

NATIVE PEOPLES' USE OF THE JOHNSON CREEK WATERSHED

Report requested by BES Design Services in preparation
for Johnson Creek interpretative exhibits.

ABSTRACT

Native peoples' culture in the project area was one of seasonal interactions with available foods sources, travel, trade, and fishing during seasonal runs. The report includes maps, and ethnographic accounts that tell the story of how the Johnson Creek watershed was a significant resource area for Cascades, and Clackamas peoples.

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Original Peoples of the Johnson Creek Watershed area

- ❖ Who were the original Indigenous peoples that lived along and/or used the Johnson Creek Watershed area?

The original peoples who used and accessed the Johnson Creek Watershed were members of various Native tribes who lived on principal waterways in the region. The most well documented tribes were the Cascades, Wapato Island, and Clackamas peoples who occupied villages and camps on the Clackamas, Willamette and Columbia rivers. These Native peoples all practiced the same or a similar culture and language, the Chinook culture and the Chinook (Kiksht) language. Scholars have subdivided the Chinook culture into three culture areas of the Columbia, the lower Chinook, west of Oak Point and up along the southern coastline of Washington State, and the upper Chinook east of the Cascades to the Deschutes River. The other division is sometimes called the middle Columbia or Middle Chinook between the Cascades and Oak Point and up the Willamette River to the falls. The Chinook language is similarly divided into several dialects, of which Clackamas, Clowwewalla, Multnomah, and Cascades are closely associated within the middle Columbia area, the area between the Wasco and the Skilloot.

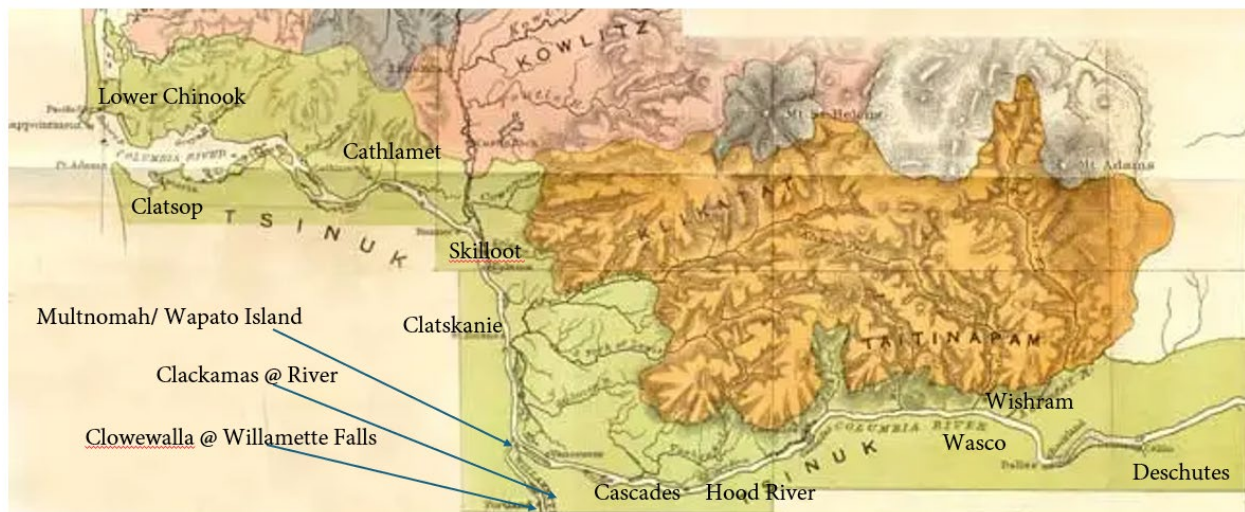


Figure 1 George Gibbs Lower Chinook map ~1875, annotations by David Lewis

Similarly, there were close kinship associations between these four middle Columbia tribes with some shared leadership, shared fishing camps, shared river resources, and shared and overlapping territories for camps, winter villages, wapato harvesting, and other activities. Rights for fishing, highly valued among all tribes on the Columbia, were claimed and owned by the resident tribes and rights to fish at key locations - fishing falls, rapids and the like - were passed through marriage, through kinships, and acquired through diplomacy and incidental gifting of rights by leaders in the resident tribes. Boyd and Hajda (1987) termed this right in this manner,

“...people in any one village normally held usufruct rights to resource areas in a number of distant locations. When local supplies were not sufficient, or when abundant and desirable resources became available in other areas, families with social ties in these other areas could

relocate with minimal difficulty, Ethnohistorical sources support the interpretation that the inhabitants of the Greater Lower Columbia did not wander freely over the region in search of food, but tended to go to localities where they had relatives.”¹

Residency and long-term historic association were the key components in associations of ownership claims to principal resource locations. Wapato too was a highly valued resource that was a primary attraction for tribes to occupy fall and winter village locations in the middle Columbia. Wapato grew in great abundance in the middle Columbia, and mainly the upper Willamette Valley, from Lake Labish and Wapato Lake to the region of the junction of the Willamette and Columbia rivers. Along the whole of the middle Columbia in sloughs, side waters, ponds, lakes, marshes, and swales on the mainland and on islands grew wapato in great abundance. This tuber was highly valued by the Chinookans during the fall and winter seasons when there were no salmon runs.

The Cascades peoples, from Cascade Rapids to Hood River, would move to winter villages on the Middle Columbia (Nehacolee (Nichaqwali) & Neerchekikoo) in October and remain until late April. They would then return to the Cascades for spring salmon runs. The winter village locations were along the south bank of the Columbia River, and they were interspersed with the villages and seasonal camps of other Chinook peoples in this same area. This area of the middle Columbia was then commonly used by a number of Chinookan tribes for generations. While wapato was a principal resource, the people also accessed other resources in the region, inland hunting of elk and deer, and waterfowl, gathering of berries, nuts and other roots and tubers, gathering of weaving materials, and fishing for sturgeon, domestic trout, and in the winter, ooligan (Eulachon, Candle fish) smelt. This process is called the seasonal round.

¹ Robert T. Boyd and Yvonne Hajda. Seasonal Population Movement along the Lower Columbia River: the social and ecological context. *American Ethnologist*. 14.2 (1987): 310.

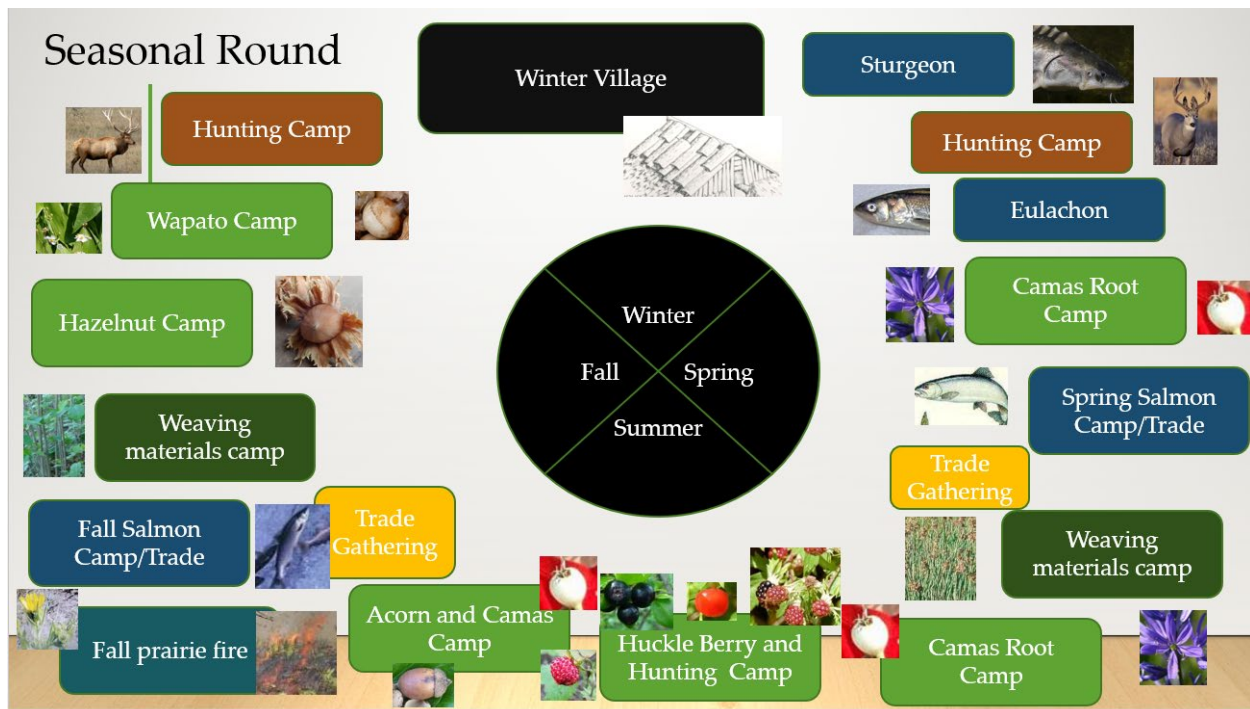


Figure 2 Seasonal Round Graphic created by David Lewis, a representation of campsites in an annual pattern for the Chinookan peoples.

The Johnson Creek watershed is a relatively small resource in this vast middle Columbia region. There may have been seasonal encampments for fishing, hunting, and gathering activities all throughout the watershed but there are no known records of these activities on the creek. Normally for the regional tribals bands of family groups of 10 to 30 individuals, sometimes multiple families would leave the main village for seasonal encampments as was their normal pattern each year. These groups would seek locations where there were good resources to be gathered, and these locations would rotate to different known areas each year. As one field of camas was exhausted the band would rotate to another known field of camas the next year, in an estimated three-to-five-year pattern (based on recovery periods of fields of such plants). This allowed resources to recover, repropagate, and the oldest bulbs to grow larger. In addition, some stewardship would occur, the band would burn the prairies in an estimated three-to-five-year cycle (generally following their use of the area for some resources, for prairies this may have been annual) to help the resources renew themselves. Some high yield areas may be burnt annually. The whole of the Johnson Creek watershed was subject to these types of cultural activities from any of these Chinookan tribes who summered or wintered in the area.

Records and Discussion of Tribal Cultures

Ethnographic records begin with the Lewis and Clark expedition (U.S. Exploring Corps). Captains Lewis and Clark passed the Johnson Creek area in 1805 on their way west, but only on the Columbia River. They then reversed their course in 1806 to return east and passed the region again. They stopped at several Indian villages on the south bank of the Columbia and noted a number of tribal cultural activities, most importantly the movements of the Chinookan bands to their villages at Cascades Rapids, and their wapato harvesting. Clark then was told about a large river, Multnomah, they missed twice (1805 & 1806) and decided to backtrack with a Clowwewalla Native guide. Clark ventured some 10 miles up the Multnomah River (Willamette) and likely got to what is presently downtown Portland, not far

enough to have reached Johnson Creek. Clark heard from his guider and from the guide's father many stories about the Willamette Valley and the people at the falls. Lewis and Clark's notes give us many clues as to what the Clackamas and Clowwewalla culture was like.

Clark Historic Explorers: Lewis and Clark on the Willamette (Multnomah)

"2 men whom they pointed out were Cash-hooks and resided at the falls of a great river which discharges itself into the Columbia on its South Side some miles below us, We readily prevailed on them to give us a sketch of this river which they called Mult-nomah² discharged itself between the island which we called Image canoe Island and as we had left this island to the S. both in ascending and descending the river we had never seen it. They informed us it was a large river and run a considerable distance to the south between the mountains." (233)³

This entry is quite remarkable, as they first learn of a river they missed, whose entrance was hidden by "Image Canoe Island." They receive a sketch. The remarkable part of the story of Lewis and Clark is their ability to produce navigable maps. It is clear from reading their journals though that much of their knowledge of where things were on the land was placed on their maps was first drawn for them by native peoples on the journey. These drawings would be made in the sand, or marked on a piece of bark, or on a skin, and copied by Clark. The natives were familiar with the notion of a map as a model of where things were. The following quote is where their interest is piqued for exploring the "Multnomah." The Cash-hooks are likely the Clowwewalla as they are called today.

"Capt. Clark determined to return and examine this river accordingly he took a party of seven men and one of the perogues and set out ½ after 11 A.M., he hired one of the Cashhooks, for a birning [sic] glass [magnifying glass]. To pilot him to the entrance of the Multnomah river [Willamette] and took him on board with him. In their manners dress language and stature these people are the same with the Quathlahpohtle nation and others residing in the neighbourhood of wappatoe Island. Near the entrance of Multnomah river a considerable nation resides in the lower side of that stream by the same name." (233-234)⁴

Here, Clark is determined to explore this large tributary, they call the Multnomah, but is the Willamette River today.⁵ He hires a Cashhooks⁶ man and they note that the language is the same as that of the Cathlapotle nation and for Wappato island.⁷ This similarity then suggests a close political, cultural, and kin association between these three nations. If there was not a

² This river is the Willamette River today.

³ Thwaites, volume 4

⁴ Thwaites, volume 4

⁵ The name origin of Willamette is attributed to the Wilamt village occupied by the Clackamas tribe in the vicinity of the outlet of the Clackamas River (Henry Zenk conversation 2023).

⁶ See Boyd and Hajda 1986, These people are known as the Clowwewalla.

⁷ Wapato Island is now Sauvie Island, and these people were last called the Multnomah, their claims may have included parts of the Cathlapotle area as well.

close association there would be more variability in the languages. Long term dissociation creates language dialects, while close association keeps a language stable throughout their territory.⁸ Clark was not a linguistics expert, but their comments are meaningful to descriptions of the tribes during this time period.

⁸ This is not the case everywhere, but generally, in the case of the US, it is too big a land for the language to remain the same east to west or north to south, so we end up with dialects ie: southern slang, etc.



Note that figure 2 includes the Clackamas Nation extending up the Clackamas River, with “towns” noted. This map is likely a copy of details offered by the Cashooks river guide and perhaps his father and matches the look of similar “Indian maps” that are in the Lewis and Clark collections at the Beineke. The next notation on the river is Cash-Hooks, noting the location of their village at Willamette Falls, on the east side of the river (Oregon City). Then the “mountains,” are drawn based on the assumption that the river extended through the Cascades Range to Eastern Oregon and to the Paiute nations (Shoshone). The area of Johnson Creek is not detailed, likely indicating there were not significant villages there, as told to Clark.

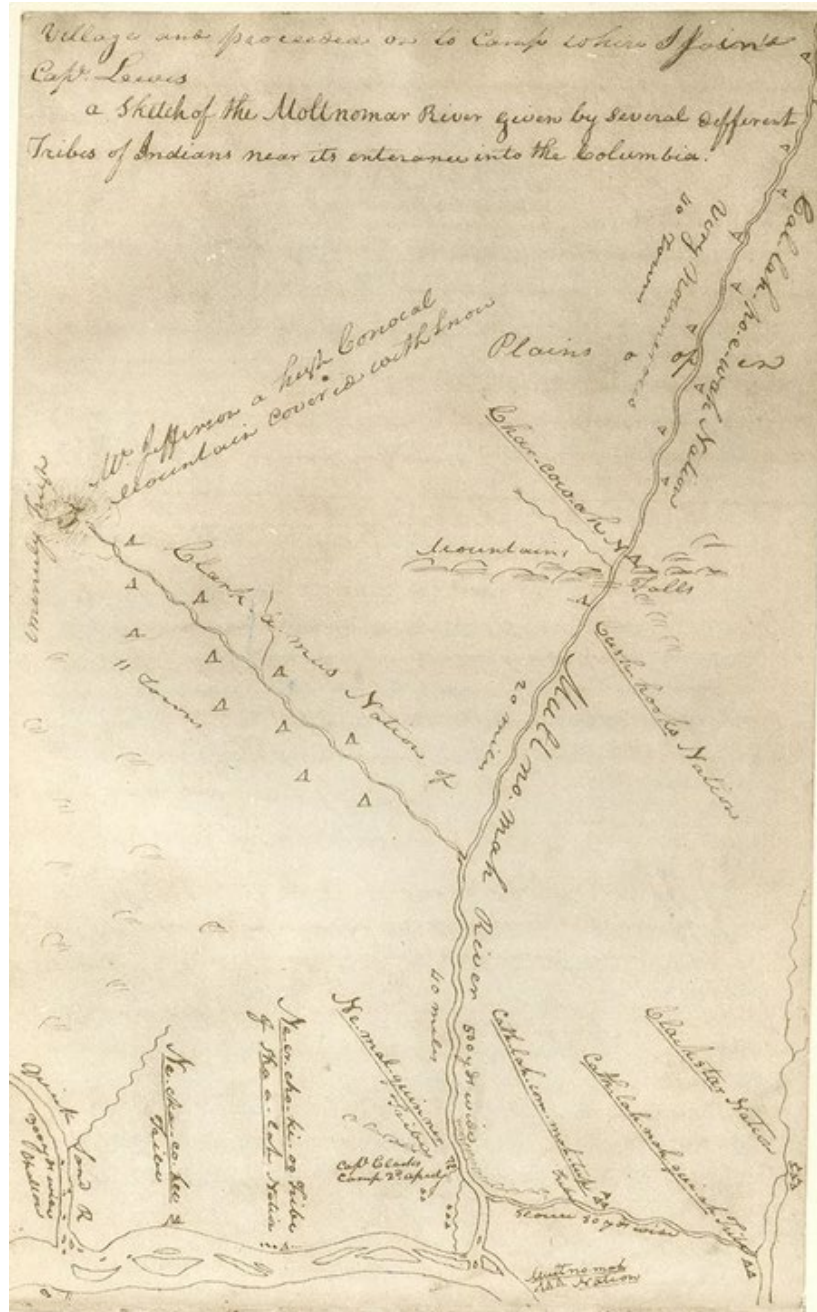
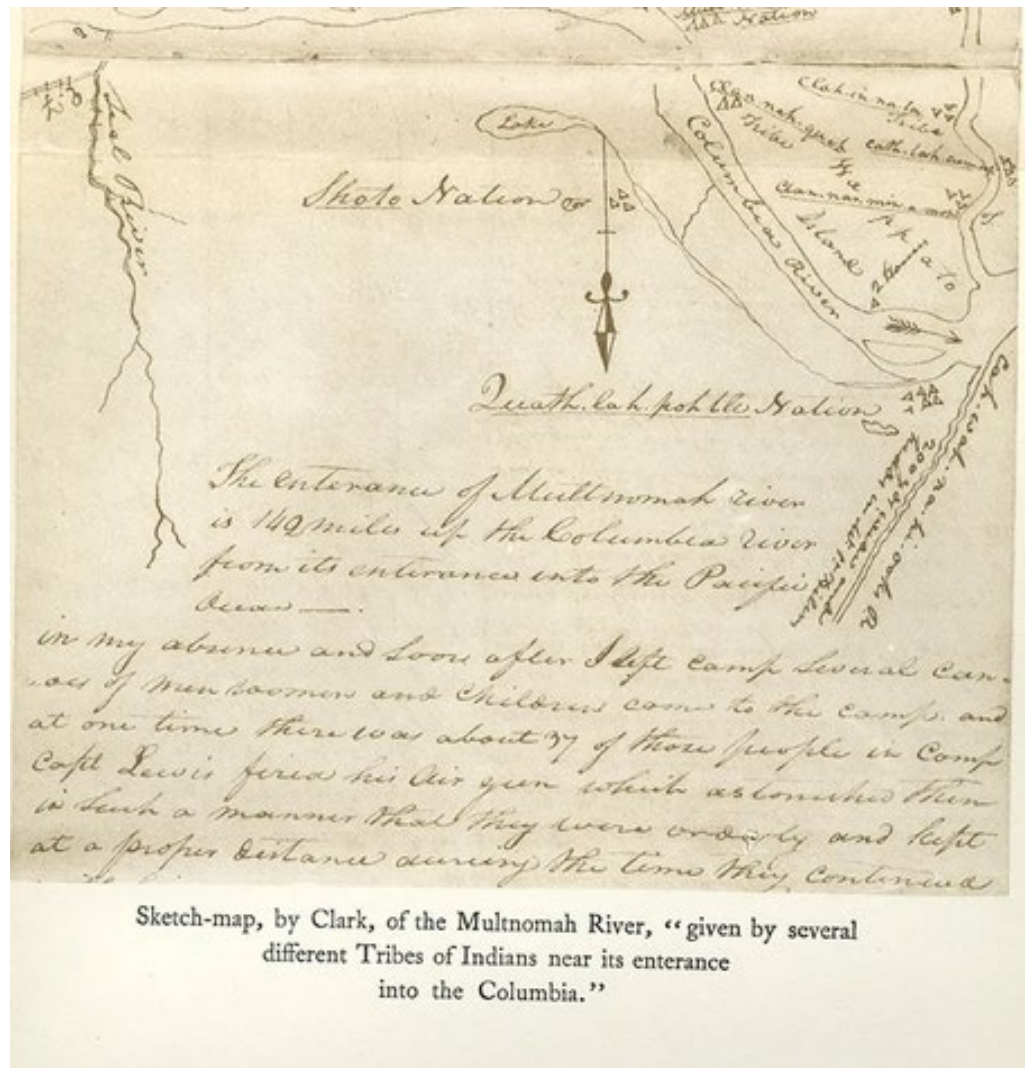


Figure 5 Clark's sketch map of the Multnomah (Willamette) April 3, 1806, note the Clackamas Nation villages on the river are located in estimated places. Lewis and Clark Expedition journal, Noting villages on Columbia and tributaries and Tribal nations of Multnomah. top half, Map of the Multnomah (South is up). Oregon Historical Society Library, American Philosophical Society (image used without permission, if reproduced seek permission).

Figure 6 Second half of Multnomah River map (above) with details of the journal entry. American Philosophical Society (Image used without permission, if reproduced, permission should be requested)

This bottom half of the map from the Lewis and Clark journals show the Multnomah (Sauvie Island, top right) and Shoto Nation. The Shoto are a people that had several village locations in this vicinity of the river, the chief had a "Soto" tattoo on his arm, and ethnographic accounts suggested he was the son of a shipwrecked Spanish Sailor "Soto" and a native woman from one of the Coastal Chinook nations. A very small



one town nation. Cathlapotle too, was another well-known village, in the later period associated with the Multnomah peoples. A number of towns are noted for Sauvie Island, these are called Multnomah or Wapato Island by scholars.

(Transcription) "The entrance of the Multnomah River is 140 miles up the Columbia River from its entrance into the Pacific Ocean" ... "In my absence and soon after I left camp several canoes of men women and children came to the camp and at one time there was about 37 of those people in camp. Capt. Lewis fired his air gun which astonished them in such a manner that they were orderly and kept at a proper distance during the time they continued..."

Records from the Astorians

The Astorians, the fur traders of the Pacific Fur Trading Company, established Fort Astoria near the inlet of the Columbia River. The whole enterprise was funded by Philip Astor. They arrived in 1811 and establish the fort in Clatsop Chinook Territory, where Chief Comcomly becomes their most important connection to the Native tribe for furs in the territory. The expedition also establishes Wallace House and trading post/hunting lodge just north of the Kalapuya village of Chemeketa, at what is today Keizer Oregon. By 1813 the traders are forced to sell the fort to the British North West Company due to the operation making no profits and a threat of imminent taking of the fort by a British war sloop. The Astorians had many journaled travels up the Willamette, stopping and trading at Willamette Falls, but never venturing off the main river in the vicinity of Johnson Creek. There is one encounter with the Clackamas.

Alexander Henry 1814: "June 22, 1814- the Channel then contracted, being bound in by high rocks, and we had trouble ascending some strong rapids. It is dark before we saw the village on the south near a small by rapid river on our left called the Clackamas, from the numerous tribe who dwells upon it. (Coues, Elliott, Journal of Alexander Henry, N.Y. Harpers, 1897, V, II, p.810)

The North West Company was bought out by Hudson's Bay company about 1821, and HBC moved their fur trading headquarters in 1824 to near the current location of Fort Vancouver today. Fort Vancouver was a fur trading center, but they also grew and exported grains and vegetables, had two dairies and a population upwards of 700 people. Much of the labor was done by native peoples, peoples from many local tribes who moved to the fort, and Hawaiians hired in Hawaii to be boatmen and laborers for the HBC. The Native encampment was called Kanaka village, located outside of the fort palisade because native people were not allowed inside of the fort. From 1824 to the 1848, when HBC was forced to abandon the fort to the American military, it attracted many hundreds of native people to work and live in the area and served as a supply depot and refuge for thousands of explorers, fur traders and emigres to the region.

Cascades, Clackamas and Clowwewalla

The Cascades, Clackamas, Multnomah and even Clowwewalla appear to have had overlapping land usage in the middle Columbia area. As noted throughout this report, there were Cascades winter villages seemingly close to and neighbors of areas occupied by Multnomah and Clowwewalla peoples, and they do not appear to have had a conflict with this arrangement. This arrangement suggests that these tribes had previously agreed upon protocols with their neighbors, that they were closely politically aligned and that territorial claims were not absolute. All of the tribes in this area had a high degree of intermarriage and this may have been the deciding factor in the common use protocols. High resource areas would then be claimed by families, clans, and villages, and protected from other tribes, but all other areas

were open to use if the neighboring tribes followed a proper protocol enabling all tribes to live and move about in the same vicinity and enjoy peace.

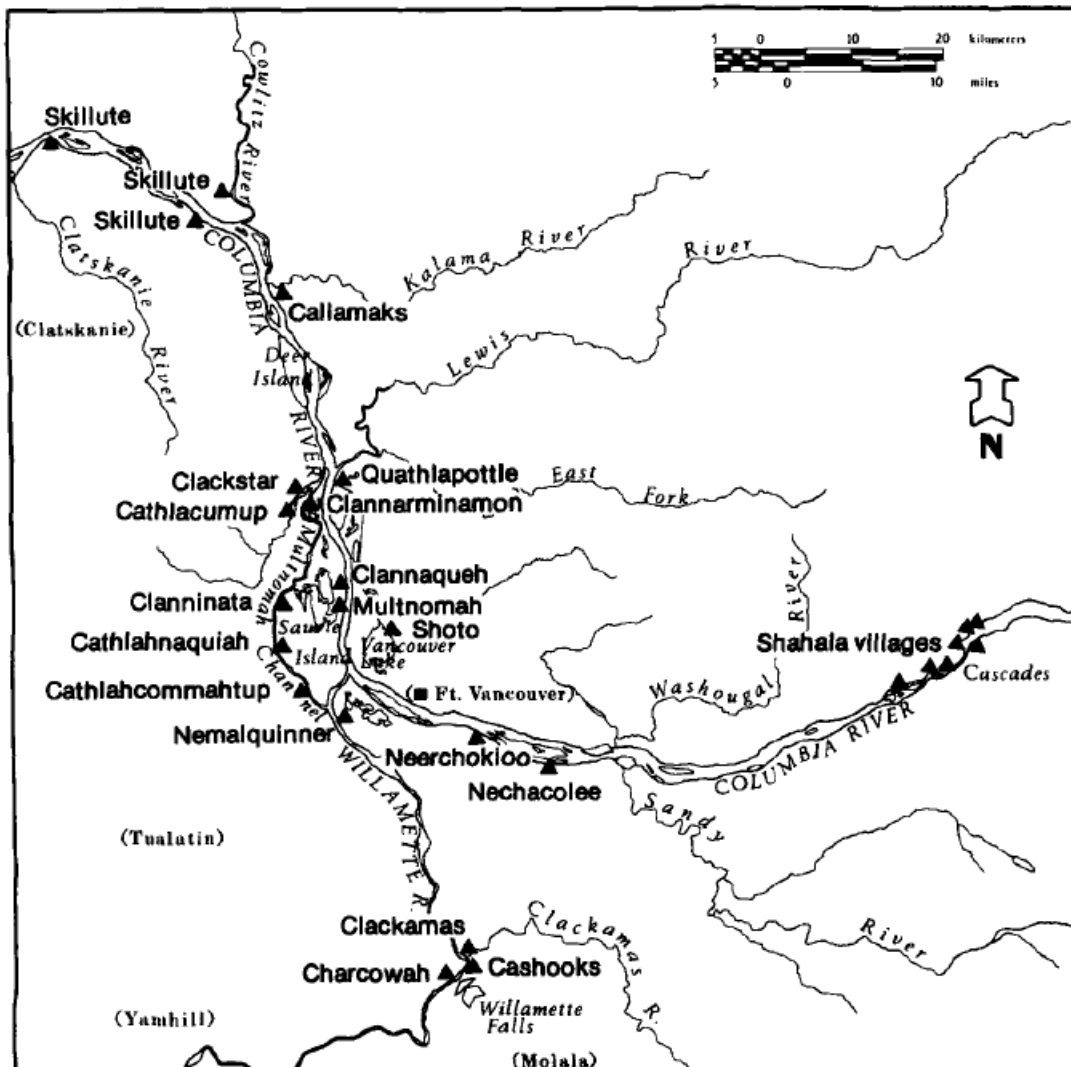


Figure 7 Villages on the Middle Columbia in Boyd and Hajda (1987): Multnomah, Cascades, Clackamas, Clowwewalla, Skillute.

Records of Wapato Gathering

One of the primary resources that was important to all tribes in the region was wapato. Salmon too was a major resource, but wapato seems to have been a major attraction of seasonal movements into and throughout the “Wapato valley” by all resident and neighboring tribes.

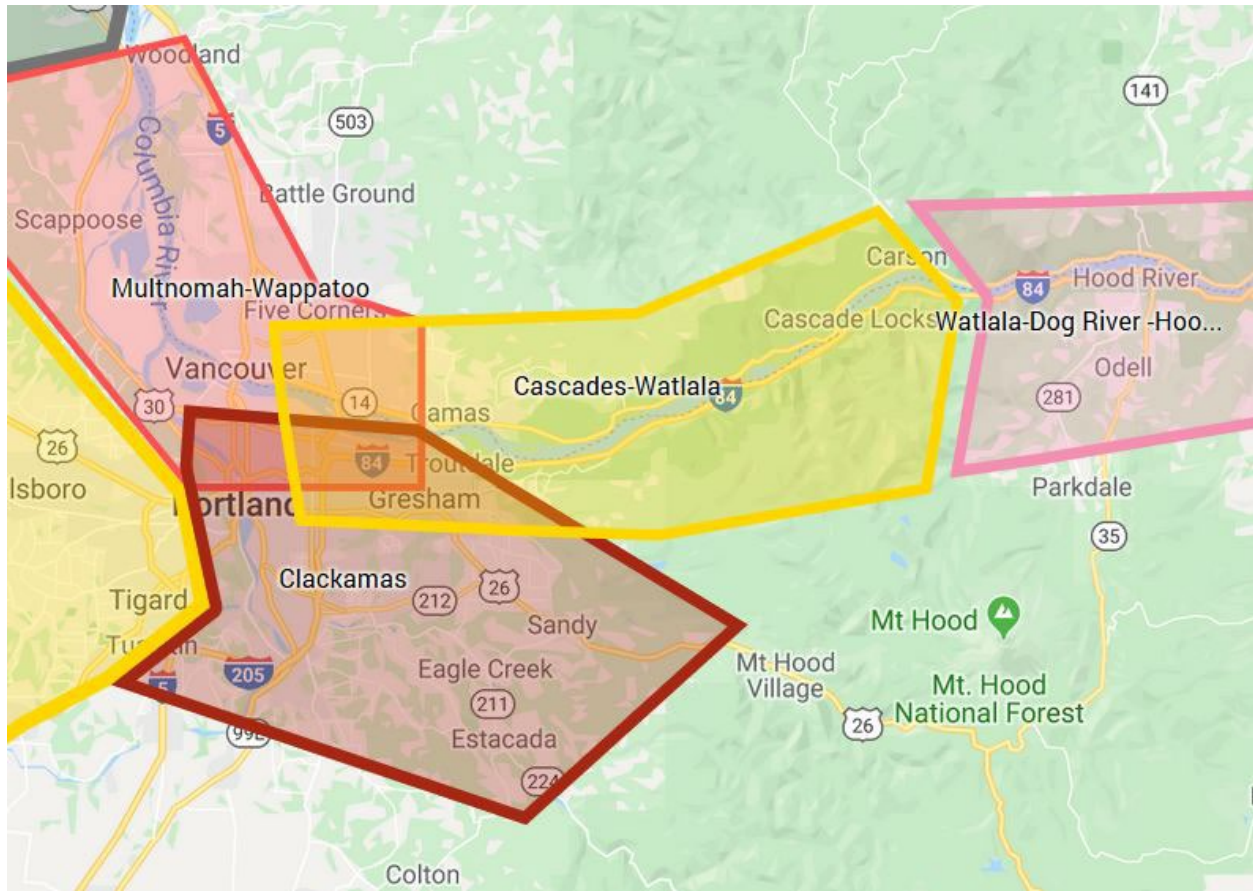


Figure 8 Map showing overlapping territories based on ethnographic evidence of village and seasonal travel in the region, Map by David G. Lewis, My maps App., Google Maps.

Some tribes had pre-established seasonal campsites, or in other terms, winter villages, they inhabited from the fall to early spring. The Cascades tribe was well described by the Lewis and Clark expedition as moving seasonally, but other tribes and bands moved to seasonal resource gathering camps, root camp, wapato camp, and the like. Darby (1996) notes that wapato could be harvested any time of the year, but several tribes had other priorities, like attending salmon run fisheries, in the Spring and Fall and would be unlikely to harvest wapato when heavily engaged with salmon capture and processing.

Lewis and Clark first encountered wapato when they stopped west of the Sandy River at a small village when heading west in 1805.

(Nov. 5, 1805) Clark describes a, “round root near the size of a hen’s egg,” which were roasted in the fire until they became soft and that it “had an agreeable taste” (Thwaites v. 3: 194, 196-197).

The expedition landed at the Ne-cha-co-lee village in March 1806, (further west than the village near the Sandy River in 1806) and had these observations.

“At 8 miles passed a village on the South side at this place my pilot informed me he resided and that the name of the tribe is Ne-cha-co-lee, this village is back on the South of Diamond Island, and as we passed on the North some of the Island both descending and ascending did not see or know this village. I proceeded on without landing at this village. At 3PM I landed at a large double house of the Ne-er-che-ki-oo tribe of the Shah-ha-la nation. At this place we had seen 24 straw Huts as we passed down last fall and whom as I have before mentioned reside at the Great rapids of the Columbia.” (236)

Here we learn for the first time of the Nechacolee (Nichaqwali) village, at what is called Blue Lake today. Backtracking to the “Multnomah” Clark then lands at the Neerchekikoo tribal villages, apparently a sub-band of the Shahala nation, which is noted elsewhere as a seasonal wapato gathering location of the Cascades peoples. They then note the last house remaining at the place of the large village of 24 houses they encountered in the Fall.

“On the bank at different places I observed small canoes which the women make use of to gather wappato & roots in the slashes. Those canoes are from 10 to 14 feet long and from 18 to 23 inches wide in the widest part tapering from the center to both ends in this form and about 9 inches deep and so light that a women may with one hand haul them with ease, and they are sufficient to carry a women and some loading. I think 100 of these canoes were piled up and scattered in different directions about in the woods, in the vicinity of this house. The pilot informed me that those canoes were the property of the inhabitants of the Grand Rapids who used them occasionally to gather roots. I entered one of the rooms of this house and offered several articles to the natives in exchange for wappato. They were sulkey and they positively refused to sell any.” (237)

The notations here connect well with the other notes about harvesting wapato in previous entries. These small “wapato harvest” canoes are another type of canoe not detailed in many ethnographies. They are smaller than the river canoes or Chinookan canoes or even the Image canoes which are more well-known types the latter with carved figures in bow and the stern, constructed for use by chiefs and headmen of a tribe or band. These Wapato canoes are in such quantities in this location that this suggests a large amount of available wapato in this location or very nearby. It is unlikely that they were traveling downriver into the Willamette Slough (waterway between the Oregon shoreline and Sauvie Island) for the vast amounts of wapato there because there is already a good number of native villages there likely with some ownership and territorial rights over the wapato growing in that area. Therefore, since they are on the bank of the Columbia River, the evidence suggests that there were wapato fields very nearby on the Columbia in great quantities, in the braided wetlands of the shoreline (present-day Willamette Slough area) and perhaps on nearby islands. Lewis and Clark’s journal accounts note wapato in several locations, in 1805: near the Sandy River, on an island downstream... Wappatoo island (Sauvie Island), Marshy islands, Tenasillahee island, at the mouth of the Columbia (more scarce), Cathlama (Cathlamet); and then in 1806 at: Cathlamet, a pond at Cathlapotle village (north bank), Sha-ha-la village in the Spring and Fall (south bank), and

“wappatoo” canoes at Sha-ha-la, and Beacon Rock. It’s my thesis that wapato grew in a great abundance throughout the “valley” and there could have been a fairly dense population of plants in any pond, lake, slough, backwater, marsh or swamp in this area.

In addition, the Cascades people camped at the Ne-cha-co-lee village for the winter took their dried wapato upriver in the Spring and traded it to the people at Cascades Rapids, many of whom were starving without food after the cold winter. Lewis and Clark’s journal accounts address encounters with starving people in the Spring, and the advice they received to not engage with these desperate people. Wapato then becomes a source of wealth for those that have access to the food, and a savior food for those upriver and starving.

Wapato, for nearly half of a year appears to have been the dominant resource on the lower Columbia, in the area called the Wapato Valley (roughly Columbia River from the Sandy to Cowlitz rivers). This would have been a large attraction for the Clackamas and Clowwewalla as well who would have their own harvesting in wapato marshes. While the Wapato Valley, described by Lewis and Clark and other explorers, is noted to have been the Columbia and its banks and islands, the southern limit to the “valley” extends into the Willamette Valley, to at least Lake Labish, north of the Chemeketa village (Salem) of the Santiam Kalapuyans.⁹ The other major dense population is at Wapato Lake at Gaston in the Tualatin Valley.¹⁰ Records further south do not yet suggest a dense wapato zone extending further south than Lake Labish.¹¹

The density of wapato would have attracted Clackamas and perhaps Clowwewalla to move northward through the interior trails in the Fall to harvest wapato in ponds and marshes.

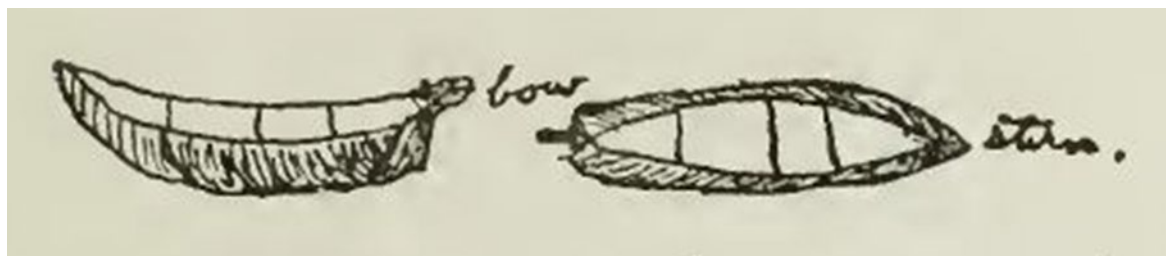


Figure 9 Drawings of the "wapato" canoes from the Lewis and Clark Journals

Since the “wapato” canoes were so light, they could be carried by the women inland and then launched in wetlands, ponds, or lakes for harvesting too. Normally the other types of canoes were not light enough to be carried in such a fashion by fewer than 2 people. The second bit of information is the ownership of these canoes by the peoples of the Great Rapids. The Great Rapids of the Columbia is occupied by the Cascades peoples. In the fall each year there was a seasonal movement of Cascades peoples to this town to collect wapato and associated gathering and fishing activities in the Columba Valley. The description of the remains of their

⁹ Lewis, David. Draining Lake Labish, Quartux Journal, 2023.

¹⁰ Zenk, Henry B. "Contributions to Tualatin ethnography: subsistence and ethnobiology." (1976); Lewis, David. Draining Wapato Lake, Quartux Journal, 2023.

¹¹ See Phillip Drucker’s Molalla Notes. Also see Darby 1996 for wapato super-regionally.

houses in the Lewis and Clark Expeditionary journals where the expedition stopped on the Columbia, is where the people deconstructed the houses to move them upriver in late winter. The expedition stopped at the Cascades in early May and witnessed the houses being erected in time for fishing the spring run of salmon.

Clowwewalla Peoples

The Clowwewalla peoples lived in about 3 villages around Willamette Falls (Willamette tumtum or tumtum). They are sometimes called Oregon City people. They were interrelated with the Clackamas, sharing rights through occupancy and kinship to the area of the Willamette and Clackamas rivers. In 1806 Clark met a Clowwewalla man, who served as his guide and pilot into the “Multnomah River” for a few days.

“I prevailed on an old man to draw me a sketch of the Multnomar River and give me names of the nations residing on it which he readily done, and gave me the names of 4 nations who reside on this river two of them very numerous. The first is Clark-a-mus nation reside on the small river which takes its rise in Mount Jefferson and falls into the Moltnomar about 40 miles up. This nation is numerous and inhabit 11 towns. The 2nd is the Cash-hooks who reside on the NE side below the falls, the 3rd is the Char-cowah who reside above the falls on the SW side neither of these two are numerous. The fourth nation is the Cal-lar-po-e-wah which is very numerous & inhabit the country on each side of the Multnomar [sic] from its falls as far up as the knowledge of those people extend. They inform me also that a high mountain passes the Multnomar at the Falls, and above the country is an open plain of great extent.” (242)¹²

Clark gains information from this man and his father about three other villages, their placement and names indicated on the map. Clark stopped over at the location of his pilot’s house, which is likely to be on the Willamette River in the vicinity of north Portland. This is the location where the older man- father- of the pilot detailed a map of the tribes on the Willamette (Multnomah) and aided in the drawing of Clark’s Multnomah map.

“... at 3 PM we arrived at the residence of our pilot which consists of one long house with seven apartments or rooms in square form about 30 feet each room opening into a passage which is quite through the house. These passages are about 4 feet in width and formed of wide boards set on end in the ground and reaching to the Ruff (roof) which serves also as divisions to the rooms. The ground plot is in this form... about 30 feet square. This house is built of bark of the white cedar supported on long poles resting in the ends of broad boards which form the rooms etc. Back of this house I observe the wreck of 5 houses remaining of a very large village, the houses of which had been built in the form of those we first saw at the long narrows of the E-lute nation with whom those people are connected. I indevoured to obtain from those people of the situation

¹² Thwaites, volume 4; this description may be where the Lewis and Clark maps came out of.

of their nation, if scattered or what had become of the natives who must have peopled this great town. An old man who appeared of some note among them and father to my guide brought forward a woman who was badly marked with the Smallpox and made signs that they all died with the disorder which marked her face, and which she was very near dieing with when a girl. From the age of this woman this destructive disorder I judge must have been about 28 or 30 years past, and about the time the Clatsops inform us that this disorder raged in their towns and destroyed their nation.” (240-241)

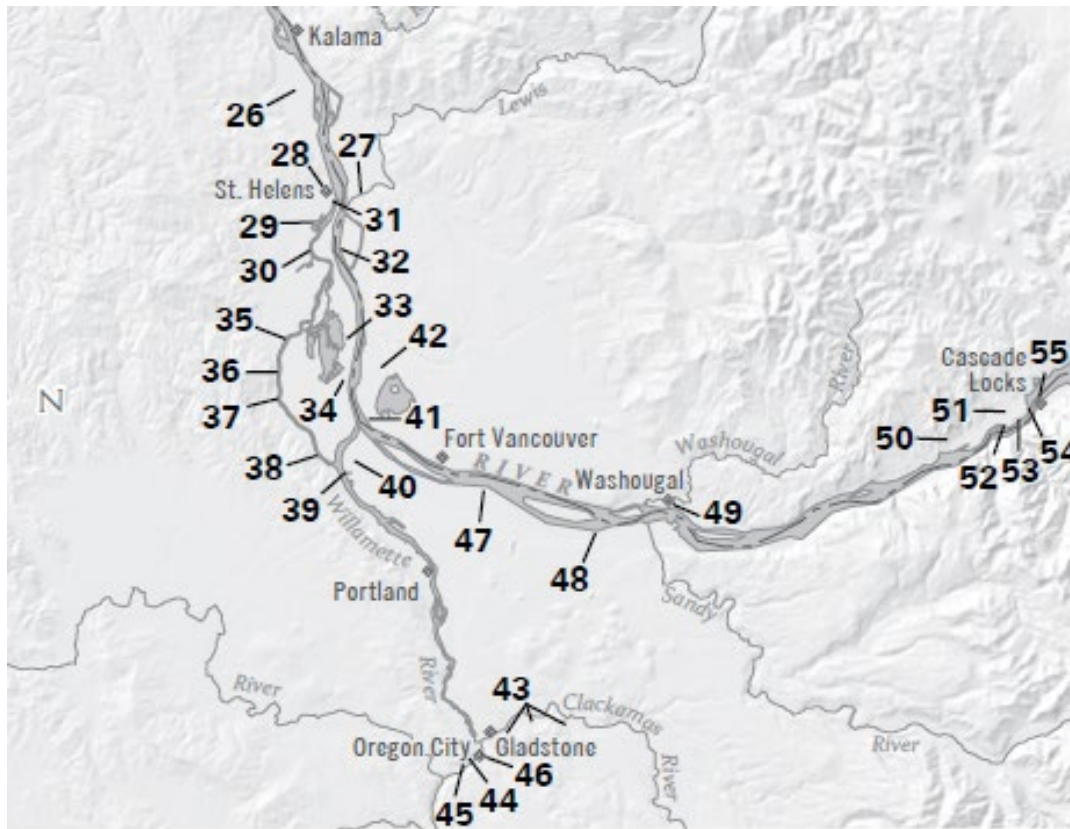


Figure 10 Villages of the Cascades, Multnomah and Clackamas, in Zenk, Hajda and Boyd (2016)¹³

¹³ Zenk H., Hajda, Y., and Boyd, R. (2016). Chinookan Villages of the Lower Columbia. Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 117, No. 1, pp. 6-37. Found on PDX Scholar.

Wapato Valley

- 27. *gáʔapʼuʔx* **Cathlapotle**
- 28. *náiaɣuguix* Nayaguguwlkh
- 29. *ʔáqstʼax* Tlakstakh
- 30. *gaʔáqʼmap*
- 31. *sqápus* **Scappoose**
- 32. *namúitk* Namuwitk
- 33. Clannahquah (Lewis and Clark)
- 34. *máʔnumax* **Multnomah**
- 35. Cathlanaminimin (Lewis and Clark)
- 36. Claninata (Lewis and Clark)
- 37. *gaʔánaqʷaix* Gatlanakwalkh
- 38. Cathlacommahtup (Lewis and Clark)
- 39. Nemaquinner (Lewis and Clark)
(*nimáʔxʷinix* (?))
- 40. *gaʔáwakšín* Gatlawakshín
- 41. *gaʔákʼanasisi* (*wákʼanasisi*) Wakanasisi
- 42. Shoto (Lewis and Clark)

Those of Clackamas River (*giʔáqʼimaš*)

- 43. *ʔáqʼimaš* **Clackamas**

Willamette Falls

- 44. *ʔáwiwala*, (*gaʔa*)*wálamt* **Willamette**
- 45. *čakáʼwa* Chakawa (Molala name)
- 46. Cushooks (Lewis and Clark)
(*kʼášxəkš* (*ix*) (?))

Upstreamers (*šáxlatkš* Shakhlatksh)

- 47. Neerchokloo (Lewis and Clark)
(*gaʔaʔála* Watlala)
- 48. Nechakolee, Nechercokee [sic]
(Lewis and Clark) (*ničáqʷli*) (?)
- 49. *gaʔawašúxʷa* **Washougal**
- 50, 51, 54. *gaʔaʔála* (*ʔaʔála*, *waʔála*)
Watlala
- 52. *qixayagílxam* Kikhayagilkham
- 53. *skʼmániak* **Skamanla**
- 55. *gaʔawáixix* Gatlawayakhikh

Figure 11 Village names to match locations in Figure 6 related to the Report area, in Zenk, Hajda and Boyd (2016). The names are not re-transcribed to preserve the Linguistic presentation of the village names.¹⁴

¹⁴ Zenk H., Hajda, Y., and Boyd, R. (2016). Chinookan Villages of the Lower Columbia. Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 117, No. 1, pp. 6-37. PDX Scholar site.

The old man, father to the pilot on the short trip, was, like his son, a Clowwewalla Indian and the site of his house was a probable fishing and/or wapato gathering encampment for the Clowwewalla. Seasonal movements to small villages to access wapato, so-called “wapato camps” was likely model for the Clowwewalla too, moving in family groups to locations that had plentiful wapato, every fall they would harvest the tuber, then move back to their villages at Willamette Falls for salmon runs.¹⁵

Drucker noted these village names he collected from John Wacheno (Clowwewalla).

Drucker 4516 82- John Wacheno notes

<u>Apsug itclxum</u>	Eagle Creek	JW born
<u>Gauwu hai pat</u>	Gladstone	Summer fishing place caught dog salmon and silvers
<u>Galai ilxum</u>	Winter town	16-18 miles above <u>estacado</u> up eagle creek
<u>Apsuxi Tcalxum</u>	Fathers town at Estacado	11-12 houses
<u>Idulx timulx</u>	Above <u>Kalaiilxum</u> about 1 mile	
<u>walamt</u>	Oregon City	
<u>Gacux cix</u>	Just above falls	
<u>Gat la kut kut</u>	3 miles above falls	
<u>Kni ma</u>	On E side (<u>linn</u> city?)	
<u>hantciyug</u>	Aurora to nearly Mt. Angel Salem	Kalapuyan village
<u>Wexsun</u>	At St, John, M, Willamette came to fish clear up to Oswego, owned that far. Fished for Sturgeon at M. of Willamette	<u>Wexsun</u> town
<u>Ciaxixhutch</u>	8-10 miles above <u>woxsun</u>	<u>Wexsun</u> town
<u>Geyaxxanai poxi</u>	Further up Clackamas people went there some	<u>Wexsun</u> town

Figure 12 Table compiled by David Lewis. “Kni ma” is likely at Oregon City.

Notes about the Placenames Table

Wexsun for David Ellis appears to be the Wakanassisi, which I agree may very well be the case. What does it mean for Wacheno to mention the Wexsun? Are they or are they not one of the

¹⁵ See Drucker 4516 78, Drucker 4516 82 (SWORP collection). The existence of a fall run of salmon may be seen as questionable to biologists who assume the falls were too steep in the fall for the salmon to jump, some 35 feet. Water levels from winter runoff are higher in the spring allowing the salmon to jump the falls. There was however a likely fall run on the Clackamas, below the falls. There are indications that water reclamation and water engineering projects in the valley may have changed the water runoff profile for the whole basin, perhaps eliminating water efficiently and early, so that a fall run of salmon is now impossible. But previous to all of the water engineering projects in the valley, there may have been enough flow to host salmon in the falls. Records from Eugene of tribes erecting salmon processing camps in the falls suggest there was a run. Further study is required.

Clackamas tribes? one in which there is overlapping cultural resource gathering. Many linguists rarely will jump to conclusions and try to just present the data. I find myself looking for the patterns.

The listed fishing villages, to me, are permanent villages. Many anthropologists may debate this, based on their seasonal use. However, when such villages are used for hundreds if not thousands of years, occupied by generations of the tribe for a very long time, and it is named, the village is then considered permanent within the culture. (I think anthropologists need to reevaluate how they assign permanence and impermanence when assigning values to tribal culture.)

Note that the one Kalapuyan village mentioned "Hantciyug" is likely the better-known version of the name Champoeg or perhaps Ahantchuyuk. In light of this, Champoeg and Ahanchuyuk may be related words.

There appears in Drucker a small concentration of the Wexsun people (perhaps Wakanasissi). They apparently had three towns and may have been the downriver band of the Clackamas people. They would be considered the main tribe of the Portland metro area.

These villages are of the Clackamas people. They extend somewhat above the falls and well up the Clackamas River and Eagle Creek. The Eagle Creek village locations were too ambiguous to place on the map. The Clackamas' main village of Gauwu Hai Pat can be easily located as it was on the 1852 GLO map (Figure 17). This village is likely that sole Clackamas village on the CPLC list.

It is likely that the village of Gauwu Hai Pat was that described in Joel Palmer's journal.

"...we put up at Mr. Hatche's having spent just one month in the Cascade Mountains. This morning we left Hatche's and in two miles travel we reached the Clackamas River. At this point it is one hundred and fifty yards wide, the banks of gentle descent, the water wending its way for the noble Columbia over a pebbly bottom. Here is a village of about twenty families, inhabited by the Clackamas Indians, who are few in number, apparently harmless and caring for nothing more than a few fish, a little game, or such subsistence as is barely sufficient to support life. There are but two or three houses in the village; they are made by setting up side and centre posts in the ground, the latter being the lightest, to receive a long pole to uphold puncheons split of cedar, which form the covering; The sides are enclosed with the same material, in an upright position. These puncheons are held to their places by leather thongs, fastened around them to the poles that lay upon the posts. After examining the little community, the remains of a once powerful and warlike people, we obtained the use of their canoe, crossed over the river..."¹⁶

¹⁶ Palmer, Joel. Travels over the Rocky Mountains, 1847, 74-75

Archaeological Records

The archaeological record of Johnson Creek is very limited. This researcher does not have access to SHPO Archaeological reports but a few reports have been found with relevant content. There is one site recorded for Johnson Creek watershed, 35MU59, on the Reed College Campus. The site is a "lithic scatter" found on a "small terrace overlooking a spring" (Freidenburg, 23). The site is about a mile and a half from Johnson Creek. The location is very much old oak woodlands suggesting that if the tribes visited in the area seasonally, they would have collected acorns, hunted and gathered berries and hazelnuts from the wooded area. The report "A Cultural Resource Evaluation of the Keizer, Mill Creek and Johnson Creek Projects" by Linda L. Freidenburg and Greg C. Burtchard (1990),¹⁷ outlines additional settler and resident accounts of Native American Resources in Johnson Creek.

"It is likely that prehistoric use of the Johnson Creek area was extensive. Nonetheless, current reports of prehistoric site locations are vague. There is reference to local residents finding artifacts, such as bowls and projectile points, in Johnson Creek's gorge area and in the Lents region between Johnson Creek and Mt. Scott (Seltzer 1983:118 and Cole n.d.). Seltzer (1983:118) describes local accounts of Indian Rock, . . .a large, flat-topped boulder that sat at one end of a natural amphitheater. The area was littered with arrowheads... ." Figure 23 shows the general Indian Rock area in the background behind Dwyer Mill. Indian Rock itself was destroyed to provide the stone for the WPA riprap projects illustrated in Figure 20 above and in subsequent photographs below" (22).

Such flat-topped stones normally served as fishing sites for dip net fishing and as ceremonial sites for seasonal ceremonies involving resource abundance on behalf of current and future fish run seasons. Types of ceremonies may have included a "First Salmon" ceremony where the bones of the first fish caught in the season are returned to the river to assure long-term relationships of mutual respect and relationships with the fish and the river. As such if the rock existed today, under present federal and state laws, the rock would have to be preserved and the local tribes would actively initiate protective and preservation agreements with state, federal and municipal governments. The rip-rap of the stone, and the original resting site, may also be considered sacred even in their present state, with the broken rock lining the waterway and the possibility that the original site has remaining stone underground. The determination of actions for protection, and preservation would have to be agreed upon in conversations with local and affected tribes.

The additional artifacts noted should be identified in collections and if possible, returned to the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, the reservation that receive all of the people from this area.¹⁸

¹⁷ An additional report is Johnson Creek Neighborhoods," McKeever/Morris: Prehistoric Cultural Resources Report, May 14, 1992, but it is not readily available in any sources. There may be a copy at Oregon Historical Society, Portland.

¹⁸ Finding these artifacts was not part of the original tasks of this project.

The archaeology section was added some months after the completion of the report. The noted findings do not change the cultural analysis of the use of Johnson Creek, but in fact adds evidence that the creek was used for the purposes stated elsewhere, for seasonal fishing, hunting and gathering. The one noted site also does not change the evaluation and as it is outside of the area under development, it has little relevance to the upper creek. The archaeology report by Freidenburg et al. notes further that there has been little opportunity to find sites in the watershed due to mostly only road development activities (22-23). The archaeology survey for roads is very limited and so there are limited Native American sites found. But since the report is from 1990 there may have been additional cultural sites found in areas under development since then. Regardless of the absence of sites, the limited sampling and the existence of the flat “fishing” rock suggests that there may indeed be more sites just that the lack of development has limited the ability of surveys finding them. Most archaeology surveys are initiated by construction and development activities, and this has been limited in the project area. Since the project construction will be moving rocks, this may be an opportunity to do an archaeology survey to find out if any cultural features of this site remain.

Clackamas peoples

The Clackamas (Tlakamas) lived along the Clackamas River and along the lower Willamette. Their villages and associated territorial claims extended from Willamette Falls to the Willamette Slough (also called Columbia slough and Multnomah Channel). Scholars still debate the full reach of the Clackamas territory. At Willamette Falls there were villages on both sides of the river below the falls, one village above the Falls at Canemah and one village down by where the Tualatin River enters the Willamette. There was one village on the Clackamas River near its junction with the Willamette, called *walamt*- the progenitor of the Willamette placename. There was a village on an island in the Willamette, likely a fishing camp site.¹⁹ The villages at the falls were the Clowwewalla Chinookans, a tribe who were close neighbors of, aligned, and interrelated with the Clackamas. The reality is that Clackamas was not one tribal nation, but a confederation of powerful chiefs and villages who held power over their individual districts.²⁰ These chiefs all had autonomy and were all interrelated by marriage and shared the same culture. The chiefs and other leaders chose to band together to make a powerful Clackamas nation. The strength of the nation was built upon the interrelations between the Clackamas peoples and their kin within other tribes, like the Cascades, Multnomah (Wapato Island), and northern Kalapuyans.

William Clark’s journal documents the only journey of the expedition up the Willamette River. Clark heard rare information about the Clackamas and Kalapuya peoples from his river guide. Charcowah may be the village at Canemah.

¹⁹ Zenk, Henry, Yvonne Hajda, and Robert Boyd. "Chinookan villages of the Lower Columbia." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 117.1 (2016): 6-37.

²⁰ Lewis, David. Drucker’s Records of Clackamas Villages, Quartux Journal, 2018.
<https://ndnhistoryresearch.com/2018/06/07/druckers-records-of-clackamas-villages/>

"I proveled on an old Indian to mark the Multnomah R down on the sand which he did and perfectly corresponded with the sketch given me by sundary others, with the addition of a circular mountain which passes this river at the falls and connects with the mountains of the seacoast. He also lais down the Clarkamos passing a high conical mountain near its mouth on the lower side and head in Mount Jefferson which he lais down by raising the sand as a very high mountain and covered with eternal snow. The high mountain which this Indian lais down near the entrance of Clarkamos river, we have not seen as the hills in its direction from this valley is high and obscured the sight of it from us. ... that the Clarkamos nation as also those at the falls of the Multnomah live principally on fish of which those streams abound and also on roots which they precure on its borders, they also sometimes come down to the Columbia in search of Wappato. They build their houses in the same form with those of the Columbian valley of wide split boards and covered with bark of the white cedar which is the entire length of the one side of the roof and jut over at the eve about 18 inches. At the distance of about 18 inches tansvers splinters of dried pine is inserted through the cedar bark in order to keep it smooth and prevent its edge from collapsing by the heat of the sun; in this manner the natives make very secure light and lasting roof of this bark which we have observed in every village in this valley as well as those above. This Indian informed me that Multnomah the falls was crouded with rapids and thickly inhabited by Indians of the Cal-lah-po-e-wah nation. He informed he had himself been a long way up that river etc." (255)²¹

There are great details here relating to the Clackamas nation, and how they built their houses is a comparison by Clark of the tribal cultures of the Columbia Valley which gives exacting details. The notes about the great number of people in the valley suggest that it is possible they did not see the same population decline as those on the Columbia due to smallpox.²²

Villages of the Clackamas Chinook

The Clackamas (Tlakamas) lived along the Clackamas River and along the lower Willamette. Their villages and associated territorial claims extended from Willamette Falls to the Willamette Slough. Scholars still debate the full reach of the Clackamas territory. At Willamette Falls there were villages on both sides of the river below the falls, one village above the Falls at Canemah and one village down by where the Tualatin River enters the Willamette. There were additional villages near the Clackamas estuary and at Milwaukee. There was a village on an island in the Willamette. Some of these villages at the falls are addressed and the Clowwewalla as well.

²¹ Thwaites, volume 4

²² Robert Boyd, The coming of the Spirit of Pestilence, 1999

Anthropologist Melville Jacobs describes the Chinookans as a large ethnographic group in his *Content and Style of Clackamas Oral Histories*,²³

"The cluster of hamlets and villages which spoke the Clackamas dialect is about as poorly known as other Chinook groups, and it is much too late to add to our crumbs of information, except for the upriver informants who are available today to Drs. David and Katherine French. Clackamas settlements were along the Willamette River from Portland to Oregon City and up the Clackamas River which empties into the Willamette between those modern cities. Clackamas had a society and culture cannot now be distinguished from other Chinooks except for items of linguistic and folkloristic kinds."²⁴

Boyd and Hajda (1987) note,

"the winter village, or group of villages, formed a small ethnographic group... in this part of the Northwest Coast, the larger region, with its wide-ranging social networks and common cultural orientations, was as salient for everyday life as were the cultural and linguistic repertoires partially shared by the villages constituting an ethnolinguistic group."²⁵

These nations of the central Columbia would change over time as headmen with political and spiritual power would rise and fall. The 19th century is better documented, because of the settlement and colonization of the country by white peoples of several Euro-American nations. There was a different structure of the tribal nations at the beginning of the century, previous to the fur trade, as documented by Lewis and Clark expedition. These period changes are the period previous to the 1830s under Hudson's Bay Company fur trader's influences; then the 1830s following the epidemic of malaria which killed 75 to 90- percent of the people;²⁶ then after the 1840s with heavy settlement, treaties and removal. Each period noted had Chinookan nations rise, and some disappear, economies change, populations change and new Euro-American cultures introduced which lead to complete disempowerment of the middle Chinookans.

Upper Clackamas River villages, the upriver villages, were likely seasonal fishing camps, root gathering camps, upland berry camps, with smaller year-round populations of Native people.²⁷

²³ Jacobs, Melville. *The content and style of an oral literature: Clackamas Chinook myths and tales*. University of Chicago Press, 1959.

²⁴ Jacobs 9

²⁵ Robert T. Boyd and Yvonne Hajda. Seasonal Population Movement along the Lower Columbia River: the social and ecological context. *American Ethnologist*. 14.2 (1987): 309-326.

²⁶ See Boyd, Robert. *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*, 1999.

²⁷ In 2014, there was published *Chinookan peoples of the Lower Columbia (CPLC)* edited by Robert Boyd et al. In the book are a number of chapters about the lower Chinookan peoples and one chapter addresses the Clackamas and Cascades (edited by David Lewis. with sections written by David Lewis, Eirik Thorsgard, and Chuck Williams), all descendants of these peoples. Along with the CPLC book, there is an online set of additional essays and tables available through PSU. One table is a list of the Chinookan villages, of which only one is listed as Clackamas. The Willamette Falls villages likely associated with the Clackamas Nation as well.

Certainly, by the time most ethnographic records are being created, the majority of these villages are gone, their peoples having died through the malaria epidemics of the 1830s, and/or being crowded out of their villages by early settlers. Victoria Howard told some stories of the upriver villages in Clackamas texts where they fished, and processed foods.

74. "Firewood for Smoke-drying; When a man or woman went to get fuel (for smoke-drying fish), they would go into the forest, they would seek pieces of wood (mostly dead hazels or vine maples lying about). They would break up enough of these to make their pack. Then they would tie them up, and they would put them on their back, they would proceed, they would bring them back. Those are what they burned (for smoke-drying fish)." (488)

75. "Smoke drying salmon heads; They made dressed-cut-salmon head. They took out the inside bone of the head. They cut the cheeks (so that they hung loosely). They also cut (around) the eyes (and let them hang too). Then they hung up (for smoke drying) the dressed head with the cheeks and with the eyes. They smoke-dried it. They made a small fire underneath." (488-489)

In the right season, these smaller villages would swell to accommodate a larger population of seasonal immigrants after a few specialized resources. The people who remained in these villages year-round would maintain the area for the annual gathering, fishing, and hunting camps. This is perhaps a new concept of what the seasonal camps may have actually been. Many were not fully abandoned and were outposts of the main villages which would swell during resource-rich seasons to accommodate more people. Then there would be greater opportunity to trade, arrange marriages. The permanent population of the camps may grow over time to eventually become independent.

Other tribes

The other tribes in the region are many. There were clearly hundreds of peoples, if not thousands of tribes, trading on the Columbia. It was common to have Klickitat, Klamath, and Molalla peoples on the Columbia trading for slaves and wealth items. It was common for Skilloot peoples from downriver to come to the Cascades and beyond to trade, as they were middlemen traders between the Clatsop peoples on the Coast and the interior peoples. Kalapuyans peoples like the Tualatin would travel over mountain trails in the Tualatin Mountains to trade at the Multnomah villages on the banks of the Willamette Slough (Columbia Slough or Multnomah). Kalapuyans would also visit the fishery at Willamette Falls bringing camas and wapato for trade for smoked and ground salmon.²⁸ The Coos Bay people of the southern Oregon coast have stories of Kalapuyans visiting them in their bay to trade bison robes for seashells.²⁹ Since there were no bison in western Oregon, the only way they could

²⁸ Henry, Alexander, and David Thompson. *New light on the early history of the greater Northwest*. Vol. 2. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

²⁹ Harrington Microfilm

have gotten the robes was through the Columbia River trade. The tribes of the eastern great basin and plateau, Palouse, Shoshone, Cayuse, Umatilla, and Nez Perce (Nimiipuu) peoples would travel into the Great Plains to hunt bison and bring their products for trade back to the Columbia River.³⁰

The Kalapuyans in many ways worked to marry into the Chinookan tribes and Chief Kiesno was noted for having Tualatin in-laws. Be-el Fern (Chief Halo's son, written as Beel, Be-el, or BL) of the Yoncalla band of Kalapuyans took a Wasco woman -Salista- to be in wife in a historic account.³¹ In a third account a Kalapuyan band visited Astoria in 1812 to meet the fur traders. The Kalapuyans tried to steal all the Astorian supplies but were told by Chief Kiesno to give everything back, that the Americans would be treated differently, as trading partners. Generally, the Kalapuyans made little impact on the Columbia River tribes other than being trading partners with some kinship.³²

Fishing sites of the Clackamas

Fishing locations for the Chinookans were owned and controlled by the occupant tribes, and outsiders wishing to fish would have to be gifted this right by leaders in the tribe. Normally, family relatives had the right to fish at their family claims and would always have the right to do so even if they married out to another tribe. Men would catch the fish in a variety of methods - spearing, netting, trapping - and drag them up on shore to be processed by women. Thousands of salmon caught in a spawning run would then be processed by fileting them out connected by the tail into two large filets and then splayed over an open-air drying rack to be wind dried. Other salmon may be smoked, in a smoke house, or fresh salmon would be roasted for immediate use.³³

Salmon fishing then was the primary economic activity for the Chinookans annually. But salmon was not the only fish, there were spawning runs of ooligan smelt on the Sandy and Cowlitz

³⁰ Note that the western Bison, in Idaho and Washington, likely a woodland variety, did exist into the 18th century, but were hunted out. The reason for this is probably linked to the introduction of the horse and perhaps firearms. Their extinction on the west side of the Rockies may have caused the Plateau peoples to shift their attentions to the plains for bison. Lewis, David, *Bison of the Western Rockies*, *Quartux Journal*, <https://ndnhistoryresearch.com/2018/05/25/bison-of-the-western-rockies/>; Winkle, Kenneth J. "Bison The Past, Present, And Future Of The Great Plains An Introduction." (2001).

³¹ Baker, Dean, *the Last Yoncalla*, Blind John Publications 1981. This account is supported by stories from Esther Stutzman, a descendant of Chief Halo as well.

³² For Astoria and Tualatin relations see, *New light on the early history of the greater Northwest. The manuscript journals of Alexander Henry ... and of David Thompson ... 1799-1814. Exploration and adventure among the Indians on the Red, Saskatchewan, Missouri and Columbia rivers*, by, Henry, Alexander, 1765?-1814; Thompson, David, 1770-1857; Coues, Elliott, 1842-1899., *For Yoncalla Kalapuyans*, see Baker, Dean, *the Last Yoncalla*, Blind John Publications 1981.

³³ Lewis, D., Eirik Thorsgard, and Chuck Williams. "Honoring Our Tilixam: Chinookan People of the Grand Ronde." *Boyd, Ames, and Johnson, Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia* (2013): 307-25.

ivers, runs of Lamprey at the falls, and there were also trout, steelhead runs, and fishing for the largest of the freshwater fishes, sturgeon. Salmon in the 19th century were healthier and for many types larger than today. There was a historic run of a salmon called the June hogs on the Columbia which yielded salmon sometimes more than 100 lbs. This type of salmon is extinct today - caused by damming of the Columbia.³⁴ The Willamette River was never significantly dammed at the falls so salmon runs did not disappear as they have in the upper Columbia in many areas. The lamprey runs on the Willamette are still healthy - the last place on the Columbia River system that has healthy lamprey runs.³⁵

Fishing economy

At times, the Clackamas and Clowwewalla have been confused for one another in literature.³⁶ It is likely because the area they lived in is small but there were a diverse number of villages and tribal chiefs. Within a few miles of Willamette Falls are literally two Chinookan nations, clustered there really because of the important fishing resources. The Clowwewalla were situated in villages on both sides of the river with a chief over each village, and there was a village at Canemah above the falls, and other villages sites and seasonal fishing camp locations on the lower Willamette. While the Clackamas peoples were mainly clustered on the Clackamas River, with additional fishing sites, camps on the lower Willamette, on islands and even as far as the Columbia River. There was a significant amount of protocol in establishing a fishing camp, which would not be a problem if the camp did not interfere with another camp. Habitations at fishing falls were more closely protected by the resident villagers situated there because they were highly productive and wealth generating areas.³⁷

Tribes in this region employed a number of methods and tools for getting fish. Generally the people built fishing platforms out over the falls so they could net the fish as they attempted to jump the falls. The nets, called dip nets, had long poles and one heavy salmon would be hauled per cast. They would also get fish with gill nets, fishing spears, and arrows. Canoes would be employed and spears and arrows to get salmon in the open waters. Then gill nets could be cast from shore to get fish.

Once the fish were captured, they would be hauled to the processing area, several tents and tables along the shoreline. Women mainly would filet the salmon, removing the bones and leaving the steaks connected. Normally the fillets would be hung on a drying rack or platform to be wind dried. Hard wood smoking of salmon was also common, alder is a common wood for

³⁴ Waples, Robin S., et al. "Evolutionary responses by native species to major anthropogenic changes to their ecosystems: Pacific salmon in the Columbia River hydropower system." *Molecular Ecology* 17.1 (2008): 84-96.

³⁵ Clemens, Benjamin J., et al. "Pre-spawning migration of adult Pacific lamprey, *Entosphenus tridentatus*, in the Willamette River, Oregon, USA." *Environmental biology of fishes* 93.2 (2012): 245-254. Also https://www.dfw.state.or.us/fish/CRP/docs/coastal_columbia_snake_lamprey/CPL%20-%20Final%202-14-20.pdf

³⁶ Its also the case that the process of simplifying the characters of tribes, through anthropology and history, and in education has confused the general public about this very complex society and civilization.

³⁷ Lewis, David, Eirik Thorsgard, and Chuck Williams. "Honoring our tilixam: Chinookan people of Grand Ronde." *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia* (2013): 307-325.

this. For immediate needs salmon would be fresh roasted by the fire, on the Columbia the salmon steaks would be roasted whole, while in other regions the steaks may be roasted in smaller sizes.³⁸ Dried and smoked salmon was well preserved in baskets to be traded with visitors to the camp. Dried salmon would be ground in stone bowls into a powder and this powder could be added to other foods to enhance their flavor and nutrition.

Dried, smoked and fresh salmon were essential parts of the Columbia River trade and was their main wealth item. Associated tools for traveling the rivers, like carved canoes (western chinook style and river canoes), canoes paddles, bailers, were also traded. Woven baskets, tule and cattail mats and other such woven items, were also well traded. Other fishes, when they came into the river in large quantities were also traded, ooligan smelt was commonly caught and traded in large amounts during their season, winter on tributaries of the Columbia.³⁹ Sturgeon was also a great commodity, and they were caught in the winters as well.⁴⁰ Sturgeon grow to huge sizes and one fish may feed a village. Steelhead trout, mussels, and many other river and lake resources were all gathered and eaten, some traded.

³⁸ The tribes on the Columbia would only roast or fillet salmon by keeping the steaks intact, while tribes in Northern California would roast then on single cedar spits and thus fillet the salmon into medium sized steaks.

³⁹ The Cowlitz and Sandy have large runs of ooligan. Other runs of the ooligan smelt, another variety, are on ocean beaches and some ooligan was traded into the Columbia by the Tillamook too.

⁴⁰ Lewis and Clark notes activity around fishing for sturgeon in the winter, seemingly in the same locations as wapato were being gathered.

Ethnographic Maps of Tribal Territories

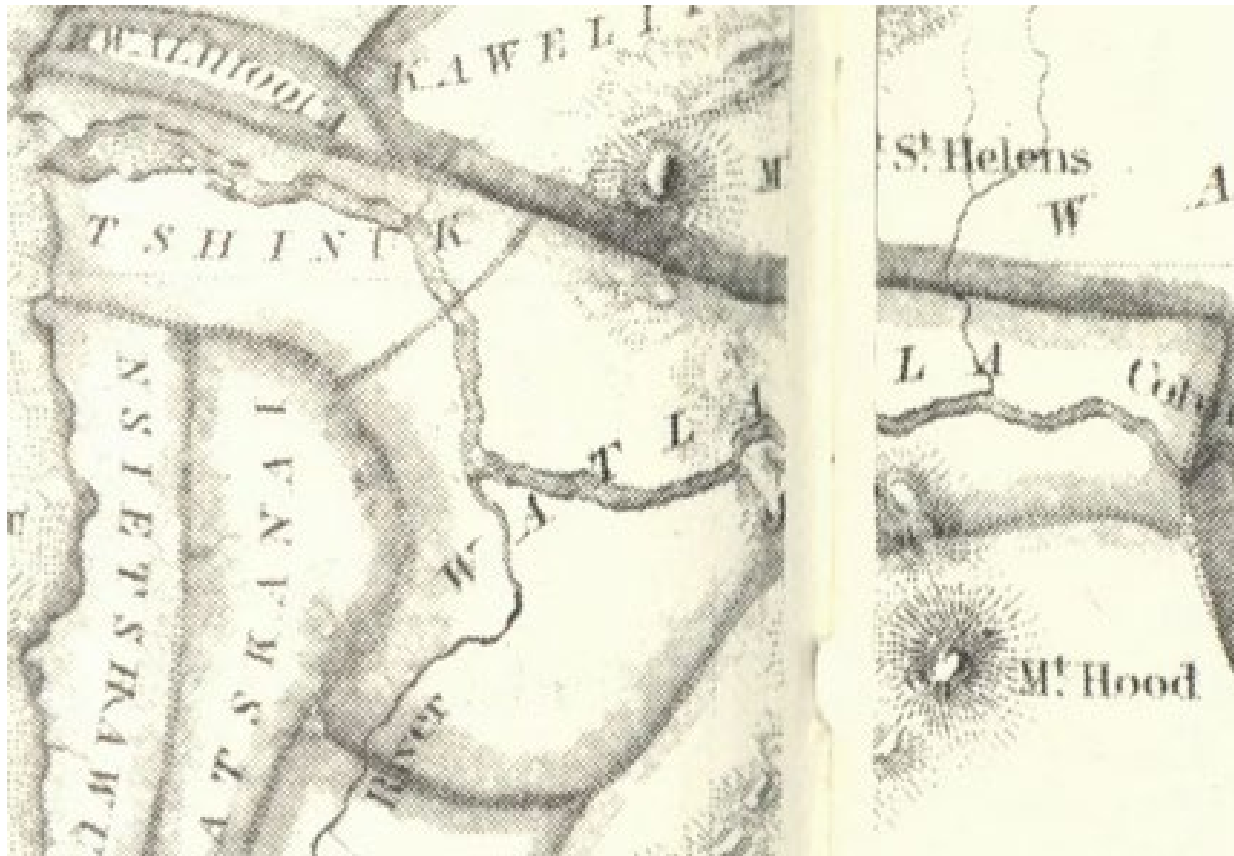


Figure 13 section of Tribal Territory map, Horatio Hale, Wilkes Expedition 1841, published in the Wilkes expeditionary series.

Horatio Hale's map from information collected on the US Exploring Corps expedition in 1841, is the first to show tribal territories. Hale only spent time on the Columbia and got most of his information from fur traders at Fort Vancouver, Marcus Whitman at his mission and the few native people he met when he travelled the Columbia. He does not show the Clackamas and presents the Watala as the only named tribe for the Willamette and middle Columbia. His map may have been accurate if we considered most of the tribes in the area were intermarried, but his map shows a Columbia-centric bias. Still this map is the base map for most of those which follow for the next 180 years. It is my estimation that Hale's methods deserve a critical look, he does not identify all of his informants, where he gets all of his information, and yet creates a map of tribal territories which if made contemporarily would not get through reviewers. At best he collected names of tribes, some of their language and culture, but he does not well represent their territories in 1841. This begs the question of whether this should be relied upon as the base map for all tribal territories for the past 180 years.

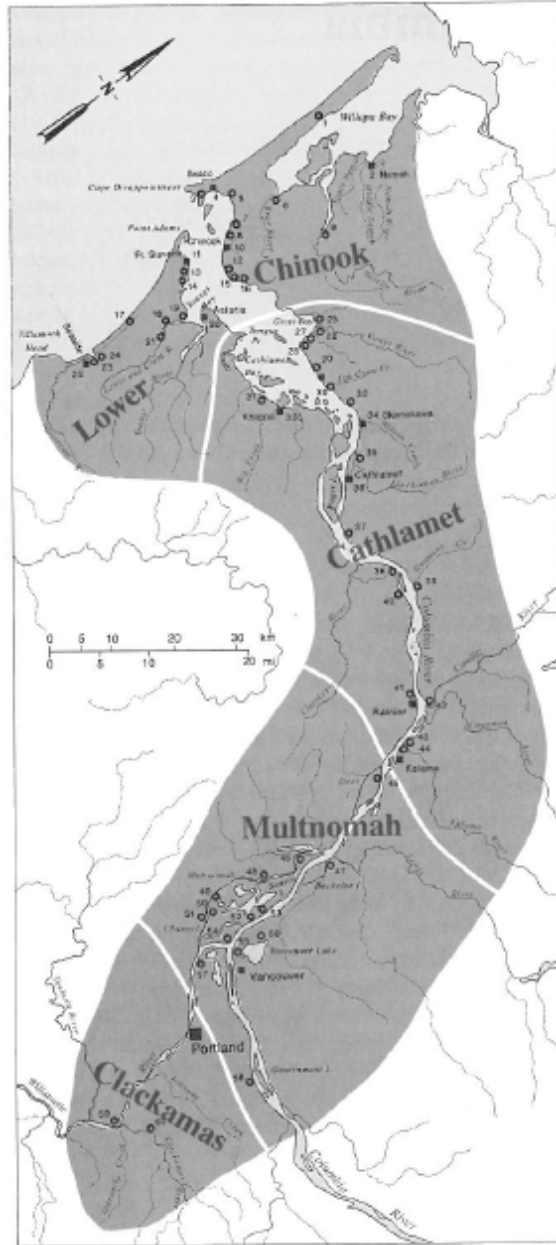


Figure 14 Handbook of NA Indians, Volume 7 Northwest Coast, 1978. West is up.

The Tribal territory map above stops at the Clackamas. The divisions shown are imagined, and the Cascades should be on this map due to the close kinships and overlapping territories they shared with the Clackamas and Multnomah.



Figure 15 Section of Gibbs-Starling map 1851, Intended to show the ceded territories of the tribes and their planned reserves, NARA.

The Gibbs-Starling map was made to represent the ceded territories of the Willamette and Clackamas tribes in 1851, and their chosen reservation sites. Commissioned by the Willamette Valley Treaty Commission, aids and translators George Gibbs and Edmund Starling likely got this map from Leonard White, a steamboat captain on the Willamette River. They then used the map at Champoeg when the tribes were negotiating their treaties. Records suggest the tribal chiefs, surrounded by their people, stood over the map and pointed out their territories, which were then recorded by Gibbs and Starling. They were hired by the commission to help with the mapping of the territories. The Clackamas treaty of 1851 was the last completed, in late 1851, because they had initially refused to sell their land at Oregon City during their first negotiation. The 1851 Clackamas treaty allowed them to remain in their houses until they passed, and have fishing rights in their territory, but the treaty was never ratified. The map shows the Clackamas River in some detail, and some of the early towns, Canemah, Oregon City, Milwaukie, Portland and Fort Vancouver-Columbia Barracks. Fort Vancouver had been taken over only a few years earlier from the Hudson's Bay Company. The red notations for "Clackamas" and "Conemah" were original Tribal Village locations, steamboat stops in the 1850s. These towns were being settled upon and taken over by settlers at this time. Johnson Creek does appear to be represented on the map by a short creek notation near Milwaukie.



Figure 16 section of Sketch Map of the Oregon Territory 1855, NARA

The sketch map of 1855 was drawn following the completion of the treaties of western Oregon. This northern section of the map represents the ceded lands of the Clackamas, Cascades, and Multnomah peoples of Oregon. There are details on the map not seen in the 1851 treaty map. Detailed are the river meanders and buttes and creeks. The dashed lines represent the extent of tribal land claims. A section of the Washington territory is also represented, as a squared area north of the Columbia which may relate directly with the Cascades Watlala land claims. The Willamette Valley treaty and Joel Palmer's reports and notes about the treaty suggest that a section of the north bank of the Columbia was also claimed by the Multnomah, Clackamas and Cascades peoples, but that the treaty did not address these claims and Palmer expected them to be settled later. By 1855, the Indian administration of peoples on the north bank was considered part of the Washington Territory and part of a different Indian administrative district, Washington Superintendency, first managed by Isaac Stevens, the first governor of and co-appointed Indian Superintendent of the Washington Territory. Stevens never got around to fairly negotiating and paying the middle Chinookan people for their lands. This is a portion of the unsettled land areas of the Pacific Northwest today.



Figure 17 Section of the George Gibbs map of the Lower Columbia c1870.

George Gibbs was a central figure in the early Indian administration and ethnographic studies of the tribes in the region. He took many jobs in federal service, surveying, translating and studying native languages. He was a translator for the northern California Indian treaties negotiated by Reddick McKee. Then he served in the Willamette Valley treaty commission as well, both efforts in 1851. He was a central figure in the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution and its collections of native ethnographies. Still regardless of his experiences and personal studies of native languages, his map of the Chinookan peoples, tribes he knew intimately, did not extend to at least Willamette Falls where the most southern Chinook tribe was located, the Clowwewalla peoples. The map also generalizes the Chinook (Tsinuk) culture and does not show the various tribal and band level political divisions.

Discussion of Johnson Creek Area Use patterns

- ❖ Johnson Creek resources that were or were thought to be used (salmon, lamprey, other fish, plants, etc.)

For the area of “Johnson Creek” there is nothing known about tribal villages, or camps of any kind. The land between the Clackamas and the Columbia had numerous streams and creeks which drain the foothills of the Cascades. The land has rolling hills, buttes, and many varied environments. Buttes for example host many microenvironments, upland forests (cedars and firs) and even huckleberry patches in the draws, species which are not very common on the prairie floor.⁴¹ The prairies and rolling hills areas also have oak groves, camas prairies, and close to the Columbia River, areas of wapato in sloughs, lakes, ponds etc. The Sandy River is noted as not having any tribal settlements,⁴² but the local tribes would have accessed the Sandy for temporary encampments for ooligan fishing, salmon fishing and perhaps wapato harvesting. The ooligan smelt opportunities on the Sandy is well known even today as the Sandy estuary has a February to March run of the small oily fish.

There may have been some salmon fishing encampments on “Johnson Creek”⁴³ because the creek does host a run of salmon historically. The size of the creek could easily have been the site of fish weirs and fish traps, a type of fishing common in the region. In addition there would have been acorn gathering, camas gathering, wapato gathering “camps” in the interior lands between the Clackamas and the Columbia. These would be seasonal camps, early spring, spring, and summer for camas, mid-summer for berries and other root crops, later summer to fall for acorns and wapato. Spring and fall chinook salmon runs would have also attracted fish camps from the Clackamas and other neighboring tribes in the area (Cascades, Wapato Island, Wakanasissi, etc.).

The junction of Johnson creek with the Willamette was the site of contact trade and travel by Native peoples. Islands in the Willamette and Clackamas were subject to fish camps as many tribal people were adept at setting gill nets and placing fish weirs and traps across a section of the main river.

The whole of the interior region would be inside of the catchment zone. This is the area where tribes accessed food and other resources by hunting, fishing, gathering, or digging activities. Normally in the Pacific Northwest, such wild foods area required some travel and the establishment of short-term campsites Spring, Summer, and Fall. Many catchment areas for

⁴¹ I noted some years ago that there is huckleberry on one side of Powell Butte, in a forested thicket along the trail.

⁴² Lewis and Clark

⁴³ Thus far, there is no known name for the creek. It is uncommon for the tribes of the region to name creeks, streams and rivers unless they are very significant and then the name usually translates to “big water”, “blue water”, or “salmon catching place” etc. This is the case for the Kalapuyans and Chinookans. The Columbia River does have a name in several tribal dialects, Nichiwana is name from the upper Chinookans.

tribes are assumed to be at least within 20 miles of the primary villages, their seasonal round. For the Clackamas, and likely the other tribes, the extent of their catchment zone/seasonal round would be very large, likely 60 miles or more to account for the Oral histories of their travel into the Cascades, and into the Mt. Hood wilderness to access berries, especially huckleberries in the mid-summer. Clackamas family groups may be gone weeks at a time while they engaged in resource gathering, and processing (smoking, roasting, drying) and would then return to the primary village for storage of their processed foods.

Today the notion of catchment or cultural use area is partially included in the term “usual and accustomed areas,” based on the legal rights some tribes retained when they signed treaties with the United States to cede their lands, yet maintained rights to fish, hunt and gather in their usual and accustomed places.

The other use of the area was for travel and trade. Many of the early roads of the area are expanded trails used by the tribes, called “Indian Trails.” These trails would connect major resources with the tribal settlements or would be the interior routes for travel from the Clackamas villages to the Columbia River where much of the trade in the region occurred. There were routes to the Cascades villages at the rapids, and to the Columbia River villages at Blue lake (Nichiqli) and a few miles downstream at Neerchakioo, both being winter villages of the upriver Cascades peoples.⁴⁴ As well routes would have taken bands of the Clackamas into the Mt. Hood and Cascades foothills to access upland resources, for hunting camps, berry camps and travel beyond the valley, over the Cascades into eastern Oregon to visit and trade with Deschutes and Tenino peoples. It is well known that nearly all early settler routes, wagon trails etc. were simply expanded Indian trails, especially those that crossed the Cascades.

Some of the trails, in the prairies and foothills crossed the length of the valley and were placed in upland locations to get above the floodplains of the lower prairies. The Willamette Valley is known for its rainfall and moisture which drains from the snowfields and rain shadow moisture of the Cascade Range. Previous to settlers and the physical changes they made to waterways, drain fields, and channelized systems, the whole of the valley had a significant amount of water which remained on the land to create wetlands in most prairies. The engineered changes made to the valley water systems in the past 180 years has forced water into channelized rivers and streams and they now empty faster into the ocean. The water does not remain in swales and swamps long if they develop at all. Tribes knew the valley had a vast amount of wetland prairies and planned for the seasonal freshets (rainstorms) and resulting swales, and placed their trails above the valley floor, so they could travel in relative efficiency rather than slogging through mud and marshes.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Lewis and Clark visited both these villages and recorded them.

⁴⁵ Lewis, David, summer research 2023.

GLO maps and survey notes of Johnson Creek area and vicinity

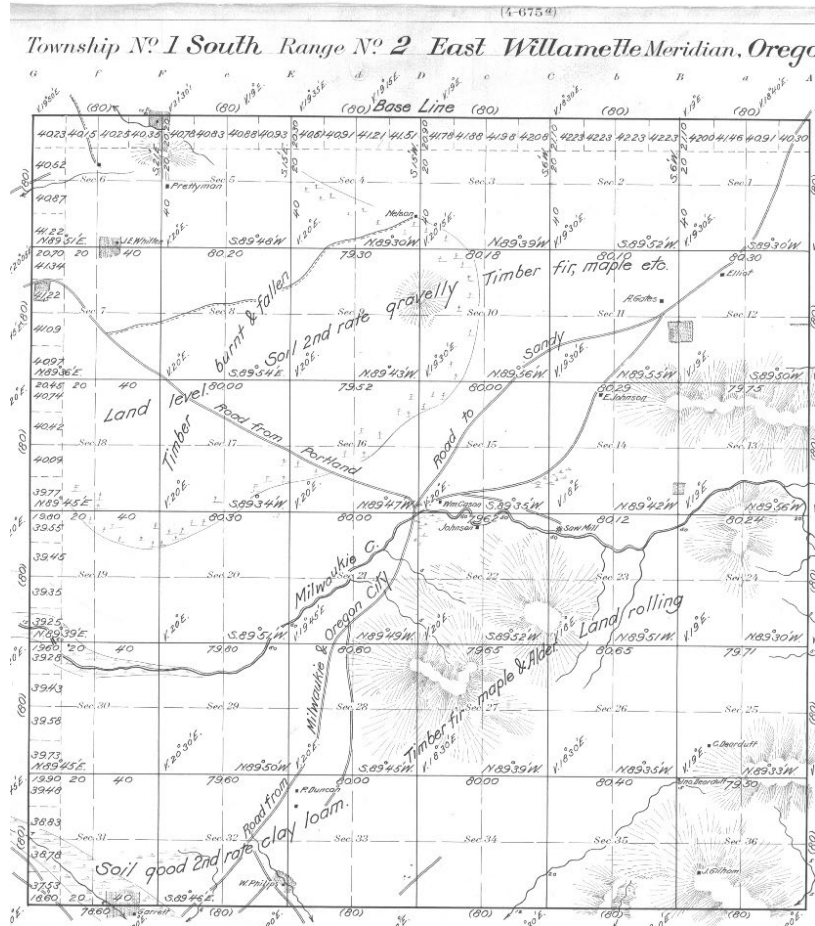
The General Land Office (GLO) maps do have a lot of information about land in the Willamette Valley. Earliest surveys were conducted in 1852 for many areas, including the Portland metro area. The surveyors had a great variability of knowledge about land, vegetation, timber, soils etc. and their survey notes can be useful toward understandings of what resources were available to be accessed by the tribes. More often the survey notes are a bare list of distances and coordinates, with little information about the surrounding environment, because they were not hired to note Native peoples or their potential use of the land, only how the land could be used for agriculture. Occasionally notations of tree types can help envision the logging potential and the type of valley environment the survey locations were. Water too will be noted, especially if it impeded the progress of the surveyors.

The following is a set of GLO maps for the area of study and some selections of survey notes that help us understand something about the land. The notes tend to be brief.



GLO S1, E1 1884,

This survey map shows greater detail, notes Lot Whitcomb's claim, the town of Milwaukie, and the beginnings of Johnson Creek. Note that about a mile north on the creek there is a small lake, in fact several lakes along the creek, and there is noted a wetland alongside the creek. The extent of the wetland is very large, far beyond the creek, suggesting that this was a significant landscape feature of the river bottoms. Today this is called Crystal Springs, aided originally by beavers to be a wetland, but likely having a significant amount of moisture as well. The other creeks and streams on the map have the same features, suggesting wetlands were the rule, not an exception. This area would be accessed by the local tribes for harvesting wetland resources, tule, cattail, camas, wapato, waterfowl, water mammals, fishes, and amphibians. The small lakes may represent activity by beavers, damming the creek, or the activity of farmers creating water ponds for serving livestock. Timber was yet thick in the area suggesting only light development in 1884.

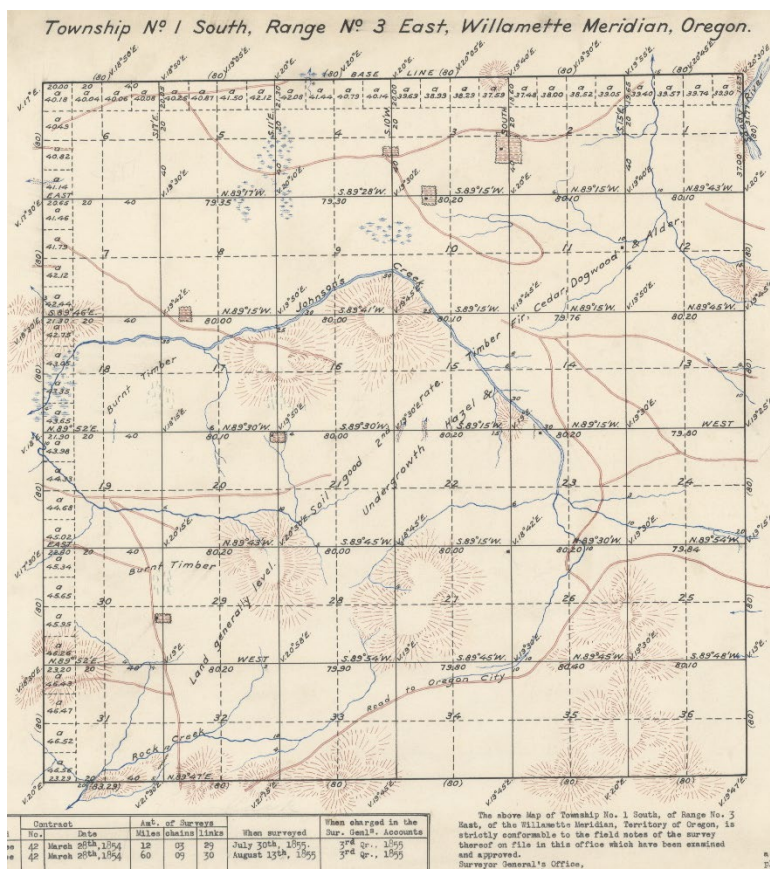


GLO Map 1S, 2E, 1854,

Inland, to the east of Milwaukie and the Willamette River, there are no large rivers present on the map, only creeks and streams. A road ventures through the area now known as Gresham, past a number of well-known buttes, Powell Butte is to the north of the creek in Section 13. Johnson Creek on this map is labelled “Milwaukie C.[reek],” suggesting that Milwaukie Creek was an alternative name used for the creek. The creek drains the buttes and begins entering the foothills of the Cascade and the Mt. Hood wilderness. The main roads on the map may have been Indian Trails which connected the various waterways, Clackamas to Sandy, or Clackamas to Columbia, with likely endpoints near where seasonal villages would be placed, or annual villages remained occupied year-round. The Indian trails would be used for trade, for seasonal travel to resources, and for visitations to relatives in major villages. Along the trails there were likely known resource areas for digging camas, wapato, gathering acorns, going to berry picking areas, hunting camps and fishing camps. Settler stories suggest a significant number of cultural items (arrowheads, etc.) have been found in this area.⁴⁷ There are notes on the map of

⁴⁷ Kate Carone- I have been told and shown Indigenous artifacts found along the creek by longtime residents in the vicinity of Tideman-Johnson Park, Foster Floodplain Natural Area (Foster & ~106th), and near SE Deardorff Road, as

burnt areas, suggesting a regular annual burning cycle for the tribes in this inland area. Burning would stimulate the production of acorns and huckleberries and have benefits for many plants used by the tribes.



GLO Map 1S, 3E, 1855,

The largest feature of note on this map is that Johnson Creek is colored blue and named. We see the upper reaches of the creek as it enters the Mt. Hood wilderness, the northern end of the Cascades. The creek curls around several buttes. This may be in the vicinity of the original William Johnson DLC. The map does not have a lot of features, perhaps there is more described in the survey notes. But the land is gravelly and there is a lot of fir, cedar, dogwood, and alder timber on the land. There may be wetland areas in the north denoted by blue stippling on the

well as told various stories about indigenous people who still frequented the creek into the mid-1900s for hunting and gathering. There are several oral accounts of arrowheads and other artifacts being found at the base of Mount Scott not far from what is now Foster Floodplain Natural Area, but the only written one I can find is from Steve Johnson. There is still a small tributary to Johnson Creek in that area called "Indian Creek" that flows out of basalt outcroppings that used to be called "Indian Rock." Those outcroppings were partly quarried and partly filled in with wood shavings from the former Dwyer's sawmill at 6400 SE 101st Ave. I have a few articles I could share, but none of them are peer-reviewed, they are first- and second-hand accounts. Jason Bird is a Lents resident who could be a [rehttps://lentshistory.com/contact/](https://lentshistory.com/contact/)

map. The road to Oregon City likely was an Indian trail into the Mt. Hood wilderness. Several such trails enter the Cascades in this area as tribes sought to cross the mountain range for trade or to access huckleberry picking areas well known to exist on the flanks of the mountain. Lewis and Clark's journal also suggested that some tribal people, in April and May, would leave Cascade Rapids to go to Willamette Falls to catch salmon. They would have used trails like this if they did not use a canoe.

From the GLO survey Notes I have gathered a few quotes related to the character of the land.

Survey Notes: 1S-3E OR R0002

Timber fir about half burnt & one fourth fallen.

Undergrowth Hazel, maple, fern, peas (there is a native pea variety), thimbleberry etc.

All of the south boundary of Township one North Range 2 east has been burnt over & much of the timber is fallen & has a thick undergrowth which makes it difficult to get through. There is no water at all except a little on the south side of section 31. July 4th

Survey notes: 1S 3E OR-R0009

2. Land nearly level, soil good, second rate clay loam, and some gravel. Timber fir partially burned and fallen, undergrowth Hazel fern etc.

4. Land, except bottoms, hilly, timber fir, Burnt and fallen. Bottoms rich timber fir, cedar, alder, dogwood, willow, vine maple, yew. Etc.

5. Land gently rolling, soil good second rate clay loam, timber fir, cedar, ash, maple, alder, dogwood Undergrowth vine maple, hazle [sic], fern etc.

7. Land descending South: soil good second rate clay loam. Timber fir, undergrowth Hazle, fern, etc. April 21 1852

Survey Notes: 1S 3E OR-R0031

2. this line pass over level ground, soil black loam, timber fir, maple & Hazle.

4. Milwaukie Branch, fir, cedar 36 inches, dogwood.

6. Soil black loam on the level ground & red clay on hills, timber fir

7. Soil gravelly land level water scarce & only got by digging 40 feet

Survey Notes: 2S 2E OR-R0036

50. This mile is well watered with small springs, heavy timbered principally fir, soil 1st and second rate.

51. This mile is generally level, soil good 2nd rate, timber fir, cedar, etc.

55. This mile is level, soil rich, Timber dead & scattering

56. first ¼ useless, last ¾ land soil rich with scattering fir timber.

Survey Notes: 2S 2E OR R0036

59. this mile is all susceptible of cultivation, soil 2nd rate, no water, timber dead fir.

GLO map of Clackamas village

One of the few native villages which appear on the GLO maps is the Clackamas village near Gladstone.



Figure 18 section of GLO map 2S, 2E, from 1852 showing Clackamas village and gravesites near present town of Gladstone.

This is a section of GLO Map 2S,2E, 1852, and shows the location of the main Clackamas village. The site is at Gladstone today. The shoreward Indian village was quite large, and next to it is shown Indian graves, suggesting a graveyard. This would be the principal village of the tribe occupied mostly in the Spring and Fall. In the summer, family groups and bands would leave to harvest other foods. Upriver were a number of other small villages, towns, for fishing and other food gathering activities. The people here had rights to fish at Willamette Falls.

Rev. Francois Norbert Blanchet visited this village in 1841, in the midst of an epidemic, likely the end of the malaria epidemic,

“The village is situated on the left bank of the river, which is hardly an arpent [.85 of a mile] in width. On the right bank is seen the trace of a large village which the fever of 1830 caused to disappear. The one which I was visiting containing no more than fifteen lodges about 25 feet long by 20. In former times the houses were high and solidly built; but after the fever had ravaged, people expect to die any day; and that is why, these poor natives say, they no longer

take the trouble to build. One sees yet behind the village some traces of long lines of lodges which used to cover the terrain; the longest behind measured 157 steps in length.”⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Landerholm, Carl, tr., Demers, Modeste Bp. 1809-1871., Blanchet, Francis Norbert 1795-1883. *Notices & voyages of the famed Quebec mission to the Pacific Northwest: being the correspondence, notices, etc Oregon Historical Society [by the Champoeg Press, Reed College] 1956. (pp 80-120)*

GLO Exterior Plat

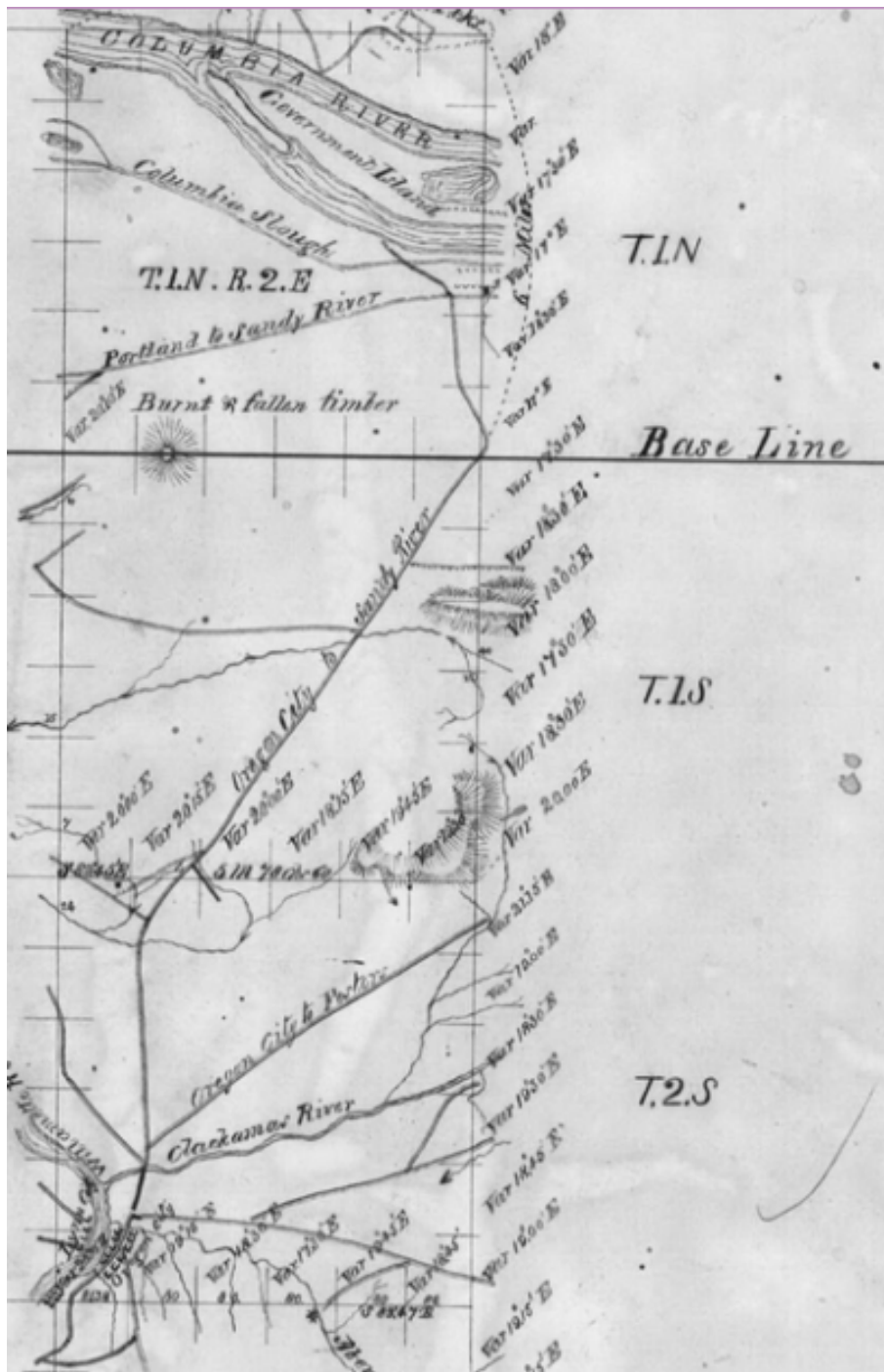


Figure 19 GLO exterior Plat section Willamette Falls to Columbia River, BLM website

This exterior plat for several quadrangles shows the network of trails between Oregon City and the Columbia, these would have been original Indian trails, used and expanded by settlers to be wagon roads. They connect key resource areas, Oregon City to Sandy, Oregon City to the Cascades rapids etc.

GLO Map of Columbia Near Blue Lake

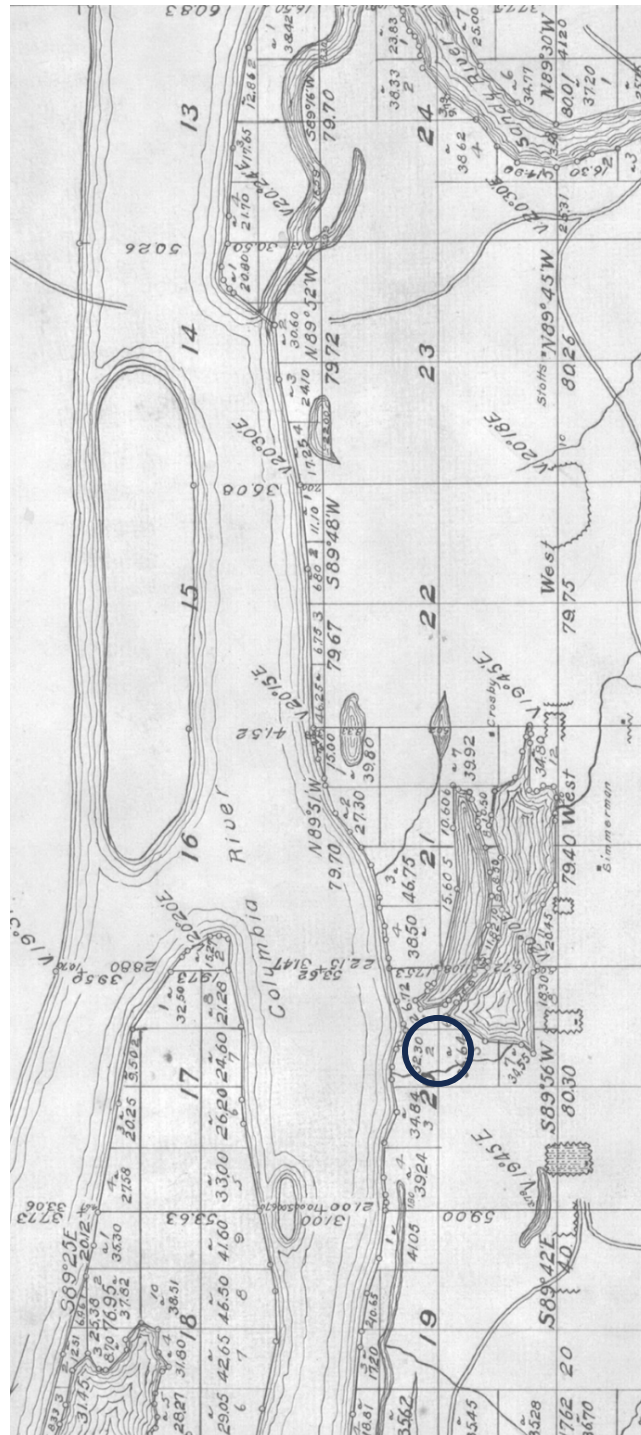


Figure 20 GLO Map 1N 3E 1852 on Columbia Near Blue Lake

The Village of Nachikolee was at Blue Lake.

Johnson Creek Names

- ❖ Was Johnson Creek referred to as any other name?

Johnson creek is named after William Johnson and his family who came to Oregon in 1846 by covered wagon. They chose a land claim near Mt. Scott in 1849. His land claim is now bounded by the S.E. streets 92nd, 112th, and Duke (extended) and Clatsop. He built a sawmill on the property in 1850 and the creek was subsequently named after him. (Snyder, Eugene E., We Claimed this Land, Portland's Pioneer Settlers)

Establishing a transportation network was an early priority of East Portland residents. In a 1915 unpublished history on the origin of Foster Road, W.S. Chapman addresses a meeting on May 28, 1853, at Johnson's Mill (along Johnson Creek, then known as **Milwaukie Creek**, see Map 21) to consider opening a wagon road to Portland. According to another account by Lents Branch librarian Gladys Brown, the **route chosen for the road had long been traveled by Native Americans**. It was named after pioneer Philip Foster, who had a farm near Estacada. Foster Road became a well-traveled farm-to- market route connecting Powell Valley Road near the present-day 52nd Avenue to downtown Portland. Today, a few farmhouses from the late 19th and early twentieth century can still be seen along its route, including a Victorian farmhouse next to Johnson Farmhouses at 14707 SE Foster Road, and an 1887 home at 11823 SE Foster Road. (Page 8)

Tribal Populations and declines

- ❖ Population estimates and historic declines

The malaria epidemic is described by Victoria Howard (Wishikin Wacheno) a Clackamas descendant in 1930.

"I do not know how long a time after then [tuberculosis deaths], and the ague (fever and shivering) is on its way here. Dear oh dear! Now another thing!' Soon but I do not know just how long after, then some one person got the ague. He lay with his back to the fire, he got only colder. They threw covers over him, but the ague got worse. His whole body shook. So long a time, and then it stopped. Now he got feverish, he got thirsty for water. They gave it to him, he drank it. So many days, and then he died. Then some other person too, and also I do not know how many. Their village was a large one, but they all got the ague. In each and every house so many of the people were ill now. They said that when they had fever, they would go to the river, they would go drink water, they would go back home, and directly as they were [return]ing, they would drop right there, they would die. When some of them were feverish, they would run to the river, they would go and swim in it, they would go ashore, they would drop right there, they would die...."

“The (Clackamas) people died (from the introduced sicknesses), I do not know how many. Only a few did not die. It (the epidemic of ague) quit even before they gathered them (the corpses that were lying around), they buried them. They were at last through with (burying) them all, and then they (the survivors) lived there.” (Jacobs 1959: 546, 547)

Victoria Howard offers the best description of the effects of malaria. Boyd (1999) offers a detailed accounting of the effects of malaria which began in about 1830. Population declines are extreme, a pandemic level effect, with some 75 to 97% death rate of people from many tribes. The estimated 25,000 in the area decline to about 1000 by 1850. For the South bank peoples (Oregon City to Cascades) maybe 300 are removed to the Grand Ronde Reservation in 1856. The north bank Columbia River people were technically under a different administrative unit, that for the Washington Superintendency and would be removed to other Native communities and reservations later (Yakima, White Salmon, Quinault, etc.). Population numbers are difficult to estimate due to the great amount of movement of the Columbia River people, with the Cascades moving their whole villages to the “Wapato Valley” in September and then moving back to Cascade Rapids in April. Therefore, the population estimates would greatly change based on the season.

Why there are not records of the Tribes at Johnson Creek

Whether there are records of oak groves, camas fields and other likely camp sites is a question. The area tribes all went through a few epidemics, the first was smallpox in the 1770s, and then malaria in 1830. The smallpox impact is not well known, there were no observers but there is an estimated 30% drop in populations in the region. Then the malaria epidemic in 1830 and a few years after caused 70% to 90% declines in populations. White settlement began in earnest in the 1840s and the northern sections of the valley were settled first. Malaria caused the abandonment of many villages, the survivors confederated into a few main villages likely those on the mainstem of the Willamette and Clackamas. Settlers rarely interacted or collected many stories of the tribes in this area during settlement. Then the tribes were removed to the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation in 1856.⁴⁹ Collections of tribal ethnographies did not begin until the 1870s and then continued into the 1940s. Any information about “Johnson Creek” villages or seasonal activities would be difficult to extract from any ethnographic research because the population which may have occupied that area would have declined in the 1830s and would be integrated into the mainstem Clackamas village populations. People from the Grand Ronde Reservation in the 20th century would not likely have heard about any Johnson Creek activities from their grandparents.

⁴⁹ Lewis, David. Tribal Histories of the Willamette Valley, 2023.

Removal Of the Chinookans, 1856

❖ Removal of Indigenous peoples

In 1855, Joel Palmer was engaged in removing tribes to reservations to manage the many land conflicts in the region between settlers and tribes. These conflicts had become wars which were engaging several tribes, volunteer militia, and the regular U.S. Army in many forays. As a way to separate combatants, Palmer and his agents were moving tribes from their territories onto temporary encampments while more permanent accommodations were being explored and prepared for resettlement.⁵⁰

The Willamette Valley Treaty⁵¹ was signed by the Kalapuya, Molalla, Chinook tribes by January 22, 1855, and ratified by Congress on March 3, 1855. Many of the tribes in the treaty had gone through the treaty process in 1851 and were disappointed that the 1851 treaties were not ratified. The tribes may have not understood the treaty processes in the United States and were surprised later to find that negotiated agreements were not valid until agreed on by Congress, and the President. They learned to be dismissive of federal officials because their words and promises were not valid agreements. Tribal leaders found that the words and promises of one set of officials would not match those of the next set. Tribal leaders pointed out that they were normally appointed for life, their opinions were respected, and became the law among their peoples, while Indian agents and superintendents did not have the same powers, they would be regularly replaced.

During the early 1850s, thousands more immigrant settlers moved into the region and the tribes experienced progressively less power and control over their lands and their resources. As stated previously, food sources became scarce, they experienced hunger, loss, and discrimination from white settlers who saw and treated Native people as lesser humans with lesser rights. Many tribal leaders saw the value in taking payments for the sale of their lands and rights, taking whatever they could get for the land, and integrate as best they could with the settler culture, so that they would no longer be targets of violence from settlers. Throughout the 1840s and early 1850s the Native people were sandpapered away with a wide variety of conflicts with settlers, prospectors and militia, following epidemics, to the point that many tribes disappeared completely. Therefore, selling their lands and moving to a promised Indian reservation with promised security, food, housing, and services- became the best option to save their people from complete destruction.

⁵⁰ The plan was always to remove tribes, there were few attempts to control the actions of militant whites, or even to hold them accountable for acts of violence against the tribes. The volunteer militias were largely blamed for the regional wars in federal reports, while historic literature has typically laid the blame on the tribes.

⁵¹ There was no official title of the treaty, the other name for it is the Kalapuya Etc. Treaty of 1855

period	place	tribes	population
October 1855	Switzlers Ferry encampment	Wah-lalla (Cascades)	97 people
October 1855	Oregon City area	Tumwater (Clowwewalla)	21 men
April 3-9 1856	Transported Canemah to Dayton	Clackamas, Klamath, Clowwewalla, Wal-al-lah (Cascades)	317 people
April 5 1856	Issuing of supplies	Klamath, Clackamas & others of various scattering tribes of the north	330 people (141 Klamath)
April 18 1856	Enroute to Grand Ronde from Dayton	Clackamas, Clowwewalla, Wallalah, Tumwater bands	209 people
November 1856	Grand Ronde Reservation census	Thomas band, William band, Johns band, Clackamas, others	235 people

The

Figure 21 chart of records of Chinook people from middle Columbia being removed to Grand Ronde Reservation 1855-1856, further records do not record tribal information until the 1880s.

Willamette Valley land cession treaty encompassed (also called the “Kalapuya, Etc. Treaty of 1885”) the whole of the Willamette Valley and the Middle Columbia on the south bank between Cascade Rapids and Oak Point and was signed by the chiefs of the Cascades, Clackamas, and Multnomah peoples.⁵² Soon after Palmer and his assistants Edward Geary and John Flett visited with several settlers and arranged to remove the Kalapuya tribes from the settler land claims so that they may be administered and protected from settler attacks.

Those Chinookans in the middle Colombia were visited and removed by businessman and Milwaukie founder, Lot Whitcomb, who was serving as Special Indian agent on the Columbia. Whitcomb’s access to steamboats enabled him to collect all the Chinookans from the south bank and ferry them to Switzler’s Ferry on the Columbia River as a temporary reserve site (near Portland Airport today). Other reserve sites- where Clackamas, Clowwewalla, Clatskanie, and Nepechuck tribes were removed to- were at Milton (St. Helens), at Oregon City, and the Clackamas village site on Cason’s land claim (Gladstone). The Chinookan tribes and Clatskanie, were collected in October 1855 and remained at their reserves until March 1856 when they were transported by steamboat to Dayton (see figure 21 for a detail of the removals and counts).

⁵² This treaty is also called the Kalapuya Etc. treaty of 1855 but this is the legal land cession of the whole of the managed wetland which is the project area addressed in this report. From the Columbia the Clatskanie also signed the treaty but are not a Chinookan people and not central to the project area. Their culture may not be relevant to any of the Chinookan tribes.

Details of Removal to Dayton

The Rogue River War (1855-1856) was raging in southwestern Oregon and many settlers were calling for the complete extermination of all tribes. The first Kalapuya removals occurred in March 1855 between French Prairie and Eugene, on both sides of the valley. Some ten different encampment sites were established for Kalapuyans, Molallans, and some Klamath people. In October 1855 Palmer issued orders to begin removing tribes to a permanent reservation. He ordered newly appointed Special Agents Lot Whitcomb and Berryman Jennings to remove tribes on the lower Willamette River (Portland area) and tribes on the south bank of the lower Columbia to encampments to await removal to a permanent reservation. Whitcomb had at his disposal several steamships and he used them to remove the tribes quickly and efficiently.

October 13, 1855

"It is hereby ordered that the Indians in the Willamette Valley, parties to the Treaty of 10th January 1855, shall be forthwith collected upon the temporary reservations heretofore, or now to be assigned them, there to remain under the direction of such persons as may be appointed to act for the time being as their local agents. The names of all adult males, and boys over 12 years of age shall be enrolled and the roll called daily. When anyone shall be absent at roll call, the fact shall be noted, and unless a satisfactory reason be rendered, the absentee shall be regarded as a person dangerous to the peace of the country, and dealt with accordingly..."

Joel Palmer for publication

October 19, 1855

"You are appointed a special Sub Ind Agent in conjunction with Berryman Jennings and local agent for the tribes residing along the south bank of the Columbia River between the Cascade Falls and mouth of the Willamette River, and as such you will proceed without delay to carry out these regulations and orders from this office, given under date of the 13th instant a copy of which is herewith enclosed. After conferring with Col. Jennings as to the point of locating the encampment for the Indians in your district and those on Clackamas and its vicinity of Oregon City. You will proceed to the Indian Village on the bank of the Columbia River a few miles above Switzler's and direct those Indians to repair at once to the designated encampment in accordance with these instructions..."

Joel Palmer to Lot Whitcomb

(A similar set of orders were sent to Berryman Jennings the same day)

November 9, 1855

"I have collected all the Indians on the south side of Columbia River, between the mouth of Sandy and the Willamette River together encampment three miles above Mr. Switzers nearly 100. All quiet and friendly no fears of outbreaks entertained on the part of the whites. They are providing for themselves. No expense for provisions as yet..."

Lot Whitcomb to Joel Palmer

John Switzer began a ferry on the Columbia River in 1846 and ran it from the southern bank (Oregon Territory) to Hayden Island where he had land, and then to the north bank to Fort Vancouver landing. He appears to have been the first regular ferry service in the Portland area. Previously, most people wishing to cross the river would pay Natives to run them across in canoes, or the Hudson's Bay Company would help settlers cross as well. John Switzer Jr. took over his father's ferry business in about 1855. They also had a lumberyard operation too.⁵³

"In 1846, John Switzler and his family settled here. He supplied Fort Vancouver with cattle, which he pastured where Columbia Edgewater members now play golf. He also ran a post office and the first Portland-Vancouver ferry. The fare was 50 cents for a pedestrian and one dollar for a horse and rider." "In 1888 the Portland and Vancouver Railroad reached Switzler's ferry landing."

(<http://columbiariverimages.com/Regions/Places/bridgeton.html>)

⁵³ Searches for records of the Switzler family have not revealed any saved records. Historic accounts state that the children of John Switzler took over operations after he passed. It is February 14, 1917 when the first bridge was built across the Columbia, the Interstate Bridge, after which there was no need for a ferry and they likely closed Ferry operations very quickly. The ferry was in the vicinity of the Portland Yacht Club.

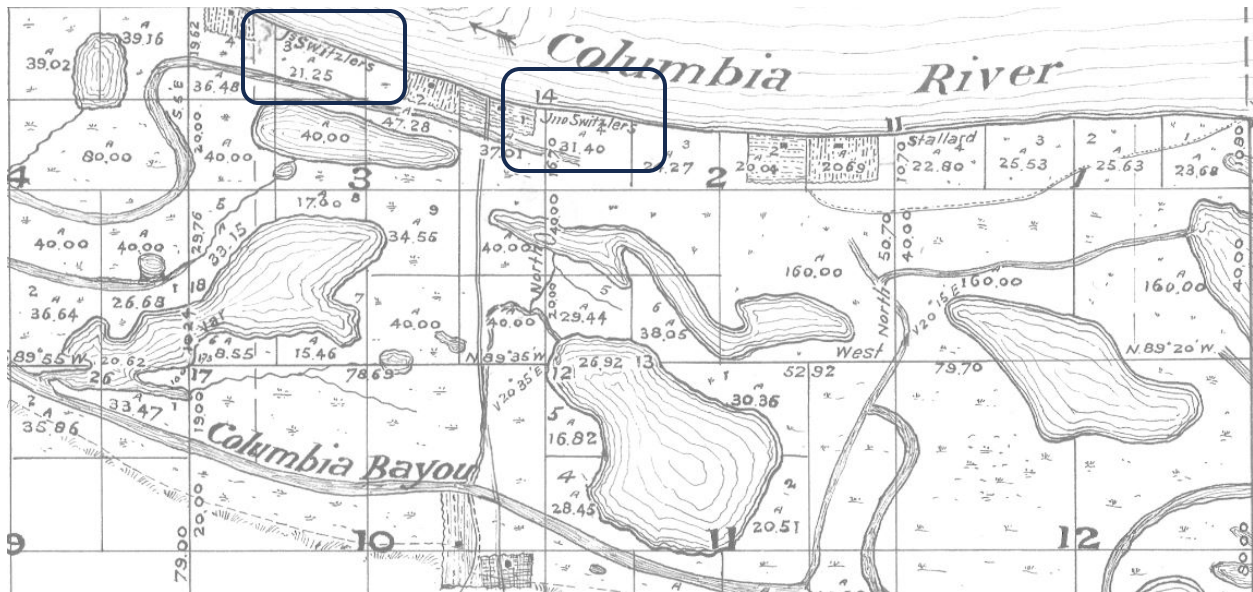


Figure 22 1851 GLO map- Note on the riverbank J. Switzlers (Joseph) and Jno Switzlers (John) lands. The road to the shore at 37.01 is the ferry access road. Note also the many bayous, marshes, and swales in the area suggesting the wetland nature of the area.

It is quite clear in the letter of November 9, 1855, that Whitcomb collected all tribal people from Cascades Rapids to the Willamette River outlet onto the encampment at Switzler's Ferry. It's unclear where on the Switzler land the encampment was, but likely with access to the ferry landing. John Switzler was likely chosen because he had a thriving business and structure for administering several hundred people, had an efficient ferry landing for a steamboat and was central to major supply routes. Whitcomb's account in his reports is supported by his invoices of the same period.

Voucher no. 99, Abstract B #3, 1 Q 1856	October 21, 1855, to February 15, 1856 March 31, 1856 (Paid)	Lot Whitcomb, Special Sub. Agent	For services of himself & horse on duty as Special sub agent in collecting together & locating the Tumwater & Klickitat Indians on south side of the Columbia River and the Clatsop Indians between Milton & Astoria etc as per the instructions of Joel Palmer Supt. Ind. Affrs. Of 19 th October 1855. Commencing October 21 st , 1855, and ending February 15, 1856: being 118 days at \$3.50 per day	413.00
	Jan 19, 1856	Lot Whitcomb	...I collected all the Indians on the west side of the Columbia River between the mouth of Sandy & Willamette rivers, made the encampment on the temporary reserve occupied by Chief Talmas band total no. is 78- All well pleased with your arrangements	

Figure 23 table of invoices

Whitcomb was also ordered to help administer the other encampments, and he visited the encampment at Milton, which held two bands of Natives, the Nepechuck (Multnomah) peoples and the Clatskanie peoples.⁵⁴ Whitcomb then visited the encampment at Astoria to attend to the agent's needs for supplies and cash. Near his own land at Milwaukie, and in conjunction with several other special agents, Whitcomb administered an encampment of the Clackamas people, and in Oregon City there was a small encampment of Clowwewalla/Oregon City people as well. Palmer ordered all agents to take censuses of their encampments.

⁵⁴ Boxberger, Daniel L. "THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY 1839 FORT VANCOUVER CENSUSES OF INDIAN POPULATION." *Journal of Northwest Anthropology* 46.1 (2012).

Census files	October 1855? (Based on Joel Palmer's order to collect the tribes in October 1855 and then create a census of every tribe)	Census of Watlala	Wah-lalla band of Tumwater of Clackamas Indians 32 men (named) 40 women 16 boys 9 girls 97 total (total states 95 but is wrong)	
			O-ban-a-hah chief of the Tum water band. Tum walth chief of the Tum water Band. Census of Clackamas tribe Clackamas band; Watch-a-no -#1 chief; Te ah i no - #2 chief; Wallahpicate - #3 chief. (21 named men)	

Figure 24 Census of tribes

It is not until November 1855 that Palmer decides on a second Indian reservation, the Yamhill River/Grand Ronde Indian Reservation. The Grand Ronde Reservation is south of the Tualatin Valley and west of Dallas, OR. His initial plan to place all native people at the Coast Reservation is abandoned when he must quickly remove the tribes to safety, and the Coast Reservation is not yet prepared to take 4000 Natives from western Oregon, and effectively administer them. Therefore, Palmer arranges to buy out the settlers in the Grand Ronde Valley and move all people from the tribes who signed the Willamette Treaty and other peaceful tribes to this new reservation.⁵⁵ The final populations removed to Grand Ronde are the peoples of the interior valleys (Willamette, Umpqua, Rogue River), peoples on the middle Columbia (Cascades, Nepechuck, Clatskanie, Clackamas, Clowwewalla), and some Tillamook people. In the process of removal small bands of the Klamath and Klickitat, who are rounded up in the Willamette Valley, are also temporarily placed at the reservation.

In January 1856, Palmer begins ordering the agents to remove the tribes to encampments at principal shipping towns or “hubs” for easy removal by steamboat down the Willamette. The tribes of the southern Willamette Valley - Winfelly, Chafin, Mohawk (Pe-u), Tekopa - outside of Eugene/Springfield, are the first removed to the Spores’ Ferry landing site. Within a month, these people are removed to the Corvallis encampment, joining the Chelamela (Long Tom), Chemapho (Muddy Creek), and Chepinefu (Marys River), and awaiting removal to Dayton by steamboat.⁵⁶ Records are inexact for several Kalapuyan tribes, but the Santiam likely removed through Albany. Steamboat travel was more efficient and was a way to keep the tribes together for the journey and protect them from attacks by settlers until they reached Dayton and Palmer could protect them with his staff. People of the Luckiamute tribe simply walked over land to

⁵⁵ The Grand Ronde Indian Reservation is not made permanent until 1857 with a Presidential executive order.

⁵⁶ Corvallis encampment is built up in November and December with orders of building supplied and there are several supplies runs of foods.

Grand Ronde and were the first tribe to arrive and settle on the reservation, in January 1856. In 1856 the invoices from Whitcomb are instructive as to the movements of the tribes from the Columbia River, through Oregon City, and then to Dayton.

Voucher no. 22, abstract B, 2 nd Quarter 1856	March 29 to April 6 th 1856. April 11, 1856 (paid)	John Crosby	For services of himself & horse, collecting together and removing Indians and horses of the Clow-we-walla band of Tumwaters from Vancouver and the Oregon side of the Columbia, below the Sandy, five men and sixty Indian horses; commencing on the 29 March and ending on the 6 th of April 1856: 9 days at \$5 per day: 45.00; for amount paid his travelling expenses on this duty as per sub voucher no. 1 herewith: 11.50	
Voucher no. 20 Abstract B. 2 nd Quarter 1856	April 3 rd , 1856 April 9 th , 1856 (paid)	Joel Palmer	For transportation on the said Steamer (Franklin) for Portions of the Clackamas and Klamath tribes, and the Clowewallas (Willamette Tumwater) and Wal-al-lah (Cascades Tumwater) Bands of Indians from Canemah to the Grand Ronde reservation as follows, 317 Indians with their baggage etc. at \$2. Each E. White Master of the Steamer Franklin	634.00
Voucher no. 2, Abstract provisions, 2 nd Quarter 1856	April 5 1856	B. Jennings	I hereby certify that the following articles of subsistence was issued by me to the Klamath & Clackamas tribes of Indians, with others of various scattering tribes of the north, whilst assembled at Oregon City, for transportation to the Grand Ronde reservation, on the 2 nd of April 1856. The said Indians being under my charge, a Special Agent and conductor, and numbering about three hundred and thirty. Viz: 250 pounds of flour; 75 pounds of beef; 61 pounds of hard bread; Dayton O.T. April 5 th , 1856, B. Jennings Spe Sub Ind Agent (Klamath were 141 ppl)	

Figure 25 Table of Invoices

At Dayton the tribes stay for a few days and are fed and counted. They are then placed on wagons and marched overland to the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation.

Tribes and Flooding

❖ Relationship to flooding if any

There are few historic flood stories involving the tribes of the region. The tribes generally do have stories of great catastrophic floods, the Missoula floods, that occurred 16,000 to 11,000 YBP. These are sometimes called stories of the Changer. The Kalapuyans have two flood accounts. The basic outline of the stories is that the flood waters came into the valley and began filling it up, forcing the tribes to escape to local mountains or buttes. They wait on the buttes until the flood waters receded and then they note the land was changed. The immense extent of the floods is apparent in the stories, so it is not a minor flood occurrence but something which changed everything (Jacobs 1945).

Tribes north of the Columbia too have flood stories which likely go back to the Missoula floods. The Floods were so great that the people were forced to tie their canoes to the tops of mountains to survive. In many accounts the story also is the origin of the tribes afterwards, where the tribes moved to different territories to form new tribes.

Tribes up the Columbia, Wishram, Wasco and others have stories about how the Columbia Gorge was created. In one story the gorge was formed when the mythical figures of Coyote and Beaver (Wishpush) fought. In their struggle they carved out the gorge, Coyote eventually wins the battle and tears Beaver into his parts. The historic tribes come from various parts of Beaver. This too seems to be a Missoula flood story.

Tribes along the Pacific Coast have flood stories as well. These are likely related to Tsunami events. Generally, in the stories the tops of mountains flood on the floodwaters then land elsewhere. Some of these stories were geologically connected with actual tsunami events, the signs of which are still in the land on the coast. See Robert Losey's work on Tsunami Oral histories of tribes for more about this.⁵⁷

When settlers began claiming land in the Willamette Valley, it is my belief, they were advised not to set up their permanent residences alongside the river. We do not have a lot of information about the Kalapuya houses or their village structures, but as far as can be determined they appear to have placed their houses on a highland above the floodplain of the Willamette. There is a raised highland about a half mile from the Willamette River in most areas. This is certainly the pattern at Chemeketa, with house pits found in the South Salem hills. Also, histories uncovered from the Eugene area suggest hillside houses about the wetlands of the prairies. One oral account from settlers suggests that Eugene Skinner and perhaps Elijah Bristow, settlers of 1847-48, both were told to not locate their cabins on the prairie, because it was apt to flood annually (Lewis 2023).

⁵⁷ Losey, Robert, *Communities and Catastrophe: Tillamook Response to the AD 1700 Earthquake and Tsunami, Northern Oregon Coast*. University of Oregon, 2002.

The pattern of life for the tribes along the Willamette and Columbia had them placing their permanent villages on a rise above the rivers, to remain above the annual floodplain. Summer encampments would be placed, for weeks at a time, alongside the rivers, for convenience of access to fishing and for canoe travel and trade. But as soon as the weather turned, the people would move again upland for safety. Most tribes on the Columbia would not remain in their summer villages year-round, but instead move to known encampment sites up and down the river especially to get away from the cold winds and cold winters. This is the pattern of the Cascades who move to the Wapato Valley (Portland basin) to spend the winter in warmer conditions than in the winter gorge, and to access wapato for food. The Clatsop too, would move off the Columbia and into a side river to get away from the cold winter storms. These tribal patterns are recorded within the Lewis and Clark journals.

It is very apparent that the tribes knew well about floods and made strategic decisions to place themselves in relatively safe locations because of the regular flooding.

Oral Histories of the removal in relation to the Tribes

There are few oral histories of the period of contact and removal. A story from Victoria Howard is presented here.

“the myth (white) people just fixed up that disease for us. They wanted this country of ours.” shortly after... her Boston (American) friend told her, “They are going to take you (Indian) people somewhere pretty soon now”. “Do not leave anything (here).” Take all your thing with you.... After that, they took the (Indian) people away (to Grand Ronde Reservation), ... her old man (her husband, Watcheeno) had already broken up their canoe. She tied up everything (of their personal possessions), and then on the following day they took them (south on the Willamette River) in a steamboat. One that was just flat (a barge) they put some of them on it (to transport them as far as Dayton, on the Yamhill River) They reached the place (Dayton) where they were assembling the (Indian) people (whom they were bringing for quite some time (because she could not speak English or even Chinook Jargon, and she could not make the whites understand her), before they then (also) brought my mother’s father (her husband and) my mother’s brother she was still little more than a child. They brought all the Molales. We had gone there; they had brought us to the place there where they had gathered (most of the northwestern Oregon Indian) people. It was full of them (at the temporary camp at Dayton). ... We stayed there (at Dayton) for quite a while. The Houses were sail houses (tents).... They took a number of the (Indian) men, they went and showed them the country. ... they took them further (some miles to the west of there), where we (most of us) are living now (at Grand Ronde Reservation). They (the Indian men) said, this is a good district here. The mountains are fine for hunting. They also saw camas, wild celery, (another type of) wild celery (that resembles rhubarb), lots of things that

were familiar for us to eat. So then they chose this place here where we (most of us) are living.”⁵⁸

Discussion

❖ Discussion about findings

The Cascades and Clackamas are the most likely tribes to have travelled through and used the interior lands, those lands and resources off the major rivers. This was their claimed territory as represented in their annual movements, their regular habitation on the margins of this territory, and the representation of their ceded lands on the treaty maps. They were the tribes who sign the treaties and removed together to the Grand Ronde Indian Reservation in 1856. These two tribes were also related peoples, their intermarriage well documented. There may be people of other tribes who also relate to the region due to the nature of intertribal marriage in the region. The region was alive with trade and at times conflict, especially in the historic era when tribes and immigrant settlers looked to take over the native lands and resources in this very rich, resource-wealthy area.⁵⁹ The conflicts with settlers are not well recorded for the area of Johnson Creek. This area had no known villages and so likely saw less overall conflict. The conflict would instead occur in village locations on the periphery of the Johnson Creek “peninsula” at the village of the tribes on the Columbia and on the Willamette, principally centered at Willamette Falls.

Oregon City was a highly sought after location to settle from the earliest days of the Oregon Territory due to its central location for fishing, for access to the Willamette Valley, and for the number of native villages and towns in this locality. Native peoples in the early days of settlement were seen more as potential laborers to help build the foundations of empire, and as candidates for religious conversion. Both Catholic and Methodist missions appear to have assigned a high value in the quantity of conversions rather than quality.

As American settlers began taking over townsites on the Columbia they began crowding Natives out of their traditional lands. Natives on the Columbia were employed as laborers, portagees, oarsmen, hunters, guides, scouts, again helping to build the foundation of empire. Eventually all of the tribes were removed to reservations in 1856. After 1856, there was only a few native people that remained off reservation, either having escaped the reservation or never having been removed. They most often became laborers in the fishing or shipping or industrialization industries and because they were native, they were paid substandard wages for their work. Those native people who remained off reservation could not live inside of the new white settler towns; they were forced to the margins of the town. These Indian encampments would also feature people of other cultures, which were similarly not wanted in the white American towns, Blacks, Latinos, Chinese, and criminals. Native people even had an ongoing trade with Chinese people who harvested many of the native plants, especially wapato, which resembled their own

⁵⁸ Jacobs, Clackamas Chinook Texts, Volume 2, 549-553

⁵⁹ “Rich and wealthy” is in reference to the wealth of annual resources, the variety, quantity, and quality of which made the local chiefs very rich men.

arrowleaf family plants from China. At Oregon City the remaining native people lived in a few encampment villages on the upper terrace before the settler town expanded. Accounts suggest they even lived for a time in caves in the cliff face. At Hood River there was a well-known “Indian encampment”⁶⁰ situated on the riverside of the railroad tracks, literally across the tracks, where a few families set up shanties. They would travel into town for their day labor and had to vacate the town at night into their shanties.

The remainder of the people from this area were at the Grand Ronde Reservation. A few of these people married into other tribes and went to other reservations during the next century. There are people from a broad tribal area, throughout the middle and lower Columbia River, and many reservations that likely have history and heritage with the Cascades and Clackamas people.

Subjects for Interpretation

- ❖ Statements that highlight the findings that can be used verbatim in this and other Johnson Creek projects.

1. The history of colonization and removal of the tribes. This I have outlined in the report, we could edit this down and tell a fairly complete story of how this was originally a tribal resource are and how and why Native people were removed.
2. The original tribes and their culture, Clackamas and Cascade, perhaps add Multnomah. The tribes are outlined in the report, this would be interesting, and we have more images for this subject.
3. Details of the tribal “seasonal round” and what resources in the Johnson Creek basin would have attracted the tribes. Oak groves, wetlands with camas, wapato, berry bushes, etc.
4. Original environment of the Johnson Creek watershed. The GLO maps give us a clue and with a noted fish run and records of regular flooding we could reconstruct what the environment may have been like. It would help if we found a set of period photos from before the whole area was settled and developed, perhaps some large aerial photos to help. This then could be linked to likely Tribal activities.
5. Tracking the original roads would be helpful and illustrative. These roads were likely the original tribal trails, and this is how the tribes travelled through the area from river to river for season rounds and trade. The resources along the roads would be the primary resources of the tribes. Documenting all of this would be illustrative to telling the story of the tribes.
6. The William Johnson family does not have a lot of information that I have found. He did have a mill on the creek, if we can find more information about this early mill and the family it could be a good subject for a panel. I think settlers using creek to operate mills is an attractive subject for interpretation.

⁶⁰ Also deferred to as Squaw towns.

7. The Columbia Trade network, seems to be a fascinating subject for many. How the tribes harvested from their environments and traded food and manufactured and traded tools – basketry, canoes, mats, salmon, camas, wapato, smelt, etc. - into the network. The villages on the Columbia and at the falls were all high trade areas.

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Appendix A: Images of Clackamas and Other tribes in the area

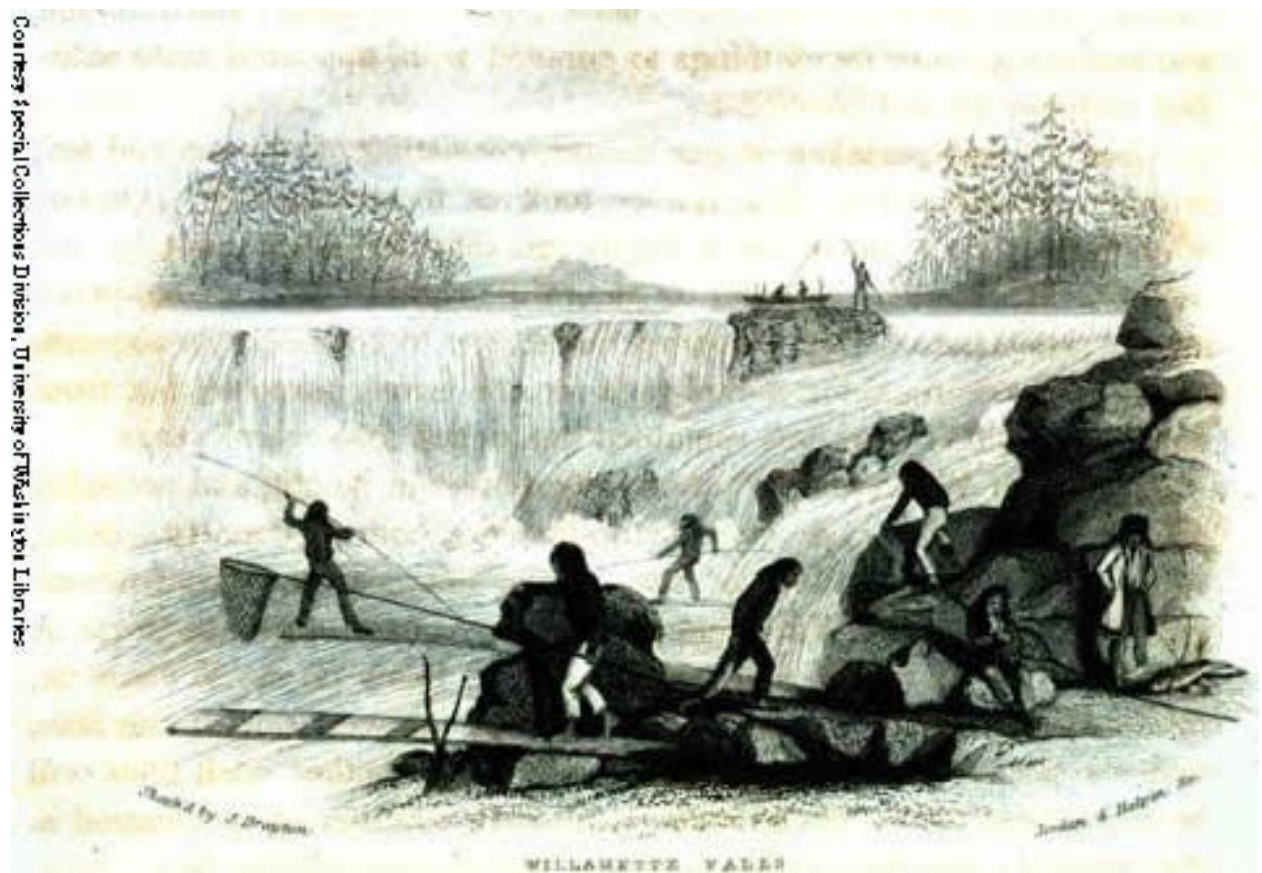


Figure 26 Willamette Falls, Alfred Agate 1841

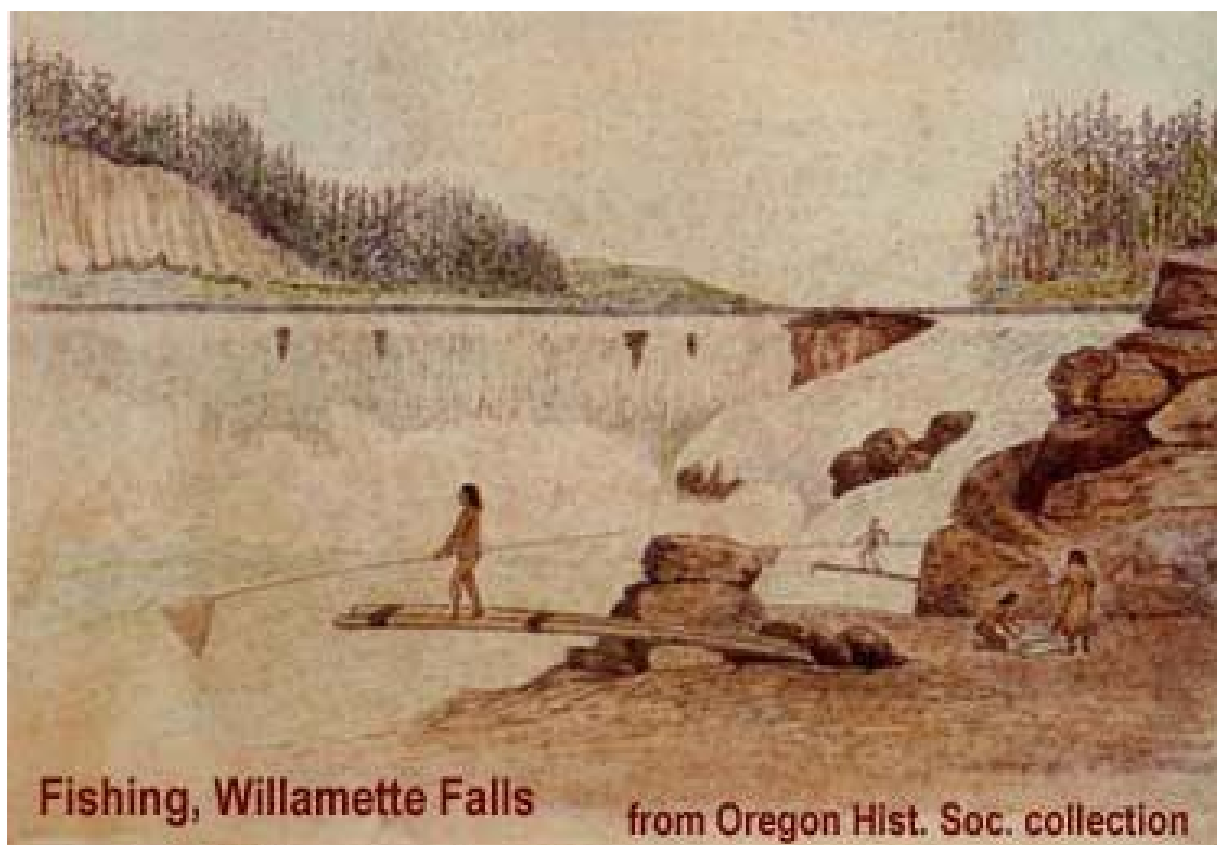


Figure 27 Willamette Falls, Alfred Agate 1841



Figure 28 Willamette Falls, Eugene De Girardin 1851?

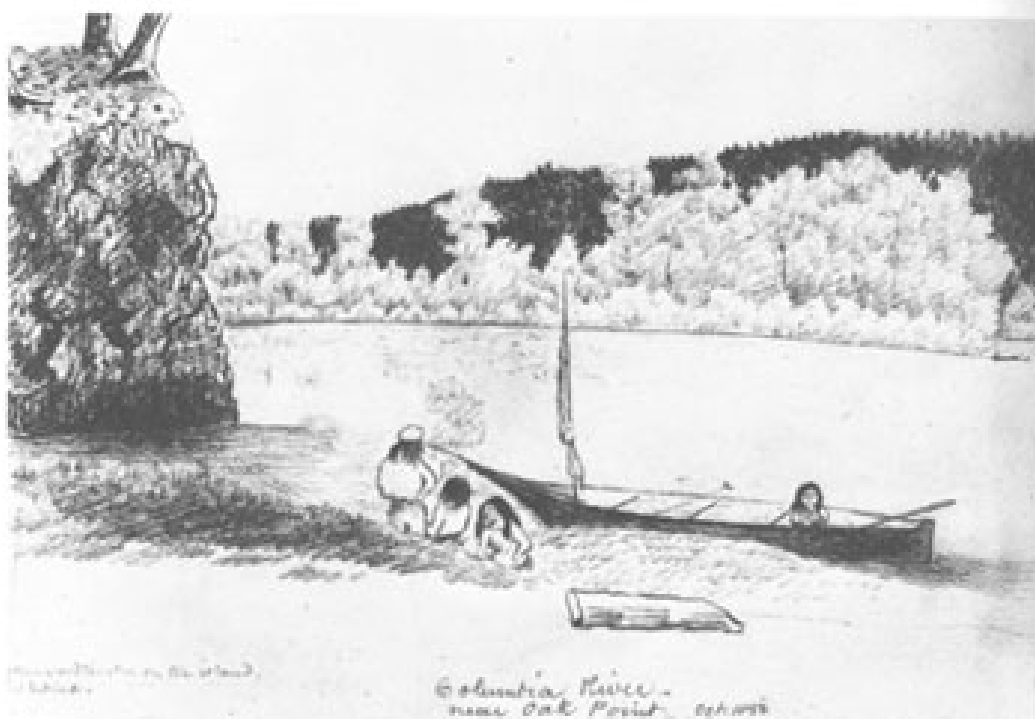


Figure 29 Wapato Harvesting, George Gibbs



Figure 30 Head of a {salmon} George Gibbs



Figure 31 Chief Kiasno, Paul Kane



Figure 32 inside of a Plankhouse, Paul Kane



Figure 33 Cascade Indian, Paul Kane



Figure 34 Chinook lodge, Paul Kane



Figure 35 Clackamas Indians, Paul Kane



Figure 36 Columbia River Indians fishing, Paul Kane



Figure 37 Oregon City, John Mix Stanley



HUDSON BAY MILL

Figure 38 Hudson Bay Sawmill, John Mix Stanley



Figure 39 Cascades of the Columbia, John Mix Stanley



Figure 40 Cascades, Henry Warre



Figure 41 Oregon City, Henry Warre