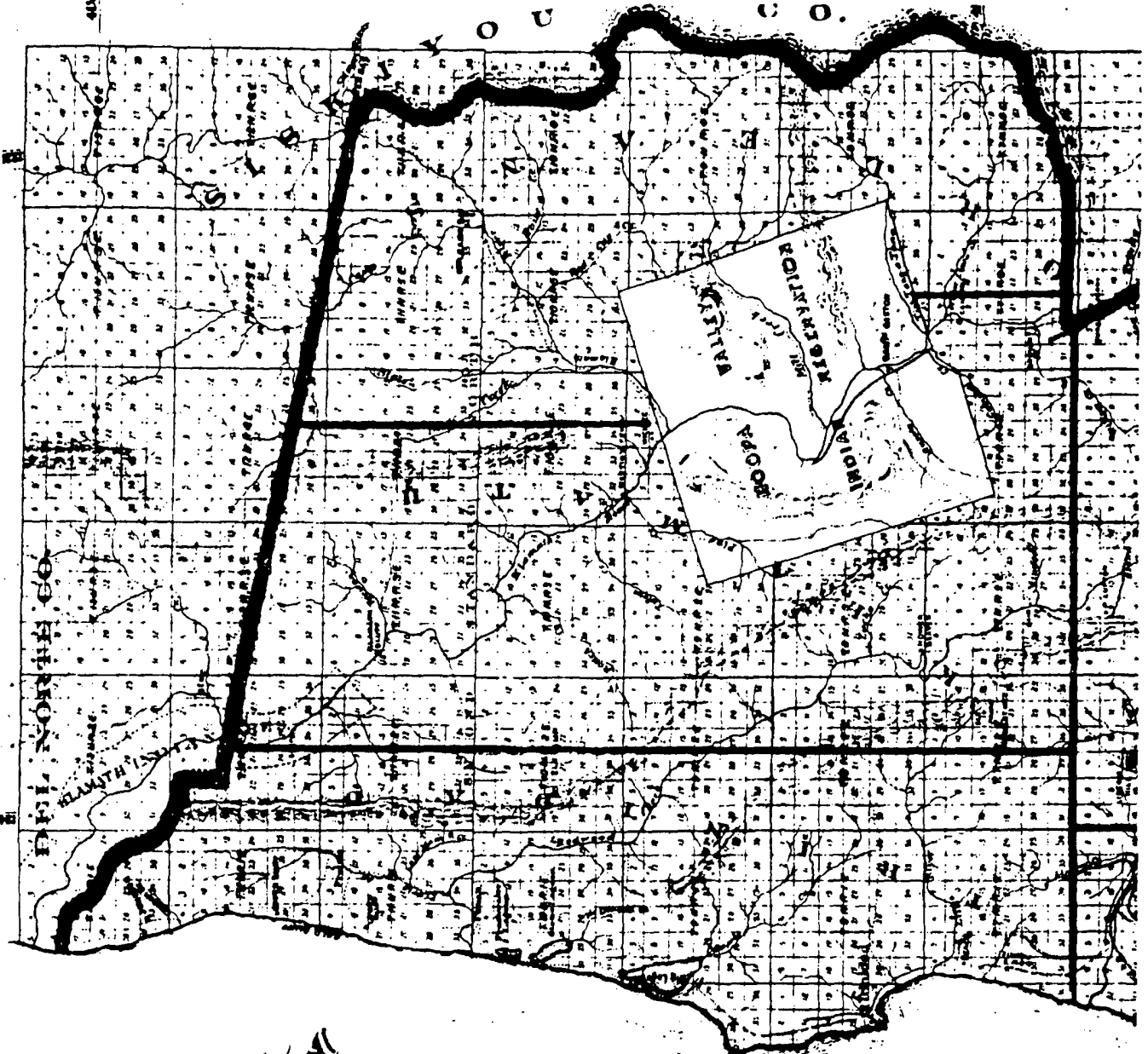
MAP OF THE KLAMATH RESERVATION BY D. C. LEWIS



Drawn and traced at Engineer's Office No. 316 of the Top. & Engr. Corps, U.S.A. PLATE IV



PLATE V



11417

REPRODUCED FROM
 NOV 19 1888
 27605
 U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

MAP OF
HUMBOLDT COUNTY
CALIFORNIA.

(1888.)

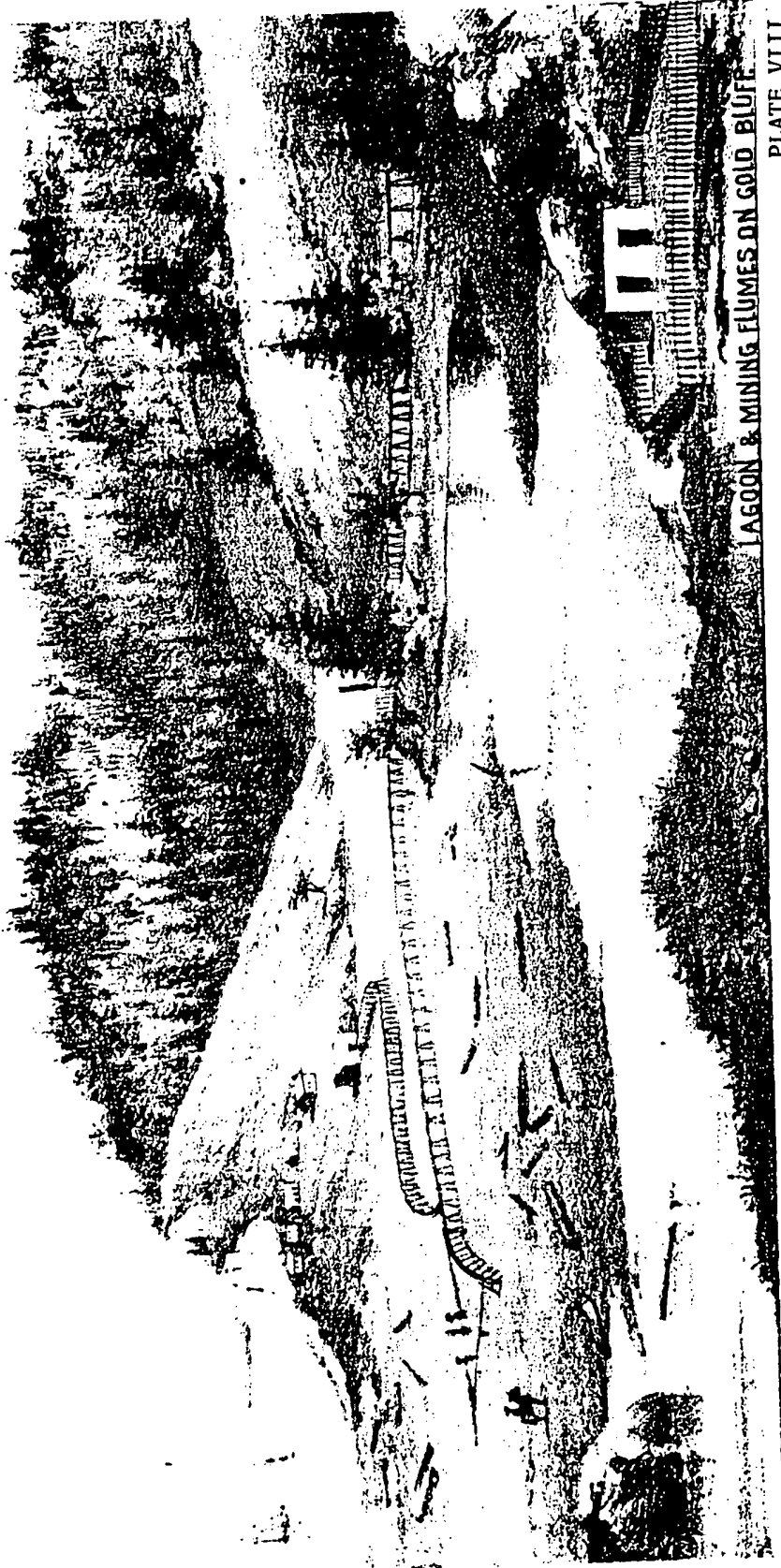
BY
J. N. LENTELL.

SCALE 4 MILES TO 1 INCH

- REFERENCES.
- ROADS
 - RAILS
 - RAIL TRUCKS
 - LIGHT HOUSES
 - SECURED THROUGH L&L

COPYRIGHT SECURED.

11418



LAGOON & MINING FLUMES ON GOLD BLUFE

PLATE VIII

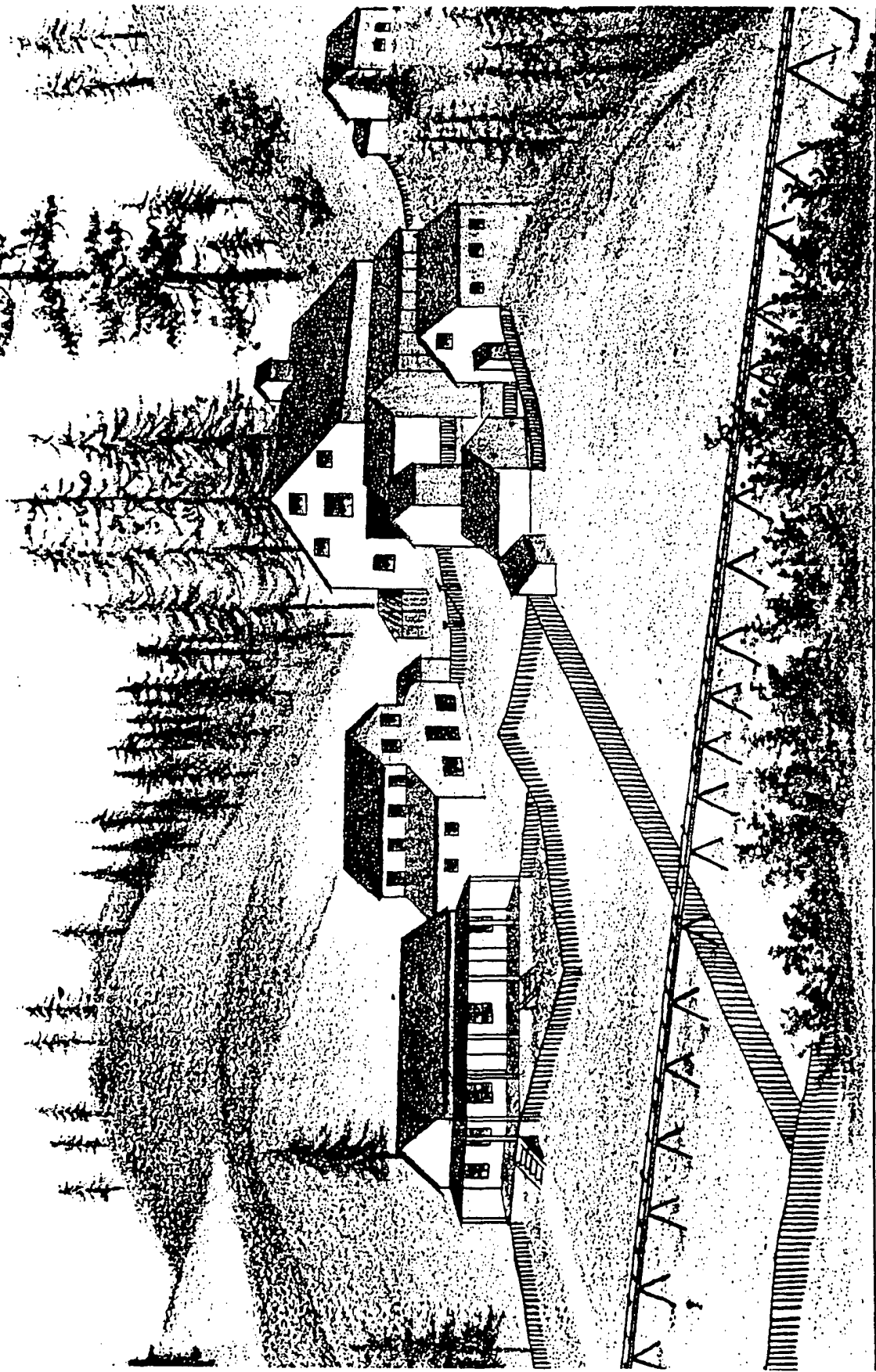


PLATE IX

COVE. FLUME & RES. OF JOHN CHAPMAN. GOLD BLUFF.



OLD MINING CAMP NEAR FERN CANYON ~

THIS PHOTO WAS TAKEN NEAR THE TURN OF THE CENTURY AFTER THE CAMP WAS ABANDONED. THE FIRST BUILDING ON THE LEFT WAS THE BUNKHOUSE, SECOND BUILDING OFFICE AND COOKHOUSE, NEXT WAS A BLACKSMITH SHOP, THE LARGER BUILDING TO THE REAR END WAS A CARPENTER AND REPAIR SHOP, TO THE RIGHT OF THIS WAS THE MULE CORRAL, AND BUILDINGS ON THE FAR RIGHT WERE MULE AND HORSE STABLES. THE FLUME BEHIND THE BUNK HOUSE WAS FOR SLUICING GOLD FROM THE BLACK SAND, ALSO SUPPLYING WATER FOR THE COOK HOUSE. THIS CAMP, SOMETIMES KNOWN AS THE GOLD BLUFFS HOTEL, NO LONGER REMAINS.

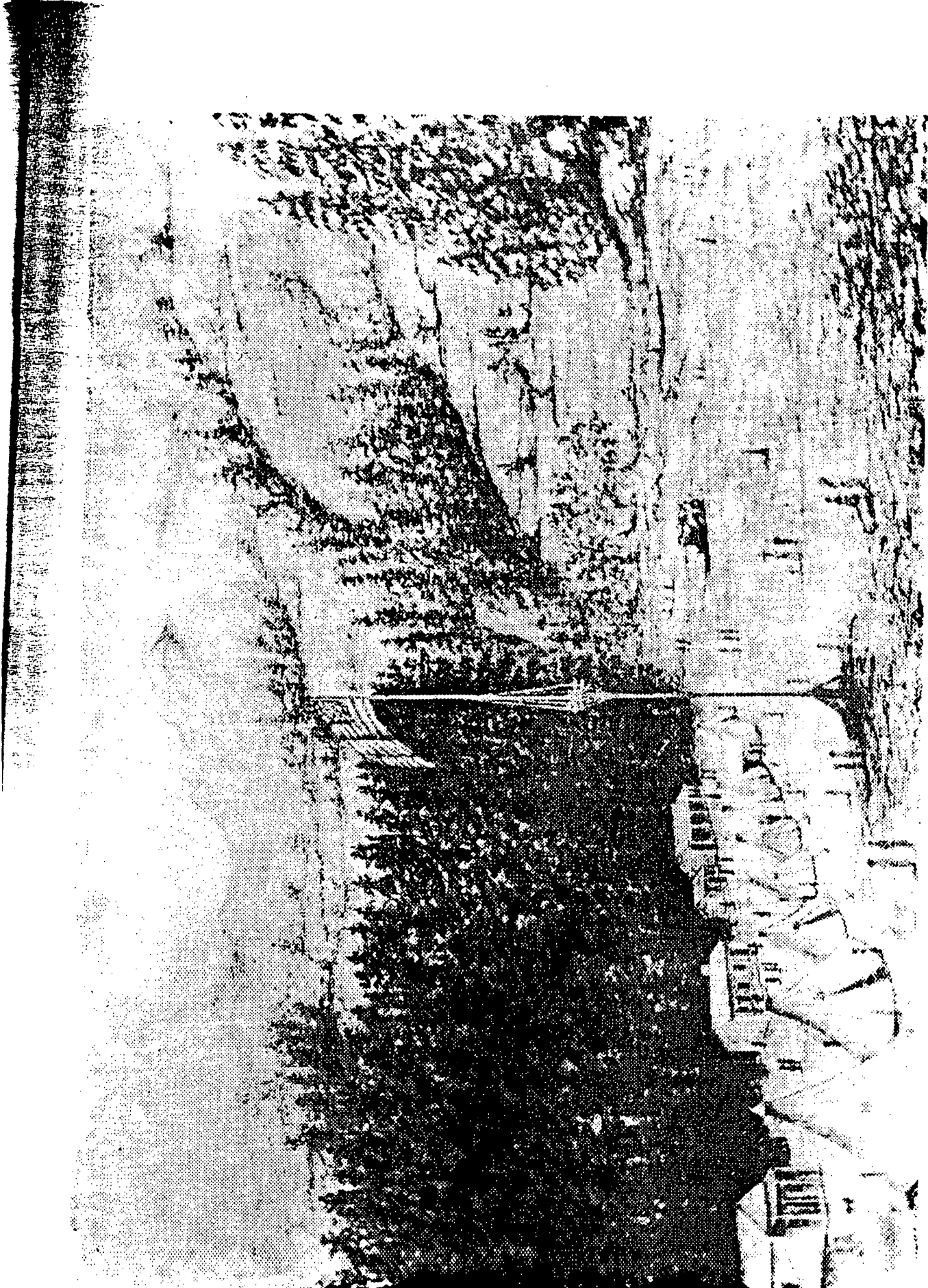
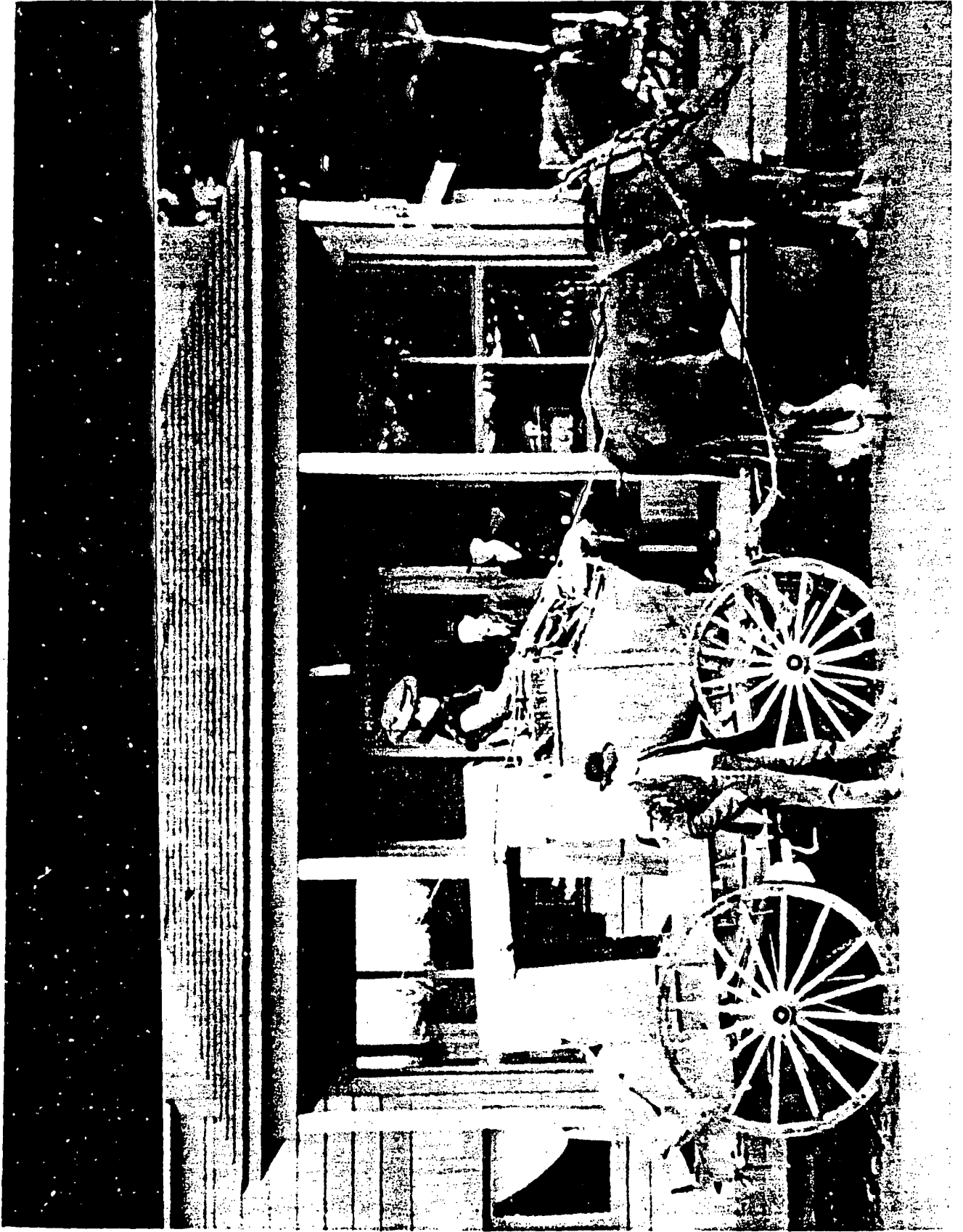


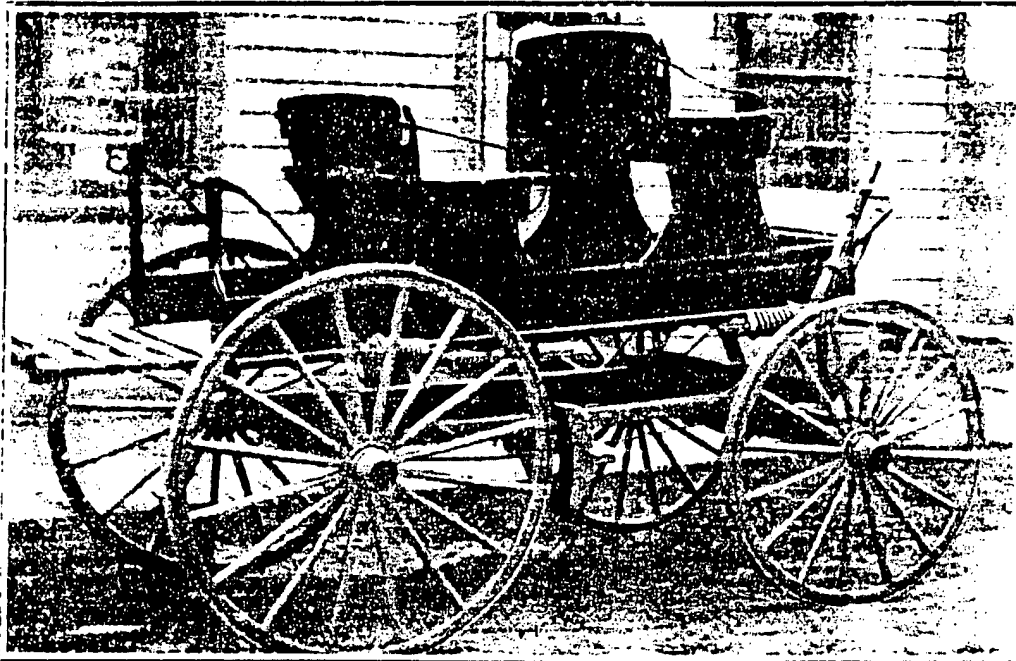
PLATE XI



PLATE XII



Crescent City-Requa Stage Line



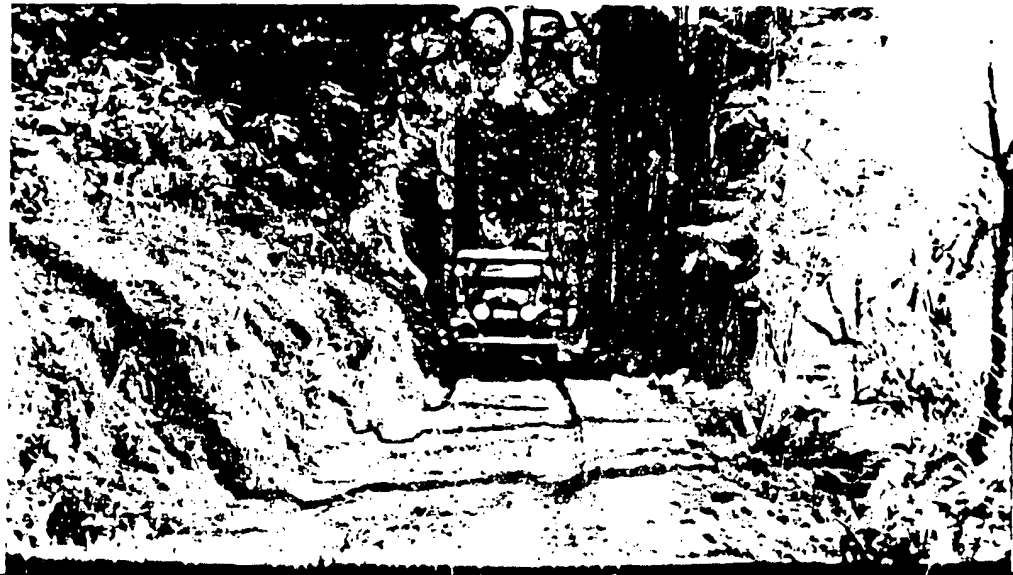
BOSCH'S PATENT COIL SPRING WAGON

Stage leaves Crescent City every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 9 a. m.; leaves Requa Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at 7 a. m. Connects with Trinidad Stage at Requa, Cal., and with Grants Pass, Oregon, and Smith River, Cal., Stages at Crescent City. Passengers called for and delivered anywhere in the latter place. Passengers and freight carried in any quantity. Phone, Main 131. Good reliable teams and easy riding wagons.

Frank Bosch, Proprietor

This is one of the most scenic routes, with more beauty and grandeur, more interchange of landscape view, than most other routes. One moves upon 4 miles of sea beach, prairie hills, past lakes, and through redwood forest, canyons and the fertile Hunters Creek section to the Klamath River. There is a good firm road and a change of scenery every mile. The wagons used are guaranteed to be the easiest riding known to the business of staging. They are the PATENT COIL SPRING WAGONS, invented by F. Bosch, the proprietor of the Stage Line. An entirely daylight drive, both departure and arrival being at a seasonable hour. To please, our aim.

DEL NORTE COAST REDWOOD STATE PARK



PRAIRIE CREEK STATE PARK



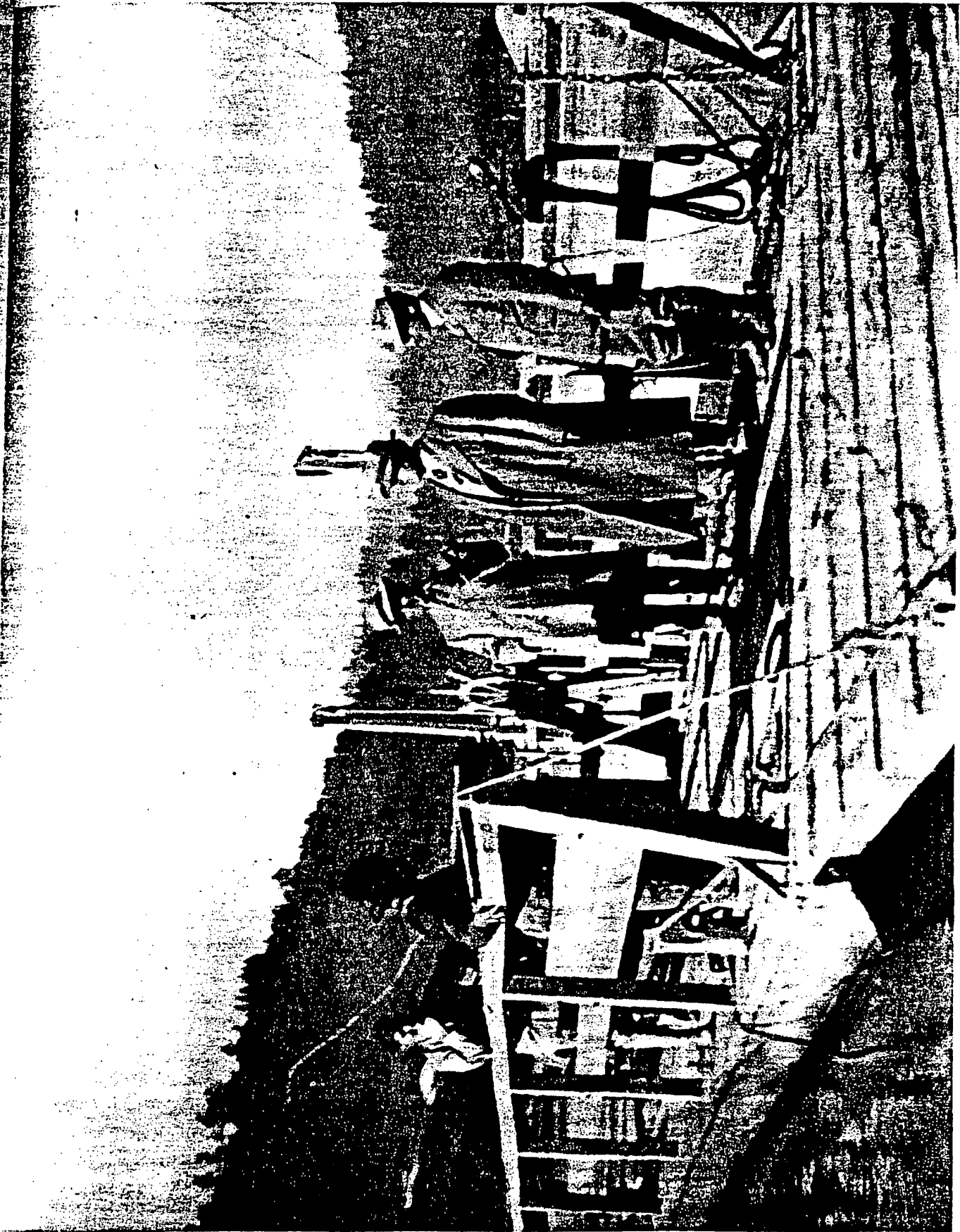


PLATE XVII

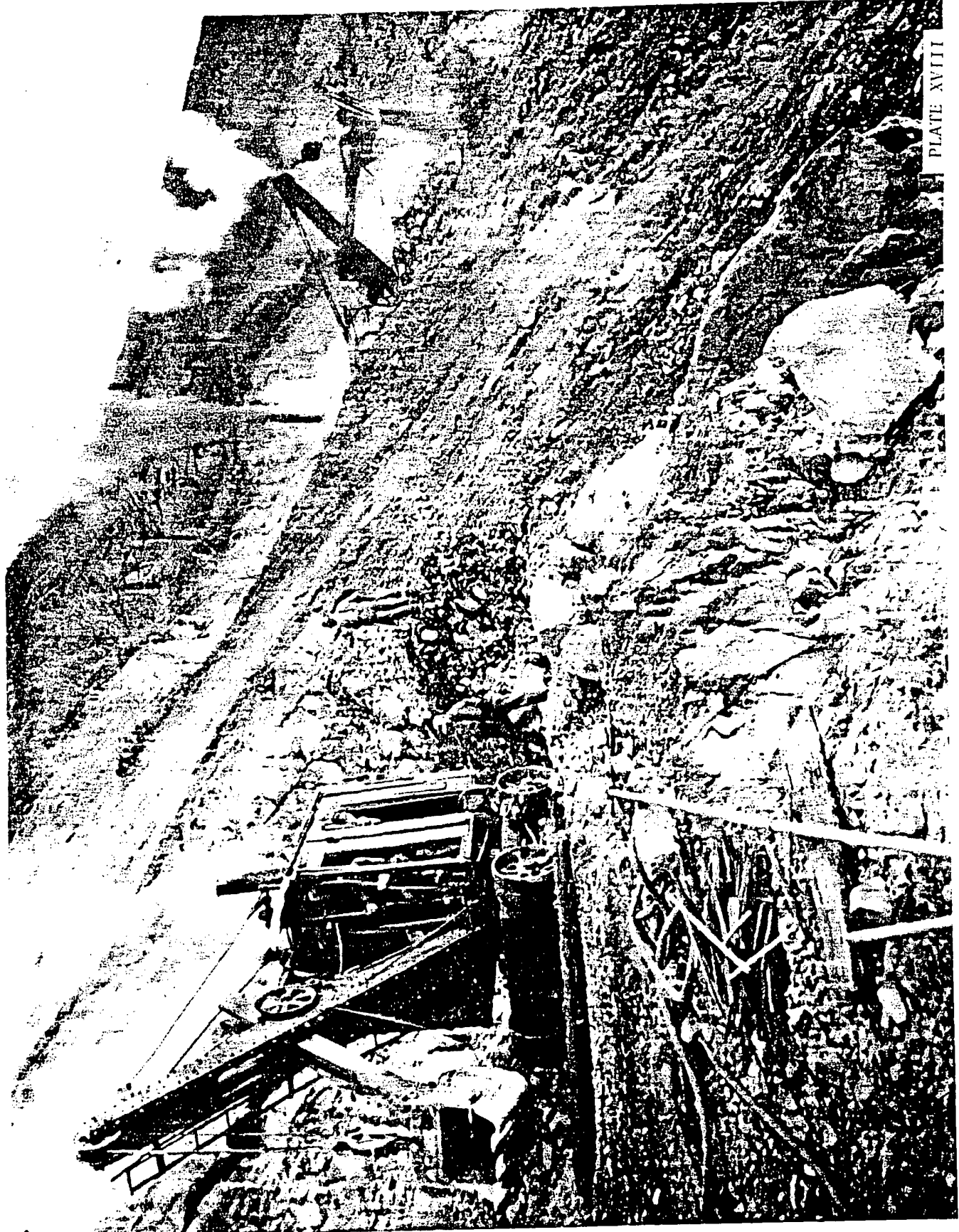






PLATE XX



PLATE XXI

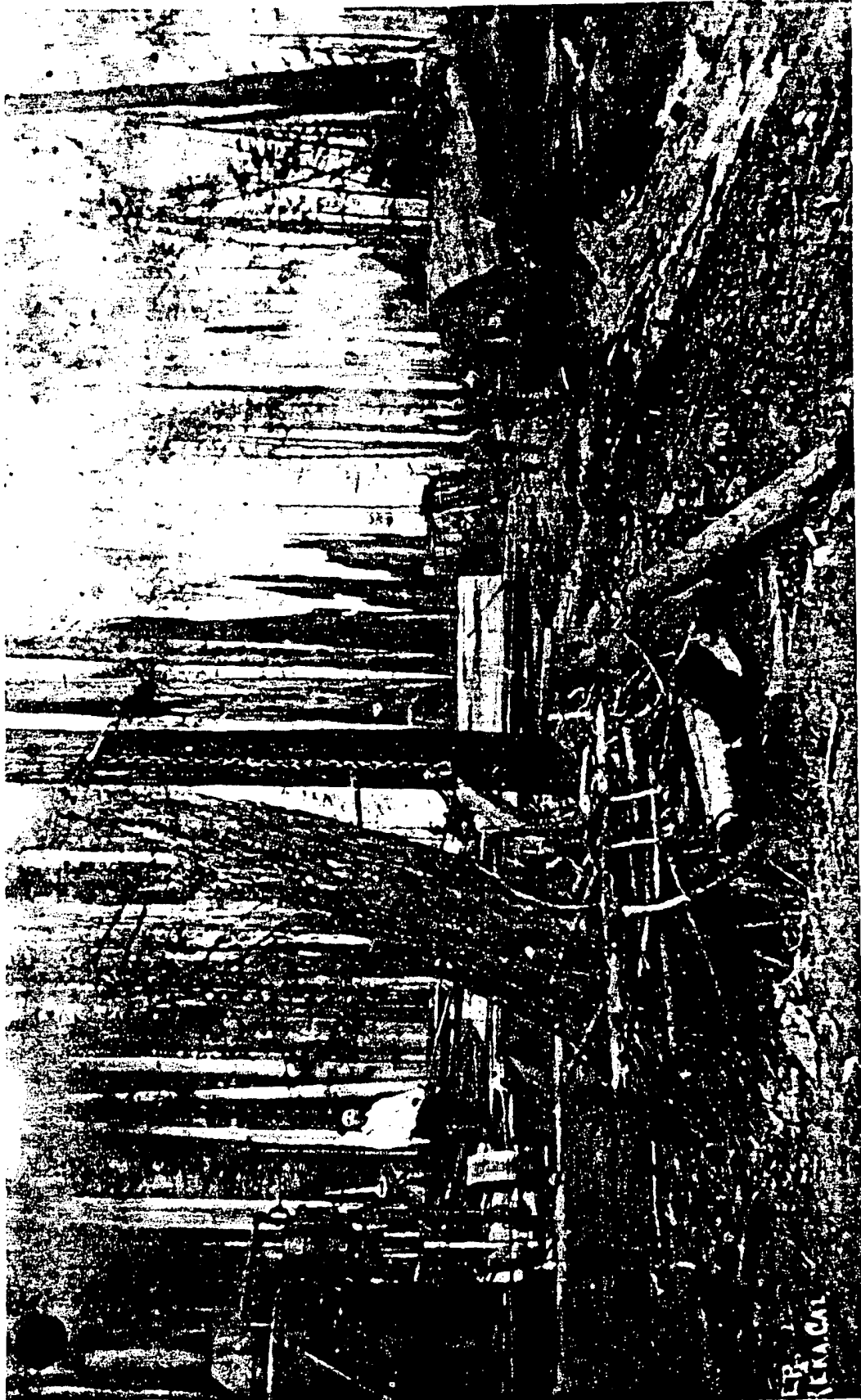


PLATE XXII

EP.
KERA.CAL

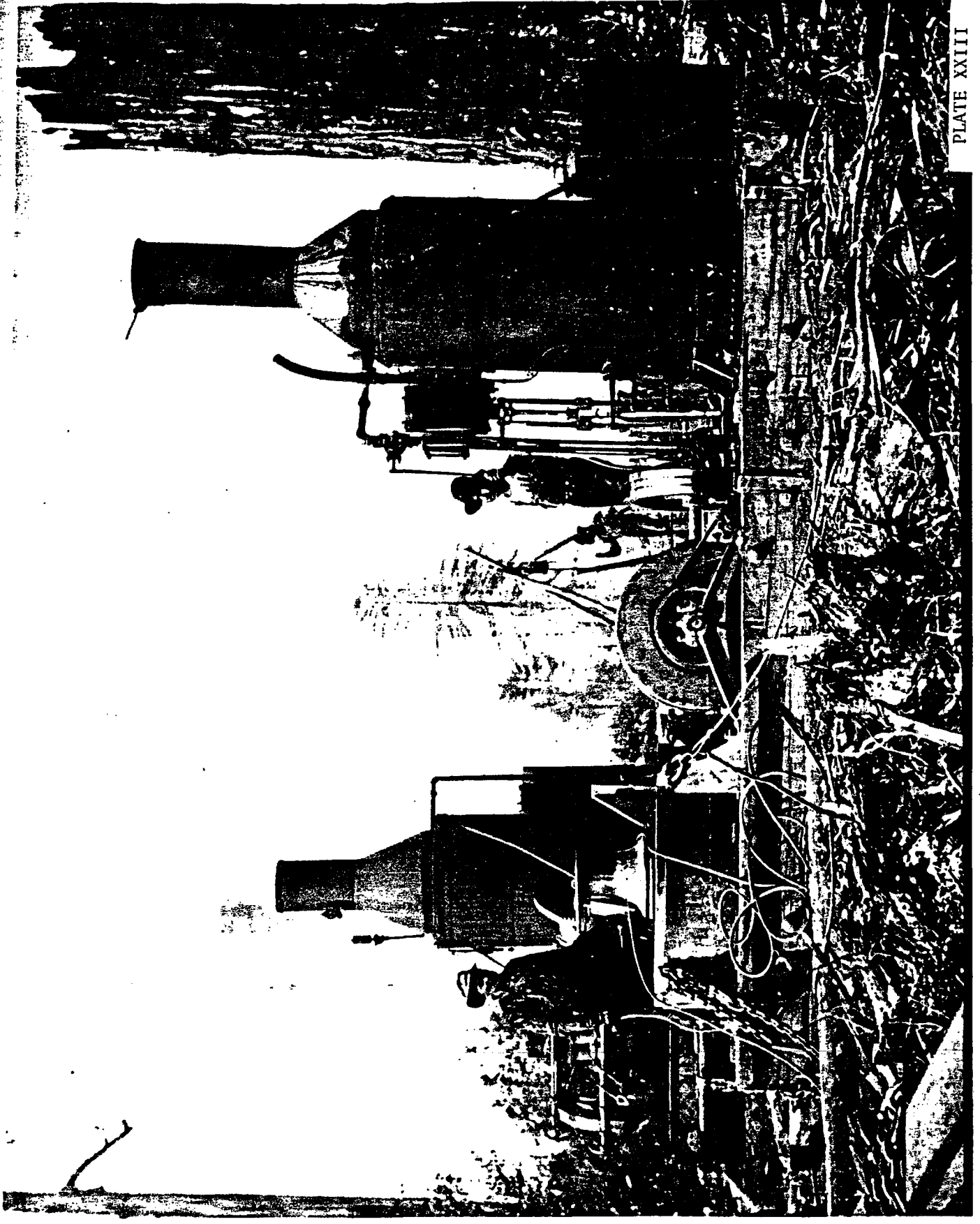
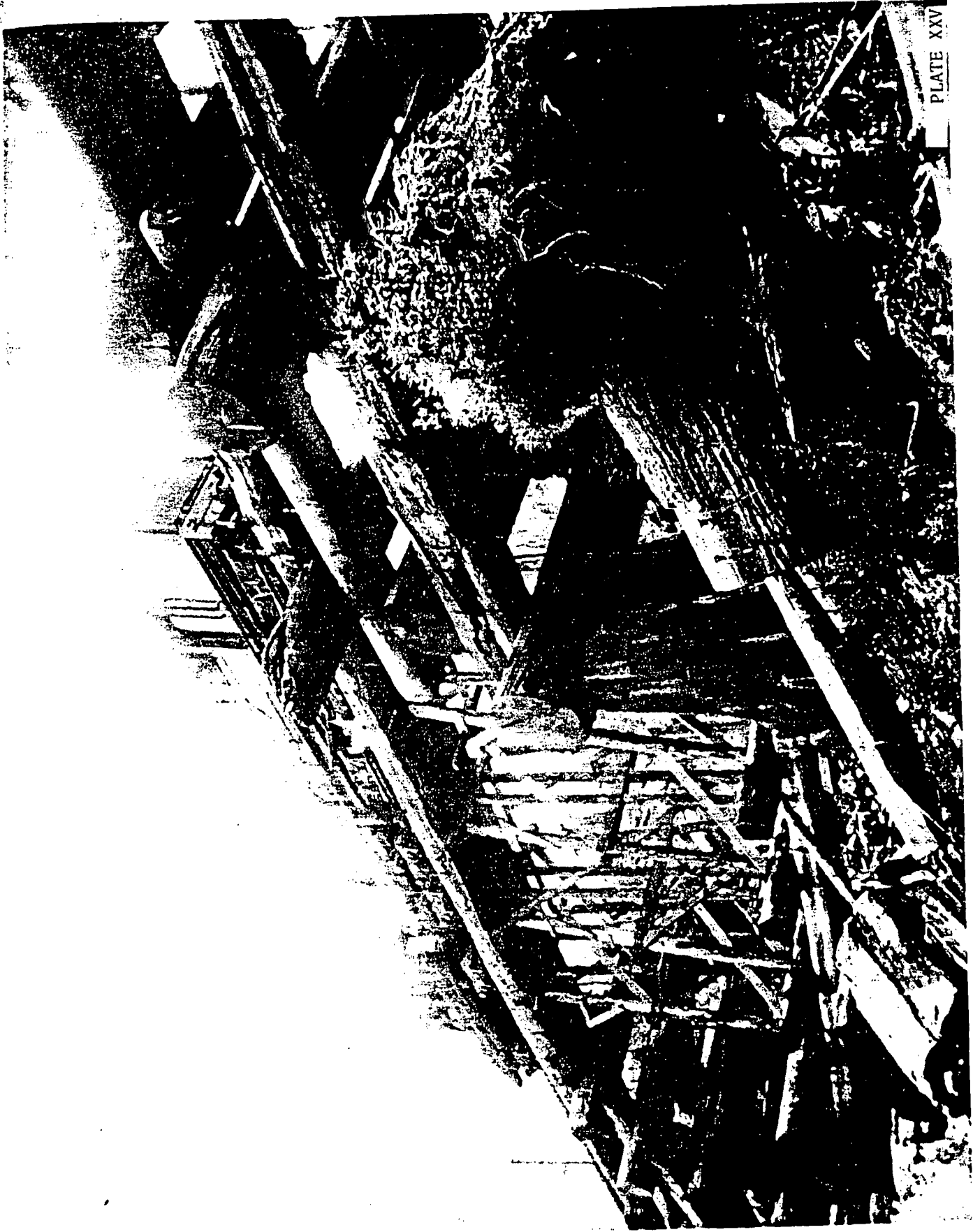


PLATE XXIII



PLATE XXIV

PLATE XXV



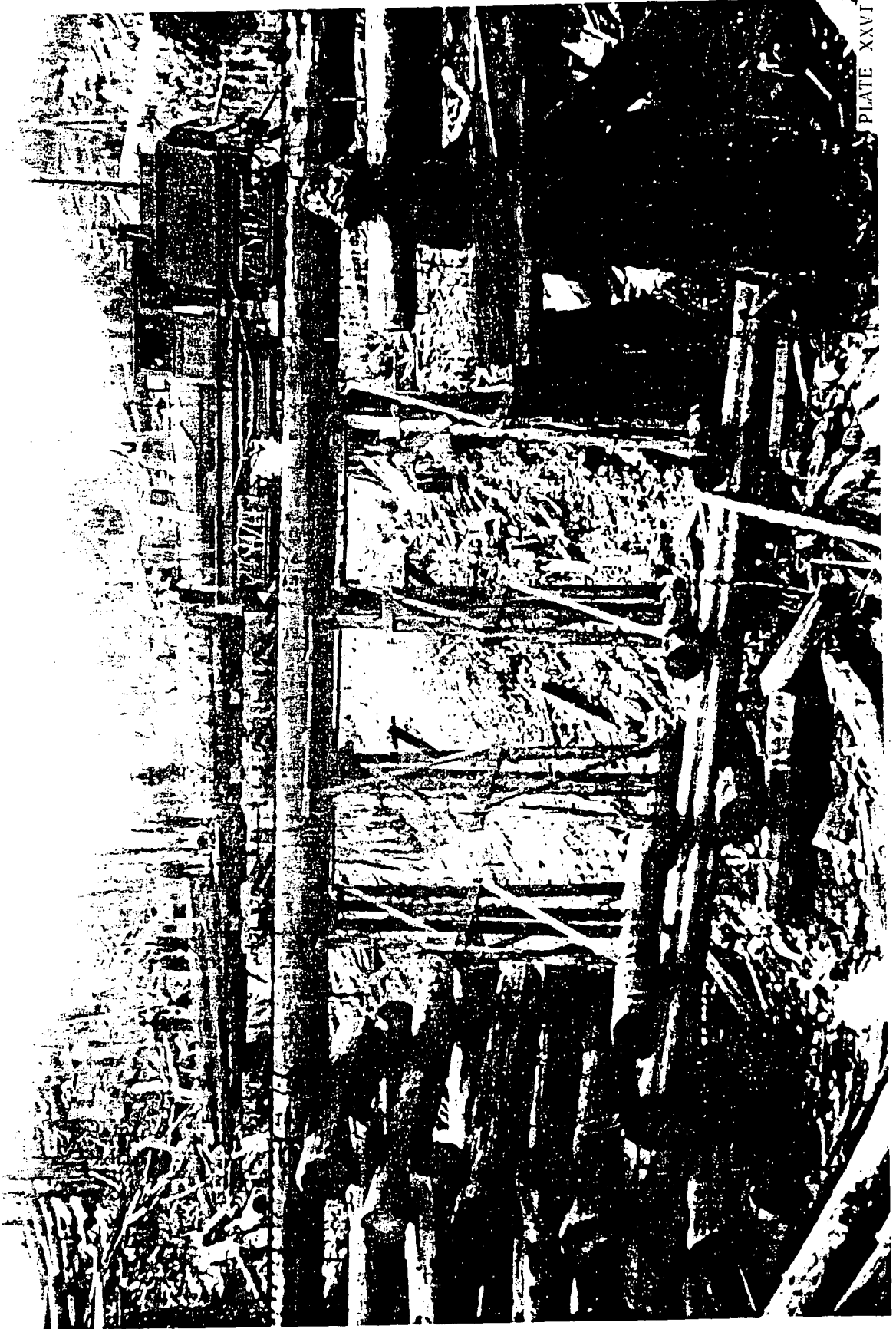
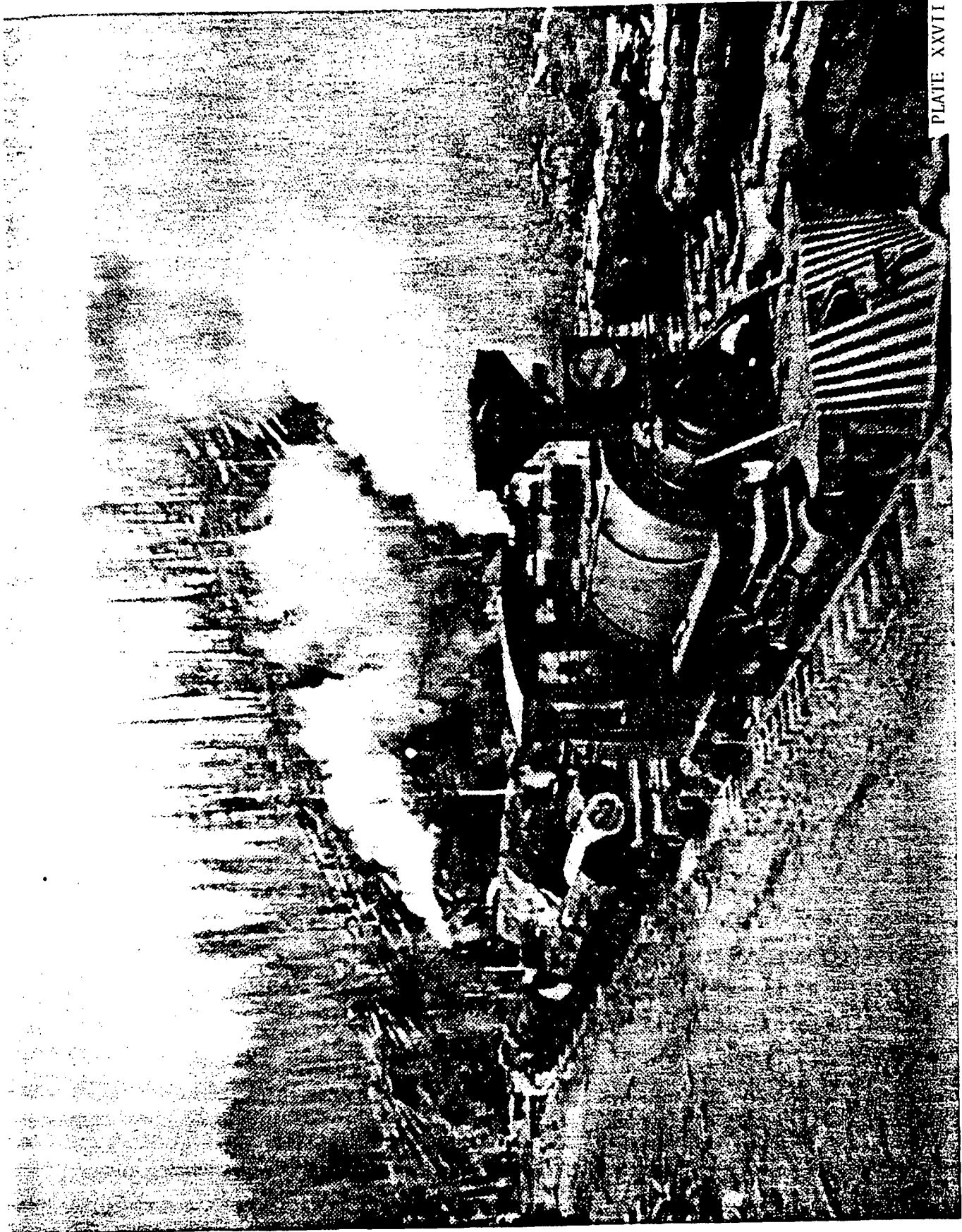
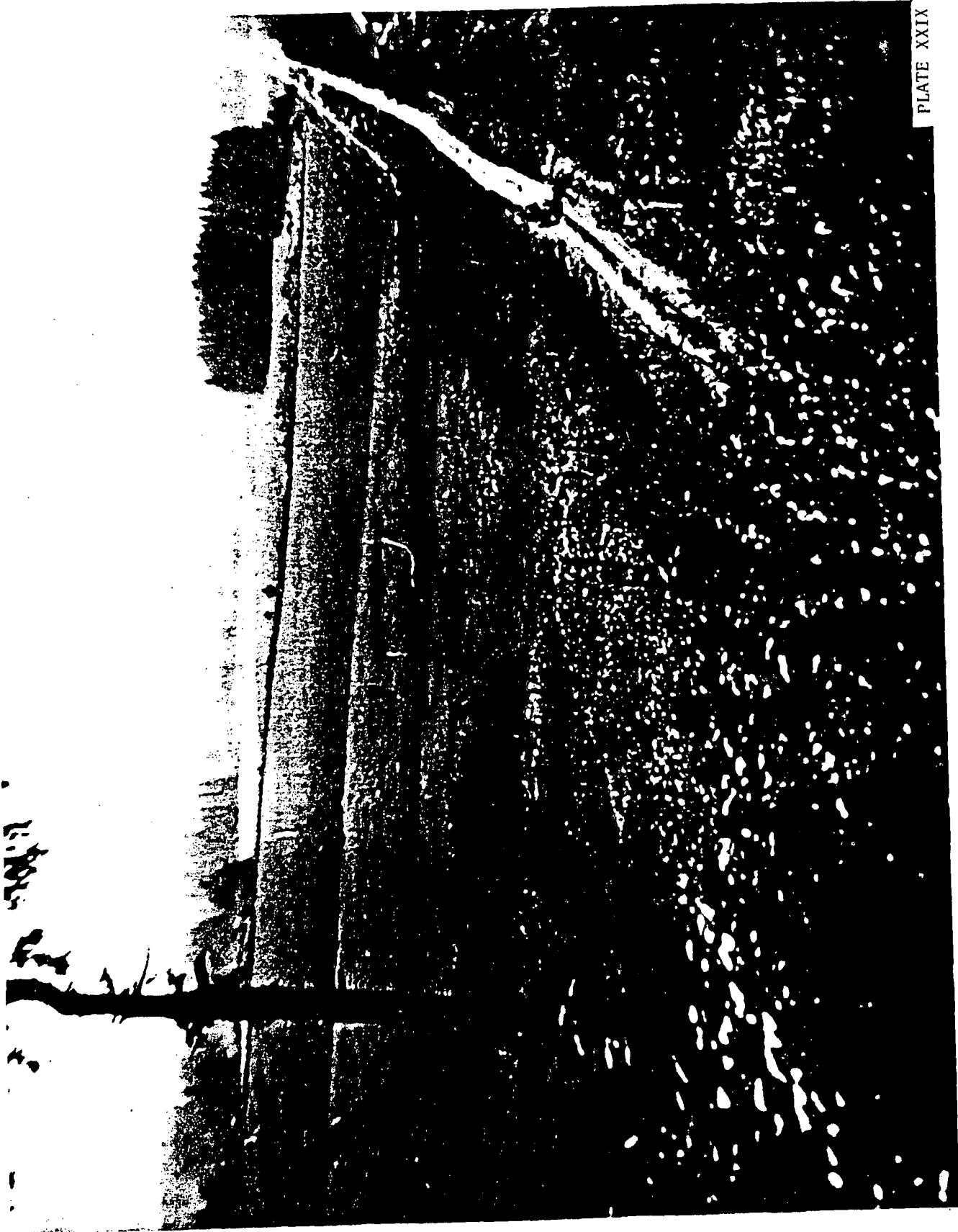


PLATE XXVI







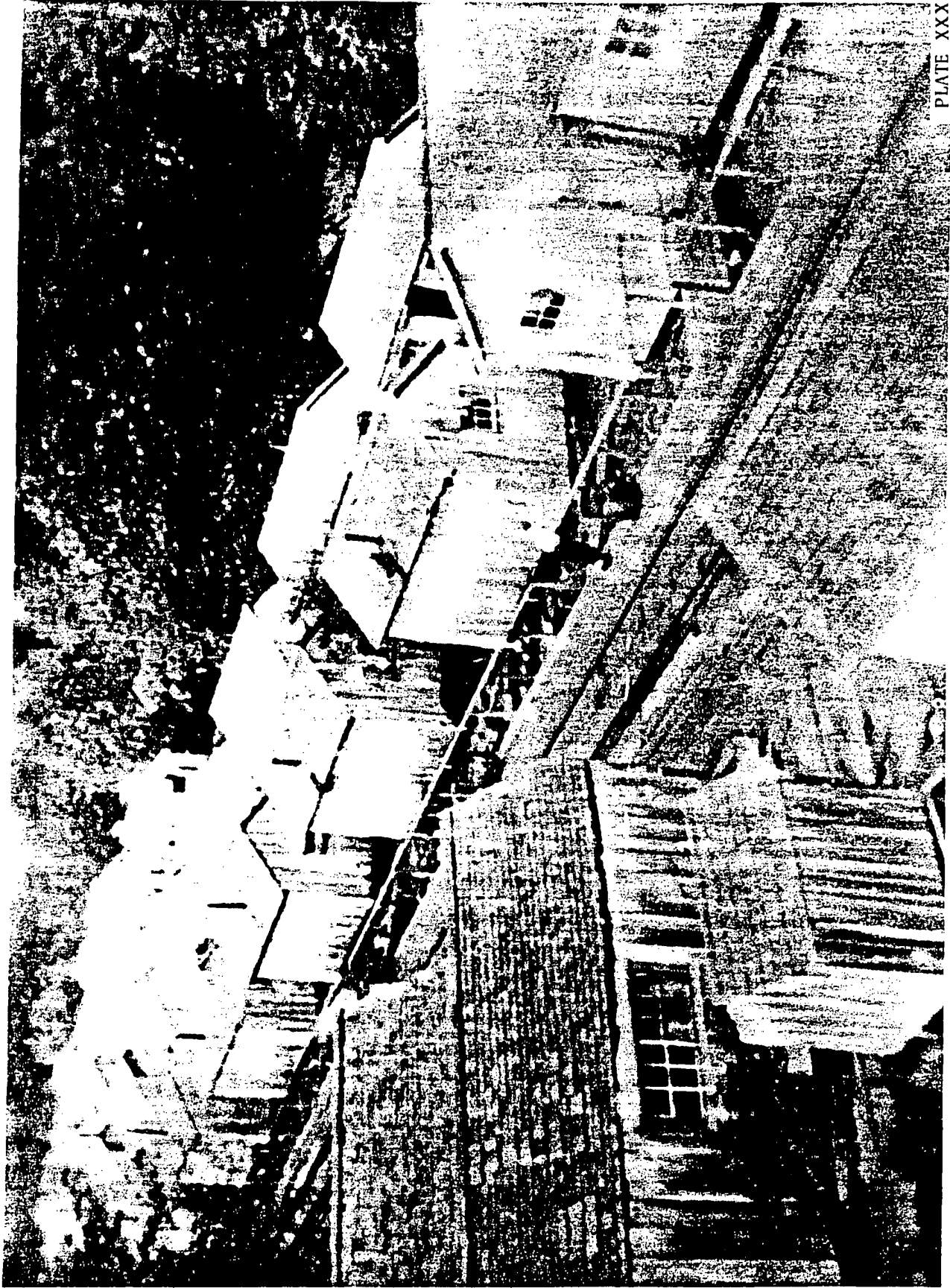


PLATE XXX

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

MILL DEPARTMENT.

1. Employees are required to be in attendance for work from six o'clock A. M. until six o'clock P. M.

2. Meals will be served as follows:

Breakfast at 6 o'clock A. M., 30 minutes; Dinner at 12 o'clock M., 30 minutes; Supper at 6 o'clock P. M. Exceptions to these hours will be made in favor of such employees as may be designated by the Foreman. At all other times the Cook and Eating house will be closed; and no eating will be permitted there. Employees wishing or requiring lunches between these hours will provide themselves with such at regular meal hours.

3. Vulgar or indecent language will positively be prohibited in the Eating house.

4. Wilful or malicious waste or destruction of provisions at the dining table or otherwise will not be permitted.

5. Board will be charged for at the rate of fifty cents per day for meals taken by employees at the Companys' Eating house, on such days as they are not at work.

6. Employees will attend strictly to the work given them to do, and hold no conversation on subjects not relating to their work during working hours.

7. Employees being placed in charge of machinery or tools of any kind will be held accountable for such as may become destroyed, lost, or stolen through negligence, carelessness, or wilful maliciousness, while in their charge, and will be required to pay for such, unless satisfactory reasons are produced that such loss or damage was unavoidable.

8. Smoking upon the premises is strictly prohibited, and any violation of this rule will be considered sufficient cause for dishonorable discharge.

9. Bringing or using spiritous or malt liquors upon the premises by anyone, is strictly prohibited.

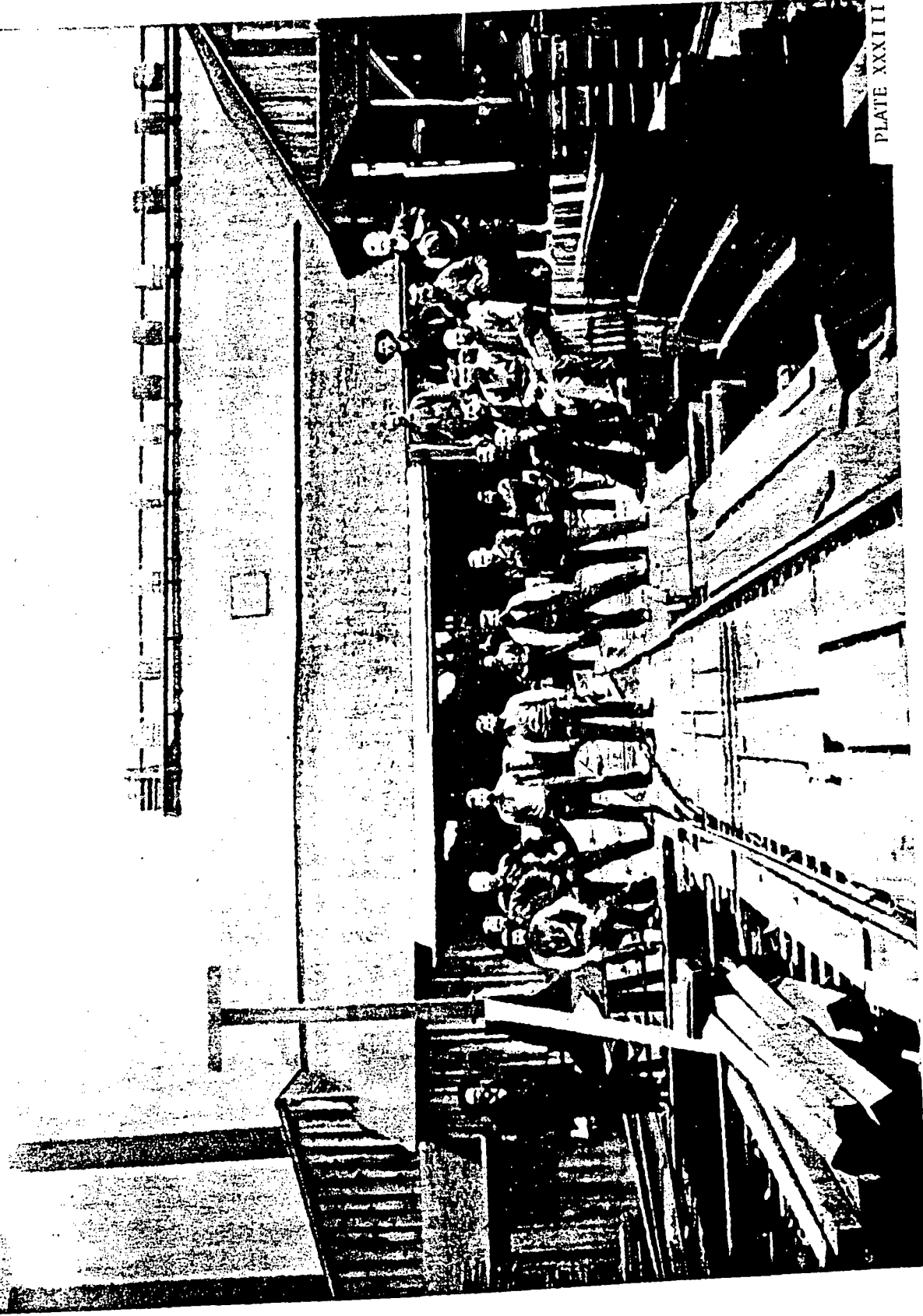
10. Visitors are requested not to talk with employees without permission of the

Foreman.

HOBBS, WALL & CO.



PLATE XXXII



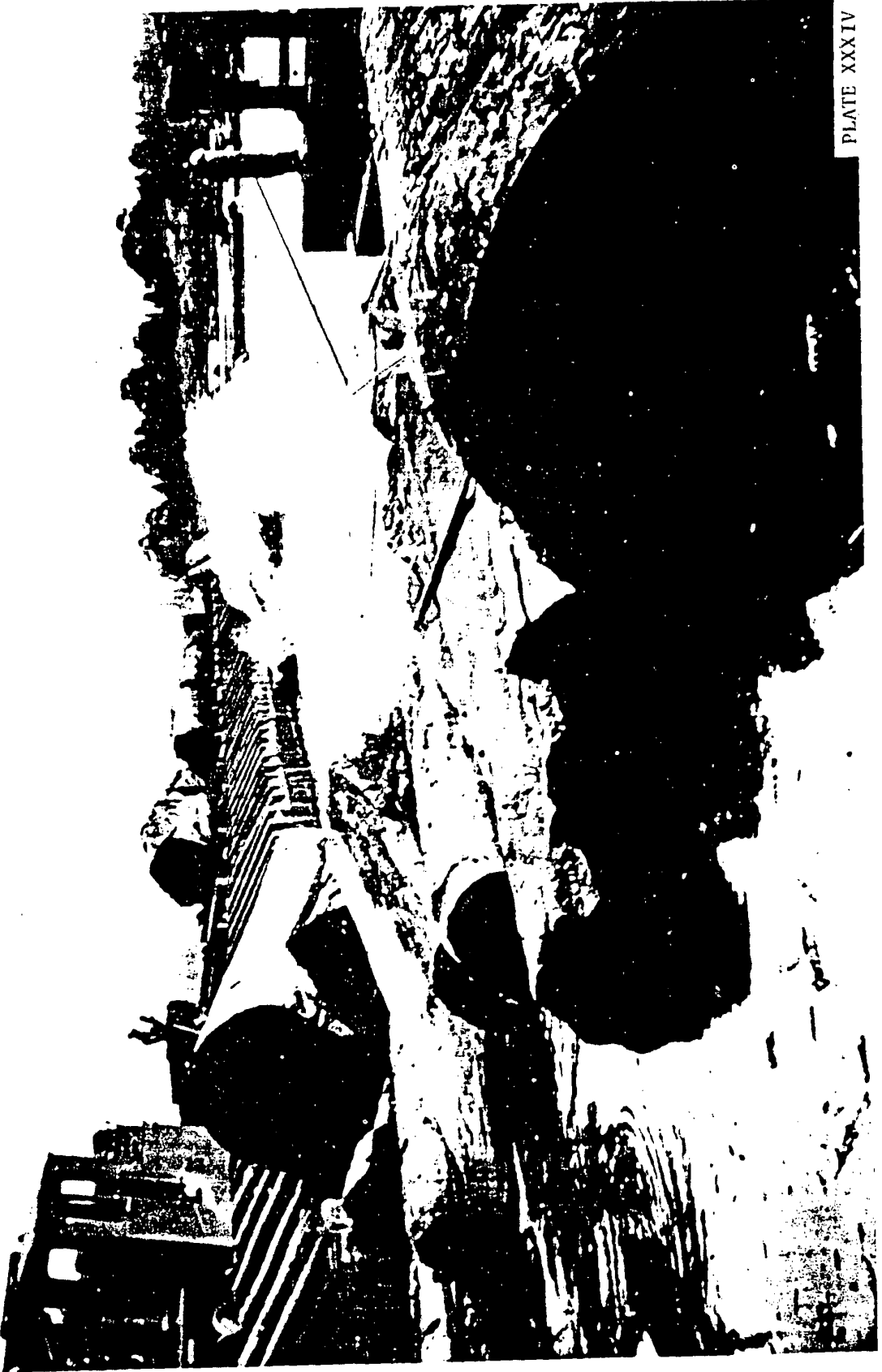
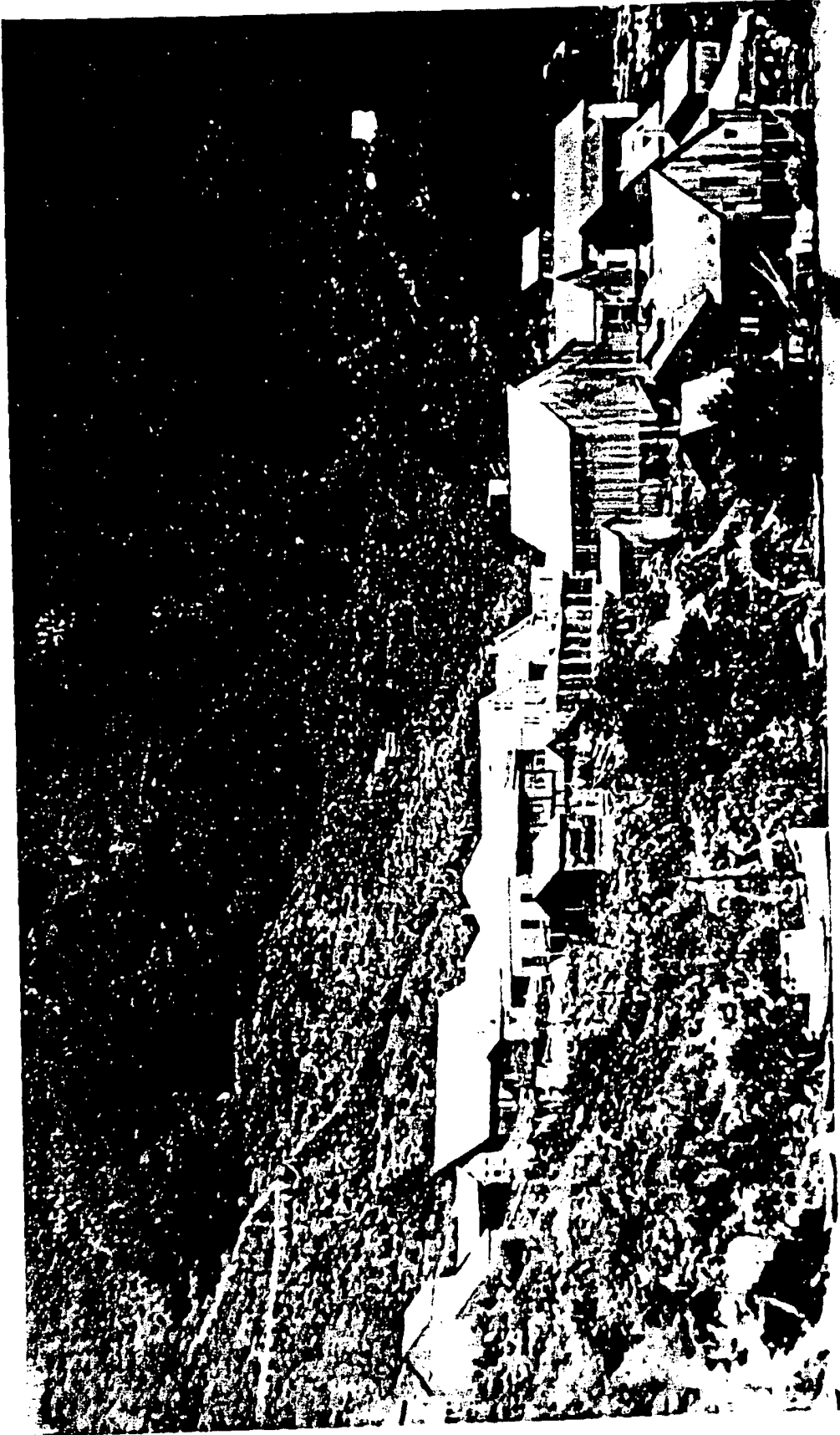


PLATE XXXIV



DEL NORTE SALMON CANNERY REQUA CAL

REQUA CALIFORNIA



REGUA, CALIF.

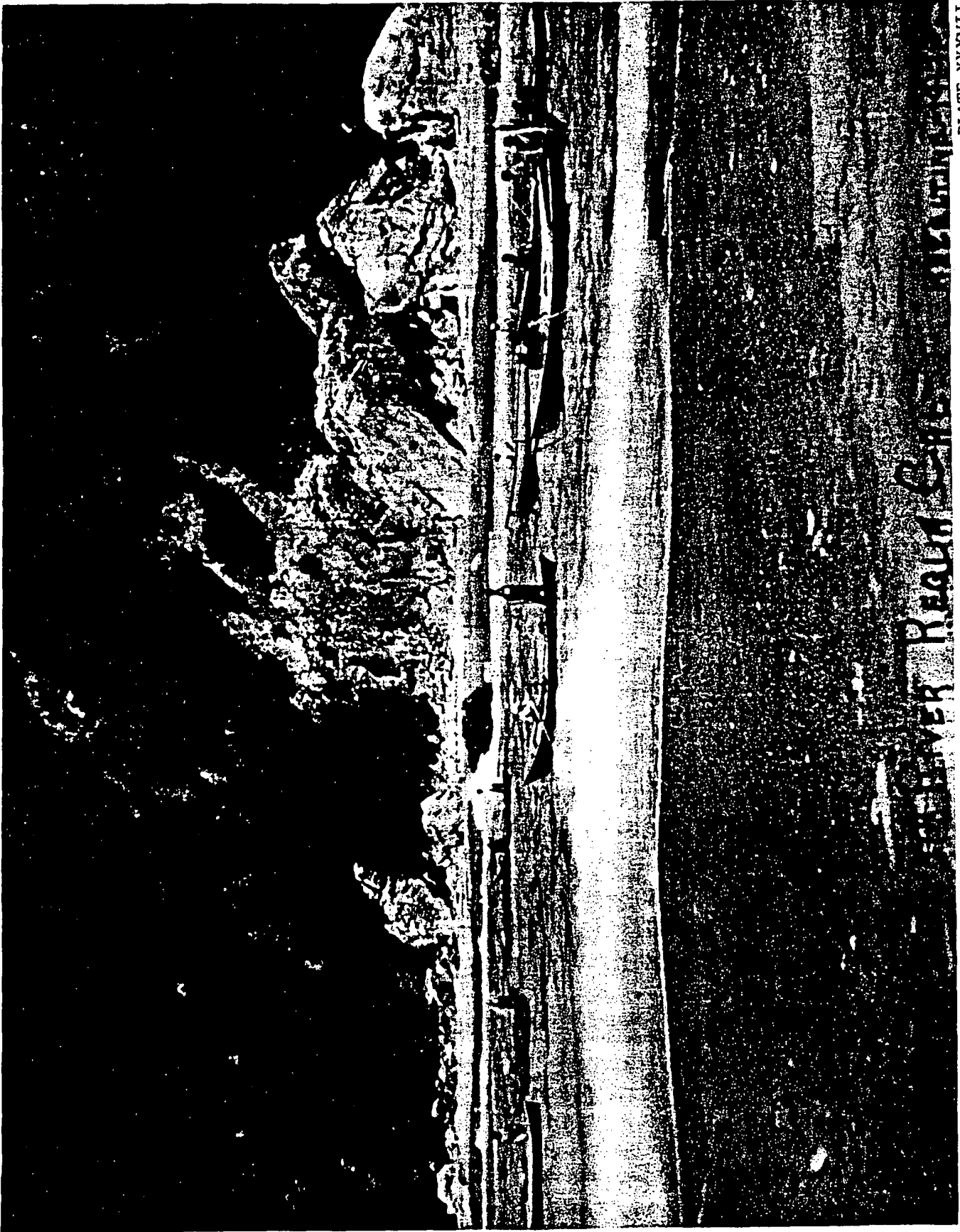
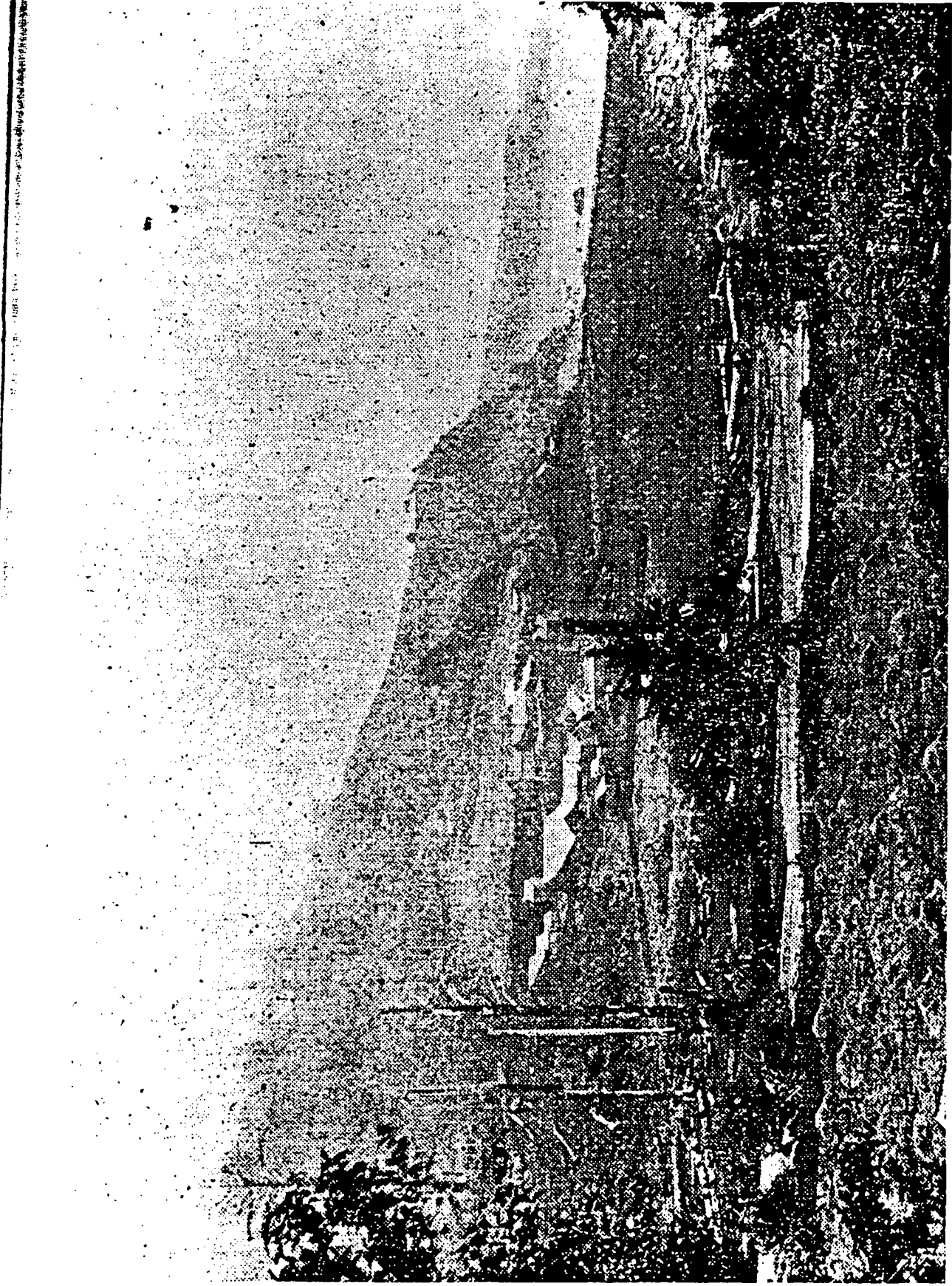
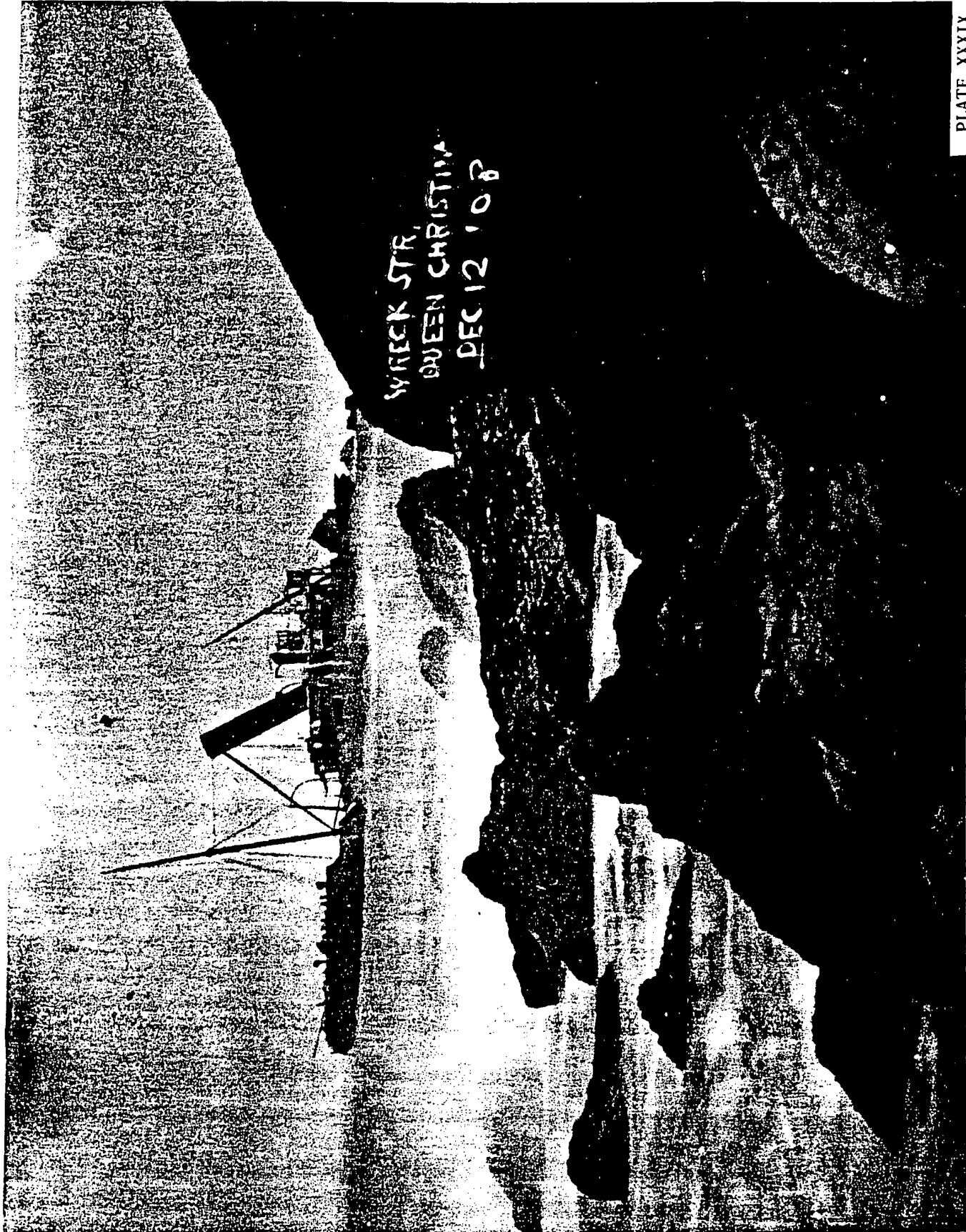


PLATE XXXVII

THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

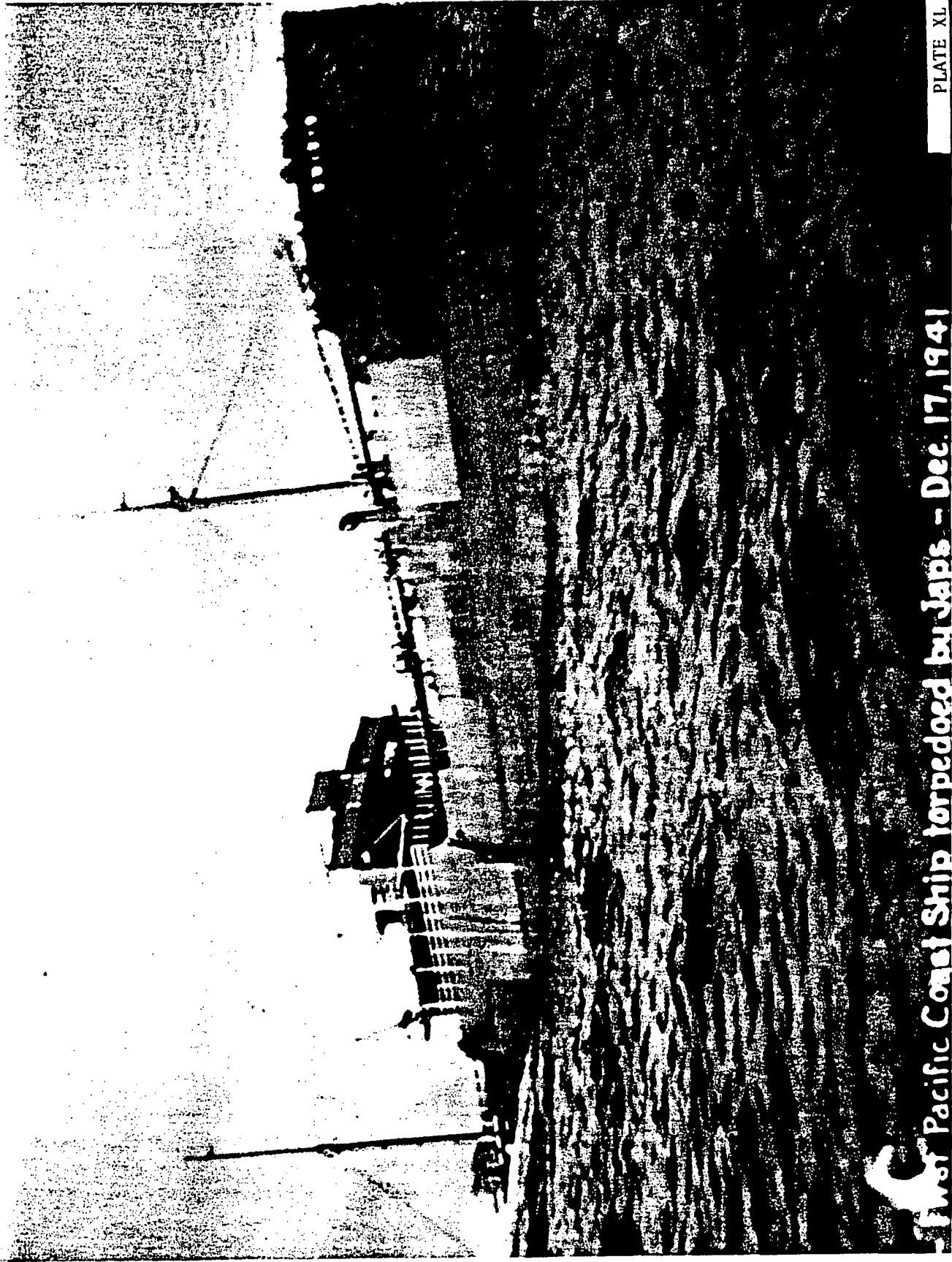


LOUIS DEMARTIN'S DAIRY RANCH AT MOUTH OF WILSON CREEK.



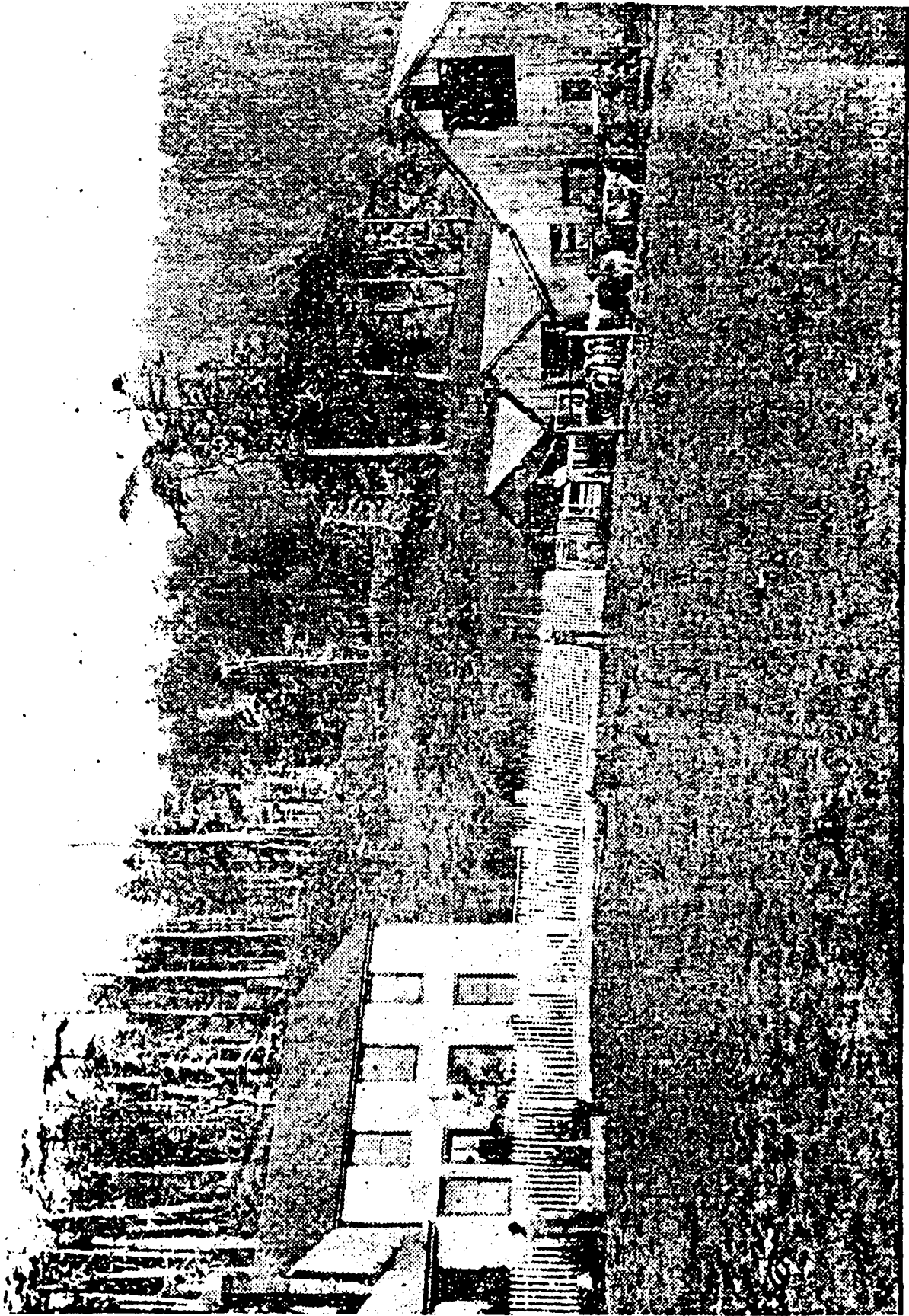
WRECK STR,
QUEEN CHRISTINA
DEC 12 '08

PLATE XXXIX



U.S. Pacific Coast Ship torpedoed by Japs - Dec. 17, 1941

PLATE XL



VIEW OF H. H. ALEXANDER'S DAIRY RANCH.